Abergavenny Academy (1757-1781)

In 1757 the Congregational Fund Board decided for doctrinal and disciplinary reasons to withdraw its support from the academy at Carmarthen and establish another academy at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. This was usually referred to in the minutes as 'the academy in Wales'. David Jardine, who had been ordained as the Independent minister in the town in 1752, was appointed as tutor on 7 March 1757, and his letter of acceptance was received on 4 April. Most of the congregation were Welsh speaking, but the new minister was far from fluent in that language. This, however, was no hindrance to him at the academy. When it opened he had seven students under his care, four of them having come from Carmarthen. Jardine received a salary of £10 a year, and he also received £4 a year as minister. The students were allowed £4 each a year.

An examination took place at the end of the first year, and the examiners included the Revd Edmund Jones of Pontypool (the Old Prophet). He must have had great pleasure in visiting the academy, because he took a leading part in moving it from Carmarthen to Abergavenny. He was a staunch Calvinist, who wielded much influence in Wales. The Congregational Board received the report of the examination with satisfaction.

Eleven students were supported in 1759, and two of them had an extra gift of 40s. each. One student was not to be paid, but the reason for the refusal was not given. Student numbers were quite stable: 9 in 1761, 11 in 1763, and 10 in 1764. Unlike Carmarthen, discipline was not a problem at Abergavenny. Only one student was reported for 'disagreeable conduct both in his House and his church' (CFB minutes, 6 January 1766). The Congregational Board tested candidates according to their gifts, ability, and doctrine. One student was asked to leave because he had changed his doctrinal views since being admitted to the academy. A confession of faith could be brief, while others were quite detailed. Many of them followed the same pattern. Sections would deal with revelation; the deity of Christ and his atoning death; justifying faith; persevering grace; and the blessedness of heaven.

Benjamin Davies was probably chosen as assistant tutor in 1764. He was a former Carmarthen student, who had made rapid progress in languages and theology. The Congregational Board must have regarded him highly, because they paid him £10, the same salary as the tutor. Following Jardine's death in 1766 the Board invited Davies to take his place; they reported his acceptance on 8 December 1766. There was no radical change in the curriculum, because Davies believed that the Carmarthen curriculum was more than satisfactory. He insisted that students should master Latin and Greek before proceeding to theology. Classics, logic, mathematics, and astronomy were still an integral part of the curriculum. The tutor would arrange for the more able students to help him with the lecturing. As a Welsh speaker Davies could converse with the Welsh speaking students. In class, however, he insisted on lecturing through the medium of English, and urged the students to master that language, a hard task for many of them. The course lasted four years, but occasionally the tutor would keep a student for a little longer, especially if there was a possibility of a call to a neighbouring church. About 60 students were educated at Abergavenny, of whom at least 16 went to England.

Two Abergavenny students subsequently became tutors: Edward Williams at Oswestry and Rotherham, and Jenkin Lewis at Wrexham and Leaf Square. Of those ministering to congregations in Wales, John Thomas of Rhayader, John Griffiths of Glandwr, and Benjamin Jones of Pwllheli should be mentioned. John Thomas was one of many Independent ministers deeply influenced by the Methodist revival. He was converted under the ministry of united Howel Harris, and preached in Whitefield's chapel in London and in the chapels of Lady Huntingdon. He was also a hymn-writer, and his spritual autobiography, *Rhad*

Ras ('Free Grace'), had a marked influence in Wales. John Griffiths, another of the four students who left the academy at Camarthen for Abergavenny, was well known not only as a preacher but also as a teacher: his school at Glandwr educated many future ministers. Benjamin Jones was a theologian, and his main work was in defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

On 28 July 1781, the Congregational Board invited Davies to succeed Daniel Fisher at Homerton Academy. Davies accepted the invitation, and suggested the name of Edward Williams of Oswestry, one of his former students, as his successor. Williams accepted the invitation on the condition that the academy moved to Oswestry, and in February 1782, despite Davies's wish that the academy should remain in south Wales, the Board agreed to Williams's terms.

Noel Gibbard

Archives

- Information about the academy at Abergavenny can be found in the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board, DWL, MS OD 405-406, and in National Library of Wales, GB 0210 WTOWEN, Papers of the Revd Dr W. T. Owen, Nos 1 and 3; further information about the students can be found in National Library of Wales, Add MS 383D.

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Airedale Independent College (1800-1888)

including The Independent Academy at Idle (1800-1826)

(Historical account to 1860)

The Independent Academy at Idle was established in 1800, following the failure of Samuel Walker's academy at Northowram in 1794 and a short-lived arrangement, ending in 1796, whereby four of Walker's students were educated at Idle by the local minister William Vint. The populous manufacturing region around Bradford was then without an Independent academy for the first time since the mid-eighteenth century, resulting in a shortage of preachers to supply congregations in the area. On receiving information of the impact of this upon the denomination in the West Riding, Edward Hanson, a London-based native of Yorkshire, provided £60 a year to fund the training of two ministerial students by Vint at Idle, a manufacturing village five and a half miles to the north east of Bradford. When Hanson died in 1806 his will provided the academy with an annuity of £150 a year. Hanson's contribution was supplemented by local donations and subscriptions collected from 1802 onwards. The academy was renamed Airedale Independent College in 1826, and remained at Idle until 1834. In 1829, Mary Bacon of Spring House, Horton, arranged for the conveyance to the college of estates at Fagley and Undercliffe near Bradford, in accordance with the wishes of her late sister, Sarah Balme. The two women were daughters of the Bradford worsted manufacturer and Congregationalist John Balme. The Fagley property was intended to provide a rental income for Airedale college, while that at Undercliffe was to be the site of a new academy building opened in March 1834. The geographical constituency served by the academy was defined as the area of the West Riding of Yorkshire around Bradford, Halifax, and Leeds, as well as the North Riding, Durham, and Northumberland. However, the committee were at pains to stress that the institution was not designed to compete with the Rotheram Independent Academy, established in 1795. Airedale Independent College continued to exist until 1888, in which year it merged with Rotherham to form the Yorkshire United Independent College.

The academy was originally established in premises owned by Idle Upper Chapel, which were occupied rent-free until 1821, after which the annual rent was £20. In 1802 four studies were added to the house, with a further three built the following year. In 1809 a new academy house was built at a cost of £437 4s., including a loan of £100 from the Upper Chapel. Further enlargements were made in 1816 and 1825 in order to accommodate increased numbers of students, who were boarded in the academy building, although by the end of the period at Idle the accommodation was causing dissatisfaction. In 1827 Thomas Rawson Taylor wrote to a friend describing the academy house and its surroundings in unflattering terms. The town itself was a 'dirty, grovelling, manufacturing village, without one single charm' (Taylor, *Memoir*, 50). The academy building comprised the tutor's apartments, a large hall used for dining which also housed the library, two communal dormitories, and a study for each student. Taylor's own study was five feet and ten inches square, containing a desk, stool, his clothing, bookshelves and pegs for his coats and shoes.

The foundation stone of the new college building at Undercliffe was laid by John Holland of Halifax on 20 June 1831. John Clark of Leeds, whose most significant work had been the Leeds Commercial Buildings, provided the design for the impressive Grecian-style edifice. The premises provided accommodation for twenty students, who now had a separate bedroom each as well as their own study. The budget for the project was a relatively modest £3,300. Revd Metcalfe Gray of South Shields, who studied at Airedale from 1868 to 1873, described how the imposing portico opened into a large hall, to the right of which were the Principal's apartments, and on the left were the dining room, library, and servants' quarters. A passage from the centre of the hall led to the theological tutor's classroom on one side, and the classical and mathematical classroom on the other. At the end of the corridor were

glass doors leading to twenty studies, with a staircase providing access to the dormitories above.

Airedale Independent College, built 1831 [source: Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/L64/1/7]

The academy was funded by voluntary subscriptions, donations, and benefactions, most of which were obtained from the towns and villages of the West Riding. In addition to the gift of the Fagley and Undercliffe estates, a further donation of £8,000 was made by Mary Bacon in 1845, providing an annual dividend of £240. Occasional grants were received by Airedale students from Lady Hewley's Trust, following the conclusion of the chancery case involving the fund in 1849. The management of the institution was vested in its subscribers, who appointed a committee from within their number at an annual meeting. Under the trust deed of 1849 conveying the Undercliffe estate to the college this was amended, so that subscribers of a guinea a year or donors of £20 or more could attend the annual meetings. They were responsible for appointing a treasurer, secretary, and committee members. From 1829 the committee was to consist of the treasurer, secretary, and tutors of the college, the minister of Horton Lane church, Bradford, and twenty-one others, one third of whom were required to be ministers.

Throughout the early history of the college, the committee adopted a cautious approach to finances. Under constant pressure to provide students to supply local congregations, they resisted the impulse to expand beyond their means. Between 1802 and 1806 the number of students in the college never exceeded five, rising to eight by the end of the decade. Following the completion of the new building at Idle in 1809 a maximum of ten students were accommodated, and subsequent additions to the academy house allowed this number to increase to fifteen by 1817 and a maximum of eighteen from 1825 onwards. The new building at Undercliffe was designed to accommodate twenty students, and was full to capacity for most of the decade after it opened. A financial crisis led to a reduction in the number of students to twelve in 1845. Matters were alleviated by Mrs Bacon's donation of

the same year, after which numbers fluctuated between a low of fourteen and a peak of twenty-two. Students were expected to become ministers of the Independent denomination, and were required to subscribe to the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. The course of study was initially set at four years, and increased to five in 1826. Students received their board, lodging, tuition, and use of the library free of charge.

The original plan of the Independent Academy at Idle stated that students were to receive tuition in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, English composition, logic, rhetoric, geography, church history, and theology. In 1821 the teaching of astronomy and French was reported, while the 1829 trust deed added that mathematics and natural philosophy should also be taught, time permitting. During the college year ending in June 1830, £20 was paid for lectures on elocution by the political reformer and lecturer John Thelwall (1764-1834). While the academy was located at Idle, students had access to both the academy library and William Vint's own substantial collection of books. Following Vint's death and the relocation to Undercliffe, the college library was deemed highly deficient, comprising little more than 1,000 volumes, a number of which were regarded as of little value. The annual college reports contain regular appeals for donations of books or money with which they could be purchased. Following the death of Thomas Rawson Taylor in 1835 the college inherited his large library. The lists of books donated printed in the annual reports indicate that the committee's appeals for help were being heeded, and the state of the library improved as a result. However, in 1852 the library was still regarded as unsatisfactory, and an appeal was launched on the initiative of the Revd Jonathan Glyde of Bradford to raise a minimum of £200 for the purchase of books. By 1854 it was reported that the appeal had been a success, raising the sum of £350. The college also failed to acquire much scientific apparatus during its early years. As late as 1841 the only equipment owned was an air pump. In December of the same year it was resolved to take out a subscription to the Bradford Mechanics Institute, although this arrangement was terminated a few years later when the college encountered financial difficulties.

Throughout the period at Idle, the academy was inextricably linked to its sole tutor, William Vint. Having studied under Samuel Walker at Northowram, Vint became minister at Idle in 1790 and soon established a reputation as a popular preacher. Under his pastorate the local chapel was rebuilt and expanded to accommodate the growing congregation he attracted. As academy tutor, he was responsible for the entire curriculum, while his wife, Sarah, undertook the domestic management of the household. In 1829, with Vint's health beginning to deteriorate, two senior students, Joseph Stringer and Thomas Rawson Taylor, were employed to assist him. Stringer's services were called upon again in 1833, by which time he had become Vint's son-in-law. Vint died on 13 March 1834, ten days after the academy moved to Undercliffe. His successor as theological tutor was Walter Scott, the minister of Rothwell in Northamptonshire, where he had provided tuition to about seventy students in preparation for their admission to the Independent academy at Hoxton (later Highbury College). Scott was appointed to teach divinity, Biblical criticism, intellectual and moral philosophy, and Hebrew. At the same time Thomas Rawson Taylor was chosen to assist him in the classical and mathematical departments. When Taylor died the following year, he was replaced by William Benton Clulow.

In September 1842 a sub-committee was appointed to converse with Clulow over his 'opinions on the Christian Sabbath' (Airedale College Minutes, 19 Sept. 1842). Clulow subsequently offered his resignation, which was initially refused on the basis that his views, though unorthodox, did not compromise his ability to act as classical tutor. However, when he tendered his resignation for a second time in June 1843 the committee resolved to accept. Clulow was succeeded by Daniel Fraser, and in 1848 the income generated by Mrs Bacon's donation allowed a third tutor to be appointed. At this point, the departments of tuition were redefined so that Walter Scott was to be responsible for all branches of theology, comprising church history, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages, sermon

composition, theological essays, and New Testament criticism. Fraser, as classical tutor, was to teach the Latin and Greek languages. Henry Brown Creak was appointed to oversee the philosophical department, covering grammar, rhetoric, logic, composition, mental and moral philosophy, mathematics, geography and natural philosophy. When Scott retired in 1856, at the age of 77, he was replaced as theological tutor by Fraser. The vacancy created in the classical department was filled by Richard Griffiths Hartley, who remained in post until 1862. Creak would continue to teach mathematics and philosophy until his death in 1864. Fraser resigned in 1876, by which time he had lost the confidence of the committee.

In addition to their academic studies, students were expected to engage in itinerant work. This was particularly the case during the early period in the history of the academy, when the demand for students to conduct services in the towns and villages of the West Riding regularly exceeded supply. On a number of occasions lay preachers, unemployed ministers, and students from the nearby Horton Baptist Academy were called upon to serve Independent congregations, because William Vint could not meet the large number of requests for assistance. The annual report for 1819 gave a detailed account of eighteen congregations that had been gathered or revived as a result of the labours of students sent out from Idle. The following year it was recorded that students from the academy were regularly supplying fifty congregations.

Many of the alumni from Idle and Airedale attained local rather than national significance as Independent ministers. For example, one of Vint's first students, James Scott, was chiefly responsible for reviving the congregation at Eastwood before moving to Cleckheaton. Another, Robinson Poole, increased the number of hearers at Honley from 200 to 350. Other Idle and Airedale students who would develop noteworthy careers as ministers included James Parsons, 'the most remarkable pulpit orator of his time' (*ODNB*) whose sermons in York attracted considerable crowds. One of Vint's later students was the denominational historian John Waddington, whose five volume *Congregational History* was completed in 1880. Among those educated at Undercliffe was the Welsh Congregationalist minister, educationalist and temperance campaigner Evan Lewis. A near contemporary of Lewis was the mathematician Robert Harley, whose work on algebraic equations earned him election to the Royal Society in 1863.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The principal archival collection for the Independent Academy at Idle and Airedale Independent College is held at John Rylands University Library as part of the Northern Congregational College Archives. The most important evidence for the life and management of the academy is the committee minutes, which survive in full, and the printed annual reports. The minutes of the subcommittee responsible for overseeing the development of the Undercliffe building also form part of the collection.

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Associate Presbytery Divinity Hall (1737-1747)

The Associate Presbytery Divinity Hall was set up in Perth in 1737 as a result of the unanimous decision by the Associate Presbytery on 20 October 1736 to appoint William Wilson, minister of the Secession Church in Perth, as professor of divinity. After his death in 1741, the Presbytery appointed Alexander Moncrieff, the minister in Abernethy, as his successor and the divinity hall moved to Abernethy in March 1742.

While theoretically its divinity hall served the whole of Scotland, the Secession Church was essentially a lowland church, and in practice most students also came from the lowlands. There were, however, students from Ireland who shared a similar theology. Under Wilson about six new students entered in most years; under Moncrieff the numbers increased, rising to eleven in 1744. A total of twenty-eight students went through the hall under Wilson and a further thirty-six under Moncrieff. Each session seems to have lasted eight weeks, from March to May. The number of years attended by a student varied, but was normally four or five. They probably boarded out locally for the duration of the session. The hall itself was under the supervision of the Associate Presbytery (after 1745 the Associate Synod). When the hall was not in session students were under the direct supervision of their presbytery. Financially, the hall was supported by the Associate Presbytery, with each congregation asked to provide financial support for the students. Students were expected to become ministers of the Secession Church, though a number went to Ireland or to the American Colonies.

Among Wilson's students in the first intake was Adam Gib, the leader of the Anti-Burghers, and in the second Thomas Gillespie, founder of the Relief Church. Gillespie remained only very briefly, departing after just ten days, unhappy with the teaching. He studied instead with Philip Doddridge at Northampton.

The core studies were systematic theology, based on Johannes Marck's *Christianae theologiae medulla* in Latin, and chronology. Moncrieff had studied under Marck at Leiden. Students were expected to know some Hebrew and Greek. It is unclear whether these were taught by Wilson and Moncrieff, or whether students were expected to come already prepared. Gib had certainly studied Hebrew at university prior to entering the divinity hall. Teaching was in Latin, and also the examinations, but Moncrieff examined in English. Under Moncrieff, a philosophy class was added to the syllabus in 1742. This was taught by one of the senior students, namely Robert Archibald and David Wilson.

As a result of the Breach of 1747 over the legality of the burgess oath, the Secession Church split into Burghers and Anti-Burghers. Moncrieff was a leader of the Anti-Burghers and the divinity hall became the General Associate (Anti-Burgher) Divinity Hall. The Burghers were therefore forced to set up their own divinity hall, the Associate Synod (Burgher) Divinity Hall, under Ebenezer Erskine.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

- The records of the Associate Presbytery and Synod are in the National Archives of Scotland (CH3/27/1-3; CH3/28/1).

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Andrew T. N. Muirhead, 'Associate Presbytery Divinity Hall (1737-1747)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, November 2011.

Associate Synod (Burgher) Divinity Hall (1747-1820) and United Secession Divinity Hall (1820-1847)

Because Alexander Moncrieff, the Secession divinity hall professor, sided with the Anti-Burghers at the Breach in 1747, the Burghers had to make new arrangements for the education of their ministers. The father of the Secession, Ebenezer Erskine, briefly and rather unwillingly took on the role of divinity professor in Stirling. In 1749 the divinity hall was placed under the care of James Fisher, his son-in-law, and moved to Glasgow. It then moved to Kinross under John Swanston, (1764-67), Haddington under John Brown (1767-87), and finally to Selkirk under George Lawson (1787-1820). A further breach split the Burghers in 1799, into the Old Light and New Light Burghers, mainly regarding the relationship of the civil magistrate to the church. Lawson stayed with the New Light party, and remained in charge of their divinity hall until his death shortly before the Union of 1820.

After the Anti-Burghers underwent the equivalent schism in 1806, it soon became clear that very little except their history separated the two New Light bodies. The two churches united in 1820 as the United Secession Church, with only a handful of the Anti-Burghers staying out as the Protesters, but they included George Paxton, the Anti-Burgher professor. With neither of the previous professors available, the United Secession Divinity Hall was founded with a new professor of divinity, John Dick, in Glasgow. The combined hall was clearly beyond the scope of one man, so in 1825 a second professor, John Mitchell, was appointed. Dick became professor of systematic theology (1825-33) and Mitchell professor of biblical literature (1825-42). On the death of Dick in 1833, the number of professors was increased to four with the appointment of John Brown as professor of experimental theology (1834-47), Robert Baulmer as professor of systematic theology (1834-44), and Alexander Duncan as professor of pastoral theology and church history (1834-44). After the death of Mitchell in 1842 and the illness of Duncan, James Harper took over as professor of pastoral theology (1843-47) and acting professor of experimental theology, while John Eadie succeeded Mitchell as professor of biblical literature (1843-47). Initially students studied in Glasgow for the first two years before moving to Edinburgh, but later all the teaching was in Edinburgh.

In 1847, the United Secession Church united with the Relief Church to form the United Presbyterian Church, and the two divinity halls merged. By 1845 the United Secession Church was planning a new Synod Hall in Queen Street, Edinburgh, which became the Theological Hall and Synod Hall of the new United Presbyterian Church. It is unclear whether this building was in use as the divinity hall, or indeed at all, prior to the union.

The divinity hall throughout its history was regulated by the synod and intended only for the training of its ministers. Like the other divinity halls, the session lasted for eight weeks over a period of five years. Absenteeism was a major problem and it appears that many students were not present for the prescribed period. In the time of Erskine, Fisher, and Swanston the session was during the spring months, but after Lawson took over it moved to the autumn. In the United Secession Hall, the session was extended to nine weeks, with a minimum of six weeks' attendance required.

The Burgher divinity hall differed from the Anti-Burgher hall under Alexander Moncreiff, dispensing with a separate philosophy class for the junior students. This does not seem to imply that the Burgher ministers had less of a general education than the Anti-Burghers, rather that the Burghers were concentrating on training for the ministry, and thought the rigorous study of theological subjects would suffice to counteract any dangerous enlightenment ideas gleaned by the students during their time at university. John Brown of Haddington's *Compendious View of Natural and Revealed Religion* (1782) is believed to represent his course of lectures. An interleaved copy in New College, Edinburgh contains manuscript notes which may represent further explanation for his students. When Lawson

took over in 1787 it is clear that he used his predecessor's lectures. His published works do not include any lectures. John Dick's *Lectures in Theology* (1834), published shortly after his death, represents his teaching. The increase in the teaching staff in 1825 and in 1834 meant greater specialisation. Mitchell when he joined Dick became responsible for biblical Literature and the language teaching it implied.

George Gilfillan's memoir, *The History of a Man* (1856), describes the characters of his professors, to whom he gave transparent fictitious names such as Dr Mildman for John Mitchell. Of Mitchell he said: 'His chief fault, as a professor, lay in over-indulgence and over-praise of his students. What geniuses he thought of some of them! I have heard him panegyrize a poor creature that could hardly spell, till he persuaded him that he was at the least a Chalmers, more probably a Plato.' With reference to Dick he wrote: 'This was the spirit of Dr. Dogmatic Dry's criticism. It passed like frost over all his students' sermons, and, more or less, shed its chilling influence upon the good and the bad, upon those that soared and those that cowered in timid mediocrity.' As the professors increased from two to four, Gilfillan was also taught by Duncan and Brown: 'Dr. Dungeon. I call him so from the immense quantity of recondite learning he had contrived to amass, although, from the want of method and clearness, it was often of little use to him ... He loved the young fermenting brain, and was fond and proud of discovering the germ of genius.' Brown was dismissed with the comment that 'to his students he was distant, without real dignity, sometimes severe, and sometimes partial without discrimination. He was a learned, but not a gifted man' (Gilfillan, *History of a Man*, 156-60).

Theoretically, the Synod covered the whole of Scotland, but in practice, like all the secession churches, it was largely a church of the lowlands and the borders. It also included many from Ireland and a significant number from Scottish Presbyterian congregations in the north of England. This is particularly noticeable from the late 1760s. A fifth of the students taught by Brown later served congregations in Ireland, and although the actual number of Irish students taught by Lawson was very similar, because of the greater overall number of students they only formed about a tenth of the total. There were very few Irish students after 1795. The number of students from England was particularly high under Lawson, reaching almost ten per cent of the total. Overall 637 students were admitted to the Burgher divinity hall. Numbers averaged four per year for Erskine and Fisher, and nine per year for Swanston and Lawson. During the existence of the United Secession Divinity Hall, 753 were admitted, an average of twenty-eight per year. The numbers attending the Anti-Burgher hall prior to 1820 suggest that the United Secession Church maintained the supply of potential ministers but did not significantly increase it.

The students included the poet Michael Bruce, author of the *Ode to a Cuckoo*, who did not live to complete his course. William Skirving studied briefly in the Burgher divinity hall before turning to agriculture. As secretary of the (Scottish) Society of the Friends of the People he was tried for sedition and subsequently transported in 1794 to Botany Bay penal colony, where he died in 1796. George Gilfillan became a prominent and popular preacher in Dundee, albeit with some unorthodox views. He was also known as a poet and author, and as a champion of the industrial poor in Dundee and of the slaves in the USA. Ralph Wardlaw, a grandson of Fisher, entered the Burgher divinity hall, but embraced congregationalism under the influence of the Haldane brothers and became professor of systematic theology at Glasgow Theological Hall.

Following the Anti-Burghers' lead in 1753, the Burghers planned to send their first missionary to America in 1754, but in the event the first Irish missionary was sent in 1765, and the first Scottish-based missionaries in 1766. When John M. Mason returned to Scotland in 1801 on behalf of the Associate Reformed Church in New York, despite having been a student at the Anti-Burghers' Hall, he was commissioned to bring his church into an understanding with the Burghers, and to visit the divinity hall to recruit ministers. In both he was successful, establishing Articles of Correspondence and taking five ministers and a

probationer with him to America. A strong connection was built. There also developed an important connection with Nova Scotia, which was nurtured by a constant stream of Scots in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, giving rise to the Associate Presbytery of Truro under the superintendence of the Scottish Synod, which later formed part of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. The United Secession first took on mission work in Jamaica in 1831, which led to the erection of the Presbytery of Jamaica and the founding of an academy in 1841, which used Dick's lectures with a view to training missionaries.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

The National Archives of Scotland hold the Associate Synod (Burgher) records (CH3/28/1-5) and the United Secession Synod minutes (CH3/298/1-4). Additional records survive for: Lawson's divinity hall at Selkirk (CH3/281/1-4) and the library catalogue (CH3/281/5); the United Secession Hall Students' Society (CH3/305/1-2); Secession students on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia and the Seminary at Pictou (CH3/1284/104).

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Images

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Bala Calvinistic Methodist College (1837-1922)

(Historical account to 1860)

Soon after the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists left the Anglican Church in 1811, the idea of an institution to offer training to potential ministers began to gain support. By 1836, the most likely head of such an institution had been identified as Lewis Edwards, of Cardiganshire, a graduate of Edinburgh University who was generally regarded as one of the most promising scholars in the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Connexion. His marriage to Jane Charles of Bala in 1836 cemented his alliance with her brother, David Charles, grandson of Thomas Charles, the Methodist leader who pioneered the use of Sunday schools within the denomination. The Calvinistic Methodist Associations in North and South Wales approved the establishment of a college with Edwards and Charles as tutors, but could not decide between Trevecka, Aberystwyth, Llanidloes, and Bala as the location. On the advice of Revd John Elias, and needing to take some steps in order to obtain a livelihood, the two opened a 'private adventure school' at Bala on 1 August 1837 (Edwards, *Bywyd a Llythyron*, 163), thereby presenting the Connexion with a fait accompli. This tactic proved successful and the college was confirmed as a denominational institution serving north and south Wales in 1839.
The register records the entrance of 284 students by the end of 1860. By April 1838, 27 pupils had been admitted, with only 14 'preachers' among them (Edwards, *Bywyd a Llythyron*, 198). Numbers fluctuated considerably thereafter with between 6 and 19 additional students being recruited each year, resulting in a student body of around 40 at most. During the first five years, although most students were from the north, there were a small number from the south, including Lewis Edwards's younger brother, Thomas, and David Charles's cousin, David Charles Davies, both from the Aberystwyth area. After the founding of Trevecka College to serve south Wales in 1842, the vast majority of Bala students were recruited from the north, although some southerners continued to attend, particularly from Cardiganshire, possibly because of Edwards's connections with the county of his birth as well as his scholarly reputation. In addition, by 1860 the college had recruited 6 students from Liverpool, 3 from Manchester, 2 from Birmingham, 2 from Shrewsbury, 1 from Widnes and 1 from Newmarket.

In 1837, fees were set at eight guineas a year for tuition and twenty guineas for board, not including washing, although the charge for lodging rose the following year to thirty guineas. A few pupils boarded with the tutors' families but the majority found lodgings in town. The college initially made use of an empty warehouse behind Thomas Charles's former home, but soon moved to two houses extended for the purpose with money donated by the Merionethshire monthly meeting and situated next to the Calvinistic Methodist chapel in Bala. Evening meetings at the chapel seemed to take priority over any other activities in the college for the students, so that a religious meeting was held in the college every Thursday evening and the dialectical society met every Tuesday evening only if there was no function scheduled in the chapel.

After David Charles departed to take charge of Trevecka College in 1842, John Parry, a former student, served as tutor between 1843 and 1873. Amongst the most eminent pupils were David Charles Davies, who graduated from London University and was subsequently principal of Trevecka College, and Owen Thomas, who attended Edinburgh University and was later awarded a doctorate in divinity by Princeton, becoming moderator of the Calvinistic Methodist General Assembly in Wales as well as a highly respected preacher, theologian and author.

The funding of the college and its students was a complex issue. The Association in the

north established a committee to oversee the college, particularly its financial arrangements. The tuition of those students intent on a ministerial career was subsidised, but the college could also recruit other students to boost its finances. Edwards and Charles were each paid £100 a year by the Connexion for their work with the denomination's students, funded by annual contributions from the monthly meetings in each county, initially throughout Wales, but after 1842 only in the north. Edwards feared that the county monthly meetings would tire of the regular financial demands and advocated establishing a fund to which the meetings and individuals would be asked to donate substantial sums in the first instance and might contribute as they wished thereafter. This would set the college's finances on a firmer footing, enabling it to make use of the interest from the fund, rather than awaiting annual contributions to cover costs. It was only after Edwards and Parry effectively resigned over this issue in 1856 that the college committee agreed to set up an established fund. By 1857, £26,000 had been collected to be administered on behalf of the college by an appointed treasurer. It was proposed to pay Edwards a salary of £280 and Parry £220 out of this money. Work also began on a new building outside the town to accommodate the education of around sixty students, the foundation stone for which was laid in 1865.

Edwards repeatedly raised the issue of what was expected of the college: should it aim to emulate the standards of a university education? That would entail two tutors seeking to fulfil the work done by five or six in a university and would also demand rather higher entry requirements. The basic qualification for entry was the ability to write correct English, but a number of students, most of whose first language was Welsh, struggled to attain even that level, and Edwards complained that the monthly meetings sponsored students whom it would be better to send first to preparatory schools. Some students were set to work on arrival on translating Thomas Charles's diary from Welsh to improve their English before embarking on Latin and Greek. An entry examination was introduced in 1863 to try to raise standards. Edwards taught the classics and English literature, with an emphasis on Shakespeare and Milton. Charles taught mathematics, algebra, geometry and theology, making particular use of Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion* and Jonathan Edwards's *Freedom of the Will*. The aim was to provide a 'solid, thorough education' (Edwards, *Bywyd a Llythyron*, 156). The usual syllabus seems to have included Latin, English, Welsh, Welsh history, English history, arithmetic, and geography (in the first year), Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, Roman history, and logic (in the second), and Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy (in the third).

Edwards made several appeals over the years for gifts of books or money to buy books. In the early days of the college, contributions amounting to £170 enabled the purchase of the complete works of Augustine, Calvin, Luther and Melanchthon, works by the dissenters John Owen, John Howe, Richard Baxter, and William Bates and by the Anglicans Richard Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, John Donne, Isaac Barrow, Joseph Butler, William Paley, and John Lightfoot, along with copies of the *Edinburgh Review* and *Encyclopedia Britannica*. There are some records of library loans which suggest that the most borrowed authors were Virgil, Horace, Homer, and Euclid. By 1856 there were around 1,500 books in the library, but Edwards still pleaded for further contributions. When the library was somewhat hastily sold by auction in 1964, it comprised some 30,000 volumes in total.

Edwards remained as principal until his death in 1888. Under his guidance, the college gained a considerable reputation for scholarship. Edwards took great pride in the fact that former students not only served as ministers in a large number of the denomination's chapels, but that many others worked as schoolmasters throughout Wales, helping to improve standards of education more generally. Of the two Calvinistic Methodist colleges in Wales, Bala attracted more students, with Edwards claiming in 1856 that forty of the Connexion's ordained ministers had been educated there. This was partly because of the slightly greater relative strength of the denomination in the north and the fact that Trevecka was limited by only having one tutor before 1865, but also because of the widespread

respect for Edwards.

In 1891, Edwards's son, Thomas Charles Edwards, relinquished his post as first principal of the University College at Aberystwyth to take over as principal at Bala, which then became an exclusively theological college. In 1922 Bala College was amalgamated with the Theological College in Aberystwyth to form the United Theological College, but pastoral training courses continued to be offered at Bala until 1963.

Eryn M. White

Archives

- The college archives are held by the National Library of Wales (NLW): Calvinistic Methodist Archives, Bala College Group, 19-47; Calvinistic Methodist Archives, Bala College MSS, Group II, 1-2802.

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Baptist College, Stepney (1810-1856) and Regent's Park College, London (1856-1927)

(Historical account to 1860)

In 1689 the Particular Baptists identified 'the giving fit and proper encouragement for the raising up of an able and honourable ministry for the time to come' as a matter for urgent concern (Ivimey, *English Baptists*, I, 478-80), and almost immediately began to raise funds for that purpose amongst others. Division between London and the provinces seems to have vitiated that initiative; accordingly a new start was made with the establishment in 1717 of the Particular Baptist Fund, but the funds raised were small and educational needs had to compete with grants for the maintenance of the ministry: as late as 1770 the managers only had some £700 p.a. for distribution.

In 1752 a more deliberate initiative was taken with the founding of the London Baptist Education Society, which employed a succession of tutors - including Thomas Llewellyn and Samuel Stennett - from 1752 to at least 1769. By 1784 the Society had ceased employing a tutor in London, and instead supported a few students at Bristol Baptist Academy or John Fawcett's Academy in Yorkshire. This practice came to an end around 1796 when the sum of £1800 was transferred to the Particular Baptist Fund to be applied specifically to educational purposes. The last remaining trustee was William Taylor (1728-1811), one of Abraham Booth's deacons at the Prescott Street Church, who supported his pastor in a new initiative to establish a new Baptist Education Society in 1804. Alongside Booth and Taylor, two others were very active in the new society: Joseph Gutteridge, a treasurer of the Particular Baptist Fund from 1798 to 1844, and William Newman, who had worked as an assistant in John Collett Ryland's school at Enfield. Booth urged that 'though we are by no means warranted to consider a learned education as an *essential* to the discharge of the duties of the Christian ministry, yet we cannot but reflect, with much concern, on that degree of illiteracy which is sometimes observable in those who preach the Gospel of Christ' (Gould, *Baptist College*, 17).

In 1810 the older education society was transformed into a committee promoting 'The Baptist Academical Institution at Stepney', with William Taylor as the new institution's principal benefactor. Taylor, having purchased the Stepney premises, conveyed them to thirteen trustees, appointed with his approval. Their successors were to be appointed by the managers of the Particular Baptist Fund, and the whole enterprise to be devoted to 'the education of pious young men designed for the Christian ministry' (Gould, *Baptist College*, 32). To that end the remaining assets of the 1804 society were transferred to the new institution and the Particular Baptist Fund was reminded of the funds that it held for the purposes of ministerial training. The new premises were located next to the Whitechapel Road and Radcliffe Highway, and included a refectory, library, chapel, and accommodation for tutors and students.

Baptist College, Stepney [courtesy of Regent's Park College, Oxford]

The promoters of the new institution tried to persuade Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich to become the first president and resident tutor. But Kinghorn would not move from Norwich and so the promoters turned to Newman instead, with the vocal support of Andrew Fuller of Kettering, the theologian who more than any other persuaded most British Baptists to abandon the high Calvinism of John Gill and John Brine in favour of a missionary-oriented evangelical Calvinism. But more was needed to promote the new institution, and to that end Robert Hall, then of Leicester, was prevailed upon to write a Prospectus. In this document, Hall was at pains to indicate that the college did not intend to compete with existing dissenting institutions and he pointed to the difficulty experienced by London Baptist Churches in securing the services of suitably trained pastors. Compared with an earlier period, Hall did not believe that it was any longer necessary to argue the desirability of the scholarly equipping of candidates for the Christian ministry, for all now admitted 'the propriety of enlisting literature in the service of religion'. Mindful of the widespread judgment that ministers were prepared by God rather than fashioned in college, Hall argued that the union of education and piety would 'much enlarge the capacity of doing good' (Gould, *Baptist College*, 38). Further argument was to be found in the increased educational achievements of the wider society in which the graduates of the new institution would be called to minister.

Hall's Prospectus specified the institution's principles as those of the Reformation, more specifically the principles of Particular or Calvinistic Baptists. This is reflected in the requirement of the Baptist Education Society that all students be a member of a Baptist Church that avowed Calvinistic sentiments. The 'Rules of Admission' to the Academy once established were not identical to those of the Education Society and do not include any mention of Calvinism. Candidates were required to write a letter of application stating the means of their conversion and their views of the leading articles of Christianity. This list of Rules, still implying the sole purpose of ministerial training, was emended slightly from time to time and was printed until 1857. From 1858, when the college began to admit lay students, letters of application from ministerial students were no longer required.

The succession of principals after William Newman (1810-26) was Solomon Young (1826-7); William Harris Murch (1827-43; interim president 1849); Benjamin Davies (1843-47); William D. Jones (1847-49); and Joseph Angus (1849-93). The problems of the new institution in its early years were considerable. Although endowed with buildings which were initially appropriate for its task, in many years it failed to raise sufficient funds from the churches for its healthy development. As a consequence it was often under-staffed and had difficulty attracting students, with some of those admitted having received only a limited education at the time of enrolment. In 1828 it was agreed that such students should undertake a year's preliminary study with a competent tutor, so that by the time of their admission to the college they could read Virgil in Latin and the New Testament in Greek. This was followed in 1839 by the adoption of a written entrance examination as part of the admissions process. The problems of staffing were exacerbated by illness and premature death, until Angus brought a measure of stability to the institution.

The other major problem for the staff was the breadth of the curriculum they had to cover in a four-year course devised by Murch. Some information about the earlier curriculum before Murch's time survives. Newman devised a four-year plan for theology divided into four parts, grammatical, historical, systematic, and pastoral. A sermon class apparently existed from the start. Other comments indicate that Hebrew and Greek were taught from the beginning, as were the principles of dissent, science, and anatomy. Murch, together with his colleague Samuel Tomkins, an early Stepney graduate who was classics and mathematics tutor from 1828 to 1847, did much to consolidate the work of the college. The subjects taught included Greek, Hebrew and Latin, mathematics, English composition, rhetoric, logic, history, Jewish antiquities, mental and moral philosophy, evidence theology, ministerial duties, Christian doctrine, and ecclesiastical history. The students were tested in all these areas by an annual examination assessed by external examiners. By 1841 the syllabus also included the teaching of German and natural science.

In 1834 the committee of the Three Denominations (Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist), on which both Newman and Murch served, used the occasion of its loyal address to the crown to canvass for the University of London to receive degree awarding powers. In 1840/1 Murch secured for the college affiliation to the University of London, in whose foundation Baptists, and especially those associated with the college, had played an important part. In securing a royal warrant on 11 December 1840 the college had the advantage of advice from James Martineau, who had earlier been through a similar process for Manchester New College.

At the same time as raising the status of the college, its officers were mindful of the need to head off any suggestion that it was becoming over-academic. The *Report* for 1841 assured supporters that 'the advanced acquirement of secular knowledge and the clear understanding of the works of God . . . greatly assist in the study of His Word'. While the committee were 'anxious for the literary improvement of the College' they were confident that it would 'never be forgotten that it is upon the piety and simple devotedness of the students that the Institution is mainly dependent for its success'.

To meet all the demands placed upon them, from the year 1841-2 those matriculating for university study had their course lengthened from four years to five. Having secured these developments, Murch resigned in 1843 because of ill health, and was replaced by the Old Testament scholar, Benjamin Davies. However, Davies was a better scholar than administrator, and after only three years, frustrated by the situation in the college, he returned to Canada where he had been serving before he came to Stepney, though in 1857 he was happy to return as a much-loved tutor for a further eighteen years.

Regent's Park College, London [courtesy of Regent's Park College, Oxford]

In 1856 the college had moved from Stepney, which was increasingly proving an unsuitable location for an institution of higher education, to leased premises at Holford House in Regent's Park. The new premises were within easy reach of University College, from whose academic facilities, especially the ability to take arts degrees, Baptist students were to benefit. Student numbers increased from 15 in 1816, 17 in 1830, 20 in 1850, to 37 in 1860, the last figure including lay as well as ministerial students. From 1858 the college admitted three kinds of students: those studying theology; those intending to study theology, but taking a course of preliminary education first; and lay students. Angus noted with satisfaction in 1865 that although Regent's Park was not the largest of the affiliated colleges, in most years the college recommended twice the average number of students to proceed to degrees.

In 1857 Angus arranged for collaborative work with New College, London. As in all the colleges there was a struggle to get the balance between general and theological education right. The hope was that University College would aid with the former, and this seems to have happened to some degree. Even after the move to Regent's Park staffing was minimal, with Angus serving on his own with only part-time help, amongst the more colourful of whom was James Sheridan Knowles, the actor and dramatist who taught the Regent's Park students elocution. Much of the division of labour between the colleges at this time was necessarily ad hoc.

By these means Angus was able to increase the range of courses available to Regent's Park students while at the same time bringing the college budget under control, even after the Baptist Missionary Society had ceased to sponsor students, by developing the college endowments and seeking to build up funds both to underwrite professorial salaries and support those wishing to serve overseas. Angus believed it was both advantageous for ministerial students to share their education with non-theologians and good for a number of lay students to read for their degrees within the life of a Christian collegiate community. Such

lay students were to be prepared for the Civil Service, the professions, and the higher walks of commercial life. For some of these, study at Regent's Park was preliminary to further work at Oxford and Cambridge. Another particularly distinguished group were to join the Indian Civil Service, for which Angus served as an examiner. Regent's Park lay alumni who secured some distinction in public life and scholarship include Sir Frederick Lely, Sir Stephen Sale, and Dr E. S. Weymouth. Prominent ministerial alumni include J. M. Cramp, president of Baptist College, Montreal, and then of Acadia College, Nova Scotia; David Jonathan East, principal of Calabar College, Jamaica; Samuel Gosnell Green, editor of the Religious Tract Society; Alexander McLaren of Union Chapel, Manchester; Silas Mead of Flinders Street Baptist Church, Adelaide, South Australia; Henry Ierson, who became a Unitarian and co-edited *The Essex Hall Hymnal*.

When the University of London was reconstituted at the beginning of the twentieth century Regent's Park became a Divinity School of the University with its tutors becoming recognized teachers of the new theology faculty. S. W. Green (son of S. G. Green) of Regent's Park played a major part in drafting and implementing the new scheme, himself serving as Dean of the new Faculty of Theology. In 1927 the College moved to premises in St Giles, Oxford and in 1957 became a Permanent Private Hall of the University.

John H. Y. Briggs

Archives

- The college archives are housed in the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.

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Blackburn Independent Academy (1816-1843)

The Blackburn Independent Academy was founded in 1816. It succeeded previous efforts to establish a Congregationalist academy in Lancashire during the early nineteenth century, first at Mosley Street, Manchester and then Leaf Square, Pendleton. The initiative for founding the new institution came from a group of ministers and laymen, including the Mosley Street tutor William Roby, Thomas Raffles, minister at Great George Street, Liverpool, and wealthy Manchester solicitor and future MP George Hadfield. The academy remained in Blackburn for twenty-seven years, transferring to Whalley Range, Manchester, as Lancashire Independent College in 1843. The geographical constituency to be served was identified at the foundation as Lancashire and neighbouring counties, defined as Cheshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland and north western Yorkshire.

Details of the location and domestic arrangements of the academy during its first sixteen years are sketchy. In July 1816 a contract was agreed with Dorothy Beasley, a widow living a Paradise Terrace, King Street, for boarding students at a rate of not more than £40 per annum. When Mrs Beasley resigned in 1819 the domestic management of the academy was taken over by the theological tutor, Joseph Fletcher. A sub-committee was appointed for fitting up studies and a library, probably at premises adjoining Fletcher's house in Princes Street. This building was given up in June 1829 in preparation for an abortive attempt to relocate the academy to Manchester. In 1832 a newly built property at Ainsworth Street was rented and fitted up for use as an academy house. During the early years at Blackburn the number of students in the academy at any one time was usually around 10, with numbers increasing to 14 following the move to Ainsworth Street. Fifty-three students formally completed their course of study, while a total of 78 were admitted, including 13 who transferred to Lancashire Independent College in 1843. The remainder left before the completion of their course. Applicants for admission were required to submit a testimony from their church as to their character and qualifications for the ministry, present a brief account of their religious beliefs and motives, and deliver a short address before the committee. On admission to the academy students were provided with board and lodging, and were not expected to pay towards their own tuition. The term of study was initially set at four years, but in 1837 the committee resolved that a discretionary fifth year be added.

Two future dissenting academy heads were educated at Blackburn: William Hendry Stowell, principal of Rotherham Independent College (1834-50) and Cheshunt (1850-64), and John Morris, head of Brecon Memorial College for over forty years. Thomas Nicholas entered Blackburn in 1842 before transferring to Lancashire Independent College. He went on to have a brief and unsuccessful spell as theological tutor at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, and was involved in moves to establish a university for Wales in the 1860s. Other notable students included Alexander Raleigh, chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1868 and 1879, and James Rhys Kilsby Jones, a minister and regular contributor to Welsh periodicals who published a Welsh edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1869) and a Welsh family Bible (1869).

The curriculum as defined at the foundation of the institution covered scriptural languages, Jewish and Christian antiquities, ecclesiastical history, physical science, intellectual and moral philosophy, Biblical criticism, controversial and systematic theology, the duties of pastoral office, and 'the most efficient methods of analizing, explaining and illustrating the discoveries of revelation' (*Address to the Public*, 21). In 1825 a new plan was adopted, comprising Latin, Greek, oriental languages, history, geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, theory of language and general grammar, mental philosophy, theology, and ecclesiastical history. An appeal for books to form a library was made in 1816, and funds were raised to acquire titles requested by the tutors. The first students were granted access to Joseph Fletcher's own collection of 600 volumes and to Roger Cunliffe's share in the

Blackburn Subscription Library. Space in the academy building at Ainsworth Street was limited, and the library was accommodated in a room also used for classical lectures. This was unsatisfactory, since books could not be accessed without disturbing the classical tutor while lectures were in progress. When the academy closed in 1843, 2,000 volumes were transferred to Lancashire Independent College. Many books were in poor physical condition, and the collection was described as 'seriously deficient in nearly every branch of literature' (*Lancashire Independent College Report*, 1843, 11). In 1819 £30 was allowed for the purchase of globes, mathematical instruments and atlases.

Three theological tutors served the academy during its lifetime. The first, Joseph Fletcher, was minister of the congregational church at Blackburn from 1807, and it was to this that the academy owed its location. An early student, William Hendry Stowell, described Fletcher's teaching methods as combining the 'advantages of lectures, as in the Scottish Universities' with the 'minutest attention to the acquisition of learning secured by the method of *tutors* at Oxford and at Cambridge' (Stowell, *Memoir*, 30). When Fletcher accepted a call from the meeting at Stepney in 1822 his post was offered to William Roby. When Roby declined, Fletcher was succeeded by George Payne, who wrote *Elements of Mental and Moral Science* (1828) while holding the theological chair. Payne subsequently moved to the equivalent post at the Western Academy in Exeter in 1829, his position in Blackburn being taken by Gilbert Wardlaw the following year. Wardlaw remained in post until the academy moved to Manchester, by which time his failing eyesight had caused him to resign. On the insistence of Joseph Fletcher a classical tutor was appointed to assist the theological tutor, a post held in succession by William Hope (1816-19), William Howle (1819-21), Gilbert Wardlaw (1821-23), Ebenezer Miller (1824-27), William Lindsay Alexander (1828-31) and Daniel Burgess Hayward (1832-43).

The institution was under the direction of a committee of eight ministers and thirteen laymen, and funded by voluntary subscriptions, donations and congregational collections. An endowment of £100 per annum from Roger Cunliffe, the academy's first treasurer, continued after Cunliffe's death in 1822 on condition the institution remained at Blackburn. However, this was not enough to enable the academy to flourish. A printed circular of 1838 complained that the town itself was uninviting, and described the domestic arrangements as inadequate. The premises occupied were too small, cold, damp, and poorly constructed, and had the effect of presenting the academy as 'a half-neglected institution of the minor class' (JRUL, NCC, Box 19, Bundle A, Printed Circular, 26 November 1838). In putting the case for moving the academy, George Hadfield noted that Blackburn was too far from the main centres of population and that moving to Manchester or Liverpool would greatly increase the financial means available to it.

By the end of the Blackburn period, the high standard of education under Joseph Fletcher that William Stowell looked back on fondly in later life had declined. Robert MacBeth, one of the students who transferred to Lancashire Independent College in 1843, described how the impending move to Manchester and the failing eyesight of Gilbert Wardlaw had left the leadership of the academy to the students themselves, particularly Alexander Raleigh and Watson Smith. However, despite the financial difficulties and unsatisfactory nature of the location, the academy was generally successful in achieving its stated aim of educating ministers. Information on future careers is known for 63 students, of whom 61 entered the ministry or became missionaries, one became a school teacher and one, Daniel Burgess Hayward, served as a tutor in the academy. Most remained within the nonconformist tradition, although two later entered the Church of England. With the exception of a few errant individuals, the academy does not appear to have suffered from any great disciplinary problems. The last formal business was conducted at a meeting of the committee held in Blackburn on 20 April 1843.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The principal archival collection for Blackburn Academy is held at John Rylands University Library as part of the Northern Congregational College Archives. The most important evidence for the life and management of the academy is the committee minutes, which survive in full, and the correspondence of George Hadfield. The Hadfield papers are particularly informative on the financial management of the institution and the arrangements for the relocation to Lancashire Independent College. Among the correspondents are Thomas Raffles, Gilbert Wardlaw and John Clunie.

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Bristol Baptist Academy (1720 to present)

(Historical account to 1860)

Although the academy has sometimes been regarded as originating in 1679, this dating is misleading. The academy in fact started in 1720, on the basis of the deed of gift made in 1679 by Edward Terrill (1634-1685), a wealthy scrivener involved in the sugar trade between Bristol and the West Indies and a member of Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol. Robert Bodenham (d. 1726), a sail maker in the city and another Broadmead member, brought together a variety of funds that secured the meeting house, houses for two pastors, and funds for potential students. Bodenham established a trust fund in 1715 which brought his and Terrill's wishes into effect.

Bristol Baptist Academy was unique in the eighteenth century in that it admitted only those intended for a career in the Baptist ministry. From 1720 to 1770 the institution was primarily referred to as an academy, but in the promotional material of 1770, when the Bristol Education Society was formed, the title 'Seminary' was used, a term which sometimes occurs in later reports. By 1812 it was regularly styled Bristol Baptist Academy, but from 1841 the printed Annual Reports referred to it as Bristol Baptist College.

Bristol Baptist Academy, Stokes Croft, Bristol, built in 1812 [source: S. A. Swaine, *Faithful Men: or, Memorials of Bristol Baptist College, and Some of its Most Distinguished Alumni* (London, 1884), plate.]

Initially students lived with the tutors in their homes at 1 and 2 North Street, opposite the Full Moon Inn in Stokes Croft, Bristol. A purpose built college, opened on the site in 1812, retained the original 'family concept' by incorporating the principal's house in the design. The lecture room, library, and museum were on the ground floor, with studies and bedrooms on the two floors above. This building remained in use until 1919, when the College moved to Woodland Road within the Bristol University campus.

The ministers at Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, from 1720 to 1825, were also principals and tutors of the academy. An early attempt to appoint a second minister to teach students on the Terrill foundation failed because of a dispute about Caleb Jope's availability. Bernard Foskett was appointed under the Terrill Fund in 1720 and became senior pastor and principal (1727-58), with Andrew Gifford (1728-29) and Hugh Evans (1739-58) as his assistants. His successors as principal were Hugh Evans (1758-81); Hugh's son Caleb Evans (assistant 1758-81, and principal 1781-91), with James Newton (1770-90) and Robert Hall (1785-91) as assistants; John Ryland (1793-1825), with Isaac James (1796-1825) and Henry Page (1802-17) as assistants; Thomas Steffe Crisp (assistant 1818-25, principal

1825-68), with William Anderson (1825-33), Edgar Huxtable (1834-45), and Frederick W. Gotch (1845-68) as assistants.

The infant academy primarily served the West of England and South Wales, particularly after 1739 when Hugh Evans, a Welsh-speaking Welshman, joined Foskett as tutor. Welsh people seeking further theological training often lacked adequate English language skills. In the mid-eighteenth century many Welsh-speaking Bristol students were taught English at the preparatory academy at Trosnant under Miles Harry, and in the course of the century 87 Welsh students, from 25 different Welsh churches, were trained at Bristol. Two students came from Ireland, and eight Bristol-trained students settled there. London Baptists sent some students to Bristol, supporting them through two funds, the London Particular Baptist Fund and the London Baptist Education Society.

In 1770, to secure a broader base of financial support, a conscious decision was taken which allowed Baptist individuals, educational trusts, and congregations to give their support for an educated Baptist ministry. The Bristol Education Society was founded on 10 June 1770 by a public meeting of subscribers at Broadmead Baptist Church. The constituency served by the academy is best seen in the printed annual reports of the Society. They always begin with an apologia for Baptist ministerial education, followed by the Society's minutes for the past year, listing the churches from which students came, and the churches where they subsequently served. Finally, the reports contain accounts, and include a list of all subscribers from 1770 onwards. Recognising the paucity of ministerial training in London, when the initial request for funds was made, the Bristol Education Society wrote a special appeal in 1770 to 'the Gentlemen of London' for their support.

Students at Bristol are listed in a variety of sources. The exact number is difficult to arrive at, although nearly 800 can be identified as having been trained at Bristol between 1720 and 1860. In Foskett's time there were 4 in the 1720s, 16 in the 1730s, 29 in the 1740s, and 24 in the 1750s. The yearly average attending in Ryland's time was 20, with a high of 27 in 1817. When the newly built academy opened in 1812 it could accommodate 30 students. But this figure was rarely reached, for three reasons: between 1800 and 1850 overall Baptist numbers did not significantly increase; the development of liberal scholarship renewed suspicion among Baptists of an educated ministry; and with the opening of other Baptist colleges, fewer students applied to Bristol.

Prior to 1770 the funding for the academy came from the generous bequests of Terrill, Bodenham, and Foskett, with further donations from individuals. Once the Bristol Education Society was formed, churches and private individuals keen to support the training of Baptist ministers were involved in funding students through the Society. Its printed reports from 1770 to 1808 indicate that 292 students were trained at Bristol, of whom 123 were financed by the Society. Their names are printed in the report, but at the end of each such listing a note states: 'The names of students upon other foundations are **not** inserted in this list'. The Annual Reports in the original manuscript book and in their printed form indicate that further students were supported: 42 by the London Particular Baptist Fund, 57 by the Bristol Particular Baptist Fund, 14 by the London Baptist Education Society, and 50 by churches and individuals, including John Lewis Fernandez from Serampore College, India, in 1807, who was supported by the 'Serampore Trio', William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward. A further 389 students were trained at Bristol from 1810 to 1860, which means that at least 783 students were trained between 1720 and 1860. (These numbers are provisional; further detailed work needs to be done on the Society's records, as well as on the accounts of all the financial supporting bodies.)

Initially the Broadmead Baptist Church pastor (also the principal) ensured that monies put in trust for training students by Terrill and others were so used. The formation of the Bristol Education Society at first brought no change in management. Even when the new academy building opened in 1812, management remained firmly in the hands of the principal and staff.

The principal and tutors were ministers of Broadmead, maintained by Broadmead through the Terrill and Bodenham Trust Fund. When John Ryland died in 1825, the academy committee separated the academy staff from the ministry of Broadmead Baptist Church before appointing a successor. The principal and tutors were then employed full-time by the Bristol Education Society, although income from the Terrill Fund was still given by the Broadmead Church to the academy. This left both institutions free to make their own appointments. When Robert Hall accepted the Broadmead pastorate in 1827, it was on condition that he had no academy responsibilities. Thomas Steffe Crisp, who had been Ryland's assistant tutor, was appointed principal, and he remained in post until 1868. Crisp, as a Broadmead member, received an annual cheque from the church treasurer which he handed over to the Baptist College. When F. W. Gotch, a member at Old King Street Church, succeeded Crisp as principal, the College Committee and the Broadmead deacons submitted a scheme to the Charity Commissioners. It was agreed that benefactions from the Terrill, Bodenham, and Foskett Funds should be administered by trustees appointed from both bodies and income shared between them. This marked the final transition of the academy to the Trustees of the Bristol Education Society.

The aim of the Bristol Education Society, as the regularly reissued accounts made clear, was to supply destitute congregations 'with a succession of *able* and *evangelical* ministers'. Since 'an *unconverted* ministry, whether *learned or unlearned*, is *the bane* of religion', appropriate students should be recommended. Those applying for board as well as education should be recommended by a Baptist church, but members of other denominations applying for education only could be freely admitted (*Account of the Bristol Education Society* (1776), 9-10) (however there is no evidence that members of other denominations did so until the 1970s). The academy and Church both accepted the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith as their doctrinal standard until 1832, when the basis of the Baptist Union changed to admit ministers and churches who 'agree in the sentiments usually denominated evangelical' (Payne, *The Baptist Union*, 61).

The academy gave all students knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Foskett lectured on the philosophy of religion and psychology, ethics, music, and politics. John Collett Ryland, father of the later principal and a student of Foskett from 1744 to 1746, claimed that his studies included five languages - English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French - as well as rhetoric, logic, history, and geography. In 1745 he noted in his diary that he studied parts of the Old Testament, read through the whole New Testament three times, and studied Christian doctrine and the Baptist Catechism and Confession of Faith. The Bristol Education Society course of studies deliberately envisaged 'a liberal education'. This included English grammar, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, so that all ministers 'could examine the Scriptures in the original languages'. Logic would assist them in their reasoning powers, oratory would enable them to use language to the full, and geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy would 'enlarge and elevate their conceptions of the great and glorious perfections of the creator God.' Together with these subjects were the core themes of moral philosophy, evidences for Christianity, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history, and a system of divinity that would 'improve their morals, establish their faith and enable them to instruct others by doctrine and example' (*Account of the Bristol Education Society* (?1770-1), xi-xii).

In 1813 it was said that 'the object of the Society is not to make men ministers, but to make young ministers, whose gifts have already been tried and testified by our churches, better scholars'. The argument behind this was that 'for our ministers to be generally inferior in point of literature to their brethren of other denominations and to many of their own hearers, must be disgraceful and highly injurious' (Bristol Education Society Annual Report, 1813). In 1815 Ryland's outline curriculum noted that all students learned Hebrew, Greek and Latin, together with theology, church history, and logic. In 1825 instruction was divided into two departments. The first was 'theological' and included Hebrew, divinity, Biblical literature, ecclesiastical history, and 'the duties of the ministerial office'. The second was 'classical and mathematical' and included Latin, Greek, and mathematics (Bristol Education Society

Annual Report, 1825). In addition, there was provision for instruction in English and elocution.

The Bristol Education Society encouraged student participation, and in 1826 reported that Crisp gave lectures, examined the students on them, and listened to their weekly essays. It is clear that Crisp saw his task as the successful imparting of knowledge to students who would produce it in their examination results. His assistant, William Anderson, was a brilliant linguist who had an extensive knowledge of Scripture and the classics; unlike Crisp he sought to sharpen and discipline his students' minds. Within a few years external examiners were appointed to test and report on the students. In 1841 the College (as it was now called) decided to associate with the new University of London and was accepted. This meant that the students sat the University examinations, with the College curriculum adapted to meet the demands of the syllabus. In 1842 Bristol students attended lectures delivered at the Bristol Philosophical Institution, which later developed into the University College of Bristol.

The Bristol Academy Library grew from a number of significant gifts. Initially it belonged to Broadmead Baptist Church and in December 1722 comprised 198 volumes, with a further 9 volumes belonging to Foskett. The formation of the Bristol Education Society led to country-wide fund-raising by Caleb Evans, which in turn attracted the donation of three large libraries to the Society. A printed catalogue of all the library books was published in 1795. It listed Andrew Gifford's 1784 bequest of 3,500 divinity volumes, manuscripts, scientific apparatus, paintings, coins, and maps. Thomas Llewellyn, a former Bristol student, bequeathed his substantial classical library to Bristol in 1784. In 1790 the Revd James Newton, a part-time tutor at Bristol, donated 300 volumes on practical divinity. Morgan Edwards, involved in establishing a Baptist College at Providence, Rhode Island, USA, encouraged Bristol to donate 149 volumes to Brown in 1785.

The Bristol College Museum originated with the Gifford Collection, with a special interest in manuscripts, books, and printed Bibles. This valuable collection was received by the Society after Gifford's death in 1784. There were thirteen manuscripts, and among the printed books were four Caxtons. The English printed Bibles included Tyndale's New Testament (1525) and Pentateuch (1530), and many other first editions of Bibles. Gifford, a sub-librarian of the British Museum and a numismatist, gave £100 to Bristol in 1780 'to erect over the former library a new room for a museum, to be a repository for the valuable library, pictures, busts etc., of the Gifford family, as well as items from other benefactors of the institution' (Champion, *Farthing Rushlight*, 89). Gifford's will (1782) asked Robert Robinson and John Ryland to examine what he proposed to leave to the Society, preserving what they thought appropriate and destroying the rest.

Among many distinguished alumni, John Ash and Caleb Evans produced the first comprehensive Baptist hymn-book in 1769. Benjamin Beddome's hymns obtained a world-wide reputation, and John Rippon's *Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors* (1787) remained in use for over a century. Caleb Evans supported the American colonists and vigorously attacked Wesley on the issue. In 1781 John Collett Ryland published his own edition of *Dr. Cotton Mather's Student and Preacher*, a book he first met with in Hugh Evans's study in Bristol between 1744 and 1746. From 1785 to 1831 Robert Hall had significant ministries in Bristol, Cambridge, and Leicester. His *Apology for the Freedom of the Press* (1793) gave him a national reputation. His *Terms of Communion* (1815) advocated 'open communion' against the existing 'closed communion' practised in Baptist churches.

Bristol was the sole Baptist denominational college for ministerial training until 1806. The Bristol Education Society pioneered a voluntary method of support that was widely adopted among Baptists. The Northern Education Society was established in 1804; William Steadman, a former Bristol student, was the first tutor of the Baptist academy at Horton, Yorkshire. Other former students played a prominent part in Baptist education in Britain and the world: in Wales, Micah Thomas was principal of the Baptist College, Abergavenny; in the

United States, Morgan Edwards was a founder of the Baptist College at Rhode Island, later Brown University, and William Staughton was president of Columbian College, Georgetown, later George Washington University; in Canada, Charles Spurden was principal of Fredericton College, New Brunswick; in the West Indies, Joshua Tinson was president of Calabar College.

Although entirely independent, the Baptist academy always co-operated with the wider Baptist community: it trained missionaries for the Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792, and from 1812/3 provided ministers for United Kingdom Baptist churches on behalf of the Baptist Union of Great Britain. A significant number of former Bristol students worked in the Baptist Union and the Baptist Missionary Society. James Hinton, John Ryland, and Frederick Trestrail were successive secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1815 to 1869. Three former Bristol students, Joshua Marshman, John Mack, and John Trafford, were principals of Serampore College, India.

The Bristol Baptist Academy was the first serious attempt to provide a facility for Baptist theological education in the British Isles. It was 1770 before the gathering of nationwide financial support became possible through the means of the Bristol Education Society, but within fifty years that method had led to a further seven regional institutions. The Bristol tradition has retained its loyalty to evangelical theology, but its determination to provide intellectually able ministers has involved it in wrestling with biblical criticism and the post Darwinian scientific scene, as well as providing ministers and missionaries able to meet the challenge of two World Wars. This challenge was met by the appointment of principals such as James Culross (1863-96) and William J. Henderson (1896-1922) in the second half of the nineteenth century, and Arthur Dakin (1924-53) and Leonard Champion (1953-72) in the twentieth.

Roger Hayden

Archives

The earliest evidence for the college is found in the minutes of Broadmead Baptist Church from 1640 to 1868, held at the Bristol Record Office (Reference BRO 30251/Bd/M1) together with a variety of church correspondence and accounts. These records contain significant information about the academy, including staff and students, from 1720 to 1860. The Bristol Education Society's complete set of printed reports from 1770 to present day is held in Bristol Baptist College. The college also holds manuscript minutes of the Bristol Education Society from 1770 (B/01/01-4), account books (B/03/01; B/02/02-05; B/01/01/01[0.S]), and extracts from wills of donors from 1699-1823 (B/04/01). Not all the material in the original minute books and accounts is in the printed annual reports. The *Bro. Bodenham Trustees Estate Book for Students, 1753-92*, recording the annual income and disbursements, is in the college library. The minute and account books of the Particular Baptist Fund are held by the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
The following catalogues held in Bristol Baptist College have been entered into *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*:

- List of Edward Terrill's books, 1722 (no call number).
- Barcode prefix in VLS: bri1722
- Shelf list and author catalogue, 1835 (C/01/04 and C/01/05).
- Barcode prefix in VLS: bri1835
- Loan register for students/tutors, 1851-1892 (CL/01/02)

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- Sherring, William, *Bristol Baptist Fund* (Bristol, 1844).
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Images

Swaine, Stephen Albert, *Faithful Men: or, Memorials of Bristol Baptist College, and Some of its Most Distinguished Alumni* (London, 1884), contains an etching of Stokes Croft College, built 1812, by 'my friend, Dr T Johnston English, of Brompton, ... which gives an accurate representation of the front of the College building and President's house' (xi, xx). The College has oil portraits of all the principals and some of the tutors between 1727 and 1860.

Roger Hayden, 'Bristol Baptist Academy, 1720 to present', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, August 2011.

Carmarthen Academy (c.1703-1795)

Carmarthen (*c.*1703-1733), Llwynllwyd? (1735-1741) and Haverfordwest (1741-1743), Carmarthen (1743-1757), Carmarthen (1757-1784), Swansea (1784-1795)

Carmarthen (*c.*1703-1733)

William Evans, Independent minister at Pencader, Carmarthenshire, moved to Carmarthen town in 1703 or 1704. He opened a charity school that was on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1710, but his support was withdrawn because he was a dissenter. He also opened an academy, where in 1710 he had five or six students preparing for the dissenting ministry. During the early years the teaching was conducted, most probably, in Priory Street, where a small Independent congregation met. There is no record of the Presbyterian Fund Board paying him as a tutor, but one of his students received payments of £5 a year from the Board. From other sources it is known that there were at least twenty students preparing for the Independent ministry. Dr Daniel Willliams ordained that £10 should be given to William Evans to support students 'to preach the Word of God in Wales' (Davies, *Hoff Ddysgedig Nyth*, 30 n.39).

In 1709 William Evans occupied a house in Lammas Street, bordering on Friar's Park, where he died in 1718; Thomas Perrot followed him as tutor in 1719. On 25 November 1720 Dr Williams's trustees paid him twelve months' salary to Michaelmas 1720. In the same year, the house occupied by William Evans came into the possession of John Corrie, one of the church members. In 1725 Corrie presented the house and some land to a body of trustees, the agreement declaring that part of the house had been used as a meeting house 'for some years' (NLW, Heol Awst Collection, 2). It is possible that the congregation had moved from Priory Street to Lammas Street before William Evans's death, but it is most probable that they moved in 1720, when the house came into Corrie's possession. The building was adapted as a chapel in 1726, but it was not finished completely until 1732. It became the home of the academy. Numbers increased, and by 1733 around 150 students had been educated at Carmarthen, including some Anglicans.

Llwynllwyd? (1735-1741) and Haverfordwest (1741-1743)

After the death of Thomas Perrot in 1733, there was much uncertainty regarding his successor. Vavasor Griffiths of Maes-gwyn, Radnorshire, was invited to take over the academy in 1734; he initially postponed his response because of ill health, but eventually agreed in 1735. Both the Congregational and Presbyterian Fund Boards supported the academy, probably at Llwynllwyd, Breconshire, but other locations have been suggested. Fourteen students are known to have been supported by either the Congregational or the Presbyterian Fund. After Griffiths's death in 1741, the academy moved to Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, to be under the care of Evan Davies, Independent minister at Pembroke town. Three of Griffiths's students joined Davies.

Carmarthen (1743-1757)

The academy returned to Carmarthen in 1743. Samuel Thomas, one of Thomas Perrot's former students, had a grammar school in the town, and it was amalgamated with the academy; Thomas was made assistant tutor. Lack of discipline posed a problem, as did the matter of doctrine. The Presbyterian Fund Board did not impose a doctrinal test on candidates, and welcomed Arminians and Arians, as well as those of an orthodox Calvinist persuasion. The Congregational Fund Board, however, demanded an orthodox confession of faith from its candidates. Because of strained relationships, the Congregational Board decided to establish another academy at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, in 1757.

Tutors at Carmarthen received financial help both as tutors and as ministers. The Presbyterian Fund Board allowed Thomas Perrot £10 p.a. (£6 as minister and £4 as tutor). He also received £10 from Dr Williams's Trust, established by the will of Daniel Williams. Both London Funds supported Vavasor Griffiths: the Presbyterian Fund Board allowed him £6 as minister, and £10 as tutor; the Congregational Fund Board £5 as minister and £10 as tutor. Evan Davies received £10 as tutor and as minister, £5 from the Presbyterian Fund Board and £6 from the Congregational Fund Board. Sums paid to students varied from £4 to £6, but became more regular at £6 from 1743.

The course of study was for four years, although occasionally a student was allowed an extra year. Lodgings were arranged in different homes in the town. The academy day started at 7 a.m., with prayer in the lecture room. Lectures continued through the week, including most Saturdays. One of the students under Evan Davies summarised the curriculum as comprising divinity, liberal arts, and sciences (NLW, 5456 A). The principal works studied for divinity included a translation of *Theologia Christiana* by Benedict Pictet, professor of theology at Geneva; Puffendorff's *De officio hominis et civis* for ethics; and the works of Watts and Locke for logic. Latin was studied, as were the biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek. Natural philosophy had an important place in the curriculum. John Keill's *Trigonometry* was studied a number of times during the week, and scientific experiments were carried out by tutors and students.

In addition to attendance at lectures, other work expected from the students included preparing and transcribing sermons, and preaching. Preaching in English was an ordeal for the Welsh-speaking students, some of whom were monoglot Welshmen. There was time for relaxation as well. Some of the students enjoyed going to the coffee house to read the papers. Walking along the river gave pleasure to others, while some preferred visiting one of the many public houses in the town.

Future tutors were educated at the academy: Samuel Thomas and Jenkin Jenkins, both future tutors at Carmarthen; Solomon Harries, tutor at Swansea; and David Jardine, tutor at Abergavenny. Other noted students were Matthias Maurice, minister at Olney and Rothwell, and David Williams, the political pamphleteer and founder of the Literary Fund (later the Royal Literary Fund).

Carmarthen (1757-1784)

It was difficult for the academy to settle down in 1757. A few students had left to join the new Congregational academy at Abergavenny. Others had left to find work other than the Christian ministry. There was also tension between the tutors Evan Davies and Samuel Thomas, and the latter's Arminianism was not acceptable to the more orthodox. In 1759 Davies left for Billericay, Essex, giving ill health as the reason for doing so. Samuel Thomas was appointed tutor, and Jenkin Jenkins, who was ministering at Llanfyllin, north Wales, joined him as assistant tutor. The Presbyterian Fund Board was so pleased with the response that they voted £15 each to the tutors instead of the usual £10. At Carmarthen, Jenkins was responsible for the grammar school, and Thomas's main subject was theology. When Thomas resigned in 1764 because of ill health, Jenkins took his place as the only tutor in the academy. The Presbyterian Fund Board decided that no candidate under the age of twenty-one or twenty-two should be accepted as a student at the academy. There were encouragements for the students. As the result of an endowment, nine of them were provided with higher scholarships.

With the curriculum covering classics, theology, biblical languages, logic, and natural philosophy, as well as the homiletic aspect of the course, it was impossible for one man to do justice to the students. Jenkins was an able scholar, but he could not cope with such a wide-ranging curriculum. In addition, he became involved in the doctrinal controversies of the day. At the annual meeting of the academy, the Arminian and Arian ministers had the upper hand, causing a critical response by the Calvinist ministers. Slowly the two parties drifted

apart; division came to a head when the Calvinists published the *Vindication*, a declaration of their faith, in 1771. One of the leaders of the opposition to those demanding subscription to orthodox doctrine was Jenkins. The controversy led to a separation between Independents and Presbyterians, with the latter becoming more clearly Unitarian. As minister of Heol Awst, as well as tutor in the academy, Jenkins was involved in the affairs of the chapel. The lease was withheld from the congregation, and the minister had to liaise between the Dissenting Deputies and the interested parties. It was, however, returned, and a new lease made, otherwise the academy could have been without a home.

Jenkins was not a popular lecturer; doctrinally, he was the most unorthodox of all the academy tutors, was hard of hearing, and was no disciplinarian. The situation became so bad that the Presbyterian Fund Board made two important decisions. They insisted on replacing Jenkins with a new tutor, and they decided to find a new location for the academy. In 1779 the academy moved to Rhyd-y-gors, a mansion just outside the town; Robert Gentleman of Shrewsbury, who was brought up under the ministry of Job Orton, was chosen as tutor. The new tutor was also the English minister at Heol Awst. Benjamin Davis of Ciliau was appointed assistant tutor, and was responsible for the Welsh services at the chapel. The Presbyterian Fund Board made an effort to apply strict rules at Rhyd-y-gors. This was necessary because of past experience, and because the students were now living together under the same roof. The rising bell was rung at 6 a.m. for most of the year, and at 7 a.m. during the winter months; fines were levied for late arrival at meetings, and students had to preach regularly in English and Welsh.

The move to Rhyd-y-gors did not prove successful. Davis left in 1783, and Gentleman could not cope with some rebellious students. He was in a languishing state of health, and the Presbyterian Fund Board granted him £30 to take the waters at Bath. Gentleman left at Midsummer 1784, leaving the students without supervision. The Presbyterian Fund Board had no choice but to close the academy, and the lease on the premises at Rhyd-y-gors was given up. Two of the students continued their studies at Daventry, and two were admitted to the Coward Trust's academy at Hoxton. The only solution for the Presbyterian Fund Board was to move their institution to another location.

Swansea (1784-1795)

In 1784 Solomon Harries of Swansea offered to take care of the students. The Presbyterian Fund Board was so pleased with his offer that they paid him £30. Initially, only three students responded to his invitation; before the end of 1786 the number of students increased to eleven. From 1785 to 1795 a number of persons lectured at the academy. Josiah Rees, the Unitarian, joined Harries in 1785, but the latter died that year, and Rees left in 1786. William Howell was in charge from 1786 until 1795, assisted in turn by Thomas Lloyd, David Peter (while still a student), and John Jones. The students did not take lightly to the fact that one of their numbers was assistant tutor, and made that known to Peter and Howell. When the Presbyterian Fund Board was informed of the unrest, it supported Peter. Jones's critical spirit, and his uncontrollable temper, destroyed the peace of the academy. Faced with such a situation, the Presbyterian Fund Board relieved him of his duties, and decided in 1795 to move the academy back to Carmarthen.

The academy and its associated school produced some outstanding men. They included Dr Abraham Rees, a pupil at the school, who was to be secretary of the Presbyterian Fund Board for forty-seven years and a leading London nonconformist. Benjamin Davies became tutor at Abergavenny academy, and later lecturer at Homerton. Thomas Charles was converted during his time at the academy when he went to hear Daniel Rowland, the Methodist revivalist, preach. Charles was renowned for his work with day and Sunday schools in Wales, and through his efforts supplies of Bibles were obtained for the Welsh-speaking people. He was one of the leading figures of the secession of 1811, when the Calvinistic Methodist denomination was formed. After the disturbances that had taken place

at Swansea, the academy returned to Carmarthen where it was reopened in 1795 under David Peter and David Davies.

Noel Gibbard

Archives

Information about the Carmarthen Academy can be found in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, MS OD68-74) and the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, MS OD 403 & 405). The National Library of Wales holds 'A list of Tutors and Students at Nonconformist Academies in Wales from 1696 to 1800' (NLW, ADD MS 373C), the papers of the Revd W. T. Owen (NLW, MS A1997/136), and the diary and notebook of Thomas Morgan (NLW, MS 5456-7). Morgan, a student at Carmarthen under Evan Davies and Samuel Thomas, provides a detailed account of the life of a student in a mid-eighteenth-century dissenting academy. Details of Jenkin Jenkins's negotiations with the Dissenting Deputies can be found in minutes from the 1760s (Guildhall Library, MS 3083/1-2).

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Carmarthen Academy, later Presbyterian College, Carmarthen (1795-1963)

(Historical account to 1860)

In December 1794, on the recommendation of a committee formed to investigate the disputes at the academy at Swansea, the Presbyterian Fund Board decided that no good would come from the academy's continuance, and that it would be suspended from Christmas. In May 1795 a committee chaired by Andrew Kippis was appointed to go to Wales to find the best place to re-establish the academy, and in October 1795 the decision was made to return the academy to Carmarthen, where it had previously been based for many years. David Peter, a former student at Swansea and assistant to the tutor, William Howell, had been ordained as minister of Heol Awst (Lammas Street) Independent church, Carmarthen, in 1792, and he was appointed tutor with David Davies, minister at Llanybri, as co-tutor, at a salary of £50 each. The tutors agreed to reopen the academy at Christmas 1795, and by the end of 1797 they had eleven students. Both Peter and Davies were Welsh speakers, and the Board acknowledged this fact in appointing them.

The Board referred to the academy by a number of names: Carmarthen Academy, the academy at Carmarthen, the Welsh Academy, and the academy in Wales. It was not described as a college until 1828, and the preferred term remained academy for some years; the full name Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, seems first to have been used in 1847.

The academy was located in two rooms, a library and a lecture room, above Heol Awst schoolroom, and the Presbyterian Board contributed £50 to the cost of building the two rooms. Peter made it clear, however, that they belonged to Heol Awst church, and this was to create problems after his retirement in 1835. The Presbyterian Board, which did not pay rent for their use, intended to have a trust deed stating that the rooms belonged to the Board in perpetuity, but this was never executed. The books and apparatus were transferred from Swansea in December 1795, and in May 1796 it was agreed that £20 or £30 would be granted for improving the library.

The Board in London took a close interest in the activities of the academy in Carmarthen: it was responsible for appointing and paying the tutors, receiving the tutors' half-yearly reports, admitting students and awarding exhibitions, and sending deputations or visitations to examine the quality of the teaching and the students' progress and to award prizes. It made a concerted and to a large extent successful attempt over a period of many years to raise academic standards. It was also concerned with the role of the academy in promoting liberal religion and the Presbyterian interest in Wales, although at the same time it was aware that there were friendly relations between ministers of different denominations in the locality, that many of the students went on to serve Independent congregations, and that it was unrealistic, however desirable it might seem, to attempt to appoint only Presbyterians as tutors.

The tutorial division of labour can conveniently be divided into two phases, under Peter, to 1835, and under David Lloyd, his successor as senior tutor. Peter was orthodox doctrinally, but taught in a liberal academy that did not demand a confession of faith from its candidates. Such a situation caused him difficulties during the years 1801-02. He refused admission to several candidates because they were Unitarian, and the Unitarians were convinced that Peter had exceeded his authority. The candidates entered other academies. The Presbyterian Board, however, was glad of the co-operation between students of different persuasions. David Lewis Jones, who was appointed classics tutor in 1814 after the dismissal of David Davies, was, theologically, an Arian. The Board was very appreciative of

Peter's contribution to the academy at this time, and in 1814 voted £50 to acknowledge his extraordinary services. In the same year it was agreed to increase the salaries of the two tutors, Peter responsible for theology, and Jones for classics and mathematics, to £100 p.a. After Jones's death in 1830 there was difficulty in finding a permanent replacement: John Thomas of St Clears, Carmarthenshire, who had previously acted as examiner, helped at the academy for the 1830-1 session; John Palmer, late of Trinity College, Dublin, was appointed classical and mathematical tutor in 1831 but only remained for a year, and Thomas again helped out in 1833. David Lloyd was then appointed as permanent classical and mathematical tutor. In 1835 Peter was asked by the Board to retire on the grounds of his ill health and the unsatisfactory state of the theological teaching. David Davies, minister at Panteg, Carmarthenshire, who had also previously acted as examiner, was chosen as theology tutor, and Lloyd took on the role of senior tutor until his death in 1863. It was normally the theology tutor who was the senior tutor or principal in academies, which explains why Davies of Panteg has sometimes been wrongly designated as such.

Beginning in 1798, regular visitations from London were arranged. The gap between these meetings varied; the annual examinations were held at midsummer, with triennial visitations, but in later years, in order to ensure closer superintendance of the academy, the Board sent annual deputations of two or more members. The ministers of different denominations would hold their own meeting, designated from 1826 'The Annual Assembly connected with the Presbyterian Board', and public preaching services were held, to which members of the deputation contributed. On the following two days, the deputation, assisted by one or two of the local ministers, examined the students orally, class by class, in all the subjects taught, awarded prizes, and held discussions with the tutors, after which they examined candidates for admission.

In the late 1820s there were anxieties about the preparatory training of the students who were being admitted, the curriculum, and the state of the library. In 1827 the Board agreed that candidates for admission should provide testimonials from two ministers that they had studied English grammar (particularly important for Welsh-speaking students) and were able to read Virgil in Latin and the New Testament in Greek, qualifications higher than had previously been required. In 1828 it was agreed that the tutors should provide an improved plan of study. Subjects to be taught by the divinity tutor for the first year of the four-year course were Hebrew and logic; for the second year Hebrew and divinity; for the third year Hebrew and Chaldee, divinity, biblical criticism, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history, lectures on preaching, and natural philosophy; and for the fourth year Hebrew and Chaldee, and divinity. Authors and subjects to be taught by the classical tutor for the first year were Caesar, Sallust, Virgil, and Horace; the Greek testament; Xenophon; and algebra and geometry. For the second year they included Sallust, Livy, Virgil, and Horace; the Greek testament; Lucian and Homer; universal grammar, geography, lectures on history, and algebra; for the third year Cicero, Juvenal, and the Greek testament; and for the fourth year Cicero, Tacitus, and Terence. The students were divided into four groups: Senior Class, Second Class, Third Class, and Junior Class.

After Peter's resignation in 1835 the Board reluctantly paid rent of £15 p.a. for five years, first to Peter and then to John Breese, his successor as minister, for the lecture room and library above the school room in Heol Awst (Lammas Street). In 1840 a larger and more suitable home for the academy was found on The Parade, Carmarthen, for an annual rent of £30 for a twenty-one year lease, and tutors and students moved into the new location after midsummer. Lloyd had his own accommodation in the building for an annual rent of £10. In 1859 the Board agreed to purchase College House, as it was known, for £650.

From an academic point of view the most important development in the period under Lloyd's leadership was the decision to seek affiliation with London University. In 1841 it was agreed that the course of study and mode of examination at Carmarthen should be accommodated

to the requirements of the University of London for matriculation and degrees. The tutors agreed with David Davison, the Board's representative and longest serving examiner, that if the institution were recognized as a college of the university this would enhance its reputation, increase the value of the education, and promote the cause of nonconformity in Wales. In 1842 the college was granted a royal licence to issue certificates for candidates for degrees in the University of London. Lloyd's salary was increased to £150 p.a. in 1845 to enable him to give up his grammar school. In 1846 it was agreed that a third tutor was needed to teach oriental and modern languages alongside the classics and theology tutors, and Samuel Coulter Davison was appointed to this post the following year. The course was extended to five years, arranged as follows: first and second years: classics and mathematics for matriculation with honours in the University of London; German, French, ancient history and ancient geography, logic; third and fourth years: classics and mathematics for BA degree with honours; Hebrew and Syriac; mental and moral philosophy; ecclesiastical history; German; fifth year: theology, historical, exegetical, and dogmatic; Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, German. In the early 1850s it became apparent that David Davies of Panteg was not teaching the theology course to a high enough standard, and he was encouraged to resign. His successor, Thomas Nicholas, spent six unhappy years at the college from 1856 to 1862; he fell out with Lloyd, and his teaching was also found inadequate. In 1856 Samuel Davison resigned; William Davies, who ran an important private academy at Ffrwd-y-fâl (Frood Vale) and who had acted as examiner for many years, was appointed tutor in Hebrew, natural philosophy, and mathematics, and there was some reapportionment of subjects between Lloyd, Nicholas, and Davies. In 1860 following Davies's death Stephenson Hunter was appointed Hebrew and mathematics tutor, and on Lloyd's death in 1863 he took over the classics department and was made principal.

Despite the problems caused by staffing changes and the persistent anxieties about the theological department, it is clear from the detailed annual examiners' reports from the late1830s on that there was considerable improvement in academic standards. In 1837 this improvement was attributed by David Davison to the increased vigilance of the tutors, the beneficial effect of prizes, and the strictness of the annual examination. From 1834 to 1857 the wealthy banker Lewis Loyd of Lothbury funded prizes of 5 guineas each for the best specified work in each class, to be spent on books chosen by the Board, and this was considered to be having a marked effect on the students' future careers and the circulation of books in the principality. In 1841 written examinations were introduced. In 1845 Davison reported that 'the Academy is progressive in all its Departments and consequently rapidly gaining a much higher estimation in public opinion' (PFB minutes, vol 11, 509). In 1850 he claimed that Welsh churches of all denominations were anxious to obtain students from the college as ministers.

The library was a recurrent cause for concern. The academy had at its inception inherited the books and apparatus from Swansea, but in 1826 the visiting deputation pointed out that grants previously agreed by the Board for improving the library had not been acted on. Repairing the old books and purchasing new ones were deemed essential. The tutors were to provide a catalogue of the current books, and the Board were to recommend new ones. In 1831 it was noted that little had yet been done by the Board in this regard, and the following year Coward's Trustees were thanked for a 'truly seasonable' donation of £50 for the Carmarthen library (PFB minutes vol 10, 225). In 1841 after the installation of the books in new shelves at The Parade a new catalogue was called for, and the importance of adding new books 'to enable the tutors and students to keep pace with the improved methods of teaching and learning which are so numerous both in languages and science' was stressed (PFB minutes vol 10, 331). The apparatus, which for years had been found deficient, was repaired in London in 1841 and returned to Carmarthen at the expense of James Gibson, a member of the Board. The tutors continued to lament the lack of modern books. In 1844 it was agreed to spend a further £100 on new books, and the following year the benefactor Lewis Loyd added a further £100. In 1845 the books and apparatus were insured for £300,

and the following year it was agreed that students should for the first time have access to the library for an hour a day. In 1848 the library was judged to be in excellent order.

The tutors met regularly to consider the students' progress. Apart from the regular lectures, they met the students to listen to their reading of sermons and essays. Comments would be offered on the reading, grammar and content. During the late 1850s examples of the texts were Philippians 3:11; John 4:24; 1 Timothy 1:15, and Matthew 6:5-7. A student read an essay on 'The necessity, nature and advantage of unity', and one of the tutors believed that it was more suited for an anti state-church meeting than for a meeting at the college. A monitor would be responsible for arranging meetings, ringing the morning bell, and collecting fees from those who had broken the rules of the library.

In 1859 the local Independent ministers asked for an increase in 'extra' students, 'generally adults of earnest purpose with fair abilities but neglected education who desire to pass through a course of theological instruction for one or two years, to qualify them for the ministry among some of the humbler Churches of the Principality' (PFB minutes, vol. 13, 13). The tutors were anxious not to lower the college's reputation and scholastic tone, and it was agreed that there should be no more than six such students at the same time. The numbers of students overall increased: in 1847 there were sixteen students in the five classes, and though the following year the tutors thought the college could not hold more than twenty, in 1853 there were twenty-three, three of them English. Throughout the period Independents in South Wales flocked to Carmarthen, despite the existence from 1839 of the rival Brecon Independent College. That year the annual assembly of Welsh Independent Churches thanked the Presbyterian Board for its continued support of the college and agreed to the Board's proposal that in future they should contribute £10 annually towards the support of each student connected with them. In 1850 all the students in college were Independents, except for one Baptist.

Two of the students became prominent ministers in London: Thomas Rees was a leading Unitarian in the city, a member of Dr Williams's Trust and also of the Presbyterian Board, of which he was secretary for twenty-eight years; Caleb Morris was minister of Fetter Lane Congregational church. In Wales, Michael Daniel Jones followed his father as head of Bala Independent College. James Rhys Kilsby Jones was a forthright defender of the Welsh language. Others left for overseas mission work: the Independents John Evans (*c.*1789-1823) in South Africa, William Beynon in India, and Thomas Joseph in Tahiti.

On the death of the Unitarian Lloyd in 1863 his published obituary noted: 'One Tutor at least professing Orthodox views has always been appointed; and no difficulty has been felt on the score of theological differences in conducting a Classical, Mathematical, and Theological College accessible to all denominations, acceptable to all, and objectionable to none. In this respect we believe the Carmarthen College has been unique' (PFB minutes, vol. 13, 217).

The college closed in 1963, and many of the students joined the Memorial College at Swansea.

Noel Gibbard and Isabel Rivers

Archives

Details of the return to Carmarthen, the buildings, funding, tutors, students, and examiners' reports are in the Prebyterian Fund Board Minutes, vols. 7-13, Dr Williams's Library, MS OD74-80. The National Library of Wales holds the uncatalogued Presbyterian College Carmarthen Archives. These include 'An alphabetical Catalogue of Books belonging to the

Presbyterian College Carmarthen 1820 with Rules to be observed by the Students'; 'Monitor's Book, 1849-1861'; 'Minute Book of Sermons and Essays, and comments of tutors, with list of students 1853-1863'. Other relevant holdings in the National Library of Wales are T. George Davies Papers, 2, No. 38, a volume containing records and reports relating to the administration of the college, together with lists of examination results, 1846-74, and W. T. Owen Papers, No. 6, 'Transcripts Presbyterian Fund Board, 1690-1848'. The Carmarthen Collection in Cardiff University Library contains *c.*2,000 books and scientific equipment from the academy, together with the catalogues of 1840 and 1846 and loan records for 1856-74.

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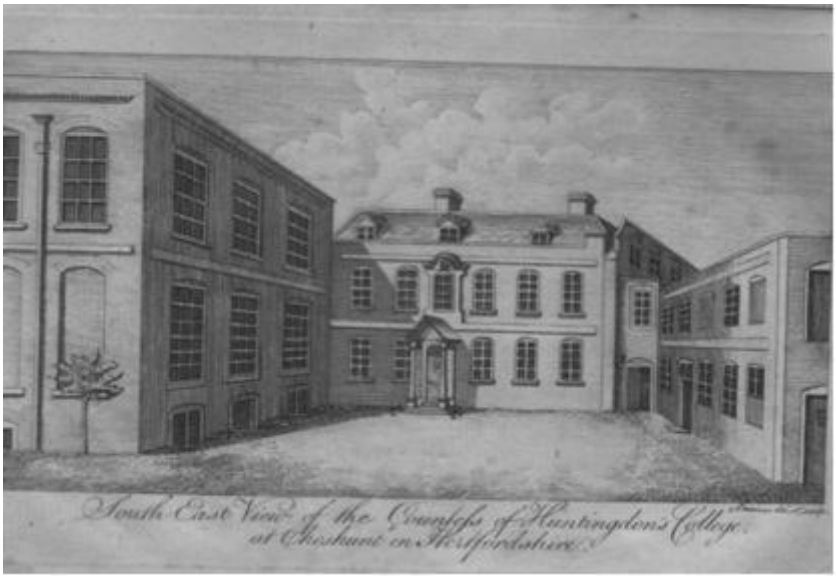
Cheshunt College (1792-1967)

(Historical account to 1860)



Cheshunt College, opened in 1792 in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire [source: *The Order Observed at the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, on Friday the 24th of August, 1792* (London, 1792)]

Cheshunt College was the continuation of the Countess of Huntingdon's college, which was situated at Trevecka at the time of her death in 1791. The so-called 'Apostolic Society' had been formed among her supporters before she died and had raised funds with a view to continuing the college. By the end of 1791 they had purchased Cheshunt House, Hertfordshire, for £950. In the spring of 1792 they moved the library and better furniture from Trevecka, along with seven students, who were formally re-admitted in August. As at Trevecka, there were no fee-paying students; the costs were borne by the Society. Admission was by recommendation from a supporter and interview by the trustees. The official opening of the college was on 24 August 1792.

The principal mover of events was James Oldham, a city merchant and member of the Spa Fields Chapel in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The Apostolic Society was succeeded by the college governors in 1793. They were a group of men, largely lay, who consulted with Lady Ann Erskine, the Countess's successor as organiser of the Connexion, and leading evangelical ministers. They had some difficulty in securing a president for the college. There had been no such principal officer for most of the time at Trevecka, as the Countess had ruled the college there, a master deputising in her absence. At Cheshunt a resident tutor's post was combined with that of president and a search was made for an ordained member of the Church of England to fill it. Revd Isaac Nicholson, a curate recommended by Revd Richard De Courcy, was appointed. Other sympathetic clergy, such as Thomas Haweis, served as external examiners. Students came with references from both Anglican and dissenting ministers. Although great pains were taken to secure a president from the Church of England, the opening services of the college, on 24 August 1792, were conducted by four former students of Trevecka, who represented different denominations: John Eyre (Church of England), John Platt and Lemuel Kirkman (Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion), Anthony Crole (Independent).

Within a few years the college began to lose its formal links with the Church of England. Nicholson resigned in 1803 because the stipend of £100 per annum and a house with garden was inadequate. He was succeeded by the Revd Dr Andrew Horn, who was

recommended for the post by Lady Ann Erskine; he had been educated at Cheshunt and ordained in the Connexion. (There is no indication as to when or where he obtained his doctorate.) His time at Cheshunt proved brief: in 1807 he accepted the call to a pastorate at High Wycombe. Horn was succeeded by Revd Dr Henry Draper, an unbeneficed clergyman of the Church of England, who retained his lectureship at St. George's in the Borough. He resigned his post at Cheshunt in 1810, nominally on grounds of health, but again probably because of the low stipend. The Governors also felt that he filled the students with aspirations for university degrees and Anglican livings when the college needed to supply the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

There followed a period of uncertainty, with the temporary appointment of Josiah Richards as tutor before John James came in 1814. James and his successors to 1850 were known as resident tutor rather than president, a title later revived for William Stowell. From 1814 a classical tutor was also appointed, the beginning of the expansion of the college. James oversaw the completion of a new block of student rooms, increasing the college capacity to twenty students. At the opening of the college in 1792 there were six students fully admitted and one probationer. In the first two decades numbers of students sometimes reached double figures and extra sleeping accommodation had to be found in the house. James was a former student at Cheshunt and began an arrangement with his friend and former Trevecka student John Bickerdike, who had transferred to Cheshunt, to take on students as probationers before they entered Cheshunt. Bickerdike kept a school alongside his ministry, first in Woolwich for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and then from 1828 as Independent minister in Kentish Town. Students on this preliminary course included candidates for work with the London Missionary Society. This led to a formal agreement between the college and the Society in 1837. William Kemp was resident tutor from 1821 to 1831 and continued James's policies. In this he was assisted by Jacob Kirkman Foster, another former student and minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, who was the classical tutor from 1826 and succeeded Kemp as resident tutor.

The original college prospectus stressed biblical studies and preaching. Classics were taught, but not all students were expected to learn Hebrew. The college aspired to teach French, for the purposes of foreign evangelism, but relied on recruiting a French student to teach the others. First principles of mathematics were intended to teach the students how to reason. General knowledge of history and geography presumably gave a background to mission. A weekly exercise in English composition on sacred subjects was intended to cultivate energetic expression and fluency. The Annual Report for 1811 described the course as lasting four years, covering the general principles of grammar and English composition; history, ancient and modern; geography and use of globes; logic; Jewish antiquities and eastern customs; divinity - doctrinal, experimental and practical; and some degree of the original languages of Scripture, to enable students to read Greek and Hebrew with the aid of lexicographers. The Cheshunt College Rules, printed in 1816, give a picture of daily life in the college and of what was learnt (Cheshunt ms E9/8/6). Writing at the end of Foster's time, James Bennett claimed that 'The course of study comprises Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; mathematics, history and geography; theology, systematic and expository, with the composition of sermons; ecclesiastical history and the philosophy of the mind' (Bennett, *History of Dissenters*, 140).The 1827 Report specified the classics curriculum as Ovid, Virgil, Horace and Tacitus; the Greek Testament, Xenophon, Homer, and Sophocles. It announced that the college had introduced natural philosophy (with a small cabinet of minerals, a reflecting telescope, and an orrery) and was appealing for further donations to expand a subordinate but important study.

As resident tutor from 1831 to 1839 Foster was anxious to preserve the links with the Connexion in the face of the growing Congregational nature of the college. The trust continued to require governors, staff and students to adhere to the Fifteen Articles of religon specified by the Countess of Huntingdon, which echoed the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. The Fifteen Articles barred admission to Baptists and Roman Catholics.

In practice the college served evangelical Calvinists from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and the growing number of Independent churches which coalesced into the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1831. At first, some Welsh Calvinistic Methodists also applied to Cheshunt for training, seeing it as the new Trevecka. Part of the difficulty for members of the Church of England who might wish to use the college was the existence of a chapel on site, opened in 1806, licensed for public worship by Protestant dissenters. There was always the potential for conflict with the incumbents of surrounding parishes where the students were sent to preach in rooms or dissenters' meeting houses. It was made clear after a Chancery suit in 1833 that the college trustees were an independent body and not answerable to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, whose members could take up subscriptions and elect trustees, but in competition with Congregational and other subscribers. Among students, staff, and governors Congregationalists became the dominant group. The college office moved from the Spa Fields chapel of the Connexion to Blomfield Street in 1833.

The decisive move towards Congregationalism came with the appoinment of John Harris as resident tutor in 1839. Harris was an able administrator and began by improving record-keeping in the college. He introduced written examinations and the papers give some flavour of the course the students followed: for example, the Hebrew Antiquities paper of 1840 invited the students to name the Mosaic laws respecting agriculture. The impression from the papers is that the general subjects such as geography required a superficial level of attainment but that more sophistication was required in theological topics.

In 1849 the trustees regretfully turned down a possible amalgamation with Coward, Highbury, and Homerton Colleges, to which they were sympathetic, but they took the view that the Trust Deed prevented them doing so. This did not stop them considering the matter again in 1850 when Harris and the classical tutor, Philip Smith, moved to New College. In 1850 they accepted the two remaining students from Newport Pagnell Academy and then the remaining students of Rotherham Academy, when they appointed its tutor, W. H. Stowell, as the new president of Cheshunt. Rotherham had declined under Stowell and he fared little better at Cheshunt, resigning in 1856 after persistent student complaints about his teaching. Richard Alliott, president from 1857 to 1860, was attracted to the college by 'the catholicity of its constitution' (*Evangelical Magazine* (1864), 132), though its nearness to London, compared with Plymouth, where he had been president of Western College, was probably also a factor.

The amalgamation of the libraries of Newport Pagnell and of Cheshunt, which still included many of the Countess of Huntingdon's books from Trevecka, gave the college a valuable resource. Those that survive at Westminster College are dominated by seventeenth and eighteenth-century Calvinist authors, along with travel books reflecting the missionary interests of the time. It is not apparent how many contemporary books have since been lost. Foster certainly regarded the rising German theologians as heretical.

The classical tutor under Harris, Philip Smith, published standard texts on ancient history and became headmaster of Mill Hill School. James Sherman, minister of the Surrey Chapel, was a Cheshunt student, as was James Parsons of Leeds. William Hale White ('Mark Rutherford') was a student under Harris and transferred to New College, London with him when he moved. It was from there that White was expelled for his theological views in 1852, which was the beginning of his literary career.

Cheshunt College was completely rebuilt from 1871 to 1874 under Henry Robert Reynolds, president from 1860 to 1894. The early years of his time at Cheshunt were subsequently regarded as a golden age for the college. Towards the end of his life ill-health dogged him, forcing his retirement two years before his death. His theological ideas remained fixed in the 1850s and the numbers of students had declined before he retired. In 1905 the college moved to temporary accommodation in Cambridge, having secured a site in Bateman Street,

where a new building was opened in 1914. The trustees had wanted to amalgamate with Hackney College, London, but the Board of Education prevented this after objections from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The Fifteen Articles were regarded as a barrier to any merger with a Congregational college; the Board's preferred solution was to create a foundation providing bursaries for students but the Governors preferred to relocate the college in Cambridge, as some of their supporters urged. The Cambridge building was sold in 1967 when the college amalgamated with Westminster College, Cambridge, on its site at the junction of Madingley and Queens roads. The Cheshunt endowment is administered by trustees and its historic records and books are housed at Westminster College.

Stephen Orchard

Archives

The archives at Westminster College, Cambridge, contain the surviving records of Cheshunt College. There is an almost complete set of annual reports. The minutes of the trustees, subsequently governors, are complete. There are some correspondence books from the nineteenth century and some student records of a late date. A range of ephemera connected with the college is also available. The New College collection held in Dr Williams's Library contains materials relating to Cheshunt College, including the papers of John Harris (see List of the Archives of New College, London, & The Coward Trust, The National Archives, GB 0123 New College).

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Constitutional, Protester and United Original Secession Divinity Halls (1806-1852)

Constitutional Associate Presbytery (Anti-Burgher) Divinity Hall (1806-1827), Protesters' Divinity Hall (1820-1827), Original Secession Divinity Hall (1827-1842), United Original Secession Divinity Hall (1842-1852)

Following the New Light versus Old Light split in the Anti-Burgher Synod in 1806, the divinity professor, Archibald Bruce, remained with the minority Old Light party who formed the Constitutional Associate Presbytery. He was appointed their professor and the Constitutional divinity hall therefore remained in Whitburn until his death in 1816. Thomas McCrie Sr briefly succeeded Bruce, but because of the demands of his ministry only served until 1818. Teaching was then organised by the presbyteries. A growing realisation that there was little or no theological difference between the New Light Burghers and Anti-Burghers led them to form the United Secession Church in 1820 (which joined with the Relief Church in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church). George Paxton, professor of the Anti-Burgher divinity hall, remained outside the 1820 union, and together with a few others formed the Protesters' Synod. He was appointed professor of its hall. The Protesters' Hall was in Edinburgh for its short life, being held in Paxton's house from 1820 until 1827. In 1827 the Constitutional and Protesters' presbyteries united to form the Original Secession Church. Their divinity hall was effectively a continuation of Paxton's hall in Edinburgh, and he remained as professor until his retirement in 1836. He was succeeded by Thomas McCrie, son of Thomas Sr, who was joined by Benjamin Laing in 1839. They served until 1852. They were ministers for whom their teaching was an additional duty. In 1842 a small group of Old Light Burghers who had remained outside the union of 1839 joined them, to form the United Original Secession Church, which in 1852 united with the new Free Church of Scotland. Again part of the church remained outside the union and survived as the Original Secession Church until it was absorbed into the Church of Scotland in 1956.

Throughout his teaching Paxton based his lectures on Johannes Marck's *Christianae theologiae medulla*, which he taught over five years. He also taught Greek and Hebrew. The lectures of his successor, Thomas McCrie Jr were described as 'highly evangelical and often accompanied with much unction' (Scott, *Annals and Statistics*, 606), and he was said to have developed an original approach to teaching. All three halls seem to have been very similar in teaching style and content to the parent Anti-Burgher Hall, though the use of Marck suggests that the teaching persisted in Latin for longer.

As with all the pre-1842 dissenting Presbyterian churches, these denominations were theoretically national in scope but had little if any impact on the highlands and western isles. The halls were only intended for the training of ministers.

The Constitutional Divinity Hall only trained nine ministers for the denomination between 1806 and 1827. A further four students were never ordained, and a fifth was ordained in the established church. The Protesters' Hall under Paxton produced seven ministers for the denomination or its successor, and one who was later ordained in America. Three other students, who were never ordained, are known to have attended. The United Original Secession Hall trained twenty-nine ministers for the church or for the Free Church after 1852. Three more became ministers abroad while twenty-two students were not ordained. Inevitably a number of students were to die in the course of their studies, or soon after being licensed as preachers but prior to ordination.

The Constitutional Hall's most outstanding student, John Duncan (Rabbi Duncan), joined the established church before the conclusion of his studies. He was Professor of Hebrew in New College, Edinburgh (Free Church) on its foundation in 1843. James Wylie, a student of the

United Original Secession Hall, was assistant editor of *The Witness*, later editor of *The Free Church Record*, and in 1860 he was appointed by the Free Church Professor of The Protestant Institute of Scotland. He was a prolific author.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

The main archival sources are held at the National Archives of Scotland: the Constitutional Presbytery (CH3/301/1), and the United Original Seceders (CH3/301/2&3).

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Cotton End Academy (1840-1874)

On 2 October 1839 the directors of the Congregational Home Missionary Society met to consider the 'best means of providing a Succession of well-trained Missionaries for the service of this Society' (CL, III. 4. 60, p. 401). Mr J. C. Evans presented strong views on the subject, and two weeks later he offered a detailed plan on how the desired ends could be achieved. The matter was discussed and, after a number of objections had been raised, Evans's proposals were withdrawn. However, the issue was revived the following June when a series of regulations were established to govern the admission of candidates for education by the Society. It was agreed a Home Missionary college was not required, and that a few students should be placed with suitably qualified ministers in neighbourhoods where their labours as Home Missionaries would be of value. No classical education was considered necessary, and all instruction would take place in English. Candidates for admission were to have been in communion with a 'Christian Church' for at least 12 months, and were expected to present evidence of their 'correct knowledge of the great truths of revelation' and their acquaintance with experimental religion (CL, III. 4. 61, pp. 31-2).

The term of study was not to exceed three years, and should encompass the study of English grammar and composition, general history, geography, public speaking, the structure of sermons, mental discipline, Biblical studies, and evangelical theology. Students were also expected to receive training on 'the best method of meeting the principal errors, as of Socinianism, or Popery' (CL, III. 4. 61, p. 36). This plan seems subsequently to have been modified, since on 1 September 1840 a letter was read from Revd John Frost of Cotton End expressing his 'readiness to carry out the scheme of Education agreed to by the Board' (CL, III. 4. 61, vol. 7, p. 83). It was this arrangement that would lead to the establishment of the academy at Cotton End, a small village four miles from Bedford.

Frost was born at Kidderminster in 1808, and had studied under Richard Cecil at Turvey. In 1832 he accepted the pastorate of the church at Cotton End, where he remained until his death in 1878. According to the *Post Office Directory* of 1869 the chapel at Cotton End was rebuilt by subscription in 1836 and could accommodate a congregation of 700. Frost insisted on an allowance of £40 for each student per year, with the year to consist of 48 weeks of study and a four-week vacation. James Matheson, secretary to the Home Missionary Society, visited Cotton End in October 1840 and declared himself satisfied with the accommodation provided. The first three students entered the academy at the beginning of November. H. G. Tibbutt stated that they were probably boarded in cottages in the village. However, the census returns for 1851 and 1861 both show four ministerial students residing with Frost and his wife, Ann. Tibbutt has identified 136 students who studied under Frost, 98 of whom had been admitted to the academy by 1860. Approximately half of those trained were sent to Cotton End by the Home Missionary Society. In January 1842 a request from the Colonial Missionary Society to send a young man to Frost to be educated was approved. Other students probably paid their own expenses or were funded privately.

Frost's arrangements for training men for Home Missionary service are detailed in an appendix to the 1841 report of the Home Missionary Society. The itinerant labours of the students were described first, and were divided into three areas: the instruction of youth, preaching, and domestic visits. Students were involved in running the Sunday school, conducting Bible classes, and preached once a week at Cotton End and eight other local villages. They were dispatched in pairs to Cotton End, Harrowden, Wilshamstead, and Deadman's Cross where they visited each household in turn. The curriculum was outlined under eleven headings, comprising English grammar and composition, logic and mental philosophy, moral philosophy, evidences of revealed religion, theology, Greek, Biblical antiquities, homiletics, church history, and popery. There were weekly exercises in sermon composition, weekly expositions of prescribed portions of scripture, and exercises in reading and speaking. Hebrew was also taught, and the more able students read the Greek New

Testament. Representatives were sent each year by the Home Missionary Society to examine the students under its care.

In 1846 the Revd George Redford and the Revd Algernon Wells conducted the examination. The process was rigorous, beginning on the evening of Monday 6 July and continuing throughout Tuesday and Wednesday until late in the evening on each day. The examination was mainly written, although there was also a viva voce element. Redford and Wells reported that, 'Answers were omissions in a few instances; but considering the number of questions and the difficulty of many of them, it was not to be expected that all would be answered by every Student' (CL, III. 4. 62, p. 107). The examiners concluded by expressing their satisfaction with the academic attainments of the students, which were as high as could be expected given their preaching commitments and the length of the course. They added that the men were 'receiving a mental cultivation admirably adapted to make them more efficient agents in the evangelization of the neglected masses of our country men then they could otherwise have been'. (CL, III. 4. 62, p. 108). The Home Missionary Society minutes contain a number of references to the provision of books for the academy, and Frost occasionally asked the directors to provide copies of specific works. In February 1846 he requested copies of the *Biblical*, *Eclectic*, and *British Quarterly Review* for the use of his students.

The full course at Cotton End lasted for three years, although students remained with Frost for varying periods depending upon their progress. While some of the students at Cotton End after 1860 went on to continue their studies elsewhere, most of those who entered during the first two decades received no further ministerial training. Students were usually aged in their twenties at the time of entering the academy, and around three quarters went on to pursue careers as Congregational ministers. Four of those who entered before 1860 become missionaries for the London Missionary Society. Several became prominent within Australian Congregationalism, including Francis William Cox and William Harcus. William Tidd Matson, who held a series of pastorates in Hampshire, Northamptonshire, and Lincolnshire, became famous as a hymn writer. William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, applied to enter the academy but withdrew in protest at the manner in which he was examined on the doctrines of Arminianism. By 1873 the number of students with Frost had fallen to two, and the Home Missionary Society committee had come to the conclusion that it no longer required its own ministerial training institution. The Cotton End Academy closed in Midsummer 1874, to the regret of Frost who had hoped to continue training ministers for three or four more years before retiring. In the Spring of 1878 Frost dined with a number of his old students at Islington, and was presented with a timepiece as an expression of their esteem. He died on 7 October 1878.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The principal archival sources for the Cotton End Academy are the minutes and reports of the Home Missionary Society, held by the Congregational Library at Dr Williams's Library, London (CL, III. 4. 61-3; V. 1. 174-7). The census returns for 1851 and 1861 provide evidence of students boarding in the home of John Frost and his wife (TNA, RG9/992, fo. 60, p. 5; TNA, HO107/1752, fo, 275, p. 13).

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Simon N. Dixon, 'Cotton End Academy (1840-1874)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011.

Coward College (1833-1850)

Coward College, opened 1833 [source: DWL, MS NCL/L64/1/4]

On 22 December 1831 the four trustees of William Coward (1648-1738) met to discuss a 'very important object respecting the Academical Institution' under their management at Wymondley House, Hertfordshire (DWL, MS NCL/CT3, pp.173-4). This is the first reference in the minutes of the Coward Trust to a plan to close their existing academy and establish a new institution in London. The idea had originated with James Gibson, the lay trustee, who was close to some of the promoters of the London University. It had become the view of the trustees that many advantages would be obtained from combining the teaching available at the University with a theological course provided in their own college. A row of three uncompleted houses on the south-western entrance to Gordon Square was identified as a suitable premises for the new institution. Thomas Cubitt, the speculative builder who developed the Square for the Duke of Bedford, offered the completed property to the Trustees for £6,600. The purchase was completed in February 1833, and Coward College opened with a religious service on 17 October. It operated for 17 years, closing in 1850 when it was united with Highbury and Homerton Colleges to form New College, London. As part of this arrangement the Coward Trustees became members of the trust holding the New College property and took part in the management of the new institution.

Eleven students transferred from Wymondley in 1833 to continue their studies at Coward College. Two new probationary students joined them, and the College had a capacity of 16. During the early years demand for places often exceeded supply, but by 1847 the trustees became concerned at the lack of applicants. They wrote to the governors of Mill Hill School in March of that year offering £50 to any scholar who might continue their studies to matriculation in the University. The new arrangements meant that only the services of a theological tutor were required, and Thomas Morell transferred from Wymondley with the

students. He held the post for an unhappy period of seven years, dying in 1840 a few months before he was due to relinquish his duties after losing the confidence of the trustees. His replacement was Thomas W. Jenkyn, whose services were retained until the closure of the college.

The course of study followed by students at Coward College differed substantially to that provided at Wymondley. Students, who now had to matriculate at London University (from 1836 named University College, London), no longer received their entire education from just two tutors. Instead, during the first three years of their five-year course most of the time was spent attending classes at University College. Students studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics in their first two years, Hebrew, Greek, and natural philosophy in their third year, and Hebrew, philosophy of the mind and logic in their fourth year. Thomas Morell delivered exegetical lectures on the Greek New Testament and church history to the first and second year, and Biblical criticism and Christian evidences to the third year. The Biblical criticism lectures continued into the fourth year, when students began courses on doctrinal theology and homiletics that were completed in their final year. Some students were keen to take advantage of other courses on offer at University College. In 1841 three of them petitioned the trustees for permission to attend German lectures, while two others wished to join the Arabic class. Until 1847 the trustees helped prospective students to matriculate and paid their matriculation fees, but for the remainder of the period students were expected to have matriculated before applying to the College.

The College library was transferred from Wymondley, and contained volumes acquired by academies supported by the Coward Trust, notably Doddridge's academy at Northampton, Daventry Academy, and Wymondley Academy. It was, in the words of Geoffrey Nuttall, 'nothing less than magnificent', rivalling 'any gentleman's library anywhere' (Nuttall, 42). The scientific apparatus that had been so useful at Wymondley was rendered redundant by the new arrangements. By the time it was transferred to New College in 1850 it was thought more useful as a collection of artefacts illustrative of the history of science than as an aid to practical instruction.

One outcome of the new arrangements was that students came to compare the tuition they received at Coward unfavourably with the classes they attended at University College. Within a few years of the move, Thomas Morell had lost the respect of his charges. He complained that a number of students were either absenting themselves from his classes or arriving late. When they did attend, they paid little attention to his lectures and disrupted proceedings. In 1836 the trustees sought to address the situation by circulating a questionnaire to the students asking them the proportion of time they spent on theology compared with University subjects. In the same year the usual award of £5 per student following the annual examination was withheld after too many unsatisfactory answers were received. After some initial improvement under Thomas Jenkyn, matters again deteriorated and he was not regarded highly by his students.

The location of the College caused problems too. Despite the many internal difficulties experienced at Wymondley, the old academy had been situated in a small Hertfordshire village, removed from the temptations of the metropolis. In London there were numerous attractions inducing students to break their 10pm curfew, and Thomas Jenkyn complained that many believed the payment of a one shilling fine entitled them to stay out late without further reproach. The trustees also objected to requests from the students to participate in regular meetings with their contemporaries from other academies in and around London. In 1834 Morell defended the students from accusations of extravagance after they hosted a tea party attended by representatives from the colleges at Hackney, Highbury, and Stepney. A resolution passed by the trustees in 1841 prohibited Coward students from attending quarterly meetings with their peers from other London institutions.

J. Ewing Ritchie, who studied under both Morell and Jenkyn, later wrote that many rural congregations regarded the education received at Coward College with suspicion and considered the less learned students of other colleges to be more pious. His own assessment of his peers was somewhat bleak, and he wrote that a number were 'utterly destitute of all qualifications for the pastorate' (quoted in Thompson, *Coward Trust*, 64). Ritchie himself became a journalist and writer, but the careers of many of his fellow alumni cast some doubt on his description of them. A number went on to train future generations of ministers, including Samuel Newth, Henry Robert Reynolds, Philip Smith, and Evan John Evans. Others became missionaries: Joseph Mullens and Matthew Atmore Sherring went to India, and Joseph Edkins to China. The majority of the 70 students known to have studied at the College went on to pursue careers as Congregational ministers. John Browne, minister at Wrentham, Suffolk, became known as an antiquarian, and John Curwen, minister at Plaistow, Middlesex, was a music educationist who popularised the 'tonic sol-fa' system of instruction.

Thomas Jenkyn was informed of the trustees' intention to close the College in June 1849, although the students do not appear to have been told formally until the following April. Two of the sixteen students in the house were close to the end of their course, and the remaining fourteen were invited to transfer to New College, London. Eight of them agreed to do so. Coward College had been a bold attempt to raise the academic standard of the education provided to candidates for the ministry supported by the founder's Trust. The later careers of many who studied there indicate that the experiment was in some measure a success. However, the reputation of the theological department relied heavily upon the accomplishments of its tutor, and neither Morell nor Jenkyn appears to have been ideally suited to the post. In 1852 Byng Place was leased to the Commissioners for Works and Public Buildings, and during the 1880s it became College Hall, a hall of residence for women students attending classes at University College and the London School of Medicine for Women. The building still stands, although the facade was altered in 1947 with the removal of a balustraded balcony that ran the full length of the east elevation.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The archives of Coward College form part of the New College, London collection at Dr Williams's Library. Details of the management of the institution, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters are contained in the minutes of the Coward Trust for the relevant years (DWL, MS NCL/CT3-4). A wealth of correspondence survives for the period under Thomas Morell (DWL, MS NCL/L53/3-6). The ten years under Thomas Jenkyn are less well documented, although a small amount of material is still extant (DWL, MS NCL/312/1-34, MS NCL/433/1-20). There are also useful accounts of the history of the Coward Trust during this period in manuscripts by Samuel Newth (DWL, MS NCL/CT12/1) and John Stoughton (MS NCL/CT16).

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Simon N. Dixon, 'Coward College (1833-1850)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011.

Daventry Academy (1752-1789)

After the death of Philip Doddridge the academy moved from Northampton to Daventry, where Caleb Ashworth was minister. In his will Doddridge had named Ashworth, one of his former students, as his successor in the academy and, he also hoped, his pulpit at Northampton. Ashworth, however, was aware that Samuel Clark, Doddridge's assistant, 'was not sufficiently popular and Calvinistical' to be acceptable to the Northampton congregation, but 'he knew too well the value of Mr Clark as an assistant tutor to part with him, and therefore determined to remain at Daventry', 'which it is well known, was the principal reason of the removal of the academy from Northampton to Daventry' ('Brief Memoirs of Clark', 618). The death of Doddridge also marked a change in the management of the academy, with the Coward Trustees assuming responsibility for its regulation and finances. Before the academy could move to Daventry, a new building to accommodate the students had to be built, which accounted for the delay. The academy moved to Daventry on 9 November 1752 with twenty-seven students.

Ashworth followed Doddridge's method and plan of education, using Doddridge's lectures in his own teaching. The first three years were also intended to provide a lay education. A timetable for the academic year 1752-3 shows that at that date the course lasted four years and involved a six-day week. Divinity, ethics and philosophy were the principal subjects. Details for the first year are missing, but Clark appears to have been responsible for teaching for the first three years and Ashworth for the final year. Students in the second year studied algebra and pneumatology. In the third year they covered ethics and (what seems clear from later syllabuses) natural philosophy with Clark, and Jewish antiquities with Ashworth, and in the final year studied evidences of Christianity, schemes of divinity, Jewish antiquities, and homiletics with Ashworth. Following Doddridge's method, the lectures began with a proposition, followed by a series of demonstrations and opposing arguments which the students were expected to examine through further reading. Priestley found 'The general plan of our studies . . . exceedingly favourable to free enquiry, as we were referred to authors on both sides of every question, and were even required to give an account of them' (Priestley, *Theological and Miscellaneous Works*, I i, 23-24).

Doddridge's practice of appointing a former student to fill the post of assistant tutor continued at Daventry. Clark resigned in 1757 and was succeeded by Thomas Tayler (1757-61), and he in turn was followed by Noah Hill (1761-71). In 1767 the work was divided with the appointment of Thomas Halliday as classics tutor (1767-70). Hill continued as tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy. Thomas Belsham, who entered the academy as a student in 1766, wrote that he was 'indebted for all that I know of classical literature' to Halliday. By comparison 'Mr. Hill taught Mathematics very well as far as he went. Of Logic and Mathematics he knew but little, and was not at all ambitious of improving himself or his pupils, or of doing any thing more than go over the same routine continually' (Williams, *Memoirs of Thomas Belsham*, 78). When Halliday left the academy in August 1770, Belsham succeeded him in the Greek class, and a year later, when Hill left, he was appointed tutor in mathematics, logic, and metaphysics. No replacement as classics tutor was made until Hugh Worthington Jr was appointed at the start of the 1773-74 session, the duties being undertaken by one of the senior students, adding significantly to Ashworth's responsibilities and concerns. Worthington only served for the first part of the session. He was followed by Benjamin Carpenter, who was tutor for a few months before the appointment of John Fuller (1773-76), who had been a student at Mile End. His successor was John Taylor (1776-82), a Daventry student.

When Ashworth died in 1775, Belsham continued at the academy until the appointment of Thomas Robins. Robins had been named by Ashworth as his successor, but was at first very reluctant to accept the post because of its demands. Belsham resigned as assistant

tutor in 1778 to become minister at Worcester, and was succeeded as tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy by Timothy Kenrick (1778-84), later tutor at Exeter. William Broadbent was classics tutor for two years (1782-84), in succession to Taylor, and then followed Kenrick as tutor in mathematics, natural philosophy, and logic, moving with the academy to Northampton in 1789. His successor as classics tutor was Eliezer Cogan (1784-87), later a prominent Greek scholar, and he in turn was replaced by Robert Forsaith (1788-97), who also moved with the academy in 1789. The system of assistant tutors at Daventry was deficient. Orton felt 'a young man, just taken out of a class in the Academy, is by no means fit for such a post' (Palmer, *Letters to Dissenting Ministers, II, 187)*. They were only paid £40 a year until 1788, when it was increased to £60. The duties were arduous, the salary inadequate, and the position never sufficiently important to secure the services of a well-qualified tutor. Hoxton Academy had three tutors, Warrington four, but Daventry only one, with the help of one, later two assistants.

Robins was forced to resign as theology tutor in June 1781 because of the complete loss of his voice, having unwisely attempted to preach three sermons in one day with a heavy cold. He was compelled to take a shop as a bookseller and druggist in order to support himself. Samuel Palmer of Hackney, the editor of the *Nonconformist Memorial*, appears to have been first considered before the Coward Trustees turned to Belsham. The situation was not attractive to him. He told a friend: 'Not to mention the abatement of salary, and the utter want of society in that neighbourhood, the temper and spirit of the people are utterly averse to what I approve' (Williams, *Memoirs of Thomas Belsham*, 187). He was also unhappy at the Daventry congregation's treatment of Robins and the assistant tutor John Taylor. There were further difficulties caused by the mismanagement of the academy by the Coward Trustees, and the discipline of the students was lax. Belsham met the trustees to ask if they would move the academy to Worcester, but they declined because of the expense and their concerns about the dangers that a cathedral city might represent. Belsham's considerable reservations were only overcome by a sense of duty and the persuasion of his friends. Orton was certain that 'the care of the Academy is of much more moment to our interest, and to the concerns of religion among us, than the care of any particular congregation' (Williams, *Memoirs of Thomas Belsham*, 196).

The course, originally lasting four years, was extended to five, and perhaps the second assistant tutor was appointed in 1767 to help with this change. The introduction of a fifth year offered a clearer distinction between the first three years intended also to provide a lay education, and the final two years intended for students for the ministry only. The content described by Belsham in 1783 was similar to the earlier course. In their first year students learnt Rich's short-hand, and studied geography, logic, the first six books of Euclid, as well as classics and Hebrew. In the second year they studied civil government and the British constitution as well as algebra and pneumatology, and in the third year conic sections and natural philosophy, including mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics and 'the new discoveries upon Air, Optics, Astronomy, and Electricity' (Williams, *Memoirs of Thomas Belsham*, 225), as well as ethics and the evidences of revealed religion. Students in the fourth year continued to study conic sections and natural philosophy, but also included divinity and ecclesiastical history. Greek, Latin and Hebrew were studied throughout the first four years. The final year had critical lectures on the New Testament, Jewish antiquities, and lectures on ministry. Two or three orations a week were delivered by the students. Many of their essays survive.

Belsham proved to be more innovative than either Ashworth or Robins. He updated the theology course, the subject having advanced considerably since Doddridge's time. He collected all the passages from the Old and New Testament relating to the person of Christ, to which he added comments from the leading Trinitarian, Arian, and Socinian writers, to provide his students with an impartial view of the subject. To Belsham's dismay, he unintentionally converted most of them to Unitarianism, and in time himself. One of his

students calculated that all but six or so of the forty divinity students had become Unitarians by the time Belsham resigned. Belsham also changed the philosophy course. He continued to use Doddridge's lectures, but from student notes it is clear that he added references from modern works which were strongly influenced by Joseph Priestley and necessarian ideas.

Priestley's diary provides an account of academy life during the early years. He shared a bed chamber but had his own closet for private prayer and preparation, the choice of room being determined by seniority. Thomas Johnstone, as the most junior student in 1784, found his choice was limited to a room known as 'Pandemonium' under the stairs. There are references to a number of student societies, including a weekly literary club or debating society, dating from at least 1754. The minutes survive between 1779 and 1798. Pastimes included walks to Borough Hill, and visits to neighbouring ministers and friends for tea. In Priestley's day students met in each other's rooms to talk about their studies, to read together, and to sing hymns, as well as for more light-hearted amusements, such as an evening 'capping one another out of the scriptures' ('Priestley's Journal', 84). Johnstone sang and played Handel and Corelli on the flute and violin with Eliezer Cogan, who as the senior student had the best rooms in the academy. Cogan also helped Johnstone with his Greek in private. A surprising degree of fun is recorded by Priestley: 'our poet society drunk the two shillings they got for the books … Were very merry'; and the following day, 'Afternoon, dissected a cat. Everything succeeded very well. Pelted one another with the parts. I threw a [piece of] carcass into Jackson's face, and he emptied a chamber pot upon me' ('Priestley's Journal', 87). The line between high spirits and general ill-discipline was not always observed, and standards slipped during Ashworth's later years, and possibly also under Robins.

The Coward Trust paid the salaries of the tutors and met the costs of repairs, and the purchase of books and scientific equipment. They purchased Doddridge's library and philosophical apparatus from his widow for £150, probably as a means of helping her financially, and insured them for £500 in June 1767. The scientific equipment continued to be repaired and updated: £10 was spent on repairs to the apparatus in 1759, with further sums in 1766 and 1767 towards its improvement, and for buying books. In 1783 Belsham could describe the apparatus as very complete in mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, electricity and gases; its principal defects were optics and astronomy. At this date the academy library consisted of about 3,000 volumes, being especially strong in theology, and comparatively weak in classics and belles lettres.

The Coward Trustees also provided exhibitions for poorer students intending to enter the ministry, supporting a total of 36 students at Daventry. The Presbyterian Fund supported 56 ministerial students. Ten had grants from both funds, usually after the student had been dismissed by the Coward Trustees because they had reached the age of twenty-two, the limit set by Coward. A further 9 received an award of £32 per year from the Trustees of Mrs Jackson's Trust for periods ranging from one to five years. These were students who were not helped by any of the other funds. In all 91 ministerial students were supported, nearly half the total, usually for five years. In addition 73 of the students (nearly two-fifths) received a grant in their fourth or fifth year from a distribution made about every three years by the trustees of Dr Williams's Trust. Every ministerial student had to provide a testimonial from a neighbouring minister, and they were examined as to their proficiency in Latin and Greek, and their serious spirit and sense of religion, but there was no religious test of faith. Although William Coward intended his benefaction only to favour Calvinists, his trustees made no effort to enforce this requirement at Daventry. Nor did the tutors 'impose restraints on freedom of inquiry, but encouraged and assisted their pupils in the exercise of private judgment' (Kenrick, *Exposition*, I, p. vi).

The 27 students who moved to Daventry in 1752 included 19 of Doddridge's former students, and another 8 who had entered the academy since his death. All but three were

divinity students. The following year, with the closure of Caleb Rotheram's academy at Kendal, four students transferred to Daventry, including Rotheram's son. A further 246 students entered the academy between 1752 and 1788, including Priestley, the first new student at Daventry, who was admitted in November 1752. Two-thirds (182) of the 273 students were intended for the ministry (the status of a handful are unknown). The 86 lay students formed a significant proportion of the total, but more than half entered during the final twelve years, a large number (33) following the closure of the academies at Warrington, Carmarthen, and Hoxton; indeed, nearly a third of all students entered Daventry after 1783. There is information on the geographical origins of about two-thirds of the students. Under Ashworth the largest number came from Lancashire and Cheshire, a major centre of dissent, but competition from Warrington Academy is evident after 1758. Four Daventry students transferred to Warrington shortly after it opened, and three more in the 1770s, perhaps because of unease about the discipline and teaching at Daventry. Daventry students were also drawn from Northamptonshire, Devon and Cornwall, where Taunton Academy, long in decline, finally closed in 1759, and from the growing manufacturing region of the west Midlands, and London. Yorkshire was surprisingly under-represented throughout the history of the academy. A handful of students were from Wales, Ireland and Holland, and one from Jamaica, but none from Scotland. Under Belsham the largest number of students was from London, nearly all of them lay students.

Undoubtedly the most celebrated and notorious student was Priestley. The most distinguished lay student was William Smith, MP, who played a crucial role in advancing the interests of dissent in parliament between 1790 and 1830. Among the notable ministers educated at Daventry were Hugh Worthington Jr, minister of Salters' Hall, London, Radcliffe Scholfield and John Corrie, ministers of Old Meeting, Birmingham, John Kentish of New Meeting, Birmingham, William Shepherd of Gateacre, Liverpool, and Thomas Northcote Toller, for forty-five years minister of the Independent church at Kettering. A number of Daventry students were tutors at other academies: William Enfield at Warrington, Robert Gentleman and his assistant Benjamin Davis at Carmarthen, John Corrie, classical tutor at New College, Hackney, William Stevenson, classical tutor at Manchester New College, and private secretary to Lord Lauderdale, and William Bull, theology tutor at Newport Pagnell. A number gave up the ministry for business, including Halliday, Joseph Dawson, who was proprietor of the celebrated Low Moor Iron Works, and George Lee, editor of the Rockingham Whig newspaper. Lay students included future manufacturers Thomas Hawkes, Thomas Kinder, and Hans and William Busk. At least eight former students acquired MDs, including James Johnstone, physician of Worcester Infirmary, and his brother, Edward, physician of the General Hospital, Birmingham. Their brother Lockhart was a barrister and a bencher of Gray's Inn. Other prominent lawyers included Thomas Lee, who held the key post of Low Bailiff of the Manor of Birmingham on behalf of the dissenters, and the three Wainewright brothers, Robert, Clerk in the Court of Chancery, John, a solicitor at Furnival's Inn, and Reader, a barrister-at-law and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Josiah Cottin retired from the army as lieutenant colonel of the Tenth Light Dragoons.

Attempts were made in summer 1783 by the supporters of Warrington Academy to re-establish their institution by uniting it with Daventry, but the Coward Trustees having initially expressed interest rejected the proposal. A major obstacle was control of the proposed new academy. With the closure of the Carmarthen Academy at Rhyd-y-gors in 1784 and the resignation of two of the three tutors at Hoxton as well, liberal dissent faced a crisis. Both Daventry and Hoxton were full and so unable to admit any students from Carmarthen. In July 1785 the Warrington Trustees tried to recruit Belsham, and only a sense of duty prevented him from accepting their offer. Belsham was increasingly convinced that Daventry was the wrong location for the academy. The same year he also received an invitation from the congregation at King Street, Northampton, to be their minister, providing him with an opportunity to suggest the academy should move to Northampton. The Coward Trustees rejected this on the grounds of expense. The trustees, having decided to close their

academy at Hoxton, failed to come to any decision over the purchase of additional buildings at Daventry to accommodate the extra students. Belsham was forced to find the accommodation himself. He believed that faced with a series of major challenges the trustees had not taken a single important decision. In 1789, having adopted Unitarian opinions, Belsham resigned as tutor and the academy returned to Northampton where John Horsey, the new tutor, was minister.

David L. Wykes

Archives

The principal records for Daventry Academy are held in Dr Williams's Library. Details of the management of the academy, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters, are contained in the minutes of the Coward Trust (DWL, MS NCL/CT1-2). References to the academy, including payments made to students, can be found in the Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes, 1752-96 (DWL, MS OD72-74). Student notes of lectures by Ashworth and Belsham can be found in Dr Williams's Library and in the Belsham collection in Harris Manchester College. Belsham's description of the curriculum in 1783 (published by his biographer) is in Serjeant Heywood's Warrington papers in the Unitarian College Collection in John Rylands Library.

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David Jennings's Academy, Wellclose Square (1744-1762)

On 17 July 1744, David Jennings was appointed by the Coward Trust to teach the ministerial students supported by the Trust who had previously been educated by John Eames at Moorfields Academy. On 27 August 1744 the Congregational Fund Board, which had supported students at Moorfields, chose to send them to Zephaniah Marryatt at Plaisterer's Hall rather than to Jennings. In the same month a building in Wellclose Square, Wapping, London, was chosen for the academy, the rent of which was paid by the Coward Trust, who also fitted it with a library. The academy opened on 17 September 1744. Samuel Morton Savage, a former student of Eames, was appointed Librarian and Keeper of the Apparatus and as such lived in the academy building; after Jennings's death in 1762, he became principal tutor of the successor academy at Hoxton.

Students came to the academy from a wide geographical area, including Lancashire and Wales, and did not necessarily remain in London after their education had ceased. Eighty-six students entered the academy, though not all completed the course. Five students supported by the Presbyterian Fund Board attended the academy. Seventy of the students had their tuition paid by the Coward Trust, which also paid the salary of the assistant tutor of £20 a year. In 1753, six students with Coward exhibitions entered the academy, though the usual number was two or three per year. Students were examined by the Trustees before being granted exhibitions and on completing the course; if successful (which was usually the case), they were granted a gift of £10 to spend on books.

The connection between the Trust and the academy was very close: David Jennings was both head of the academy and one of the four Coward Trustees. Disciplinary matters involving Trust-supported students were referred to the Trustees. While the express aim of the Coward Trust was to fund candidates for the Congregational ministry, students from other denominations were also educated at the academy, and several became Presbyterian or Baptist ministers. Notable students include Abraham Rees, the encyclopedist and a future tutor at Hoxton Academy and New College, Hackney, and the historian of dissent Joshua Toulmin.

David Jennings was the theological tutor and Savage assisted him. The length of the course was five years. The academy was not residential; students and tutors gathered each morning at ten o'clock for prayer and a reading from the New Testament with exposition from Jennings. Junior students received lectures from Savage on classical literature, mathematics and logic, and attended a weekly class in which Jennings took them through his book *An Introduction to the Use of the Globes, and the Orrery* (1739) and gave remarks on their translations from Lampe's *Synopsis historiae sacrae* (1721). Students then attended Jennings's weekly lectures on Jewish antiquities for four years. These took Thomas Goodwin's *Moses and Aaron* (1625) as a textbook. Twice a week for three years students attended Jennings's divinity lectures which were based on Marck's *Christianae theologiae medulla* (1690). This text was chosen because Jennings considered that it introduced all the key areas for study. At the end of the course, Jennings gave a short series of lectures on preaching. He also gave lectures on miscellaneous topics including medals, architecture and heraldry, though it is not clear precisely when these took place.

The library and apparatus were important features of the academy, whose location was chosen for its suitability for storing them, and the care of which was Samuel Morton Savage's official task. John Eames, the tutor at Moorfields who had been an esteemed natural philosopher and mathematician, left the Coward Trust his apparatus for conducting natural philosophical experiments. The bequest from Eames was supplemented by the purchase of an orrery and 'an Instrument to show the Spheroidical figure of the Earth' (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 76).

Jennings's work as a tutor was disseminated via his published teaching texts on globes, medals, and Jewish antiquities. A longhand manuscript copy of his preaching lectures, bound with a set of Philip Doddridge's lectures on the same topic, was kept in the library of Bristol Baptist College. Few manuscript teaching materials from the academy itself survive, so it is difficult to determine the precise nature of the theology course. Joshua Toulmin questioned the use of Marck's *Medulla* as the principal textbook, and though he praised the standard of teaching at the academy, he suggested that Jennings's strict orthodoxy drove students away. Jennings died on 16 September 1762, just after the academy had re-opened for new session. The students continued at Wellclose Square under Savage until the academy moved to Hoxton in 1764.

Tessa Whitehouse

Archives

The most important evidence for the life and management of the academy is the Coward Trust Minutes in the New College Collection held at Dr Williams's Library (DWL, MS NCL/CT1). They contain detailed information about the start and end of the academy, the process of admitting and examining students, and the Trustees' involvement in disciplinary matters. The minutes are missing for the period October 1744 to April 1752. Lists of students compiled by Joshua Wilson (also in the New College Collection) provide additional names of students (DWL, MS NCL/L54/1-4), as does the list of dissenting academies, tutors and students held at Birmingham University Library (MS 281). A letter from David Jennings to Philip Doddridge held at Yale University Library gives insight into Jennings's personal view of the academy (DWL, MS NCL 54/3/59 is an extract copied by Joshua Wilson). A manuscript copy of Jennings's lectures on preaching is held at Bristol Baptist College (G 93).

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Findern and Derby Academy (c.1712-1754)

There is no reliable evidence for the origins of this academy, which for most of its existence was located at Findern, five miles to the south-west of Derby. Although it was established by Thomas Hill, his successor Dr Ebenezer Latham was tutor for the greater part of the academy's history. Hill was teaching students from at least 1712, the year he was presented by the Grand Jury at the Derby Assizes for 'keeping a school for the boarding of youth within the town of Derby' (DWL, NCL/L54/2/10). The earliest historical accounts state that the academy subsequently moved to Hartshorne, eleven miles south of Derby on the border with Leicestershire. This is difficult to reconcile with the other evidence. In midsummer 1714 Hill was given a grant as minister at Findern from the Presbyterian Fund, but his students were apparently still in Derby in early August 1714 when Hill presented a volume of psalms to John Taylor. The academy probably moved to Findern shortly afterwards. There had earlier been a grammar school at Findern conducted by Benjamin Robinson while he was minister there. Despite some modern claims this was not an academy, but Robinson did briefly conduct an academy after he moved to Hungerford, Berkshire, in 1693.

Latham was teaching on his own account, probably at Caldwell (four miles south of Burton on Trent), before the end of Queen Anne's reign, for he later recorded that the studies of Matthew Bradshaw, who 'came very early under my care for *Academical Literature*, . . . had the melancholy prospect of being interrupted' when the Schism Act became law in 1714 (Latham, *Sermon Preached at Kidderminster*, 39). On Hill's death, in March 1720, Latham and Samuel Brentnal, a former student of Hill, took over the academy and the ministry at Findern. The Presbyterian Fund Board agreed to continue the allowance made to George Ault and Nicholas Warren, both students previously with Hill, provided 'they settle with Dr Latham & Mr Brentnal' (DWL, OD68, p. 362). The Board also agreed that the allowance paid to the meeting at Findern be continued to Latham and Brentnal. However, Brentnal's association with the congregation, and probably the academy, was fleeting. In 1745 Latham was appointed co-pastor of the Friar Gate Presbyterian Meeting in Derby with Josiah Rogerson, and the academy moved with him. On his death in 1754 the academy closed. When Hill successfully defended himself after being presented at the Assizes in Derby for keeping a school without a licence, he told the Jury that he boarded young men, 'I advise them what books to read; and when they apply to me for information on anything they do not understand, I inform them' (DWL, NCL/L54/2/10). Such a statement may have been disingenuous, but by this contrivance Hill evaded the penalties for teaching without a licence. Presumably under the more favourable political conditions of George I's reign, and at the time that Latham resumed his teaching, Hill adopted a more active mode of instruction. Little is known about his teaching other than the names of the authors of a handful of text books he is said to have used. In logic he employed Jean Le Clerc, in metaphysics Andreas Frommenius, and in philosophy the texts of Le Clerc and Jacques Rohault. He also recommended to his students Richard Baxter's *An End of Doctrinal Controversies* (1691). One of his students, Samuel Harvey, attested to his skill in Greek. There is further evidence for the standard of classical languages taught. In 1715 Hill printed a small collection of psalms in Latin and Greek verse for his students to sing. John Taylor's copy, 'the gift of his most learned master', is in the British Library. Evidence of Hill's reputation as a classical scholar comes from Taylor's decision to complete his studies with him.

The names of only twenty-two of Hill's students are known. They included lay as well as ministerial students. A number were from local gentry families who supported dissent, such as the Rodes family of Barlborough, near Chesterfield, and the Charnells of Swepstone, Leicestershire. Others followed lay careers. Samuel Ray MD studied medicine at Leiden after he left Findern, and became a leading physician in Birmingham. Following the death of Samuel Benion in 1708 some of his students completed their studies with Hill. At least two of

Hill's students, Quintus Naylor and John Jollie, subsequently conformed. His most distinguished student was John Taylor, the first theological tutor at Warrington Academy.

The evidence for Latham's teaching is likewise limited. His chief skill was said by William Willetts, his brother-in-law and biographer, to have been his knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, for which he was well qualified by his acquaintance with the learned languages and his understanding of Jewish antiquities and history. From a surviving manuscript volume, 'Exercitationes Physiologica', consisting of Latham's own notes and practical exercises in shorthand, it is clear he also studied natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy for himself. The subjects included the chemical elements, fluids and solids, the Copernican system, and the nature of the body and sensations. The list of the text books he used with his students is incomplete. For his system of theology Latham is said to have employed Benedict Pictet's *Theologia Christiana*. Other texts included Adriaan Reland on Jewish antiquities and Ægidius Strauchius on chronology. In logic his students read Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. They also read Gershom Carmichael, probably his *Breviuscula introductio ad logicam*. In jurisprudence they used John Spavan's edition of Pufendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*. Judging from the other texts, namely James Keil's *The Anatomy of the Human Body Abridg'd*, Le Clerc's *Physica*, W. J. van 'sGravesande's *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy*, William Whiston's *Elements of Euclid*, and part of John Ward's *The Young Mathematician's Guide*, natural philosophy, anatomy, and mathematics were also covered. It is clear from these titles that Latham's students were encouraged to keep up with the latest ideas. In 1735 the Presbyterian Fund Board made a grant of £20 'towards purchasing an Apparatus for experiments' (DWL, OD69, 210).

A better indication of what was taught and the standards achieved is provided by the regulations agreed by the Presbyterian Fund Board in 1725 for the students they supported. On completing their studies the students were examined on their learning. They were expected to be able to 'render into English any Paragraph of Tully's Offices or any such Latin Classic', to read a psalm in Hebrew, to translate into Latin any part of the Greek Testament with which they were provided, to give 'a Satisfactory Acco^{t} of their knowledge in the Several Sciences they Studied at the Academy & draw up a Thesis upon any question that shall be propos'd to them in Latin' (DWL, OD69, 50-51). The students educated by Latham must have met these standards for the Presbyterian Fund Board to have continued to favour his academy.

Among Latham's notable ministerial students were William Turner of Wakefield, John Ward of Taunton, and Samuel Wiche of Maidstone, all of whom were correspondents of Joseph Priestley; Joseph Fownes, minister at Shrewsbury and one of the sources of information about Findern, who published anonymously *An Enquiry into the Principles of Toleration* (London, 1790); and Samuel Blyth and William Hawkes, who were ministerial colleagues at New Meeting, Birmingham, one of the most important Presbyterian congregations outside London. John Bennet after a brief period as a student at Findern later became a prominent Methodist preacher. Latham's lay students included Sir Conyers Jocelyn, High Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1745, Robert Newton, High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1746, and Thomas Bentley, Josiah Wedgwood's partner. As with Hill, some of Latham's students conformed and were to hold Anglican livings, namely Ralph Brook, Sawyer Smith, Ferdinando Warner, and Timothy Wylde.

There is no complete list of the students educated by Hill and Latham. The names of just over a hundred taken from a variety of sources are known. According to the historical accounts of the academy the number of students during its forty-year history was between 300 and 400. The latter figure would suggest Latham taught twenty to thirty students a year, based on a three-year course for a minister and a shorter course for lay students. This seems too high, particularly as the academy was probably already in decline by the time that Latham became assistant minister at Derby in 1745, and it is clear he had very few students

during his final years. If the higher figure is true, then Findern was one of the largest academies before the nineteenth century. Certainly it was the most important academy in the Midlands in the first half of the eighteenth century, until it was eclipsed by Philip Doddridge's academy at Northampton. From the evidence that survives for his students the influence of Latham's academy was regional rather than national. There is information on the geographical origins for only three-fifths of the students who have been identified: the largest number were from Derbyshire, followed by Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and Leicestershire.

The academy at Findern was to overshadow its neighbours and to benefit from the closure of its rivals. John Reynolds kept up an academy in Shrewsbury with Dr John Gyles for two or three years, but it closed in 1718 after many of the students migrated to Samuel Jones's academy at Tewkesbury and Hill's at Findern. John Wadsworth's academy at Sheffield, the successor to Timothy Jollie's academy at Attercliffe, because of the competition from Findern, had only a few students. The academy at Findern also benefitted from the death of Samuel Jones and the closure of Tewkesbury in 1719. Among the students who migrated, Samuel Harvey was at Shrewsbury under Reynolds until the academy closed. He then moved to Tewkesbury, only to move again to Findern on Jones's death. Ralph Brook also migrated to Findern when Tewkesbury closed. Thomas Perrot and Daniel Phillips both moved from Carmarthen Academy on the death of the tutor, Perrot's uncle Thomas Perrot, in December 1733. Likewise William Peard Gillard migrated from Bridgwater Academy on the death of John Moore jun. in 1747. After studying with Latham at least ten students completed their studies in Scotland, mainly at Glasgow, another five at Leiden and a further two at Utrecht. In the case of the Dutch universities they went to study mainly medicine.

An examination of the early careers of the ministers educated at Findern suggests a similar regional pattern. The majority of students in their first ministry served a congregation in Derbyshire, Worcestershire or one of the neighbouring counties. According to Joseph Hunter, Hill and Latham were also responsible for having educated many of the ministers who served the Presbyterian congregations in Yorkshire in the mid-eighteenth century. The location of the academy undoubtedly explains the strength of Presbyterianism in Derbyshire in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the survival of many small congregations because they were still able to obtain the services of a minister.

A few details are known about the academy's domestic arrangements. Latham's wife appears to have been responsible for the running of the household. The academy at Findern was housed in a building in Doles Lane, later converted into a row of cottages which still exists. The students probably lodged with members of the congregation. Thomas Bentley, later Josiah Wedgwood's partner, lodged with Mrs Massey, who thirty years later became Wedgwood's housekeeper.

The academy under Latham was supported principally by the Presbyterian Fund, which funded three students under Hill and thirty-four under Latham, usually for three years, sometimes for four, and often for a final year of study elsewhere with an experienced minister. In November 1725, the Board resolved to support the academies only at Findern and Taunton in England and Carmarthen in Wales, and to reduce the two English academies 'to One as soon as shall be thought Convenient' (DWL, OD69, p. 50). It was Findern that received their support, but not all the trustees were satisfied with Latham as tutor. In 1729 John Barker persuaded the Board to write to Latham about a report that he and his students attended 'the worship of God once in a Lord's Day' in the parish church, but Latham's reply satisfied the managers (DWL, OD69, p. 102). Eight out of the thirteen students supported by the Presbyterian Fund Board in 1730 were studying at Findern, more than at any other academy. Latham's students were still being supported by the Fund twenty years later. The 1725 resolution was confirmed as late as March 1747, and only amended in April 1750, when, on Barker's motion, it was agreed that the Board's students in England should be placed at Findern, Kendal, 'or such other Academy in England, as the managers

of it shall approve' (DWL, OD70, p. 45). Yet one reason given for the decline of Latham's academy in 'An Account of the Dissenting Academies' was said to be the greater financial support received by the rival academy at Northampton.

Latham's academy was open to both lay and ministerial students without religious subscription. Many of his students became Arians. They included Joseph Fownes, Hugh Worthington, and Thomas Hartley. A few even became Unitarians, notably Paul Cardale, William Turner, and John Wiche. As early as 1732 a hostile critic in 'A View of the Dissenting Interest' was blaming the increase in heterodoxy among ministers in London in part upon Latham's academy, though Latham's direct responsibility for the spread of Arianism, particularly amongst the ministers in the Midlands, has almost certainly been exaggerated. The growing reputation of Philip Doddridge at Northampton, together with criticism of Latham's abilities and heterodoxy, led to a decline in student numbers. Probably as a consequence in 1745 Latham became Josiah Rogerson's assistant minister at Derby, taking the academy with him. During the later years his reputation as a teacher appears to have declined. By 1750 the criticism was not of Latham's lack of orthodoxy, but, in John Barker's words, of his lack of competence as a tutor. Such criticism may be no more than the orthodox Barker's dislike of Latham's heterodoxy. On Latham's death in 1754 the academy closed, by which time the number of students was very small.

Latham's academy was notable for the open doctrinal principles on which it was conducted and the length of its existence. Although established by Hill, the academy at Findern, and later at Derby, was largely the work of Latham. It reached its peak during the 1720s and 1730s, no doubt assisted by the closure of many of its competitors. In turn it was to be surpassed by the rise of the greatest of the mid eighteenth-century dissenting academies, Doddridge's academy at Northampton.

David L. Wykes

Archives

No records for this academy survive. The main sources are a series of related eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century manuscript accounts derived directly or indirectly from Noah Jones's collections: principally 'An Account of the Dissenting Academies from the Restoration of Charles the Second' (DWL, MS 24.59, fos. 27r-28r, 30r, 34r, 54r-59r); Joshua Wilson's notes on the Derbyshire academies of Mr Hill and Dr Latham (DWL, NCL/L54/1/18, fos. 20r-21v; NCL/L54/2/2-4, 6-10). An important source of student names is 'A View of Academical Institutions founded by Protestant Dissenters in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries' (*c*.1801-27) (University of Birmingham, Special Collections, MS 281, pp. 50-54, 68). There is evidence that two former students, John Taylor of Norwich and Joseph Fownes of Shrewsbury, provided information on the students under Hill and Latham, some of which was collected by Josiah Thompson (*c*.1724-1806), but this information is not recorded amongst the surviving Thompson manuscripts at DWL. A further useful source is 'Collectanea Hunteriana: Vol. VIII, being Memoirs to serve for a History of Protestant Dissent' (BL, Add MS 24,442, fos. 70v-71v). References to the academy, including payments made to students, can be found in the Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes (DWL, MS OD68; MS OD69; MS OD70; MS OD71). See also [E. Latham], 'Exercitationes Physiologicae A Domino Trano Traditae' (Derby Local Studies Library, MS 3368) and 'A View of the Dissenting Interest in London of the Presbyterian & Independent Denominations, from the year 1695 to the 25 of December 1731, with a Postscript of the present state of the Baptists' (DWL, MS38.18, p. 90).

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General Associate (Anti-Burgher) Divinity Hall (1748-1820) including New Light Anti-Burghers (1807-1820)

After the Breach of 1747, the Associate Presbytery split into two bodies, the Associate Synod or Burghers, and the General Associate Synod or Anti-Burghers, over the legality of the burgess oath required of burgesses in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Perth. The professor of the pre-breach Associate Presbytery, Alexander Moncreiff, sided with the Anti-Burghers and was appointed as the professor of their divinity hall, which therefore remained in Abernethy, where he was minister. After his death in 1761 he was succeeded by his son, William Moncreiff, who taught the students in Alloa, Clackmannanshire. On his death in 1786 Archibald Bruce was appointed tutor and the hall moved to Whitburn, Linlithgowshire (West Lothian). The hall was always conducted by a single professor, though in the early years often with a senior student teaching philosophy to the junior students.

With the split of the Anti-Burghers into Old Light and New Light factions in 1806, Bruce went with the minority Old Light faction, who then formed the Constitutional Presbytery. After a gap when the presbyteries taught the students, the New Light faction appointed George Paxton as their professor. In a break with previous practice, he was required to give up his pastoral charge of Kilmaurs, Perthshire, and move to Edinburgh. He remained professor until the union with the New Light Burghers and the formation of the United Secession Church in 1820. Opposed to that union, he remained with the small minority who stayed outside to form the Protesters Presbytery.

The divinity halls were regulated by the synod, and the students, who had to be in communion with the denomination, were initially examined by a committee of the synod. When William Moncrieff was professor applicants were examined in public on logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy. They were then examined privately on their personal faith, knowledge of experimental religion, and their motives for studying for the ministry.

The full course usually lasted for five sessions, but when there was an urgent need for preachers some were licensed after only four. Gaelic-speaking students, and students destined for the colonies, were generally excused one or two years. Students for the Irish church also tended to remain for a shorter period, but they were not considered eligible for a charge in Scotland. The session varied in time between three months and nine weeks. As many students had to make considerable sacrifices they often failed to attend for the full session. Complaints by the examining committee about the poor attendance under William Moncrieff led the synod to adopt new regulations requiring a minimum of six weeks' attendance, otherwise the year did not count towards completion. Bruce was subsequently unhappy because some students were not available to be taught for much of the session, which was meant to involve attendance for a minimum of five out of the eight weeks. Some students only attended to hand in their written work.

The divinity course for much of the period was based on Johannes Marck's *Christianae theologiae medulla*, which was covered in its entirety over the five sessions. Alexander Moncrieff used Marck as his text book, and while the book was read in Latin, he examined the students in English. There is no evidence to suggest that his teaching changed in either style or content after the Breach. William Moncrieff also used Marck's *Medulla* as his text book, lecturing four times a week, though Turretin was recommended to the students as the system of theology. Once or twice a week they were set a theological problem which they took turns to answer, and on Saturdays they were lectured on a chapter of the Confession of Faith which likewise they had to comment on in turn. It is clear that Bruce followed the same pattern of teaching at Whitburn, and that Marck was his text book too. According to Peter Taylor, one of his students, they generally met once a day at twelve. On Mondays Bruce lectured, on Tuesdays and Fridays the students delivered their discourses, on Wednesday

Bruce lectured on systematic theology, on which the students were examined the following day, and on Saturdays the confessional lecture and conference took place. Bruce's lectures were published as *Introductory and Occasional Lectures for Forming the Minds of Young Men* (1797). Taylor thought the course defective in the crucial area of sermon composition and preaching. The same student exercises were used by both Bruce and his successor Paxton. In the first year the students were given an exegesis in Latin and a lecture on a portion of the Westminster Confession, in the second year a homily, in the third year an exercise on a passage of the Greek New Testament, in the fourth a lecture, and in the fifth they had to produce a popular sermon.

During the early period philosophy was taught to the junior class in the first two years by an assistant, normally a senior student waiting for his first charge. John Mason was philosophy tutor with Alexander Moncrieff from 1756 to 1760. He instructed the first-year students in logic, using a system which he had compiled himself, covering also ontology and pneumatology. In the second year he gave a sketch of mathematics, with moral and natural philosophy, lecturing in Latin. He met his students twice a day, the first hour being an examination of the students on the previous lecture and the second the new material. The other senior students who taught philosophy were John Heugh, William Graham, Robert Archibald, David Wilson, Alexander Pirie, James Bishop, Isaac Ketchen, and John Smart. Generally about a third of the students attended philosophy classes at university, the rest in the divinity hall. The arrangement concerning the teaching of philosophy appears to have changed under Paxton, who had no pastoral charge, and was therefore able to superintend those students who were pursuing their philosophical education at Edinburgh University when the divinity hall was not in session. He also taught them Hebrew. The divinity course included Hebrew and Greek.

Theoretically, the synod covered the whole of Scotland, but in practice, like all the secession churches, it was largely a church of the lowlands and the borders. A significant number of students came from Ireland and also from Scottish Presbyterian congregations in the north of England. Nearly a quarter of the students later served congregations outside Scotland, a tenth in Ireland, another tenth in North America, and the rest in England. According to McKelvie's *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, a total of 636 students passed through the hall. In earlier years the new intake could be as low as two, but in his final year Paxton had an intake of twenty-eight students.

Among the most celebrated students was the scientist and author Thomas Dick, briefly minister in Stirling until deposed for immorality, whose *The Christian Philosopher, or the Connexion of Science and Philosophy with Religion* sought to reconcile Christian belief with developments in scientific knowledge, especially astronomy. Walter Minto, who was never ordained, emigrated to America during his probation and became Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Princeton University. James Drummond McGregor was a major figure in the development of the Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia and the Pictou Academy. Robert Bruce, was Principal, later President and first Chancellor of the Western University of Pennsylvania (subsequently the University of Pittsburgh). John Mitchell Mason, son of John Mason, a former student, took his degree at Columbia College, New York, and came to Scotland to study at Edinburgh University and in the divinity hall under Bruce. In 1804 he established 'Dr. Mason's Seminary', the first divinity hall of the Associated Reformed Church, New York (now Union Theological Seminary). Thomas McCrie, church historian, biographer of John Knox, leader of the Old Light Anti-burghers, and a prominent opponent of the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, was a student under Bruce.

In 1776 the divinity hall library, which had existed as a collection of books for some years, was formalised under a management committee which included the professor, two other local ministers, a local merchant, and a student at the hall. The clerk and librarian was generally a student who held the office for a year. Starting with about 300 books, it gained stock both by donation and by purchase, using entrance fees and subscriptions. Archibald

Bruce gave his professorial stipend to improve the library. The library moved with the hall, and a new management committee was formed from the local ministers. It survived the split of 1820 but remained in the hands of Paxton when he sided with the Protesters. By 1827 registered users were down almost to single figures and it ceased to be viable. There were discussions about donating it to the United Associate Synod, but no decision seems to have been taken and its final fate is unknown.

Tradition has the students boarding with the professor, though this seems unlikely. While the hall was in small towns, students probably boarded out, although in Whitburn there seems to have been a building known as the 'barracks' where students lodged. When the hall was in Edinburgh many of the students would have lived and worked locally, and engaged in teaching.

All the secession churches had daughter churches in the American colonies, or later in the United States. The Anti-Burghers were the first to take on foreign missions when they sent two ministers to Pennsylvania in 1753. A steady trickle of ministers followed them; this led to the setting up of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. Many of those involved in the training of ministers in North America had themselves been trained in Scottish divinity halls. By 1770 American seceder ministers had decided that the Burgher or Anti-Burghers distinction was irrelevant in America, though this met with disapproval from the General Associate Synod in Scotland. John M. Mason had attended the Anti-Burgher divinity hall, but it was to the Burghers that he looked to recruit Scottish ministers for the Associate presbytery in America in 1801-2.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

The main archival sources are located at the National Archives of Scotland. References to the divinity hall are in the records of the General Associate Synod, 1745-1820 (CH3/144/1-3), and the library records, 1777-1833 (CH3/11/1). Records of the individual churches where the divinity hall was held are Abernethy Associate (Antiburgher) Congregation, 1744-1949 (CH3/687), and Edinburgh, Original Secession Church, Castle Wynd, Infirmary Street, 1820-1842 (CH3/1347).

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Gosport Academy (1777-1826)

David Bogue began to educate students at his home in Gosport, Hampshire in 1777. Although he began with a single student, it was the start of a continuous educational enterprise and, therefore, 1777 should be seen as the beginning of his academic project, Gosport Academy. While it can be confirmed that Bogue tutored this student in his home, the early history of Gosport Academy is difficult to determine because few records survive. Only after 1800, when the academy became affiliated with the London Missionary Society, were administrative records maintained.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to divide the history of Gosport Academy into three distinct periods, each stage initiated by a major shift in the academy's management. The first period lasted from 1777 to 1789, when the academy was governed privately by Bogue. As a consequence, he had the freedom to select students and design the curriculum without interference. He accepted students from all denominations of dissent, only requiring them to hold conservative evangelical beliefs. In terms of the curriculum, he offered lectures on a variety of subjects, providing his students with a very general education geared towards philosophical inquiry. It cannot be determined exactly how many students Bogue taught during this period, but it is safe to conclude that the number did not exceed five.

The second stage began in 1789, when Gosport Academy received funding from George Welch, a wealthy London banker who was a conservative Independent. Welch, fearing the growth of Unitarianism, wanted to increase the number of itinerant evangelical preachers in Britain. He offered to support Gosport Academy if Bogue agreed to gear his curriculum towards preparing men for the conservative, itinerant ministry. The pair reached an agreement whereby Bogue developed a three-year programme and recruited three new ministerial students per year, and Welch paid him £10 per annum per student and an additional £25 for each student's room, board, and incidental expenses.

With the rise in student numbers the academy outgrew Bogue's home, so he began to hold classes in the vestry at his Gosport Independent Church. Rather than board all of the new students himself, he arranged to place them privately with members of his congregation. The most considerable arrangement was with a Mrs Shepherd, who owned a boarding house within which she accommodated several students, including most of the London Missionary Society's candidates who arrived after 1800, until her death at the end of 1812. Others found themselves in private homes scattered around the Gosport area. This arrangement implies that there were no college buildings for Gosport Academy, and that the students were in daily contact with members of the congregation who privately housed them.

Since the exclusive aim of the academy, according to Welch's desires, was to produce conservative preachers, Bogue was told to develop a curriculum that was strictly theological and, furthermore, unapologetically evangelical. Never one to take orders, Bogue adjusted his programme to have a theological bias, requiring students to complete a lengthy theology course, but Gosport ministerial students also took classes on rhetoric, Jewish antiquities, biblical studies, English, philosophy, evidences of Christianity, history, pastoral office, geography, and astronomy. In addition, students studied languages (Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and sometimes French) to enable them to read a broad range of primary theological, philosophical, and sacred texts. However, Bogue did not provide lectures on any of the languages studied at Gosport. Instead students achieved fluency by studying dictionaries, grammars, and literature written in each of the languages.

After Welch's death in November 1796, Robert Haldane, one of Bogue's earliest students, and the Hampshire Association of Ministers jointly supported the academy for three years. In 1802 Haldane offered to subscribe £100 a year for three years if Bogue took on ten more

students and his other friends found the remainder of the sum required. The cost of each student was £40 a year for board and education. Among those who responded to the printed circular was Robert Spears of Manchester, who promised £25. Subsequently, the Hampshire Association of Ministers assumed full patronage. Both Haldane and the Association strongly supported Welch's original evangelical proposal, so Bogue maintained the academy's purpose of training men for the Independent ministry.

In 1800, the academy entered the third stage of its history when the London Missionary Society appointed Gosport Academy to be its official missionary training seminary. This move came only after the Society experienced a series of failures in its inaugural missions to the South Seas and South Africa, and it subsequently learned the value of educating missionaries prior to deploying them in unfamiliar territories. According to the 'Report on Missionary Training', proposed by the London Missionary Society after the failure of its earliest missions, the two aims of the Society's training seminary were to be 'the communication of knowledge, and the formation or rather strengthening of good dispositions' (SOAS, CWM/LMS, LMS Board Minutes, FBN 1: Slide 9, May 5, 1800). Since the rest of the directors lacked experience in academy administration, the report also nominated Bogue for the office of 'Tutor to the Missionary Seminary' and sought his leadership for the purpose of designing the curriculum. Bogue accepted the proposal on 4 August 1800.

Henceforth, Gosport would continue to accept students who wanted to enter the Independent ministry in Britain, but it would mostly enroll London Missionary Society candidates. Like the Independent ministry programme, the Society's training course was to last for three years, but Bogue often allowed a missionary to depart Gosport prior to the end of this time period if he needed to be deployed sooner. In such a case, the missionary candidate crammed the remainder of his studies into whatever time he was given prior to his departure.

All students at Gosport, regardless of whether they were studying to become missionaries abroad or ministers in Britain, undertook the same set of courses, outlined above, with one exception: London Missionary Society students enrolled in an additional lengthy class on 'Missionary Instructions'. In this series of lectures, Bogue provided an overview of the history of missions and then outlined his unique mission strategy, which he expected the students to follow closely after arriving in their assigned fields. According to Bogue's strategy, the missionaries were not expected to preach directly to natives. Instead, they were charged with another task: namely mastering native languages, composing a translation of the Bible into the natives' tongue, and publishing a dictionary and grammar which could be used as a resource by future missionaries. Upon completion of these tasks, missionaries were to compose and publish other theological texts (a list of which Bogue provided) and then to establish a school for natives. It was at such a school that the missionaries were expected to engage intellectually and theologically with the natives and to pass the Gosport programme and evangelical tradition to others. Bogue recognized that not every missionary could accomplish these goals in a lifetime, so he continued to train men who would later be deployed to replenish the mission and continue the construction of this large project, the building of which would have commenced with the arrival of the first Gosport-trained agent.

In terms of his teaching method, Bogue read to his students an outline of the main points of each lecture's topic and then provided them with a list of required readings. The students, in turn, copied the template, consulted the assigned resources, and filled in the details on their own. The candidates later presented their completed notes to the tutor, after which he provided a response if and where appropriate. As a result, each Gosport alumnus left the academy with his own transcribed set of Bogue's lecture notes, making it much easier to establish a Gosport circle that spanned the globe yet which followed Bogue's original model.

In terms of the texts consulted at Gosport, it is clear from Bogue's outlines that, while

commentaries and philosophies were valued, the Bible was the ultimate authority, particularly in the theology, missionary, and preaching lectures. His teaching was distinctly nondoctrinal, despite his personal beliefs. A proponent of a liberal education, Bogue wanted his students to be well read on a variety of topics so that they could eventually set up their own schools. The establishment of further dissenting schools, Bogue made it clear in his lectures, was the best way in which British Protestant dissent could spread throughout the world. Accordingly, Gosport students read a wide variety of books, all of which were to be found in Bogue's personal library. In 1808, Cornelius Winter, who had educated students for the ministry at Marlborough and Painswick, left a considerable part of his library, some 850 volumes 'selected by himself for that purpose' ('Religious Intelligence', *Evangelical Magazine*, 16 (1808), 179), to the London Missionary Society for the use of the academy at Gosport.

David Bogue was the only tutor at Gosport Academy until August 1817, when his son, David Bogue Jr, an alumnus of Gosport Academy, joined his father in order to serve as classical tutor. David Bogue Jr resigned from this position four years later, after which it was filled by Theophilus Eastman, another Gosport graduate, who remained until the elder Bogue died in 1825. With Bogue's death, the London Missionary Society appointed Ebenezer Henderson as superintendent and resident tutor of Gosport Academy. However, in 1826 the academy closed, mainly due to the withdrawal of funding by the London Missionary Society, which had decided to establish a new seminary on the premises of the then vacant Hoxton Independent Academy, near the Society's headquarters in London.

In its lifetime, David Bogue's Gosport Academy educated more than two hundred men, over half of whom were London Missionary Society missionary candidates. The majority of these were successful in planting the seeds of Protestant dissent in communities throughout the globe, taking their Gosport lecture notes with them, following closely Bogue's innovative mission strategy, and sharing his dissenting worldview with all of the disparate peoples and cultures they encountered. The direct result of their efforts is an ever-expanding global Protestant community that owes its existence to this single dissenting academy. Among Bogue's more celebrated students were James Bennett, theological tutor at Rotherham Independent College and historian of dissent, Robert Morrison, who first translated the Bible into Chinese, and John Angell James, minister of the important Congregational Church at Carr's Lane, Birmingham.

Christopher A. Daily

Archives

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Hackney Unitarian Academy (1812-1818)

By the early nineteenth century Unitarian congregations were faced with an endemic shortage of trained ministers. Although Manchester College, York was training ministers, its academic requirements were ambitious, which necessarily limited the number of ministers it could send out, and it was thus perceived as neglecting the poorer congregations. To redress this imbalance, in May 1811, Robert Aspland, one of the most active Unitarian ministers of his time, came together with other likeminded men under the auspices of the Unitarian Fund to discuss the establishment of a seminary for training 'popular rather than learned ministers' (R. B. Aspland, *Memoir*, 303) who would be 'suited to the wants of smaller and less prosperous Congregations' (*Monthly Repository*, 6 (1811), 373). Their intention was to provide a shorter course of practical theology that would equip men for their preaching and pastoral duties, but without the benefits of a rounded education offered by higher institutions such as Manchester College, York, thus giving poorer and less academically minded men the opportunity to follow their calling and supplying the disadvantaged congregations with trained ministers. Thus, instead of establishing an institution that would rival Manchester College, the founders were unambiguous in their intention 'to raise different classes of Preachers and to serve different classes of Congregations' (*Monthly Repository*, 6 (1811), 374).

In June 1811 the founders agreed that the academy would offer a two-year course for students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. It would be run by the Principal Tutor who would provide boarding for the students. The term 'Unitarian' was chosen to reflect more the opinion of the founders than any requirement in terms of the religious beliefs of prospective students, and was intended in its broadest sense – with the only condition being an acceptance of the 'sole worship of one God, the Father' (R. B. Aspland, *Memoir*, 303). Nonetheless, this proved to be a major point of contention amongst prospective supporters. While some found the term offensive because they felt that the institution should remain free of any sectarian labels, others objected because they wanted a clear identification with Unitarianism. Another point of concern, raised most prominently by Thomas Belsham, former divinity tutor at New College, Hackney, was the short duration of the course, which was felt to be inadequate to enable students to acquire even a basic general knowledge and understanding of theology. Belsham was convinced that the institution would eventually have to increase the length of the course, a conviction that he expressed in his letters to Aspland and one that was ultimately realized.

A product of the Unitarian Fund, the academy was run by a group of six prominent Unitarians: Aspland; John Christie, secretary; Richard Taylor, treasurer; and a Committee of Management consisting of John T. Rutt, William Frend, and John Bickerton Dewhurst. It received some financial support from the Fund, the exact amount of which remains unknown, but according to R. B. Aspland it was inadequate to run the academy. Nor did public appeals yield enough to sustain the academy: in 1812 life subscriptions and donations amounted to only £453 10s., while the annual subscriptions raised only £130. Although additional funds were raised subsequently, they were never sufficient to ensure the stability of the institution, and this lack of support led to its closure after only six years. But financial considerations were of little concern to Aspland, who was unanimously appointed Principal Tutor and who proceeded with the establishment of the academy regardless. In the autumn of 1812 Aspland moved to Durham House, Hackney Road, a large building with gardens that provided appropriate accommodation for the tutor's growing family and his students, and the Hackney Unitarian Academy was opened.

At the heart of the course lay divinity, history (ecclesiastical and general), mental and moral philosophy, elocution, rhetoric and belles lettres, pastoral office, and composition, all taught by Aspland. In addition to this, students were taught classics, Hebrew, and mathematics.

Dewhurst, another member of the committee, was appointed classics tutor alongside Aspland. His untimely death in early October 1812 left Aspland to bear the whole responsibility for the academy. As a consequence, during the first year Aspland taught the entire course himself, except for Hebrew. To stress the academy's emphasis on the practical aspect of its divinity training, Aspland concentrated the theology curriculum on the acquisition of practical skills that would provide the students with a good foundation for their work as preachers, ministers, and missionaries. Given the academy's goal to train able preachers, of particular significance were subjects such as elocution, rhetoric, the pastoral office, and especially the composition and delivery of sermons, the area in which Manchester College, York drew most criticism for its failure to supply ministers capable of performing well in the pulpit. To provide the students with the necessary experience of addressing an audience, the classes were supplemented by extempore prayer and active participation in Aspland's weekly religious conferences at Gravel Pit Chapel. The students often supplied Unitarian chapels supported by the Unitarian Fund, and spent their vacations in what R. B. Aspland termed 'missionary excursions', in which they acquired further practical skills.

The proceedings and studies of the students were recorded in a diary, a task that the students took turns to complete. According to R. B. Aspland this was the only record of the academy's work that escaped destruction. However, it subsequently disappeared, and his Memoir of his father's life remains the only record of the academy's work.

From 1814 to 1815 Jeremiah Joyce was employed as mathematics tutor. Thomas B. Broadbent, employed as classics tutor from 1814 to 1816, was held in particular esteem by both his students and colleagues for his ability to engage his students. In 1816 John Morell took over both the classics and mathematics department of the academy, and was succeeded in 1818 by William J. Fox, a former Homerton student and a budding politician and preacher, whose employment was terminated by the academy's closure shortly after he arrived. Hebrew was taught first by a Mr Bolaffey – very likely Hayim Vita Bolaffey, author of Hebrew grammar books and later Hebrew tutor at Eton and Oxford - and then by a Mr Bright.

As Belsham predicted, the original plan of the academy soon had to be amended, with the managers realizing that a two-year course was inadequate to cover the material required to equip the students for their professional role. Uncertainty about an appropriate length for the course prevented both tutors and students from making the best of their studies, and the addition of a third year did not resolve the issue. In 1816 the committee recommended to the governors that the course be extended to four years for the students whose studies included classics, and be limited to two for those whose studies were confined to English literature and theology. It was also decided to limit the age of prospective students for the long course to between seventeen and twenty years and to require at least a rudimentary level of knowledge of the classical languages, while candidates for the short course should be between eighteen and twenty-three years old and should possess 'an adequate English education' (*Monthly Repository*, 11 (1816), 495). The academy closed only two years after the alterations were agreed, thus making these decisions redundant.

Despite Aspland's indefatigable efforts to realize the ambitions for the academy, it failed to fulfill the hopes of Unitarians such as Belsham that it would become an influential institution in the metropolis. Ultimately, it was little more than a small seminary for Unitarian preachers. The academy's relative lack of success was underpinned by the growing concern of Charles Wellbeloved, theology tutor at Manchester College, York, and others that its educational provisions were inadequate to provide the requisite level of ministerial training. In a letter from 1816 to G. W. Wood, John Kenrick, classics tutor at Manchester College, described the academy as a place for those for whom studying was second to other interests, despite the recent efforts of the academy committee (and thus in contradiction to the founders' initial intentions) to provide a more traditional and more comprehensive education. However, the

letter also betrays the underlying apprehension that, had the circumstances been different and had the academy succeeded in obtaining more solid support, an institution such as this, located as it was in London, would have seriously threatened the position of and support given to Manchester College, York.

In the course of its brief existence, a total of twelve students attended the academy. The students came from as far as Scotland, Lancashire and Suffolk. In its first year the academy housed two students, in the second three (one of whom left in the first few months). From 1814 to 1816 the student number was a minimum of four, reaching its peak of five in the academic year 1815/16. In the following academic year this number was reduced to three students, and in the last year to two. Nine of the twelve recorded students became Unitarian ministers. The three who did not (Fletcher, Hancock and Webb) entered the academy as ministerial candidates but did not remain long. Of the other nine students, two in particular are worthy of mention: the topographer and antiquary Thomas Walker Horsfield, Unitarian minister at Lewes, and John Smethurst, the first Unitarian missionary in the north of Ireland. Both have entries in the *Oxford DNB*.

Inga Jones

Archives

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Homerton Academy (1769-1850)

The origin of Homerton Academy can be traced to 1730 when an association of laymen, known as the King's Head Society (from their place of meeting), wished to revive among Baptists and Independents 'a zeal for orthodox opinions' (*Congregational Year Book* (1846), 131), i.e. strict Calvinism. They were dissatisfied with the developments at Moorfields Academy, controlled by the Congregational Fund Board, where, although Thomas Ridgley, the theological tutor, was orthodox, John Eames, who made the Academy outstanding in mathematics and science, was regarded as placing too great an emphasis on reason. The King's Head Society placed young men of piety and talent under the tuition of several ministers in London and its neighbourhood, who were responsible for the Clerkenwell, Deptford, and Stepney Academies. Those whom it supported were expected to sign Ten Articles of a Calvinistic character. The Congregational Fund Board later joined with the King's Head Society to form a joint committee to train candidates for the ministry, the Board taking responsibility for supporting those engaged in theological studies and the Society those receiving tuition in classical and general learning. In 1754 they opened a large house in Mile End as their academy, with the Revds John Conder, Thomas Gibbons, and John Walker as tutors. The institution moved in 1769 to a copyhold mansion, bought by the committee in 1768 and enlarged for the purpose, in Homerton, a village in a strongly dissenting neighbourhood to the north-east of London. In the 1780s several students were expelled for their opposition to subscription to the Ten Articles, several of whom subsequently became Unitarian ministers. There were also divisions over political loyalties, accentuated by the French Revolution, and eventually in 1796 John Fell, the classical tutor appointed in 1787, who was a republican despite being doctrinally orthodox, was dismissed because of his quick-tempered altercations with students.

Homerton Academy, 1825 [source: DWL, MS NCL L64/1/3]

In 1801 John Pye Smith, a student from Rotherham Academy, was appointed to be classical and science tutor, and he remained for fifty years; from 1806, when he became theological tutor, Pye Smith was effectively the principal. The academy was enlarged in 1811, and six years later the King's Head Society was dissolved and replaced by the Homerton Academy Society, now solely concerned with the support and government of the academy. Subscription to the Ten Articles as a condition of membership of the Society and entry to the academy was dropped. A further rebuilding took place in 1822-23 at a cost of nearly £10,000, and the name was changed from academy to college. Its object was stated to be 'to support twenty young men of decided and approved piety, who possess suitable talents and are desirous of devoting themselves to the service of Christ, by pursuing a course of study adapted to qualify them for the intelligent and honourable discharge of the said office' (*Congregational Year Book* (1846), 131). The course lasted six years: the first two were devoted to classics and mathematics, and the remaining four to classical, theological and philosophical studies. The examinations were public at the time of the annual meeting of subscribers at the beginning of June. In July 1840 the college received a royal warrant to issue certificates to the candidates for the degrees of BA, MA, BL and LLD in the University of London (transcribed in the *Congregational Year Book* (1846), 139-40). By 1850 one Congregational minister from Homerton had been awarded an MA, one a BL, and six BAs. The tutors in 1846 were the Revds Dr John Pye Smith and Dr William Smith (editor of the *Classical Dictionary*), together with Professor Robert Wallace, Professor Maurice Nenner, and B.H. Smart, Esq. Notable former students included the Liverpool minister Thomas Raffles, prominent supporter of the Lancashire Independent College; the missionaries Edward Stallybrass (to Siberia) and Robert Cotton Mather (to India); Robert Halley, later principal of New College; and John Daniel Morrell, educational writer. In 1850 Homerton joined with Coward College and Highbury College to form New College, London.

Those who supported the college in the early nineteenth century reflected the changes in London Congregationalism since the mid-eighteenth century. They were silk and hosiery manufacturers, stockbrokers, bankers, and men of business. One particular family was important for the long-term future of Homerton. John Morley was co-founder of the firm of I. & R. Morley, stocking-knitters and underwear manufacturers, and he became treasurer of Homerton in 1841. His son, Samuel Morley, became the sole proprietor in 1855, and also succeeded his father as treasurer. When the college was merged with Coward and Highbury in 1850, Samuel, who was also treasurer of the Congregational Board of Education, secured the college buildings for the Board, and gave it a new lease of life as a college to combine the separate teacher-training institutions run by the Board for male and female teachers respectively. Eventually this Homerton college moved to Cambridge in 1894, and became a college of the university with a Royal Charter in 2010.

David Thompson

Archives

The main archival sources for Homerton are held by the Congregational Library and Dr Williams's Library.The following library catalogues and loan registers held in Dr Williams's Library have been entered into *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*:

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- Loan register, 1830-45 (L78)

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Horton Academy (1806-1859) and Rawdon College (1859-1964)

(Historical account to 1860)

The Particular Baptist Academy at Little Horton, on the outskirts of Bradford in the West Riding of Yorkshire, commenced its work in 1806 in a converted warehouse, rented for the purpose by the Northern Education Society (known from 1817 as the Northern Baptist Education Society). The Society owed its existence primarily to John Fawcett, Baptist minister at Hebden Bridge, who had run an academy of his own at Brearley Hall and Ewood Hall from 1776 to 1805, and who had a life-long commitment to the training of ministers for the Baptist denomination.

Fawcett and his ministerial colleague from Liverpool, Samuel Medley, had challenged the Particular Baptist churches of Yorkshire and Lancashire to work more closely together, and this had led to the revitalisation and reconstitution of the existing Association in 1787. In 1804, partly because of Fawcett's age, and also stimulated by the example of the Independents' academies in the area and the newly formed Particular Baptist Education Society in London, proposals were brought to the Association for the creation of a similar society for the North of England. With financial support from James Bury, a calico printer from Pendle Hill in Lancashire, it was unanimously agreed that a society be formed 'for the purpose of encouraging pious young men, recommended by the churches to which they belong, persons of promising abilities for the Ministry' (Minutes of Northern Education Society, 24 May 1804). The resolution referred to the good work done by academies for training ministers in other parts of the country, specifically mentioning the Bristol Baptist Academy, at that time the only such institution among the Particular Baptists. In August 1804 the society was formally constituted at a meeting in Rochdale.

William Steadman of Plymouth Dock (now Devonport) agreed to take up the position of tutor at the Northern Education Society's institution (as it was usually called) in 1805. He combined the position of pastor of the Bradford church with his duties as tutor. He had been trained at Bristol Baptist Academy, and had experience of missionary work among the miners of Cornwall. Without any great intellectual gifts, he had a strong sense of 'the obligations of duty' and a 'passion for the useful' (Thomas Steadman, *Memoir*, 458-60).

Apart from accommodation for Steadman, the Little Horton premises consisted of a lecture hall and dining room, small individual studies and bedrooms that could accommodate up to eight students. The first two students began their studies at the start of 1806, and by the annual meeting of the society in 1808 there were eight - three from Scotland and five from England. Local Baptist ministers sometimes also took advantage of Steadman's assistance as tutor, staying at Little Horton for short periods. Steadman's approach to the curriculum was pragmatic, being concerned above all with preparing his students for work in the churches where they were likely to be ministers. His first priority was proficiency in preaching, and to that end English grammar was taught in the first year. Latin, Greek (both New Testament and Classical), and even Hebrew, were tackled if students showed any promise in languages. Other subjects included logic, rhetoric, composition, geography, natural philosophy, and chemistry, as well as theology and ecclesiastical history. Students had to read an essay and preach a sermon each week, and at the end of each year undertake an examination.

Academic studies were frequently interrupted by preaching engagements in local churches, sometimes involving absences of several days or even weeks. Steadman was struck by the almost boundless opportunities for village preaching, and deeply concerned about the spiritual state of the whole of northern England. He found the people poor and vulgar, and in

1806 noted that most of his ministerial colleagues 'were illiterate, their talents small, . . . their systems of divinity contracted, their maxims of church discipline rigid, their exertions scarcely any' (Thomas Steadman, *Memoir*, 227-8). He combined his work as tutor and pastor with leadership of a society for itinerant preaching throughout the two counties. The Minute Book (27 August 1817) records 15 students as attending in 1816-17, and by the end of that academic year a total of 23 had completed a course of training.

The academy was given a substantial boost in 1814 when John Sutcliffe of Olney bequeathed his library to the society, and two years later a donation enabled the Little Horton buildings to be purchased. A further bequest of £5,000 in 1825 helped to secure the precarious financial position of the academy. Progress of another kind was made in 1822 with the appointment of a second tutor, Benjamin Godwin. Godwin broadened the curriculum to include mathematics, and helped to raise academic standards. He too combined the responsibility of tutor with that of ministry in a local church, taking up the pastorate of a second church in Bradford in 1824.

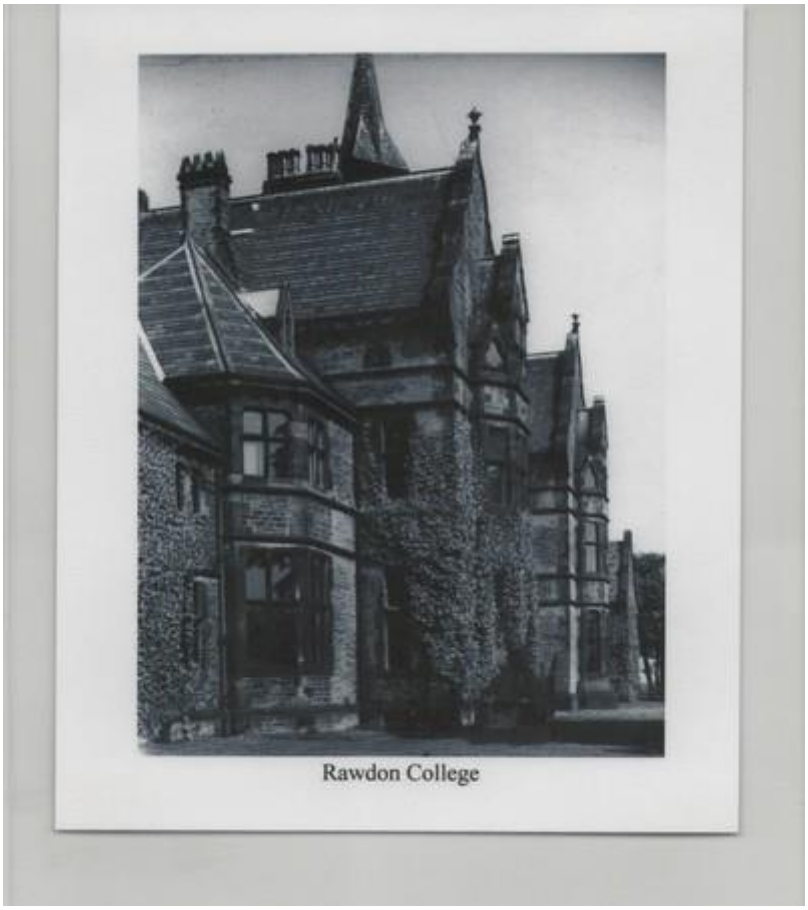
Indiscipline among the student body, which generally grew in number to about twenty annually, was sometimes an issue that the tutors had to deal with, and three students were expelled in 1828. Another challenge was the admission of a number of Welsh students who needed extra help with English. In 1834 Godwin resigned to become full-time minister at his church. Steadman's health was also deteriorating, and he resigned the following year. James Acworth, minister of the Particular Baptist Church in Leeds, accepted the invitation to become president. By then, a total of 157 students had been through Little Horton, the majority of whom were still in ministry, at least one as a missionary with the Baptist Missionary Society. In the wider denomination, the situation had changed enormously since Steadman's appointment thirty years before. Baptist churches were growing quickly and multiplying, more than doubling in number, and the Baptist Union had become an effective body for uniting churches nationally.

Acworth provided stability to the Horton Academy following the uncertainty of Steadman's final years. Unlike Steadman and Godwin, he worked full time at the Academy and did not try to combine it with the responsibilities of ministry in a local church. He had studied theology at Bristol Baptist Academy and at Glasgow University, but his contribution was organisational as well as academic. He insisted on keeping the institution on a sound financial footing. The course was extended to five years, with Syriac and Chaldee added to the syllabus, a classical tutor (first Francis Clowes, succeeded in 1851 by Samuel Gosnell Green) being appointed to assist Acworth. Student numbers grew to thirty-six, the highest ever, in 1842. Acworth's ambition to improve the academic standards of the college, as it was often now called, resulted in affiliation to London University in 1852, which meant that students could be prepared for London degrees. The scientific aspect of the curriculum was broadened with the addition of mechanics and optics.

In 1853, Acworth began to look seriously for more suitable premises. By the following year, pressure to leave the increasingly industrialised surroundings of Bradford was increasing, and when in 1855 a gift of £5,000 to facilitate a move was received the momentum had become irresistible. Initially it seemed that Manchester would be the favoured option. By then the Baptist Association had divided into two, and the churches of Lancashire were eager for an academy on their side of the Pennines. The existence of Owens College, as well as successful Wesleyan and Congregational colleges in Manchester, were also important factors. Proposals were made for a two-track programme of training in two separate locations, one an English Theological Institution, at Horton, and a second, a Collegiate Institution, for more advanced students, and in 1856 premises were purchased in Manchester to enable this to happen.

In the end, however, this project came to nothing, possibly because of rivalry between the two counties. With the financial help of local businessmen, a 7½ acre woodland site was

purchased near the village of Rawdon, north of Bradford, not far from Airedale Independent College. The new premises were built, and opened free of debt in September 1859. The premises at Little Horton were sold, having served the society for 54 years.



Rawdon College

The new Rawdon College provided accommodation for a resident tutor and 26 students, each with his own study and bedroom, together with a library, lecture room and dining room. The college's fine gabled frontage faced towards the river Aire. Along its length was a broad terrace. Paths and drives were laid through the surrounding woodland. It was a sign of Baptists' aspiration for their future ministry, shut away from the noisy distractions of Leeds and Bradford. Its stone towers, gables and terraces showed that the Baptists were advancing, culturally and intellectually. The move under Acworth's leadership represented more than a simple change of accommodation. In 1862 Acworth retired, and was succeeded as president by Green.

In 1904 Rawdon became affiliated to the new University of Leeds. In 1964 it was amalgamated with the Baptist Manchester College to form Northern Baptist College, Manchester, now Luther King House, Manchester. The original Rawdon College building, after a period as a student hall of residence, became private flats.

Peter Shepherd

Archives

The Northern (Baptist) Education Society Minute Books and printed Annual Reports are in Luther King House, Manchester. The Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford, contains letters of William Steadman to John Saffery about Horton, and Benjamin Godwin's 'Memoirs', in the form of letters to his son John, with an account of his teaching.

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Hoxton Academy (1764-1785)

Hoxton Academy came into existence following the death of the tutor David Jennings in September 1762, which left his assistant, Samuel Morton Savage, in charge of the students of the academy at Wellclose Square. Abraham Rees, a senior student at the academy, was appointed by the Coward Trustees as an interim assistant to Savage in November 1762; they and the students continued at Wellclose Square while a suitable building was found and made ready. This process took longer than anticipated, and it was not until September 1764 that the academy moved to Daniel Williams's former residence in Hoxton Square. It remained there for the next twenty years.

The academy attracted students from around the country, from different traditions within dissent (including one Quaker, Henry Hanbury Beaufoy, who later conformed to the Church of England) and from other academies. Students moved to Hoxton from Warrington, Taunton, Exeter, and Carmarthen academies. Many students were funded by the Coward Trust, which was a Congregational foundation, but entry was not restricted to Congregationalists, and many students developed heterodox views during their studies or later became Unitarians. George Cadogan Morgan, originally a member of the Church of England, who had spent two years at Jesus College, Oxford, prior to his four years at Hoxton, later became a tutor at New College, Hackney, as did Thomas Broadhurst. The author William Godwin was also a student at the academy. Seventy-eight names (including Coward-supported students) are listed in a compendium of dissenting academies made in the early nineteenth century held in Birmingham University Library. Some of this information is said to have been provided by former students of the academy, and can therefore be viewed as reasonably accurate. Fifty-seven students were awarded exhibitions by the Coward Trust. The course was five years for ministerial students, and there were around a dozen students at the academy at any one time.

The Coward Trust paid for the lease on and improvements to the building in Hoxton Square, paid the tutors' salaries, and provided exhibitions for many of the academy's students. Some candidates for exhibitions were recommended by tutors at the academy, and all successful candidates had passed an examination into their learning, religion, and conduct by the Trustees, though doctrinal tests were not imposed. The Trustees were also closely involved in the day-to-day operation and discipline of the academy. Indeed, finance and discipline were closely related. The Trust paid £18 per year per student to Abraham Rees (the resident tutor) for board and lodging. In 1766, after a meeting with Rees, it was decided that a Trustee should pay a monthly visit to the academy 'to Enquire into the Conduct and Demeanor of the Pupils and to receive such Reports from the Librarian as may be for the Good order and Well government of the Academy' (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 200). Several students were expelled from the academy for non-attendance at lectures and poor behaviour.

Samuel Morton Savage led the academy and was the theological tutor. He probably based his lectures on Philip Doddridge's interconnected course of pneumatology, ethics, and divinity lectures. Notes on ethics lectures based on those of John Eames and delivered at Hoxton survive. Abraham Rees was classical and mathematics tutor, librarian, and resident tutor. His mathematical lectures (based on those of John Eames, and written in Latin) covered algebra, trigonometry, mechanics, and mathematical and perspectival drawing. Andrew Kippis was the philological tutor and gave lectures on belles lettres and the history of eloquence and chronology, some of which were based on Joseph Priestley's *A Course of Lectures on the Theory of Language, and Universal Grammar* (1762) and John Ward's *A System of Oratory* (1759). Savage's salary was £80 a year, Kippis's £60, and Rees's £50. All the tutors were paid by the Coward Trust.

The library from David Jennings's Academy was brought to Hoxton Square, where it joined that of Henry Miles, the writer on science and Coward Trustee who bequeathed his library to the Trust for the use of the academy in 1763. The 'apparatus for making Experiments in natural Philosophy' which John Eames had bequeathed to the Trust and which went to Wellclose Square also moved to Hoxton Square (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 75). Other equipment included a pair of globes, an orrery, and 'an Instrument to show the Spheroidical figure of the Earth' (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 77). Following the closure of the academy in 1785, the library and scientific equipment remained in the unoccupied building in Hoxton Square. In 1790, the orrery was sent to John Horsey's Academy, Northampton. Apparently the library remained at Hoxton throughout the 1790s (measures were taken to protect the books from a leaky roof in 1793). The Coward Trust minutes, 19 August 1799, indicate that the books were later transferred to Wymondley.

There appear to have been tensions among the tutors and with the Trustees: in 1779, Samuel Morton Savage and Abraham Rees both tendered their resignations to the Coward Trustees. Savage claimed not to be aware of Rees's decision, and complained that the students 'have most of them learned to consider the Divinity Tutor as superfluous' (DWL, MS NCL/CT2, p. 4). Both men were persuaded to stay on for an additional year and were, along with Kippis, thanked for 'their Diligent and Truthful Instruction of the Pupils' (DWL, MS NCL/CT2, p. 6). All the tutors remained in post for several years longer, perhaps following the Trustees' warning to Kippis that 'if the necessity of a New election into the Resigned Departments should take place it may probably unhinge the whole' and the academy might close (DWL, NCL MS 187/2/1, f. 10). In March 1784 Kippis communicated his intention to resign at the end of the academic session. Rees and Savage both resigned soon after, but remained in post until Midsummer 1785, sharing Kippis's duties between them during the final year. The students were all invited to Daventry academy; Savage retired and Kippis and Rees both became tutors at New College, Hackney. William Godwin noted the prevalence of heterodox theological opinions at the academy, and commended the tutors, especially Rees, for their willingness to debate with students.

The building in Hoxton Square remained empty until 1791, when it was leased by the Coward Trustees to the managers of the Hoxton Independent Academy. The two institutions had no connection in terms of staff, students, curriculum, or management.

Tessa Whitehouse

Archives

The Coward Trust Minutes in the New College Collection held at Dr Williams's Library provide the most important evidence for the life and management of the academy (DWL, MS NCL/CT1-2). The minutes contain detailed information about the start and end of the academy, the process of admitting and examining students, and the Trustees' involvement in disciplinary matters. The New College Collection also contains some correspondence of Joseph Paice, a Coward Trustee. Manuscript notes of lectures delivered by Rees and Kippis are held in Dr Williams's Library. Lists of students complied by Joshua Wilson (also in the New College Collection) provide additional names of students (DWL, MS NCL/L54/1-4), as does the list of dissenting academies, tutors and students held at Birmingham University Library (MS281).

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Hoxton Missionary College (1826-1830)

The Hoxton Missionary College was established by the London Missionary Society in the recently vacated premises of Hoxton Independent Academy, in Hoxton Square, London, close to the Society's headquarters. It opened on 10 October 1826, but lasted for only four years, closing in midsummer 1830. The Society decided to establish a London-based academy after the death of their missionary tutor, David Bogue of Gosport, in an effort to save money and to allow all of the directors to be more involved in the planning of their missionaries' training. Accordingly, they acquired the remainder of the lease of the property in Hoxton Square from its previous occupants at an annual rent of £130, closed their original training centre, Bogue's academy at Gosport, and transferred the students to London. Ebenezer Henderson, Bogue's successor at Gosport, also moved to London to serve as the theological and resident tutor at Hoxton. Daniel Godfrey Bishop, one of the senior students at Homerton College, was appointed classical tutor. Because Bogue had allowed the students to use his own library, the directors were forced to appeal for books, and also for philosophical apparatus, to equip the college: 'Besides works on general and theological literature, such books would be particularly acceptable as treat of the Evidences, Criticism, and Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures' ('Mission College Library', 454). A major donation was made in 1826 by William Alers Hankey, treasurer of the London Missionary Society.

John Angell James delivered the sermon at the academy's opening. While little is known about the programme at Hoxton, James's sermon hints that at least part of Bogue's mission strategy was carried over into this new programme. According to James, 'It is perfectly obvious to every thinking mind, that the only work to be done by foreigners is to introduce the gospel into a country, and then to send it forward by the hands of native converts. We must send out seed corn for the first harvest, and then expect that this first harvest should furnish the seed for future ones' (James, *Missionary Prospects*, 40**)**. Accordingly, in addition to studying theology, missionary candidates spent much of their time at Hoxton learning languages, especially the dialects indigenous to the fields in which the missionaries had been assigned. To accomplish this task the students made use of recent work published by other London Missionary Society missionaries and held within the Society's library or manuscripts obtainable from other London institutions, such as the British Museum or the Royal Society. For example, after receiving his assignment to China, Samuel Dyer began to learn Chinese whilst a student at Hoxton Missionary College by studying Robert Morrison's Chinese Bible and Chinese-English dictionary and grammar, as well as the Chinese library Morrison exported to London. It was expected that missionaries, such as Dyer, having gained knowledge of these languages prior to deployment, would be better equipped to produce and distribute further translations (these, in turn, were predicted to lead to mass conversion).

The college was intended to receive twenty students when it opened in 1826, but the number of students trained is not clear. On the whole, the college did not live up to its expectations. The directors gained a greater control over the training programme and their missionaries continued to succeed in their fields, but the Society still found the costs of running an independent college unsustainable. Consequently, when Henderson accepted the invitation to become theological tutor of Highbury College in April 1830, the directors considered 'the expediency of keeping up, at a great expense, a distinct Academical Establishment, seeing they are only able to send forth a limited number of new missionaries from year to year' ('Appointment of a New Tutor', 222). They therefore agreed to close the academy at midsummer because 'the expense is disproportionately great to the object accomplished by the Mission College' (SOAS, CWM/LMS, Home, Board Minutes, Box 20, 15 March 1830). Henceforth, the London Missionary Society made use of other academies to train its missionary candidates, such as Homerton, Highbury, and Newport Pagnell, and the

preparatory academies at Rothwell (or Rowell) and Turvey. This temporarily brought an end to any universal London Missionary Society training experience (or, by default, any standard mission strategy), but saved the Society a considerable amount of money and afforded the Society's students interaction with the rest of the British dissenting community. Bishop became a tutor at Homerton Academy on the closure of the college.

Christopher A. Daily

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Hoxton [Independent] Academy (1791-1826) and Highbury College (1826-1850)

In 1778 a group of London laymen established an institution called the Evangelical Academy. At first it simply provided lectures for students resident in London, but after four years they bought a house at Mile End, removed the restriction to London, and appointed Stephen Addington as tutor. In 1791 the academy was removed to a house in Hoxton, which belonged to the trustees of Dr Daniel Williams, and had also been the location of the Hoxton Academy supported by the Coward Trustees before it was closed in 1785. The Coward Trustees agreed in February 1791 to let the premises for the remainder of their own lease from Dr Williams's Trust to Thomas Wilson and Mr Witton, trustees of the new institution, for £50 p.a. The new tutor was Robert Simpson, who took on four of Addington's former students. In June 1793 the trustees of the Evangelical Academy at Hoxton negotiated a new lease with Dr Williams's Trustees.

In 1794 Thomas Wilson was unanimously chosen by the subscribers to succeed his father Thomas in the office of treasurer to the academy, and during his service until his death in June 1843 the academy prospered in no small part due to his generosity and initiative. The increase of students from 1791 was assisted by his active role in seeking out suitable young men and encouraging them to offer themselves as candidates. The leaflet of 1794 soliciting subscriptions, *Plan of the Evangelical Academy,* made the method of selection clear: students had to be 'of evangelical Sentiments, possessed of good natural Abilities', and to have 'experienced a divine Change'. After a trial of two months and with Simpson's approval they were fully admitted. From four in 1791 the number increased to thirteen in 1794, twenty in 1798, twenty-five in 1801, and thirty in 1803. An additional tutor for classics, George Collison, was recruited in 1797, succeeded in 1807 by John Hooper, and Wilson increased the number of annual subscriptions, doubling the income from them between 1798 and 1803.

In 1799 a new lease was secured from Dr Williams's Trustees for 61 years at £30 p.a. and the accommodation was enlarged, with Wilson providing half the cost. The site also included a small chapel, opened in 1796 for the benefit of the neighbourhood as well as the students. It was agreed in 1799 with the chapel members and subscribers that the preacher would always be one of the tutors or students. In time this became a separate church and continued to grow. Initially Wilson was very much concerned to propagate evangelical religion rather than academic education, but by 1804 the academy secured two scholarships of £25 from Dr Williams's trustees for students to complete their studies at Glasgow University. They were placed under the watchful care of Greville Ewing, a trusted evangelical Scottish Congregationalist minister in Glasgow and tutor at the Glasgow Theological Academy. The Revd J. A. James of Birmingham said after Wilson's death that in relation to the instruction at the academy Wilson was perhaps 'not sufficiently impressed with the *importance* of its being carried on to any very high degree of classical, philosophical, and scientific acquirement', nor was he particularly interested in the education of dissenting laymen 'even among the respectable classes' (Wilson, *Memoir of Thomas Wilson*, 574). In this respect he differed greatly from those who founded the eighteenth-century academies.

A new building to accommodate students in the grounds of the main house was erected in 1809, and a third tutor, Henry Forster Burder, formerly a student at Hoxton and a tutor at Wymondley Academy, was appointed. The syllabus adopted in January 1810 was divided

among the tutors as follows: Simpson: Hebrew and biblical criticism, Jewish antiquities, evidences of divine revelation, systematic divinity, ecclesiastical history, and its connexion with profane history; Hooper: English grammar, geography, Latin (including prose composition) and Greek; Burder: pneumatology, logic, and belles lettres, with special regard to pulpit composition and elocution. Throughout this period Wilson had also been founding new churches, rescuing former Presbyterian chapels which had closed, and supplying them with ministers from Hoxton. In 1817 Simpson resigned, and William Harris of Cambridge was chosen to succeed him.

The new building of 1809 was enlarged to accommodate forty students ten years later, but in 1824 the annual meeting of subscribers resolved to move to a completely new site in Highbury, situated on what is now Aubert Park but was then called College Road. Highbury was still a relatively undeveloped area, and it was possible to see Greenwich Hospital and ships on the Thames, as well as Highgate Hill to the north. Wilson presented the land as a gift, and the new building was opened on 5 September 1826, to be known henceforth as Highbury College. The buildings themselves, which formed three sides of a quadrangle in an imposing classical style, cost £20,000, and were regarded by Wilson's son, Joshua, as his father's best monument. Wilson toured the country to raise funds, as well as supporting poorer students out of his own pocket.

Highbury College, South West Front, 1827. Courtesy of the Trustees of Dr Williams's Library.

At Highbury the most important of the new tutors were Robert Halley, classics tutor from 1825 to 1838, who was succeeded by William Smith in 1839; Ebenezer Henderson, who succeeded Harris as theology tutor in 1830; and John Godwin, tutor in biblical criticism, philosophy, and logic from 1839. By the 1830s the public examination of the students in the

various subjects, by a mixture of reading, answers to oral questions, and submitted essays, was taking place at the time of the Annual Meeting. Highbury, like other Congregational colleges at the time (Homerton, Coward, Cheshunt, Rotherham, Spring Hill, Airedale, Lancashire, and Western) was also connected by royal warrant to the new University of London – in 1825 Wilson had been one of the first members of the Council of the institution renamed University College London in 1836. By 1850 four Congregational ministers from Highbury had become MAs, one a BL, and eighteen BAs. (This represented nearly a quarter of the Congregational ministers who had received London degrees, just behind Spring Hill, Birmingham, and Congregational ministers in total represented about a quarter of those who received London University degrees in the first decade after its reorganization in 1839.) Although Highbury could now send out ten students a year into the Congregational ministry, Wilson saw the advantages of uniting the Congregational colleges in London. In the year of his death (1843) discussions were initiated with Coward College and Homerton. These discussions led to the formation of New College, London, in 1850. Of the Highbury tutors, Henderson then retired; Smith and Godwin continued their careers at New College.

Notable former students of Hoxton or Highbury include tutors and college heads such as George Payne (Blackburn Independent Academy and Western Academy), John Harris (Cheshunt College and New College, London), Henry Rogers (University College, London; Spring Hill College; Lancashire Independent College), Michael Daniel Jones (Bala Independent College), and the ecclesiastical historian John Stoughton (New College, London); the MP Henry Richard; the royal librarian Bernard Woodward; the liberal theologian James Baldwin Brown; the missionary to Hong Kong James Legge, who became the first nonconformist professor at Oxford when appointed to the newly endowed Chair of Chinese; and the novelist and fantasy writer George MacDonald.

The Highbury buildings were bought in 1850 by the Church of England Metropolitan Training Institution and then by the London College of Divinity in 1865. They were demolished in 1951 and replaced by London County Council flats.

David Thompson

Archives

The main archival sources for Hoxton [Independent] Academy and Highbury College are held by the Congregational Library and Dr Williams's Library. These include the minutes of the English Evangelical Academy (Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/126/1) and the Coward Trust (Dr Williams's Library, MS NCL/CT2).

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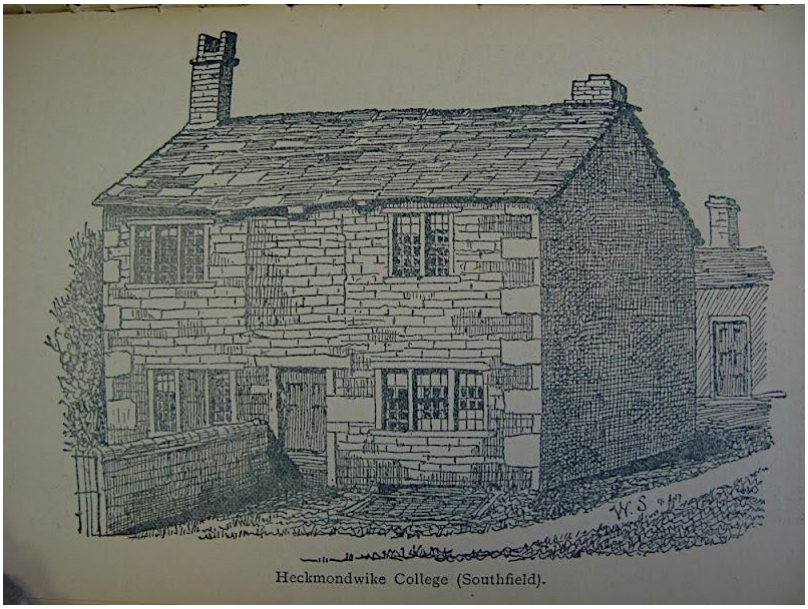
James Scott's Academy, Heckmondwike (1756-1783)

The initiative for establishing an academy in the West Riding of Yorkshire in the 1750s came from Edward Hitchin, minister to the Independent congregation at White's Row, London. Hitchin was the brother-in-law of Joseph Priestley of Birstall, a Deacon of the Independent church at Heckmondwike and elder cousin of his more famous namesake. On his visits to his brother-in-law in Yorkshire, Hitchin became concerned at the state of religion in the area and the lack of orthodox ministers. His concerns were shared by James Scott, minister at the Upper Chapel in Heckmondwike from 1754. The two men met often, and the idea emerged that an academy should be established to train young men for the ministry, and that the tutor should be a man of orthodox views who could instil similar beliefs in his students. Hitchin promoted the cause in London, leading to the establishment of 'a Society for educating young Men for the work of the Ministry, in the West Riding of the County of York'. This body, usually referred to as the Northern Education Society, met for the first time in London on 24 May 1756 with Hitchin as secretary, Dr John Guyse, a member of the King's Head Society, as chairman, and E. Webber, Esq., as treasurer. Webber was soon replaced by William Fuller, a London banker, who was a major benefactor to the academy, an active member of the King's Head Society, and a substantial donor to the Congregational Fund Board.

The oft-quoted aim of the Northern Education Society was to dispel the 'cloud of "Socinian darkness" then spreading over the northern counties of England' (*An Account*, 4). It was agreed that James Scott should be appointed tutor of the new academy, which was to have as its sole objective the education of ministers. Lay students were not admitted. Scott accepted the invitation after some deliberation, and not before he had notified the London committee of the expense that would be involved in fitting up his house for receiving students, and the anticipated cost of their board and lodging. He also requested that Edward Hitchin make enquiries concerning the teaching methods employed by John Walker at the Mile End Academy.

The first three students entered the care of Scott in his house at Millbridge, Heckmondwike in August 1756. During the early period at Heckmondwike, students boarded either with Scott or at another house nearby, The Holme. The domestic management of the institution was entrusted to Scott's wife, Esther, until her death in 1763. In March 1768 a property was purchased at Southfield in Norristhorpe, about two miles away. By this time there were seven students in the academy, who moved to the new premises with their tutor at Michaelmas. Scott is reported to have relocated to another house in Heckmondwike towards the end of his life as he became unable to negotiate the steep hill up to Southfield. When he died in January 1783 the academy was transferred to Northowram under the tutorage of Samuel Walker. No contemporary evidence survives giving the formal name of the institution. While most nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers refer to it as the 'Heckmondwike Academy', the late Victorian antiquarian Frank Peel noted that it was more commonly known as a 'college' (Peel, 133).



James Scott's Academy, Heckmondwike, Southfield in Norristhorpe [source: Peel, 169]

The number of students in the academy varied from eight to eleven at a time. A total of 57 are known to have completed the four-year course, and a further ten continued their studies at Northowram. The early students at Heckmondwike were mainly from the area around the academy, and many later settled in the West Riding or nearby. As the academy became established its reputation grew, leading to applications from students in other areas of the country. Those educated by Scott include men born in Norfolk, Suffolk, London, Essex and Hertfordshire. The Northern Education Society, which managed the academy, provided an allowance of £15 per annum for each student. At least one, Ezekiel Offwood, is known to have paid his own expenses. On application to the academy students were expected to give evidence of their piety and orthodox evangelical beliefs. They were to profess their 'full and cordial belief in the Gospel of Christ as its great and leading truths are embodied in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and the Westminister Confession and Catechisms' (Peel, 145-6). Once the appropriate declarations had been made to the satisfaction of the committee, the students were received on three months probation.

James Scott remained in sole charge of the academy throughout its existence, although he received assistance from his friend Rev. John Pye of Sheffield. Pye paid regular visits to Heckmondwike to examine the students and offer them encouragement in their studies. Little is known about the curriculum, and no lecture notes or other evidence of Scott's teaching methods have survived. The course lasted for four years, and the plan of study would have been designed to equip students to become effective preachers in the towns and villages of the West Riding and neighbouring counties. In addition to enquiring about the teaching methods of John Walker at Mile End, Scott also canvassed the views of John Pye, who had been educated in the London academies run by the King's Head Society. Scott did not advocate the principle of free enquiry among his students, and considered it to be his duty to teach only orthodox beliefs. Classical languages were taught, and there is some evidence that science was included in the curriculum. Students were not permitted to preach during the first three years of their course, and thereafter could do so only with the consent of the committee.

During its early years the academy received a high number of visitors, which Scott considered disruptive. In 1761 he addressed the situation by determining that the academy would be open to guests on one day a year, when they would be given a dinner and hear a lecture or sermon. The Heckmondwike Lecture became a major event for Congregatonalists in the West Riding, and during the nineteenth century a fair was held in the town as part of the festivities. The event continued well into the twentieth century.

Sixty-two of the sixty-seven students known to have received at least some of their education under James Scott went on to become ministers. Many remained in the West Riding or other parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, although others settled in Norfolk, Suffolk, Leicestershire, Kent, London and elsewhere. One of the first to be admitted was Timothy Priestley, brother of Joseph, who was pastor of Independent congregations at Kipping in Yorkshire, Hunter's Croft Church, Manchester, and Jewin Street, London. The Northowram tutor, Samuel Walker, received his ministerial education at Heckmondwike, as did Robert Simpson, tutor at Hoxton from 1791-1817. Another prominent Yorkshire Congregationalist educated by Scott was Joseph Cockin, minister at Halifax for over 30 years and a strong supporter of the Independent Academy at Idle. A few former students subsequently moved away from Congregationalism, including Reynold Hogg, treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1792, and John Bartlett, who became a Unitarian.

While Joseph Priestley considered his brother Timothy to have received an 'imperfect education' (Priestley, *Autobiography*, 74), James Scott's former students continued to hold the academy in high esteem. Writing in the *Evangelical Magazine* in 1795 Joseph Cockin wrote that through the labours of students from the academy, 'decayed congregations have been revived, and many new ones raised up' (*Evangelical Magazine* (1795), 466). Timothy Priestley expressed a similar view, writing in 1791 that 'great numbers of places that were supplied by Baxterians, Arians and Arminians, were in a few years supplied with Calvinists', with many meeting houses enlarged as a result (*Christian's Magazine, or Gospel Repository*, (1791), 178). In delivering Scott's funeral sermon in 1783 Jonathan Toothill described the students sent out from Heckmondwike as 'an honour to their profession', although added that the academy had 'begun to grow a little *drossy*' and was in need of revival when it was transferred to the care of Samuel Walker at Northowram (Toothill, 32-3).

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

No archives relating to the academy or the Northern Education Society have survived.

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John Fawcett's Academy (c.1773-1805), continued by John Fawcett Jr (1805-c.1832)

John Fawcett commenced his ministry among the Particular Baptists of Yorkshire in 1763 when he became pastor of the church at Wainsgate (near Hebden Bridge). He developed a friendship with Dan Taylor, a neighbouring General Baptist minister, and in 1769 they formed a Book Society in nearby Heptonstall. Both men had a passionate interest in educating Baptist ministers. In 1770 the Bristol Education Society was founded by Hugh Evans, minister of Broadmead Baptist Church in the city. Evans wrote to Baptist ministers throughout England and Wales appealing for their support. He was keen to expand the academy linked to Broadmead, in order to train able ministers of the Gospel. John Sutcliff, a member of Fawcett's church at Wainsgate and whom Fawcett had helped with his studies, commenced training for the Baptist ministry at Bristol in 1772. At about the same time, Fawcett began to receive men in his home in Wainsgate, to train them for ministry, extending his house for the purpose. According to Fawcett's son John his first student was Abraham Greenwood.

Eager to follow Evans's example, Fawcett and John Sandys wrote to their ministerial colleagues among the Particular Baptists in the north of England, urging the formation of an Education Society similar to the one in Bristol. The response was disappointing. There was suspicion in some quarters about an educated ministry, and Particular Baptists lacked the strength and organisation to take up the challenge. Fawcett continued to provide training in his own home, and in 1776 moved into larger premises at Brearley Hall. Situated on the main Halifax to Lancashire Road, Brearley Hall had the advantage of being more readily accessible than his Wainsgate house.

This was a period of expansion among Baptists nationally, with new churches and Associations being formed. The creation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 was a sign of this. In the north, the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association of Particular Baptist Churches was revived and reconstituted in 1787, largely as a result of the efforts of Fawcett and Samuel Medley, a minister in Liverpool. This provided an effective organisational basis for promoting the cause of ministerial education. Fawcett's educational establishment at Brearley Hall provided general education and training for young men, and was not exclusively for those bound for ministry. According to his son, Fawcett's 'catholic disposition was so well known, that persons of different denominations, without hesitation, entrusted their children to his care' (Fawcett, *Reflections*, 71). His objective was to impart 'the leading principles of morality and religion' into the minds of his pupils through the study of the Bible and other writings, including those of Isaac Watts. The proportion of lay to ministerial students is not known, although his son makes reference to 'the occasional admittance of a few young men, designed for the ministry' (Fawcett, *An Account*, 304), adding that the number of ministers trained by his father was insufficient to meet the needs of Baptist churches in the area. Moreover, according to his son the education of candidates for the ministry alongside those destined for careers in commerce was the cause of 'some degree of inconvenience' (Fawcett, *An Account*, 307).

In 1796 Fawcett moved again, this time to nearby Ewood Hall, which according to his son who helped him in his teaching was much more suitable as a seminary. He received financial support from London Baptists to provide training for a young man from the capital, Michael Parker. Other students who received training by Fawcett included William Ward, who became one of William Carey's associates in Serampore in India, with particular responsibility for the printing press there, and the essayist John Foster. Some, like Foster and Samuel Stennett, went on to continue their training at the college at Bristol.

About 1794 Fawcett bought a printing press, fitted up a printing office, and in 1796 engaged a printer. He published a range of works by himself and others for his students and for distribution in the neighbourhood, including poems, hymns, a monthly publication entitled *Miscellanea Sacra, The Life of the Rev. Oliver Heywood*, and *A Summary of the Evidences of Christianity*. He published the first edition of his friend Edward Williams's anthology *The Christian Preacher*. In 1800 he disposed of his printing concern because of his declining health.

Around the turn of the century, new institutions for the training of dissenting ministers were springing up in various places, including Yorkshire, where Congregationalists established academies at Rotherham in 1795 (with Willliams as tutor) and Idle in 1800. Fawcett, together with others of like mind - notably Thomas Littlewood (minister in Rochdale), James Bury (calico printer from Pendle Hill) and Thomas Langdon (minister in Leeds) - succeeded in persuading the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association to form a Northern Education Society in 1804. Acknowledging their debt to the example of the Bristol Baptist Academy, those attending a specially convened meeting resolved to form themselves into a Society 'for the purpose of encouraging pious young men, recommended by the churches to which they belong, persons of promising abilities for the Ministry' (Minutes of Northern Education Society, 4 May 1804). This led, in the following year, to the formation of the Horton Academy, which effectively took over the work started by Fawcett. Fawcett retired from teaching in 1805, and the Ewood Hall establishment was taken over by his son John. In 1832 the younger Fawcett published *Reflections and Admonitory Hints, of the Principal of a Seminary, on Retiring from the Duties of his Station*. The volume offers general religious and moral advice for young men, and gives little indication of the level of education he provided. Given the proximity of the establishment at Horton, it seems unlikely that the 'Seminary' provided ministerial training after 1804. The establishment has been described as 'one of the largest private seminaries in the north of England', with eighty-five 'inmates' in 1811 (Turner, *Spring-Time Saunter*, 55).

Fawcett Sr's academy was an interim solution to the problem of training ministers, until the Particular Baptists of the north could organise themselves more effectively. There are no extant records of the educational work he did or how many students he trained. His curriculum included Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to provide access to the original scriptural texts for those who were able to take advantage of it. It also included a wide range of other topics, such as literature, geography, and natural philosophy. Fawcett placed a strong emphasis on providing religious education to all of those received into his care, instructing his pupils on the importance of regular attendance at public worship. Family prayer and the reading of Scripture were also regarded as an essential part of the daily life of the academy.

Peter Shepherd

Archives

The Minute Book of the London Baptist Education Society (Angus Library, Regent's Park College, 18.c.13(c)) names several students educated by John Fawcett Sr. His role in the establishment of Horton Academy is documented in the Minute Book of the Northern Education Society (Luther King House, Manchester).

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John Horsey's Academy, Northampton (1789-1798)

Following the resignation of Thomas Belsham as theology tutor of the academy at Daventry, the Coward Trustees appointed John Horsey, minister of Doddridge's old congregation at Castle Hill, Northampton, as his successor. The first approach to Horsey was made on 18 June 1789, and Horsey met some of the trustees later that month. He also received an invitation from the congregation at Daventry, but decided to remain at Northampton. Attempts were probably made by the Coward Trustees to persuade him otherwise, for after a visit by one of the trustees to Northampton it was reported that Horsey is 'inflexibly determined not to remove to Daventry' (DWL, MS CT2, p. 61 (31 Jul. 1789)). The two assistant tutors at Daventry, William Broadbent and Robert Forsaith, agreed to move to Northampton.

Having accepted Horsey's decision, the trustees then experienced considerable difficulties in finding suitable accommodation in Northampton. The difficulties proved so great that in early October they resolved that if nothing suitable could be found within sixteen days they would be forced 'to adopt the best means that may be in their power for the accomodation of their Pupils at Daventry' (DWL, MS CT2, p. 65 (6 Oct. 1789)). In the end the trustees agreed to advance up to £600 to purchase a house in Gold Street, provided they were put to no further expense. They also agreed to accept 'what Mr Horsey may be able to provide in the Family of Mr Taylor', his brother-in-law, 'until some Better accommodation can be procured' (CT2, p. 65 (13 Oct. 1789)). The house in Gold Street was furnished with the academy furniture from Daventry, for which Belsham was paid £243 13s. Of the remaining students, several were lodged in the Castle Hill manse in St Mary's Street, and others elsewhere in the town. The library was housed in Gold Street and the scientific apparatus in St Mary's Street, and the premises and contents insured for £500 each. The problem of housing the academy was never satisfactorily resolved before it closed in 1798, despite further efforts by the trustees.

The first session did not begin until 17 November. To allow Horsey time to prepare his lectures the trustees agreed that he should not start teaching until after Christmas. To reduce the amount he had to prepare in his first year they further agreed that those divinity students at Daventry who were in their final year should complete their studies elsewhere, though the failure to inform all the students concerned led to some problems. Horsey also faced a number of personal challenges. Because of the difficulties over housing the academy and the disordered state of its library following the move from Daventry, he had little opportunity to prepare his lectures. More seriously, most of the students shared their former tutor Belsham's Unitarian opinions. Horsey was warned by Thomas Robins, a former theological tutor at Daventry, that 'no Calvinist w^{d} be tolerated by the students, and no one approaching to Calvinism could have authority if any undue influence were attempted' (DWL, MS 69.7, 'Brief account', fo. 67r). Horsey's own position was similar doctrinally to that of the trustees, being liberal but still largely orthodox. He therefore sought to remove concerns that he would attempt to enforce his own views. In his opening address he told the students that 'it is not the design of this Institution, and is very far from my Inclination, to usurp an Authority over Conscience, or to cherish Bigotry & Party Zeal'. It was, he believed, very much to the credit of the institution that it had been conducted for many years 'on generous & liberal principles' (DWL, MS 69.7, Inaugural address, Jan. 1790, fo. 84r). Nonetheless, 'the first two or three sessions . . . were by no means so comfortable as the succeeding five, which were followed by the [final] stormy session' which led to the closure of the academy in June 1798 (H[awkes], 'Rev. John Horsey', 609-10). Horsey's early difficulties eased after the senior students left.

There is no account of the curriculum followed at Northampton, but the length of course was five years, the same as at Daventry, and it is clear the lectures themselves were largely the same too. Horsey told the students in his opening address that he would give the lectures on

Jewish Antiquities 'which have usually been read and transcribed in this seminary . . . just as my predecessors have done, and I shall avail myself without hesitation of any similar lectures while I am drawing up other lectures on other interesting subjects' (MS 69.7, 'Brief account', fo. 79r). The lecture notes used by Horsey which survive are in another hand with additions by Horsey. They include notes on the evidences of Christianity with particular reference to textual criticism, which were principally an abridgement of Priestley's *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, with additions by Horsey from Doddridge's lectures; introductory lectures on the study of the New Testament, dated 1788, but with notes from works published as late as 1793; 'Thoughts concerning the Inspiration of the Scriptures', which included a reference to Joseph Lomas Towers's *Illustrations of Prophecy* (1796); and 'Hypotheses relating to the Person of Christ'. He also gave lectures on pneumatology based on Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*, with considerable additional material by Belsham. The lecture notes on moral philosophy and logic used by Horsey also survive. The latter were adapted from Isaac Watts's work on logic. Many of the student essays are available, including some in Latin. Horsey may have demonstrated little originality in the content of his lectures, but from the testimony of his former students he appears to have been a gifted teacher, able to communicate ideas and explain difficult arguments clearly. Students were encouraged to read the many works of philosophy and ethics referred to in the lectures, and to test any disputed points for themselves. He was so determined to avoid any bias, that 'it was very difficult to ascertain in the lecture-room his own precise views in the more controversial subjects' (H[awkes], 'Rev. John Horsey', 610).

The academy was funded principally by the Coward Trust, which paid the salaries of the tutors and the running costs of the academy. The trustees also funded a total of 25 students, 7 of whom they had previously supported in their grammar education. The Presbyterian Fund supported 5 students, largely those over the age of twenty-two, who were too old to be supported by the Coward Trust. They also made a grant of £10 a year to Horsey and to one of the assistant tutors. A further 8 received an award of £32 per year from Mrs Jackson's Trust for periods ranging from one to five years, and another 6 students received gifts of usually five guineas in particular cases of financial distress. Twenty-six of the students also received a grant from Dr Williams's Trust in their fourth and fifth years. Each student had to provide references from two Protestant dissenting ministers concerning his religious disposition, his progress 'in classical Learning', and his competence 'to enter on a course of Academical studies' (DWL, MS CT2, p. 72 (23 Nov. 1790)), but there was no religious test of faith despite William Coward's intention that his benefaction should only favour Calvinists.

The names of 38, possibly 39, students educated at Northampton by Horsey are known, including 1 lay and 6 divinity students who transferred from Daventry. In July 1789 the trustees had decided in future to admit only students for the ministry. Robins thought the decision unwise since it would 'drive the sons of the more respectable Dissenters "to one of the universities or to the Socinian College" [i.e. Hackney New College]' (MS 69.7, 'Brief account', fo. 68r). The number of divinity students though small was greater than the number educated at Daventry by Robins, but there were no lay students to make up the numbers. The largest number was from Devon, Yorkshire, and Wales, but there is no clear regional pattern evident. Students came from Northumberland, Lancashire, Cheshire, the Midlands, and Suffolk. There were none from Scotland, and only one from London, Samuel Rickards, the lay student. There are no accounts of student life at the academy. The minutes for a weekly literary club or debating society exist between 1779 and 1798. A number of issues of 'The Academical Repository', a manuscript student magazine, survive for 1792, and for the period 1795 to January 1797.

The majority of Northampton students were to enter the ministry, but only half continued for more than ten years, or indeed were still ministers at the time of their death. Six died young, 2 before they had entered the ministry, another conformed, and there is no record for a further 5 who probably did not become ministers. Ten students were only briefly ministers

before pursuing other professional careers. David Davies, after serving for a short time as minister at Sutton-in-Ashfield, attended Glasgow University and received his MD in 1801. He became an accoucheur in London, and from 1827 until his death in 1841 was Professor of Midwifery in the University of London. William Stevenson, father of the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, while minister at Dob Lane, Failsworth, was classics tutor at New College, Manchester, 1792-96, but gave up both for a literary and administrative career. Like many ministers George Case supplemented his income by teaching. Charles Darwin attended his school at Shrewsbury between the ages of eight and nine. Teaching was also an obvious alternative to the ministry. John Bickerton Dewhirst was briefly minister at Halifax, but from an aversion to any form of public speaking engaged instead in teaching and writing. He was appointed classics tutor at Aspland's Unitarian academy in Hackney, but died before he could take up the appointment. Changes of heart, or decisions to follow a better remunerated or more congenial career, were not unusual. More surprisingly, in 1812 William Youatt, after a successful ministry at Baffins Lane, Chichester, where he also conducted a school, decided to pursue a new career as a veterinary surgeon. Horsey's most distinguished student was Lant Carpenter, Unitarian minister at Exeter and Bristol, who conducted a celebrated school at which James Martineau and John Bowring among others were educated. Carpenter was only a student for a year before the academy closed, and received most of his education at Glasgow.

In 1791, William Broadbent, tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy since 1784, resigned on his appointment as minister at Warrington. He was not replaced and the work was undertaken by a number of senior students, including Dewhirst, who taught mathematics during his final two years as a student. Lant Carpenter, who entered the academy in 1797, thought the trustees were reluctant to appoint a new mathematics tutor for fear that he would teach the students enough mathematics 'to make school-masters of them', and thus divert them from the ministry (Carpenter, *Memoirs*, 23). Earlier, in October 1796, when the students had requested help in learning French, they were told the trustees 'cannot consistently with their views make the French Language a part of their Academical Education' (DWL, MS CT2, p. 95 (18 Oct. 1796)), probably for similar reasons. Robert Forsaith, classics tutor since 1788, died suddenly in 1797 during the summer vacation. The consequences proved much more serious than the earlier loss of Broadbent. Horsey urged Dewhirst as a replacement, at least temporarily, but this was rejected. The trustees had someone more obviously orthodox in mind. In August 1797, after receiving apparently satisfactory references from Greville Ewing of Edinburgh, they appointed David Savile as tutor in mathematics as well as classics. Savile, a Scots Presbyterian minister, had graduated from St Andrews in 1791, where he had assisted the professor of mathematics. Horsey thought it impossible for one man to discharge both offices properly. In fact Savile proved incompetent, and soon earned both the contempt and the dislike of his students, particularly for what they saw as his underhand mischief making. By February 1798, the students were moved to petition the trustees for 'their want of the advantages formerly enjoyed for studying various subjects, and acquiring Literary Knowledge' (DWL, MS CT2, p. 102 (20 Feb. 1798)). Their complaints were dismissed, but Horsey told the trustees that 'They are not at all disposed to be mutinous', rather they were concerned about their education. To his embarrassment Horsey felt it necessary to tell the trustees that 'the Qualifications requisite to fill the situation in which Mr Savile is placed, are not possessed by him . . . Nor does he discover any strong symptoms of what is properly called a disposition to study' (DWL, MS NCL/406/1, Horsey to [Paice], 7 Apr. 1798). Even more seriously for Horsey, Savile disrupted his congregation, proving to be an extremely divisive influence.

The students broke up for the summer vacation on 5 June, leaving their books and other possessions behind and fully expecting to resume their studies. On 12 June, in response to the disagreeable reports circulated by Savile, Horsey met the trustees in London, where they held 'the most Unreserved Conversation . . . on the state of the Academy' (MS CT2, p. 104),

and agreed to meet again in three days' time. From the notes made by Joseph Paice, the secretary, after the meeting on 12 June, it appears the trustees originally decided, 'with Inexpressible reluctance, to Limit their continuance of the Northampton Academy, to the Finishing the education of the Students there' (DWL, MS NCL/538/20 [14 Jun. 1798]), with the intention of forming a new institution after a suitable interval. Horsey agreed to complete the education of the senior students with the junior students placed elsewhere.

When Horsey met the trustees on 15 June, Paice read a resolution dissolving the academy immediately. Unlike other academies which closed, the academy did not fail because of inadequate financial support, any breakdown in student discipline, or a lack of students. The reasons for the change of heart were not given by the trustees, but they had met Savile the day before, dining with Horsey the same evening. From a letter Horsey wrote to his wife, it appears several hard things were said on both sides, and the trustees seemed to lean in favour of Savile and his claims that the academy had become a hotbed of Socinianism and that not a single student had adopted the principles of the founder, William Coward. The sudden closure of the academy caused a sensation within the dissenting world, not least because of the failure of the trustees to offer any public explanation for their actions. The consequences were particularly serious for rational dissent, as the difficulties the remaining students had in completing their education demonstrates. The only dissenting academy conducted on liberal principles left in England was New College, Manchester, and that academy faced serious financial problems which were only resolved after the move to York in 1803. The closure of the academy at Northampton ended seventy years of ministerial education for liberal dissenters which had begun in 1729 with the opening of Doddridge's academy. A new academy was established at Wymondley by the Coward Trustees in August 1799 and maintained on entirely orthodox principles.

David L. Wykes

Archives

Details of the management of the academy at Northampton, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters are contained in the minutes of the Coward Trust (DWL, MS NCL/CT2). The Northampton Academy collection consists mainly of lecture notes used by Horsey and student exercises (DWL, MS 69.1-30). An account of the origins and dissolution of the academy is provided by the Revd W. A. Jones, Unitarian minister at Northampton, in his 'A brief account of Horsey's coming to the Academy, its removal to Northampton and its dissolution in 1798', drawn up in 1848 from letters in the possession of Horsey's daughter (MS 69.7, fos. 66r-73r), which includes a copy of Horsey's inaugural address to the students at Northampton, 8 January 1790 (fos. 75r-94r).

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John Jennings's Academy, Kibworth Harcourt and Hinckley (c.1715-1723)

John Jennings's academy began at Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire, probably in 1715, and moved with Jennings to Hinckley in 1722. It closed on his death in July 1723. There is no firm evidence for when the academy began, but according to his former pupil Philip Doddridge, Jennings died eight years after commencing work as a tutor. Jennings's academy was seen to have been crucial for training ministers to serve dissenting congregations of the east Midlands, and after his death there was concern that the dearth of new ministers might diminish the dissenting interest in the region. In 1729 Doddridge opened his academy in Market Harborough, also in Leicestershire. It was intended to continue Jennings's work of providing ministers for the local area, and Doddridge largely followed Jennings's curriculum and pedagogy.

Jennings charged £18 a year for board and tuition and an additional guinea as an entrance fee. Students supported by the Presbyterian Fund Board were charged £17 a year, and had the entrance fee waived. Twenty-four students have been identified as having attended the academy, but this list is probably incomplete. Details of Jennings's students are sparse. After the academy closed, at least one of them, John Mason, moved to the academy in Moorfields, London, where John Eames was tutor. Mason was later to become a writer of works of practical divinity. Doddridge was Jennings's other most notable student.

Jennings did not set any doctrinal requirements for entry to the academy, though he had strict terms on which he would accept new students: he conducted a personal interview with each prospective student in order to assess his academic aptitude, and a character recommendation from 'Impartial & Competent Persons' was required (DWL, MS 12.40.122).

The course lasted four years, and was divided into eight classes. Students began with classical studies (which included the study of a range of prose authors and poets in Greek and Latin), Hebrew, French, geography, logic, civil history, and lectures on heraldry, fortification, architecture, and other miscellaneous subjects. Mathematics and natural philosophical studies, which continued until the end of the fourth half-year, consisted of algebra, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, hydrostatics, physics, astronomy, and the use of the globes. In the fourth half-year students began the pneumatology, ethics, and divinity course which they followed for the rest of their time at the academy. They also attended lectures in chronology, Jewish antiquities, Christian antiquities, ecclesiastical history, biblical criticism, the history of controversies and, at the end of the course, lectures on preaching and pastoral care and the choice of books. They participated in 'pneumatological disputations' and disputations in divinity, delivered 'moral discourses' (which Doddridge called 'ethical sermons') and, on Wednesday evenings, participated in dramatic and musical performances. These were usually improvised and their purpose, said Jennings, was 'to form the Pupills to a proper address delivery & action' (DWL, MS 12.40.122). Lectures were given in Latin. Jennings had two textbooks printed for the students' use: one was a logic course of his own devising which follows a mathematical method and contains numerous references to John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding. The other was a volume of miscellaneous articles (some in English, others in Latin) on subjects including psalmody, heraldry, architecture, and chronology, and mathematical topics including notes on hydrostatics by 'J.E.' (probably John Eames).

Jennings would only accept new students into the lowest class: if a student had already begun his education elsewhere, he had to be willing to start at the beginning with Jennings for 'my Scheme is So particular, I can build upon no Mans foundation' (DWL, MS 12.40.122). Jennings's system presented theological subjects according to a mathematical method of propositions and definitions, supported (or otherwise) by demonstrations, axioms, scholia,

and corollaries. He provided students with references to writings on both sides of controverted questions, and encouraged students' wide reading and freedom of inquiry. This liberal and mathematical method was quite unusual, and its suitability was questioned by Isaac Watts, though Doddridge defended it strongly and followed it himself. Jennings's tutorial work is chiefly known because of Doddridge.

The academy had two libraries: one was for the use of all students, the other, containing works of philosophy, biblical criticism, ecclesiastical history, polemical divinity, and works on the church fathers, was restricted to senior students. According to Doddridge, after Jennings's death his students purchased many of these books from his widow.

Tessa Whitehouse

Archives

Dr Williams's Library holds several documents detailing the academic and domestic conduct of Jennings's academy, and the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies website hosts full transcriptions of these. There also are several sets of lecture notes in the Library. Further lecture notes, and a notebook owned by John Jennings in which he wrote a timetable for his academy and listed books for students and dramatic scenarios for improvisation, are part of the New College Collection. For a complete listing see under the biographical article 'John Jennings (1687/8-1723)'.

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Killyleagh Philosophy School (c.1696-c.1714)

The Killyleagh philosophy school was founded by James McAlpin, a minister of the Church of Scotland, in County Down, Ireland, probably in 1696, and certainly by 1697. An agreement dated 4 May 1697 between the local landowners and 'James McAlpin, professor of philosophy', 'for encouraging the philosophical school now taught at Killileagh', provided him with a house as well as turf and land for grazing, all free of charge as long as 'he continues his teaching philosophy in this place' (McCreery, *Presbyterian Ministers of Killileagh*, 110). McAlpin had travelled to the north of Ireland following his deposition from the church at Carnwath, Lanarkshire, in March 1695.

In September 1691 the General Synod of Ulster had agreed 'that none enter into the ministry without Laureation' (*Records of the General Synod of Ulster,* I, 6). This generally meant graduation from a Scottish university for most candidates for the ministry. Although this proved an effective way to train ministers and the geographical proximity and family links with Scotland made it convenient, it was costly, especially for the sons of ministers on limited stipends or the sons of farmers struggling to make ends meet. Partly to overcome the need to travel to Scotland, and to avoid 'the carrying of so much Mony out of the Kingdom and putting hardships on Loyal Subjects' as one of the Belfast ministers put it (Kirkpatrick, *Historical Essay*, 505), a number of attempts were made to set up academies in Ireland. They followed a similar model to that which developed in England from the 1660s. They were generally established through the efforts of a single minister, but seldom continued after his death or removal, despite usually having the backing of a local presbytery or sub-synod.

James McAlpin, who was educated at the University of Glasgow, seems to have established the Killyleagh philosophy school through his own initiative, although it received the wholehearted approval of the General Synod in June 1697 and immediate financial support from churches within the sub-Synod of Belfast, which included County Down, County Tyrone, and Belfast. McAlpin is the only known tutor at the academy and it closed at the end of 1713, or in March 1714, when he returned to the ministry.

As a Presbyterian institution the academy suffered harassment from the authorities. The bishop of Down and Connor declared that the academy had been set up in open violation of the law, and John McBride, one of the ministers of Belfast, was summoned to Dublin to account for a sermon delivered by him before the synod of 1698. At his trial he was interrogated about the Killyleagh school. He declared that it was no innovation since there had been such seminaries previously, which was certainly the case, and declared that in addition it did not teach divinity, which was also true, since it provided the equivalent of the arts degree course in Scotland. In any case McAlpin had had the foresight to obtain a licence from the chancellor of the diocese 'under the Seal of the Court and . . . taken the Oaths by Law required' in order to teach (Kirkpatrick, *Historical Essay*, 505). But even this did not stop further attacks. In 1705 a resolution was passed in the Irish House of Commons condemning the existence of any seminary educating youth in principles contrary to those of the established church. But still the academy survived, although it faced a verbal attack from William Tisdall, vicar of Belfast, in 1712, which was answered by John McBride and James Kirkpatrick.

The names of only four students are known for certain, of whom the most prominent is undoubtedly Francis Hutcheson, whose own father had kept a philosophy school at Newtownards, and who himself went on to be professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University. The other three students are known only through their lecture notes. The notes of William Henderson and James Henderson were seen by Alexander McCreery in 1875 but are now lost, while the lecture notes of John King were seen by David Stewart in 1910 but

have only recently re-emerged. No lecture notes for any other Irish dissenting academy between the 1660s and the early nineteenth century are known to have survived.

The bound volume of notes taken by King over his period of study comprises essentially four series of Latin notes filling a total of 474 pages, with various overlapping numbering systems running through much of the book. The first section covers logic, and is dated from November 1710 to May 1711. The second covers metaphysics and begins on 1 November 1711, finishing in February 1712, while over a similar period he also studied ethics between October 1711 and April 1712. Sandwiched between the metaphysics and ethics notes are notes on the existence of God and on liberty of the will. The final section of notes covers natural philosophy and is dated 12 January 1713, when King was at Glasgow. The volume contains a list of students, but they are the students in the five classes at Glasgow University as they were constituted in January 1713.

The notes show some knowledge of Greek. In logic the presentation is very scholastic throughout, proceeding by question and answer. There is an attempt to define every term, and to show the use and end of every item defined, starting with philosophy and the place of logic within it. McAlpin's course on metaphysics is a study in old-fashioned ontology, that is, a study of 'being' - of what kinds of things there are, and what it is for them to be what they are. His ethics is based on a Christianized Aristotelianism, in which morality is founded in a notion of the highest good (*summum bonum*), which humanity seeks to attain as its chief end. This is achieved by the practice of the cardinal virtues - justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. That the ethics and metaphysics courses overlapped may indicate that McAlpin had the services of an assistant, but there is no other evidence for this. King took a course on natural philosophy at Glasgow. This may indicate that McAlpin did not teach natural philosophy, but it may also indicate the willingness of Irish Presbyterian students to complete their studies in Glasgow in order to qualify for a degree. There is also evidence, preserved from the nineteenth century, that the school at Killyleagh may have had some elementary apparatus. It is recorded that some of McAlpin's equipment had still existed in the mid-eighteenth century, when a revival of an academy in Killyleagh was under consideration.

A. D. G. Steers

Archives

There are no archives, although the academy is mentioned in contemporary minutes of the General Synod of Ulster. The only surviving document linked to the Killyleagh philosophy school is the volume of lecture notes of John King, 1710-1713, now held in Strong Room B/5, the Gamble Library, the Union Theological College, Belfast.

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King's Head Society Academies (1731-1769)

Including Samuel Parsons's Academy, Clerkenwell Green (1731-35); Abraham Taylor's Academy, Deptford (1735-40); Stepney Academy (1740-44); Plaisterer's Hall Academy (1744-54); Mile End Academy (1754-69)

The King's Head Society was established in 1730 to promote evangelical dissent and provide students with an orthodox education for the ministry. It took its name from the King's Head tavern at Sweeting's Alley, near the Royal Exchange in London, where meetings were held until 1742. The Society's immediate objective was to take a stand 'against the prevailing errors of the day' through sponsoring a series of lectures (i.e. sermons): these were delivered at the meeting house of Revd Robert Bragge in Lime Street between November 1730 and April 1731 (Medway, 59). The lectures, by Bragge, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bradbury, and others, were published under the title *A Defence of Some Important Doctrines of the Gospel* (London, 1732). The second objective, to educate young men for the ministry, was realised in 1731 when Samuel Parsons was appointed as the Society's first tutor. Candidates supported by the Society were required to subscribe to *A Declaration as to some Controverted Points of Christian Doctrine* (London 1732), and were examined on points of doctrine every three months to ensure they continued to hold orthodox beliefs. Students were not expected to have already received a classical education, and the term of study was set at six years.

The Society's records do not survive before 1737, and as a result almost nothing is known about the academy operated by Parsons for four years from 1731. Parsons himself is an obscure figure, who had held a pastorate at Basingstoke for several years before moving to London. The students under his care boarded with him at Clerkenwell Green, although no information about the curriculum they followed survives. The names of nineteen men who received at least some of their education from Parsons are known. He removed to Witham, Essex, in 1735, when Abraham Taylor succeeded him as tutor. It is sometimes stated that Parsons and Taylor served concurrently, with Parsons teaching classics to the students before they proceeded to the theological course under Taylor. However, no contemporary evidence in support of this assertion has been found. A list of students in the earliest surviving minute book of the King's Head Society clearly distinguishes between those taught by Parsons from 1731, and those who studied with Taylor after 1735.

Taylor, one of the Lime Street lecturers, was a rigid Calvinist with a short temper. On one occasion he is reported to have 'inflicted a disgraceful corporal punishment' on two students who had travelled to Kennington to hear George Whitefield preach (*Evangelical Magazine*, 5 (1797), 7). Under Taylor's tutorship the academy removed to Deptford, where he had been minister since 1728. The full range of subjects taught at Deptford is not known, although when Thomas Gibbons resigned as a student in 1737 the Society's minutes recorded his complaints that logic was not being taught and that the introductory lectures in divinity were 'too close to Classical Learning' (DWL, MS NCL/105/1, p. 5). When questioned, Gibbons reported hearing that Taylor did intend to introduce regular logic lectures, and the survival of two sets of manuscript notes show that this was the case. Taylor's lectures on natural theology, which also survive, were based heavily upon Marck's *Medulla*. In September 1739 it was agreed to employ a Mr Ray to assist Taylor by lecturing in mathematics and philosophy, and in November of that year the students were examined in Hebrew, logic, and divinity.

In addition to the King's Head Society students, Taylor provided tuition to a number supported by William Coward (1647/8-1738). After Coward's death, his trustees, who included Isaac Watts, withdrew support from the academy at Deptford. This deprived Taylor of a considerable part of his income, since the eight young men in his care funded by Coward received an annual allowance of £18 each. Whether this had a direct impact on

Taylor's relationship with the King's Head Society is not recorded. However, in March 1740 the Society granted the students a month's vacation 'on acct of ye unhappy Circumstances of their Tutor' (DWL, MS NCL/105/1, p. 36). A committee appointed to enquire into his affairs concluded that they were 'such as to render him incapable of serving the Society any longer in the capacity of a Tutor', and Revd John Hubbard was appointed to replace him (DWL, MS NCL/105/1, p. 37). Nothing is known of Taylor after this date, although he is thought to have died in poverty.

Hubbard had been minister at Stepney Meeting for some twenty years, and was an active member of the King's Head Society. His name often appears among those taking part in examinations at Deptford. In expressing his willingness to become tutor, Hubbard stated that he could accept no less than £24 per year for the board of each student, and requested that a further £30 be allowed for the appointment of a grammar and philosophical tutor. The students, at least three of whom had begun their education with Parsons in Clerkenwell, removed to Stepney, and in November 1742 it was resolved that the institution should be known as the Stepney Academy. Very little information survives concerning the curriculum taught by Hubbard. In November 1740 the committee appointed to examine students on their academic studies found the first class to have made good progress in Hebrew, and the second class to have shown improvement in divinity and chronology. In 1741 £5 was allowed to Mr Young, probably a senior student named George Lewis Young, for assisting Hubbard 'in Grammar Learning' (DWL, MS NCL/106, p. 48). The following April John Walker was allowed 20 guineas a year for providing tuition in classics, mathematics, and philosophy. Hubbard died in July 1743 and the King's Head Society was left in need of a new theological tutor for the fourth time in twelve years.

It is at this point that the history of the King's Head Society's academy begins to overlap with the Congregational Fund Board's efforts to train ministers in London. While the King's Head Society, Congregational Fund Board, and Coward Trust all operated independently from one another there was overlap between them. Many of the more conservative members of the Congregational Fund Board were active within the King's Head Society, while John Guyse was a Coward Trustee who regularly chaired meetings of both the Society and the Fund Board. Following Hubbard's death, the Society approached Zephaniah Marryatt, a Presbyterian and minister at Deadman's Place, Southwark, to succeed Hubbard as theological tutor. Marryatt was approaching the age of sixty, and was reluctant to accept the position on a permanent basis. For a while he provided tuition to the students at Stepney, where board was still provided for them by Hubbard's widow. Meanwhile, John Eames, theological tutor in the academy at Moorfields, died suddenly in June 1744. The Coward Trust, which had elected to send students to Eames rather than Taylor, appointed David Jennings of Wellclose Square to provide tuition to the young men under its care in London. However, in August the Congregational Fund Board chose to send its students to Marryatt, allowing him £30 a year. On learning of this, the King's Head Society agreed that Marryatt be 'rechosen to be Tutor to the young men under the Care of the Society' (DWL, MS NCL/106, p.91). Marryatt agreed to receive as many as thirty students, and accommodation was obtained at Plaisterer's Hall in Addle Street, London. Walker, whose services were retained, became responsible for the domestic management of the institution. In April 1753 Walker reported that the Hall was full, and the Society began sending a few students to receive their classical tuition from Revd James Webb of Hitchin. This arrangement seems to have lasted until 1755 when James Davies and Thomas Waldegrave, two students with Webb, were found guilty of 'very criminal practices together of a Scandalous and Immoral nature' and dismissed from the Society's care (DWL, MS NCL/106, p.162).

The academy continued at Plaisterer's Hall under Marryatt and Walker for ten years. According to Thomas Hall, who delivered his funeral sermon, Marryatt was highly regarded as a man of learning, particularly for his knowledge of Greek literature. It was said that there were '*very few*, if any of the *Books* wrote by the ancient *Greeks*, and handed down to our

Times, but what *he had read* in their own Language' (Hall, 46). John Pye Smith, in an account of the history of Homerton College, commented that Walker 'possessed no ordinary degree of attainment' in classical and Hebrew learning (Medway, 60). The regular academic and doctrinal examinations continued, with committees appointed by both the King's Head Society and the Congregational Fund Board to examine their respective students. From 1751 the Society agreed that 'future examinations in Academical Studies be in English' (DWL, MS NCL/106, p. 62). It was also the practice on these occasions for the examining committee to ask the students whether they were satisfied with the tuition and boarding arrangements they received. They normally reported that they were happy on both accounts, but in July 1751 'a universal dissatisfaction with the Housekeeper' was noted (DWL, MS NCL/106, p. 63). The incident prompted the Society to issue a new set of rules to which students must adhere. They were required to attend all lectures unless the tutor granted permission for their absence, and expected to attend family prayer twice a day. Students were not permitted to enter the kitchen 'except upon special occasions', and visitors were discouraged. One rule in particular reflects the hazards of locating the academy right in the heart of London, with students strictly forbidden from attending 'any Playhouse or place of Public diversion' (DWL, MS NCL/106, p. 63).

The lure of metropolitan entertainments, along with the lack of space for receiving new students at Plaisterer's Hall, probably explains why the Society began to discuss relocating the academy from the City to the suburbs in October 1753. A committee was appointed to consider the matter further, and resolved that the institution would be better located somewhere within three miles of the City. At this point, the relationship between the King's Head Society and the Congregational Fund Board was formalised, with the appointment of a joint committee to consider the relocation of the academy and to manage its future business. By March 1754 it was becoming clear that Zephaniah Marryatt would be unable to continue as theological tutor for much longer, and in April he informed the joint committee that he was in a 'dying condition' (DWL, MS NCL/106, p. 125). The committee were in agreement that the purposes of the academy would be best served by the employment of three tutors. They recommended the appointment of Revd John Conder of Hog Hill Independent Church, Cambridge, as divinity tutor, to be assisted in other areas of the curriculum by Walker and Revd Thomas Gibbons, minister at Haberdasher's Hall. Under the new arrangements, students were to board with the divinity tutor. The academy continued at Plaisterer's Hall for a few more months, but by November premises had been obtained opposite Bancroft's Hospital in Mile End Old Town, an area that remained rural in the mid-eighteenth century. Teaching commenced at Mile End in December 1754.

More evidence survives concerning the curriculum taught at Mile End than during previous phases in the academy's history. Two sets of manuscript notes on Conder's lectures on systematic theology survive from this period, and copies of those on preaching and Jewish antiquities delivered at Homerton probably reflect his teaching at Mile End. Gibbons's involvement with the academy is documented in his diaries, which cover the whole of his period as tutor at Mile End and Homerton. He delivered lectures on rhetoric, logic, ethics, and metaphysics, although he regarded this work as secondary to his pastoral responsibilities. In 1758 he expressed relief that he had 'finished the last Lecture of the four Year's Course of Lectures at the Academy' and had therefore 'acquired a Sett of Lectures for my whole future Life' (CL, II.a.3, 26 May 1758). Walker continued to teach classics, although little is known about his teaching at Plaisterer's Hall, Mile End, and Homerton. In September 1756 the examination committee reported with satisfaction on the students' progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Jewish antiquities, divinity, rhetoric, and ontology.

For a couple of years during the Mile End period the academy witnessed significant student unrest. In 1757 Conder reported misconduct by the students, some of whom had complained about his lectures and management of the academy. A committee appointed to examine the complaints found that their only cause to disapprove of Conder was that his moderate temperament made him too indulgent towards the young men in his care. In the aftermath of

the affair new resolutions were passed prohibiting students from frequenting alehouses or bringing strong liquor into the house. The following year, matters deteriorated further when a private letter of John Stafford, a senior student, was stolen and conveyed to Revd Thomas Towle, a member of the King's Head Society. The contents of the letter are not recorded, but the intention was to inflict damage to Stafford's reputation. Seven students were dismissed from the care of the Society, and an eighth resigned the following month. Three of those disciplined remained at the Mile End academy with bursaries from the Congregational Fund Board, while the remainder were accepted by the Presbyterian Fund and continued their studies in David Jennings's Academy at Wellclose Square. A resolution of the King's Head Society ordering students to have nothing to do with Towle was passed, and remained in force until it was rescinded in 1784.

As early as January 1764 the issue of the lease on the houses occupied by the academy at Mile End was under discussion. The matter was discussed without conclusion for over three years, and in August 1767 a surveyor was appointed to provide an estimate for repairing the existing two buildings and erecting a third. The total cost of £1,310 was deemed prohibitive, and an alternative location was sought. After sites in Islington, Dalston, and Hackney had been rejected, negotiations were begun with the widow of Mr Hawtyn for a house at Homerton. The purchase of the estate was completed in October 1768 and the academy was relocated from Mile End the following September.

The names of over 160 students who studied at the academies at Clerkenwell Green, Deptford, Stepney, Plaisterer's Hall, and Mile End are known. They include a number who became academy tutors, such as Gibbons, Conder, Daniel Fisher, John Fell, and Henry Mayo. Caleb Evans, a student at Mile End, was tutor and later Principal of Bristol Baptist Academy. Among those who became prominent Independent ministers were David Bradberry, William Kingsbury, Robert Robinson, and John Stafford. Two students later became physicians of note: Thomas Cogan and Sayer Walker. Joseph Priestley famously refused to attend the academy at Plaisterer's Hall on the basis that he was at that time an Arminian. The King's Head Society's reputation for strict Calvinism, and the religious tests imposed on candidates, must have helped it to avoid the doctrinal disputes that affected other eighteenth-century academies.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The main archival sources for the Mile End academy and its predecessors are the records of the King's Head Society (DWL, MS NCL/105-108) and Congregational Fund Board (DWL, MS OD403; MS OD405-406; MS OD455). A full record of the curriculum does not survive for the pre-Homerton period, although there are manuscript copies of Abraham Taylor's lectures on theology and logic in the Congregational Library (CL, MSS I.d.24; I.d.25, I.e.29) and Dr Williams's Library (DWL, MS 69.24). A least two versions of John Conder's divinity lectures from Mile End are also extant (CL, MSS I.f.25-6; I.h.4-9). Thomas Gibbons's diary provides a record of life in the final months at Plaisterer's Hall and throughout the Mile End period. While the entries are generally brief, they provide a valuable sense of the routines of academy life and the attitude of a tutor to his duties (CL, II.a.3).

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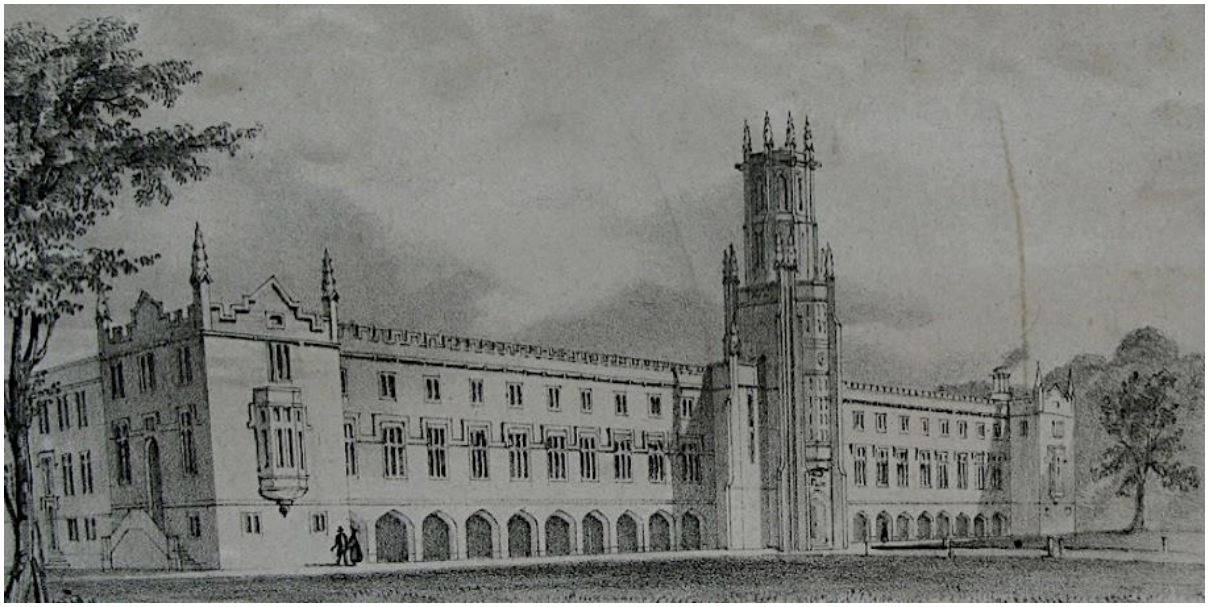
Lancashire Independent College (1843-1958)

(Historical account to 1860)



Lancashire Independent College, opened 1843 [source: JRUL, Northern Congregational College Archives, Box No. 32/9, Item 3, Early History of Lancashire Independent College - scrapbook of George Hadfield]

Lancashire Independent College was opened to students in August 1843 after nearly five years of planning. It was the direct successor to Blackburn Independent Academy, the success of which had been compromised by its continued location in the central Lancashire town. The growth of Manchester's population and economic importance, together with the strength of nonconformity in the city, had made the relocation of the county's only institution for training dissenting ministers an increasingly attractive proposition. The new college was established in extensive premises built on a seven-acre plot at Whalley Range, Withington, on the outskirts of Manchester. The centrepiece of the building was an impressive 92 foot high gothic tower, flanked by two long wings of three stories each. While the institution was open to prospective students from anywhere in the country, its sphere of influence was regarded as Lancashire and neighbouring counties except Yorkshire, which was served by two Congregational colleges of its own. The Trust Deed on which the college was founded stated that it was for the education of those intent upon becoming Congregational ministers. However, others not of the Independent denomination could be admitted provided they were of an evangelical persuasion. Lancashire Independent College continued to exist until 1958, in which year it merged with Yorkshire United Independent College to form the Northern Congregational College.

The first students arrived at Whalley Range in August 1843, including thirteen who moved from Blackburn and seven new entrants. In the first few years the number of students fluctuated, but was generally lower than had been hoped. From 22 students in 1844, the number increased to 25 by the start of the following decade, before peaking at 30 in 1854. Numbers fell again during the second half of the 1850s, dropping to 20 in 1859. It was not until the following decade that the college began to approach the capacity of 50 young men who could be accommodated at Whalley Range. The academy was funded mainly by voluntary subscriptions, donations, bequests and collections. A significant proportion of annual income was obtained from Manchester, with over a third of the total received for the year ending 27 December 1858 coming from subscribers and congregational collections in the city. Following the end of protracted chancery proceedings in 1849, the college began to

receive students supported on Lady Hewley's Fund. Unlike the arrangement at Blackburn, students did not automatically receive payment for board and lodging and those with sufficient private means to pay their own expenses were expected to do so. In 1845 a bequest from Moses Hadfield of Old Hall near Mottram was received to fund an annual prize scholarship, and in 1854 a £3,000 legacy from Eccles Shorrock of Darwen endowed three fellowships. The management of the college was placed in the hands of 30 trustees, with an annual meeting of subscribers held to fill vacancies among the trustees and to appoint an executive committee to conduct regular business during the year. A house and finance committee and an education, library and visiting committee were also appointed. The establishment of the college owed much to the energy and fundraising zeal of the Manchester attorney George Hadfield. Thomas Raffles, the prominent Liverpool minister, served as chairman from 1839 until his death in 1863, while the Grosvenor Street minister Robert Halley was also involved in the management of the college during its early years.

Three professors were appointed in 1843. Robert Vaughan, formerly professor of history at University College London, was appointed to the theology chair and became the first president of the college. Samuel Davidson was appointed to the chair of Biblical literature, having previously held a similar post at Belfast Academical Institution. The teaching staff was completed by the appointment of Charles Peter Mason to the classical chair, a department that also incorporated mathematics and general literature. Mason remained in post for six years, resigning in 1849 to be replaced by Robert Halley, son of the Grosvenor Street minister. In 1851 Halley was relieved of the responsibility for teaching classics, and for several years students attended classes delivered by Joseph Gouge Greenwood (1821-1894) at Owens College. A request in 1855 from students to increase their attendance at lectures at Owens College was met with reluctance from the Lancashire Committee. It was feared that the committee would not be able to control the behaviour of its students at external classes and would have no influence over the education they received. When Robert Halley resigned his position in 1856 the experiment of sending students to Owens College was brought to an end by the appointment of two new tutors: Theophilus Dwight Hall to teach classics, and Alfred Newth to provide instruction in mathematics, philosophy, and Hebrew.

In 1856 and 1857 the college became embroiled in a controversy that would result in the resignation of its two senior tutors. Samuel Davidson had long been interested in German systems of Biblical criticism, and the Lancashire committee would have known of this influence when he was appointed in 1843. In 1854 he was invited to rewrite the Old Testament volume for a new edition of Thomas Hartwell Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures*. The resulting volume appeared in October 1856, and while Davidson's arguments regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch and prophetic authorship and inspiration were moderate, they were sufficiently liberal to rile elements within the Lancashire Independent College committee. In particular, there was concern that Davidson's alleged heterodoxy would deter subscribers from continuing to provide financial support. Davidson's failure to justify his position to the satisfaction of a majority of committee members led to his resignation from the Biblical literature chair in June 1857. The following month Robert Vaughan also resigned, although his decision was prompted more by personal matters and was merely hastened by the Davidson affair. The vacant theological chair was offered to Henry Rogers of Spring Hill College, who accepted. The experience of the Davidson controversy led to the committee shying away from the appointment of a new professor of Biblical studies. Thus in 1860 the tutorial staff of the college consisted of Rogers, who remained until 1871, Theophilus Dwight Hall, who resigned in 1866, and Alfred Newth, who died in post in 1875.

By 1860 a total of 128 students had entered the college, including a number who would go on to pursue prominent careers as Congregational ministers. Alexander Raleigh was an engaging preacher who became chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1868 and 1879. James Guinness Rogers of Ireland held the same position in 1874,

and was later a friend of W. E. Gladstone. Rogers was a defender of Congregational orthodoxy who co-authored a pamphlet criticising Samuel Davidson with another Lancashire alumnus, Enoch Mellor. His theological stance would bring him into conflict with James Allanson Picton, also educated at Whalley Range, and one of Davidson's supporters. Picton was minister at Cheetham Hill church, Manchester, Gallowtree Gate Church, Leicester and St Thomas's Square Chapel, Hackney. He was on the opposing side from Rogers at the 1877 meeting of the Congregational Union in Leicester. He withdrew from Congregationalism in 1878 and went on to enter parliament as the Liberal member for Leicester in 1884. Other Lancashire students who would rise to prominence included David Worthington Simon, principal of Congregational colleges at Spring Hill, Edinburgh and Bradford, the historian and biblical scholar William Urwick, and the writer and son of the college's first president, William Alfred Vaughan. Several pursued notable careers overseas. William Roby Fletcher followed his father Richard to Australia where he became vice-chancellor of the University of Adelaide, and an influential member of intellectual circles in the city. Robert Whitaker McAll founded the McAll Mission in Paris, while Carl Wilhelm Buch became principal of the East India Company college at Bareilly before his murder during the Indian mutiny of 1857.

The Trust Deed outlined that the curriculum to be taught should include theology, Biblical criticism and hermeneutics, ecclesiastical history, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac languages, mental and moral philosophy, philology, logic, rhetoric, belles lettres and elocution, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and English literature. A detailed account of the course of instruction is provided by the annual report for 1846. In Robert Vaughan's department students heard lectures on the atonement, the Holy Spirit, the sacraments, church polity, discipline, and 'Pastoral Science'. They were required to produce weekly papers with evidence of their own reading and reflections upon the subjects taught. One hour a week was spent on homiletics with instruction given 'bearing immediately on the duties of the pulpit' (*Report*, 1847, 8-9). In Biblical literature, as well as lectures on the Old and New Testaments, Samuel Davidson delivered a course on the Lutheran Reformation up to 1555. Students in the junior class read Thucydides, Horace and Tacitus under Mason. They studied algebra, solid geometry, plane trigonometry and conic sections, as well as logic and ancient history. Those in their first year also received grounding in general grammar. Students were examined annually in each of the three departments. The full course of study extended to five and sometimes six years. Those such as Robert Alfred Vaughan who were already graduates in the arts could be admitted for the theology course only, which was of three years' duration.

Prior to the construction of the Whalley Range building, the committee consulted widely on the most suitable domestic arrangements for the college. A circular letter was issued in March 1839 and sent to tutors and others with experience of theological colleges in the British Isles and America. The majority of respondents favoured a residential system over one where students boarded out. As a consequence, an invitation to architects was issued for a building to accommodate 50 students, each to have a study and a bed in a dormitory with two spacious houses for resident tutors. In addition, accommodation was to be provided for a dining room, library, three lectures rooms, kitchens and servants' quarters. The library that was transferred from Blackburn consisted of 2,000 volumes and was considered deficient in most respects. An appeal for gifts was issued, and by the time the college opened the number of books was nearer to 4,000. This was still regarded as inadequate and regular appeals were made to improve it.

The controversy relating to the views of Samuel Davidson was the most serious of several to affect the college during the early period. In 1844 a proposal for Robert Vaughan to become editor of the *British Quarterly Review* would bring the long involvement of George Hadfield in ministerial education in Lancashire to an end. Vaughan had not been Hadfield's preferred choice for president of the college, and the political radicalism of Hadfield contrasted with the conservatism of Vaughan. Hadfield's failure to obtain the support of the Lancashire

committee for a resolution against Vaughan resulted in his resignation from the committee in November 1844.

Despite concerns of the college committee during the 1840s and 1850s over low student numbers, Lancashire Independent College was successful during this period in its stated goal of training Congregational ministers. Exactly three quarters of the 128 students admitted to the college before 1860 spent at least some of their later careers in the ministry. This included seven who subsequently conformed to the Church of England. Sixteen made some contribution to education as teachers, tutors or academics. The managers and teaching staff of the college were concerned to maintain high academic standards among the student body, and those who failed to demonstrate sufficient ability were dismissed at the end of their probationary period. A number of prizes were awarded to Lancashire Independent College students by Owens College during the 1850s. Robert Whittaker McAll reflected upon his time at Whalley Range as 'happy days', and looked back with satisfaction at the course of study pursued there (McAll, *Robert Whittaker McAll*, 64-71). However, Henry Griffin Parrish, a student at the time of the Davidson episode, was rather more critical. In 1863, two years after completing his studies, he published the anonymous *From the World to the Pulpit*, providing a thinly veiled, and often unflattering, account of his time at the college. After 1860 the college entered a period of stability and prosperity. In 1867 the relationship with Owens College was re-established on a more permanent basis, and an increase in student numbers led to the extension of the college building in 1878.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The administrative and financial records of Lancashire Independent College survive in the John Rylands University Library. A scrapbook kept by George Hadfield provides a valuable account of the early history of the college (JRUL, Northern Congregational College Archives, Box No. 32/9, Item 3, Early History of Lancashire Independent College - scrapbook of George Hadfield). The college minutes for 1857 contain a full account of the Davidson controversy (JRUL, Northern Congregational College Archives, Box 33).

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Images

For further images of the Lancashire Independent College building see Kaye, *For the Work of Ministry*, 70, and search https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/.The Whalley Range site is now occupied by the British Muslim Heritage Centre whose website contains a virtual tour of the building in its current state. Note that the building was much altered in the 1870s.

Simon N. Dixon, 'Lancashire Independent College (1843-1958)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011.

Leaf Square Academy (1811-1813)

Shortly after the closure of William Roby's Academy at Manchester in 1808, a resolution was passed by the annual meeting of the Lancashire Congregational Union stating that it was 'highly expedient that an academical Institution for the education of young men for the ministry' be set up to serve the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire (Surman, 'Leaf Square', 107). In June 1809, a small group was appointed to develop a plan for the proposed institution, consisting of William Roby, Rev. Noah Blackburn of Delph, Rev. Joseph Fletcher of Blackburn, and the Manchester cotton merchant Robert Spear. At the same time, a circular was issued to all congregations in the three counties calling for financial support. The following month, Roby presented a general meeting of the county union with proposals to establish a grammar school for the education of the sons of dissenters, to be incorporated with an academy for training ministers. Any excess income from the grammar school would be used to fund the academy. The new institution was to be established at Leaf Square in Pendleton, near Salford, and the surviving minutes give its name as 'Leaf Square Academy & School for young Ministers & Lay Scholars'. Care was taken at the outset to reassure Edward Williams that it would not encroach upon the activities of Rotherham Independent Academy, where he was tutor. The experiment at Leaf Square was short-lived, and by December 1813 the academy was dissolved due to lack of funds. A number of members of the committee were instrumental in the establishment of the Blackburn Independent Academy three years later.

In June 1811 Isaac Lowndes, William Lees, and John Morris were admitted as the first academy students at Leaf Square, and in November 1812 they were joined by a fourth, Thomas Chesters. While the grammar school seems to have flourished, with as many as 50 pupils at a time, no further ministerial students were accepted. Lowndes, Lees, and Morris were boarded privately at first, until the academy house was ready to receive them in November 1811. Adjacent premises for the school and academy were rented from a Mr Leaf at Leaf Square, Pendleton. It was resolved that a matron should be appointed to oversee the domestic management of the institution on an annual salary of 20 guineas. Miss Ann Hough held the post until March 1812. When her successor, Miss Luckman, was appointed it was agreed she should have the authority to hire and dismiss all other domestic servants.

The academy did not last long enough for any of the students to complete the projected three year course, which could be increased to four years at the discretion of the committee. During the first year, they were expected to take courses in English and Latin Grammar, composition, elocution, and Jewish and Christian revelations. Second year students would study Latin, the principles of composition applied to sermon plans, Greek, logic, moral philosophy, and theology with particular reference to a review of doctrines and controversies. The final session included further classes in Latin, composition and elocution, together with Greek, Hebrew, systematic theology, Biblical studies, and general and ecclesiastical history. An appeal for library books was issued in October 1810, and a committee was appointed to purchase books, 'at their discretion as they may from time to time have opportunity of procuring them cheap' (JRUL, Leaf Square Minutes, 10 Oct. 1810). Thanks were given to Robert Spear for the loan of books, probably from the library he had provided for the use of William Roby's students at Mosley Street, Manchester. In August 1812 £13 was spent on an air pump and other scientific apparatus.

The Leaf Square committee minutes do not always make clear whether members of teaching staff were involved in both the school and the academy, or just one of the two. In June 1810 George Phillips was appointed as president of both branches of the institution on a salary of £200 per year with board and lodging. Phillips had studied at Wymondley Academy and Glasgow University, and does not appear to have held a permanent ministerial post prior to his appointment at New Windsor Church, Salford, where he was

ordained in 1811. Shortly after the admission of the first ministerial students he was forced to resign from the academy due to illness, and he died on 24 October 1811. The management committee had already decided to separate the superintendence of the school from that of the academy, and in July 1811 the Wrexham tutor Jenkin Lewis was appointed to become theological and resident tutor at Leaf Square. In 1812, John Reynolds was recommended by John Pye Smith to take on the running of the school and office of classical tutor. Reynolds had studied at Westminster School and Oriel College, Oxford, and was a former Royal page, War office official, and commissioned officer in the North Lincoln Militia. In October 1813 he was replaced by John Clunie, who had studied at Hoxton Independent Academy and Glasgow University. Clunie had been ordained at Guildford in 1809 where he was briefly pastor, before spending two years as a private tutor in Kensington. A number of assistant tutors were associated with the academy and school at Pendleton. The most noteworthy was the celebrated scientist and former Manchester New College tutor, John Dalton, who served as a part-time mathematical tutor from 1811 until 1813. Dalton probably had some association with the academy, but others named in the minutes are more likely to have assisted in the grammar school alone. These included a Mr Wiedman, Joseph Wadsworth of Rishworth near Halifax, James Pridie, and French tutor M. Chevalier de la Radière. It has been suggested that some of the junior tutors were also students in the academy, although when Pridie asked to be admitted for ministerial training in 1812 he was advised to find an alternative institution.

By the beginning of 1813, concerns were being raised over the financial state of the academy, and the lack of support received from local congregations. While the grammar school was attracting a steady supply of pupils, it was not generating sufficient income to subsidise the training of ministerial candidates. An appeal for financial support circulated by the Lancashire Union was unsuccessful, and by the end of the year a total debt of £1314 6s 9d was owed by the school and academy. While it was agreed to confer with John Clunie over plans to continue the school it was resolved, 'That the reduced state of finances and many discouragements which the Academy labours under compel this meeting to dissolve it' (Surman, 'Leaf Square', 112). The school was later sold to Clunie, who continued to run it as a private concern for a number of years. There is some evidence that there were other problems. The author of an obituary of Jenkin Lewis published in the *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* described Lewis's time at Leaf Square as 'the most trying season of his life' and suggested that he disapproved of the management of the institution ('Jenkin Lewis', 512). None of the academy students who entered in June 1811 had finished their course by December 1813, and all went on to study elsewhere. Isaac Lowndes completed his studies under David Bogue at Gosport, William Lees entered Rotherham Independent Academy in 1814, and John Morris went to Hoxton. Thomas Chesters left in November 1813 without the permission of the committee to become minister at Sandbach in Cheshire. Lowndes was appointed to the Greek Mission of the London Missionary Society, and published a series of English and Greek lexicons. Lees became minister at Dogley Lane, Huddersfield, and Morris held several ministerial posts, including at Glastonbury, where he died in 1866.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The minute book of Leaf Square Academy and Grammar School (1809-1816) is held at the John Rylands University Library as part of the Northern Congregational College Archives. It provides a detailed account of the management of the institution from the planning stages until the sale of the grammar school to John Clunie in 1815. It also contains the early minutes of Blackburn Independent Academy.

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Manchester College, York (1803-1840)

**Manchester College (1786 to present):
New College, Manchester (1786-1803), Manchester College, York (1803-1840), Manchester New College, Manchester (1840-1853), Manchester New College, London (1853-1889)**

In 1803, following the resignation of George Walker as theological tutor, the college moved to York where Charles Wellbeloved was minister, otherwise the college would probably have closed. It opened in September in Wellbeloved's house with four lay and four divinity students, together with three boys left from the school he had conducted since 1793. The school room became the library and a new lecture room was built for the students. Attempts to recruit Lant Carpenter to assist him failed, so Wellbeloved was forced to teach the whole course himself until February 1804, when Hugh Kerr, a recent graduate of Glasgow, was appointed to teach classics and mathematics. Wellbeloved was giving four or five lectures a day, and as a consequence was seriously ill in April 1807. In response to his request for a third tutor the committee concluded that the funds were insufficient. There were even doubts about replacing Kerr when he resigned in May 1807, though Theophilus Browne, a former fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had become a Unitarian, was appointed.

During the early years at York the chronic financial difficulties persisted, but in October 1808 the committee resolved to establish an endowment fund. With the appointment of George William Wood as treasurer a greater effort was made to increase support. When Browne resigned in 1809, the committee agreed to appoint two assistant tutors on a salary of £80 a year, though the funds were 'scarcely adequate to the liberal support of three tutors' (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 65, p. 167). Wellbeloved was paid £120 a year. William Turner Jr, a former student and son of the college visitor, was appointed tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy, and John Kenrick, son of Timothy Kenrick of Exeter, took up his appointment as tutor in classics and history in 1810 after he had graduated from Glasgow. Kenrick was an outstanding scholar and teacher, greatly admired for his translations, and gave life to his subject by his use of historical evidence. He studied in Germany in 1819-20. In his absence his lectures were given by John James Tayler. Kenrick, through his students and writings, helped introduce the main nineteenth-century advances in German historical criticism and philology to England. Turner, whose main interests were in natural philosophy, was succeeded in 1827 by William Hincks, son of the Unitarian minister of Cork. At least one student raised questions about Hincks's mathematical knowledge. He was subsequently professor of natural history at Queen's College, Cork, and at Toronto. In 1840 J. J. Tayler wrote that Hincks, 'notwithstanding his many talents & virtues', had been 'unsuccessful as a tutor' [HMCO, MS Lant Carpenter 2, fo. 256].

Increasing support for the college both in the number of students and subscribers helped transform the financial situation. With the assistance of the Lady Hewley Fund a ninth divinity student was taken on the foundation in 1809. There were 13 divinity and lay students in 1806, 19 in 1809, and 25 in 1812. Problems in accommodating the students in suitable lodgings, together with concerns over discipline, led the committee in 1812 to purchase a row of houses set around a large court in Monkgate (almost opposite Wellbeloved's house) for £3,140; this was sufficient to accommodate thirty to forty students with land for further building. It was agreed to raise £2,500 in loans from supporters, but many either generously gave the sum as a gift or refused to receive any interest. A new lecture hall and teaching rooms were added in 1819.

In the year the college moved to York only £148 was collected in personal subscriptions. Within two years they had increased to £187, and in 1806-7, the year before Wood became treasurer, to just over £200. By 1810-11 subscriptions were nearly £500, reaching almost £700 by 1816-17. The improvement in subscriptions, in which the deputy treasurers played a key role, was the direct result of extending the areas of support, in particular to London. In 1805-6 Manchester contributed 92 guineas out of a total of 170 (more than half) compared with only 6 guineas from London. By 1816-17 Manchester was still the largest centre of support, though now only accounting for a fifth of the total, with the south of England providing a quarter of all subscriptions. London rivalled Liverpool as the second most important source of subscriptions after Manchester, and London was second only to Manchester in the number of lay students sent to York. In geographical terms the main support for the college was to be found in London and the principal manufacturing towns in Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the Midlands, which were also the main centres for early nineteenth-century Unitarianism. The college depended upon a small group of very wealthy benefactors and a larger group of wealthy subscribers. Congregational collections, despite the efforts of the committee, were never as important, only amounting to about a seventh of the total raised in individual subscriptions.

Expenditure also grew, resulting in a deficit. By 1822-23 the situation was so serious the committee decided to reduce the number of divinity students they supported from 17 to 12, by the expedient of one admission for every two removals. Another measure adopted later involved awarding half exhibitions until a full one became available. Efforts were made to reduce the accumulated deficit by increasing personal subscriptions, which reached £773 9s 6d in 1824-25. Thereafter the level of subscriptions declined steadily, until in 1832 the situation had become so serious the committee was forced to suspend the admission of any new divinity students. Again efforts to increase subscriptions were rewarded, and two years later they reached the highest total for the whole York period, nearly £800, after an additional £100 was raised by the deputy treasurers in Manchester, Bristol, and Dukinfield, mainly from new subscribers. Congregational collections also improved. This level was maintained for the next two years, but thereafter declined until the college returned to Manchester in 1840.

The Presbyterian Fund had been a major source of grants at Manchester, but in 1806 the managers decided to devote the whole of their limited resources to Carmarthen Academy. The Lady Hewley Trust provided five or six £20 exhibitions a year, but they ceased in 1830 as a result of the legal challenge to the Unitarian trustees. Individual students were helped by a variety of local and private sources, including wealthy benefactors, groups of friends, and charities associated with particular congregations. Every student for the ministry had to be at least 16 years old and to provide references from three neighbouring ministers as to his character and abilities. To be admitted on the foundation he had to be able to read Homer and Horace, and in arithmetic to be able to manage vulgar and decimal fractions. Although the college was open to all irrespective of their religious beliefs, in reality because the tutors and leading supporters were known to be Unitarians so were all but a handful of students. When a Jewish student applied in 1812 Wellbeloved was concerned that he might feel out of place. He had similar doubts about a Baptist student the following year.

The library with about 3,000 titles was transferred to York with the college. Details of the books are provided by an author catalogue and shelf-list dating from the late 1820s, by which time the number of titles had increased to about 4,000, and evidence of their use is given by an extensive set of loan registers from 1803 to 1881. The majority of the books dated from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Only a small proportion of the collection was borrowed, suggesting that much of the collection was out of date. In 1814 the college committee obtained the loan of the Exeter Academy library of about 2,000 titles, though this also appears to have been an historic collection with few books borrowed.

The plan of studies consisted of a five-year divinity course, of which the first three were also

designed to provide wealthy lay students with an education similar to that offered by Oxford and Cambridge. Kenrick taught the Greek and Roman classics, and English and Latin composition, as well as ancient history in the first year, modern history in the second (including the history and principles of the English constitution), and belles lettres in the third. The whole of the Cambridge University course in mathematics and natural philosophy, covering mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, and astronomy, was taught by Turner over three years, beginning with algebra, plane trigonometry and the first six books of Euclid in the first year; continuing with the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, the geometry of solids, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, and calculus in the second; and differential calculus and more advanced forms of mathematics in the third, concluding with Newton's *Principia*. Mechanics and chemistry were taught in the second and third years. Turner also gave lectures in logic and mental philosophy in the second year, and a course of reading in ethics, jurisprudence, and political economy in the third. The college had its own extensive collection of scientific apparatus for experimental work. Modern languages did not form part of the college course, but instruction was available locally in French and Italian. The appointment of the Lombard exile, Count Giuseppe Pecchio, as tutor in modern languages in 1826 was partly because of the dissatisfaction over the standard of teaching provided locally.

Ministerial students began studying Hebrew in their first year, but they did not begin their theology course until the fourth year, when Wellbeloved gave lectures on the evidences of natural and revealed religion, on the principles of biblical criticism, and ecclesiastical history, and read over the whole of the Old and New Testaments with the students, encouraging them 'each for himself, to form his own views of the important Doctrines of Revelation' (*Report of the Manchester New College, August 31, 1810*). They had lectures on pastoral duties and sermon composition. They also began to learn Chaldee and Syriac. John James Tayler told his cousin in 1814 that 'the great fault here, as in most other Dissenting Colleges, seems to be, that they break the strength of the faculties, by distributing it amidst too great a variety of objects' (DWL, MS 24.102 (1), Tayler to Wager Tayler, 5 Nov. 1814). The college visitor on a number of occasions expressed concern that the students were overtaxing themselves by excessive study.

The emphasis upon a demanding and comprehensive course of studies was felt by critics to be at the expense of the practical skills needed. Students did not begin to preach in public until their fourth year. The criticism involved deeper issues, signalling the divisions within Unitarianism between those wealthy urban congregations who wanted a learned ministry and poorer congregations who wanted a minister with a popular preaching style. Much was made by critics of the poor standard of delivery, the deficiencies in student elocution, and the apparent neglect of free prayer and extempore preaching at York. The particular style of preaching was sarcastically termed 'the York tone' (*Monthly Repository*, 18 (1823), 417), and the students, with little experience of preaching to large congregations, were widely held to speak 'too low' (DWL, MS 24.107 (6), Thomas Belsham to Kenrick, 8 Jan. 1817). It was largely in response to the lack of opportunities for practical preaching that the divinity students established the Village Missionary Society in 1823. Their efforts saw a number of Unitarian congregations established in the villages between York and Selby, with a chapel built at Welburn designed by James Martineau, but they fell away after the college left York. Although professional instructors were employed and the students were encouraged to practise in public, the complaints about the poor standard of elocution persisted.

As theological tutor Wellbeloved scrupulously avoided teaching any particular doctrine, or indeed expressing his own opinions. The purpose of the college was to support an impartial enquiry after truth and to encourage students to develop their own judgements freely. Wellbeloved's unwillingness to teach Unitarian doctrines and his failure to proclaim his Unitarianism openly were to create serious difficulties. The refusal to describe the college as Unitarian, though the tutors and leading supporters were known to hold such opinions, was

seen by many Unitarians as disingenuous and by orthodox critics as fraudulent or worse.

After the building in Monkgate was acquired, the students lived in rooms over the lecture hall and class rooms. Prayers were read daily at 8am and 9pm by both lay and ministerial students, and everyone had to attend the Sunday service at St Saviourgate Chapel. Breakfast, lunch, and supper were provided in the dining room of the resident tutor, but they had tea in their own rooms, usually with two or three other students. The grassy area behind the Monkgate building was used by students to exercise and play games. Boating in summer and skating in winter on the Ouse and walking were favourite pastimes. Cricket was introduced in 1827. There were various student debating and literary societies. Minutes for a Shakespeare Club are available from 1825, for a society for mutual improvement in science and general literature from 1830, and a debating society from 1833. The students had their own manuscript magazine, *The College Repository* or 'Poz', begun in 1815 and continued after the college moved to London in 1853.

The college upheld the tradition of a scholarly ministry for Unitarians, and educated their ministerial and in many cases their lay leaders. The outstanding individual was James Martineau, the dominant figure in nineteenth-century British Unitarianism and a major scholar in his own right. Both John James Tayler and George Vance Smith were leading New Testament scholars. Amongst the foremost Unitarian ministers educated at York were John Gooch Robberds and William Gaskell, ministers at Cross Street, Manchester, Edward Tagart, minister of Little Portland Street, London, Thomas Madge, minister of Essex Street, London, Robert Brook Aspland, minister at Hackney, and John Relly Beard, minister at Salford, and with Gaskell founder of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, which trained Unitarian ministers from 1854. Martineau, Tayler, Smith, and Gaskell all subsequently taught at Manchester New College. Despite these achievements the college did not answer denominational needs, particularly of the poorer congregations. Only a third of those active in the Unitarian ministry in 1835 had been educated at Manchester College. At a time when Congregationalists were preparing large numbers of students to evangelise and establish new congregations, Unitarians were not even supplying their existing ones.

Although a majority of the lay students were from industrial and business backgrounds, including the sons of some of the great industrial leaders of the period, slightly more students followed a professional career, generally law. James Carter, whose family made their wealth from brewing and distilling in Portsmouth, became Chief Justice of New Brunswick. A significant number of divinity students failed to enter the ministry or did so only for a few years. Some of those who turned to the law were particularly successful. John Smale had a career in the colonial legal service and became Chief Justice of Hong Kong. Three lay students were later MPs: Mark Philips and his brother Robert Needham Philips, and Edward Strutt, who after a notable political career was created Baron Belper in 1856.

The college answered the dilemma for wealthy Unitarians of how to educate their sons without endangering their family's religious attachment, but unsurprisingly the number was small. In nearly four decades the college only educated 112 laymen. The appeal was limited to wealthy parents who were Unitarians or sympathetic to Unitarianism. At least half the lay students were related to other students or to one of the tutors, illustrating how few families sent their sons to York. Half had entered by 1817 and more than three-quarters by 1824. In 1829 Hincks as resident tutor complained that the number of students was only half what the rooms would accommodate, but rent, taxes, and servants were the same whatever the number. He still owed Turner, his predecessor, £320 and a year's interest for the fittings and fixtures. The lack of lay students during the 1830s was a major factor in the decision to relocate the college: their fees were an important source of income, particularly as they formed part of the tutor's remuneration.
By 1839 the removal of the college from York had been under consideration for some years. The annual report in 1836 referred to 'the desirableness of an important change in the

situation and arrangement of the College' (*Report of Manchester College, York* (1836), 4). Due to illness Kenrick did not teach at York after 1837. Hincks resigned in 1839, by which date Wellbeloved was over 70 and anxious to be relieved of his responsibilities. At York the whole of the literary, philosophical, and scientific teaching necessary for a general university education was undertaken by two tutors, leaving the theology course, including the teaching of Hebrew and the other biblical languages, to the third tutor. There was also a belief that the college had suffered from being located so far from the main areas of support. The debate centred on whether to return to Manchester, or to move to London where the students could take advantage of the general education offered by London University with the college only teaching theology. The decision in favour of Manchester was taken at a special meeting of trustees in December 1839 by 17 votes to 15, with a further 22 letters in support of Manchester and 12 for London. The college buildings in Monkgate were purchased by the York Diocesan Society to use as a teachers' training college for £1,800.

David L. Wykes

Archives

The administration and finance records for Manchester College, York, are held at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. Details of the management of the academy, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters, are contained in the college minutes (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 65-72). The treasurer's correspondence provides detailed information about the management of the college and its finances (HMCO, MS Wood 1-47).

The following library catalogue and loan registers held at Harris Manchester College have been entered into *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*:

- Shelf list and author catalogue, c.1830 (Misc 25.vii and viii).
- Barcode prefix in VLS: man1830
- Loan registers, 1813-1860 (Misc 25.xiii-xvi).

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Manchester New College, London (1853-1889)

(Historical account to 1860)

Manchester College (1786 to present):
New College, Manchester (1786-1803), Manchester College, York (1803-1840), Manchester New College, Manchester (1840-1853), Manchester New College, London (1853-1889)

In June 1853 the college gave up teaching for the University of London arts degree, and the trustees transferred the college and the ministerial students from Manchester to London with the intention of creating 'a Theological Institution in connection, for Literary and Scientific purposes, with University College' (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 74, p. 126). For the first time since the college was founded in 1786 the education of lay students was no longer part of its work.

Arrangements were made to give the theological lectures and to house the college library in University Hall, Gordon Square. University Hall had been built to commemorate the passing of the 1844 Dissenters' Chapels Act with the aim of providing the sons of non-subscribing Protestant dissenters (principally Unitarians) with the opportunity of attending University College. It had three main objectives: to provide a building with lecture rooms, a common room, library, and a resident principal; to offer accommodation for students; and to give private instruction in theology, mental and moral philosophy, and other subjects either not taught or not fully taught at University College. The hall was built on the west side of Gordon Square, backing on to University College, at a cost of £10,000. Completed in 1849, it struggled to fulfil its purpose, in part because the founders had failed to agree clearly on the aims of the institution. Some had wanted it openly associated with Unitarians, others feared that would distance it from University College. Nor did the awkward rivalry with Manchester New College before 1853, with both institutions competing for lay students and funds, make for easy relations when they came to share the building. Yet it was feared neither could survive without the other.

The principal of Manchester College, J. J. Tayler, explained the relationship between the college and University Hall in his inaugural address: 'University Hall is the link which connects Manchester New College as a Theological Institute, with University College as a seat of Secular learning' (Tayler, *Inaugural Address*, 5). Manchester College and University Hall, however, 'though connected & associated were nonetheless distinct' (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 74, inserted after p. 228). The two institutions shared the building, but had their own students, principals, and lectures. There was subsequently some sharing of tutors and it was intended that the students should socialize together. The council of University Hall was in favour of amalgamation under a new constitution with the assignment of the lease of the hall to a new united society, but the college committee preferred to remain independent and enter the hall as a tenant.

During the first three years the ministerial students on the Manchester College foundation studied Latin, Greek, mathematics, and natural philosophy at University College with the intention of taking the University of London BA degree. During their undergraduate course the students were examined at the end of each session by Manchester College to test their competence, and they were subject to the authority of the principal. They then studied theology and other subjects in preparation for the ministry for a further three years at Manchester College. The college had two professors. J. J. Tayler taught ecclesiastical history and doctrinal and practical theology, including Christian ethics, and G. V. Smith

taught critical and exegetical theology, the evidences of natural and revealed religion, and the Hebrew languages. The college professors avoided teaching any particular doctrine, encouraging instead a critical investigation of the Bible. It was the distinctive feature of their teaching, Tayler wrote, 'to repudiate the authority of all ecclesiastical creeds, to seek for Christianity in the Scriptures alone, and to submit those Scriptures to the unfettered scrutiny of the inquiring mind' (Tayler, *Inaugural Address*, 10). Smith also conducted a class on English composition at the request of the committee.

The special committee appointed to oversee the move to London also urged the appointment of a professor of intellectual and ethical philosophy, but warned that the trustees would need to raise a further £350 a year for the salary. John Hamilton Thom, one of the Unitarian ministers at Liverpool, failed in his attempt to have his colleague James Martineau appointed; many trustees were strongly opposed to the appointment for financial reasons and because they disapproved of Martineau's theology. Martineau and Tayler had become identified with the 'new school' in Unitarian theology, which had abandoned the idea of revelation as a body of truth attested by miracles, adopting instead a faith grounded in an inner perception of the divine which appealed to conscience and affection not external authority. The dispute was to divide Unitarians for a generation and more. Despite opposition, by the end of 1853 Martineau's supporters had succeeded in raising a special fund for his appointment as lecturer in philosophy, a post which he held for the next four years. He travelled from Liverpool every fortnight to give his lectures over two days. His first, on 7 February 1854, was 'A Plea for Philosophical Studies'. At the request of the committee he added a course on political economy, though it was not actually taught during the first session.

The decision by Smith in July 1856 to resign at the end of the session, following criticism of his teaching by his students, provoked a fresh crisis. A proposal by the Committee in January 1857 to divide up and rearrange the work between Tayler and Martineau, which both accepted the following month, led to a protest from over sixty trustees. There were fears that Tayler and Martineau as representatives of the ‘new school’ theology would fail to treat the alternative schemes fairly. Smith's salary was paid to 29 September 1857 when Tayler and Martineau took up their new professorial posts. The dispute over the changes was finally resolved by a special meeting held in April 1858 where the trustees present voted overwhelmingly in favour of the new arrangements, by 113 votes to 17. The committee agreed to appoint a lecturer in Hebrew to assist Tayler and Martineau. Tayler's offer to give up £100 of his salary for this purpose was accepted, and Martineau's son, Russell, a distinguished oriental scholar, who worked at the British Museum, was appointed lecturer in Hebrew language and literature.

Growing concern over the academic standard of some of the students had led in October 1856 to the joint appointment with University Hall of Thomas Edward Kebbel, a graduate of Oxford, as tutor in classics, and R. H. Hutton as tutor in mathematics. Hutton had been a student for a year at the college in Manchester, and was briefly principal of University Hall, but resigned because of ill health in January 1857. John Bridge, a former tutor at Stepney Baptist College, was appointed tutor in mathematics on the recommendation of Augustus de Morgan, professor of mathematics at University College. The committee noted in Bridge’s favour that he was familiar with de Morgan's method of teaching. In June 1857 Manchester College decided against renewing the appointment of the classical tutor, instead relying on Martineau to read the Greek and Latin authors with the students. The following year the committee reported that there was a marked improvement in the standard of learning at the annual examinations.

The council of University Hall had generously offered to accommodate the college on terms as easy as its own financial circumstances would allow. They made available the large hall on the ground floor, where the students dined and which was used for public meetings and

lectures, for the college students to read their sermons and orations. Above the hall they provided a large room for the library, which the college fitted up with additional shelves. In front of this, facing Gordon Square, was a large room where most of the lectures were given, and where the books belonging to University Hall were kept. Manchester College was to add significantly to the library, with many of the books being donated. In 1860 the college obtained permission to extend the gallery on one side of the library and build additional bookcases. The professors and the students also had use of all the public areas and facilities. The college initially paid £100 p.a. to University Hall, but in 1856 an additional £50 p.a. was voted, as the college did not contribute to the payment of local taxes or repairs, heating or cleaning. The situation was exacerbated by the lack of college students living in. Although the college wanted to promote a practical union with University Hall and to encourage students to reside there, the costs were too high for those on a college grant of £60 p.a. The council of University Hall made a number of suggestions to improve matters, but none found favour with the college.

Students at Manchester College also benefited from the trust established by Robert Hibbert in 1847 to raise the position and public influence of the Unitarian ministry, which became effective after the death of his widow in February 1853. To achieve these aims his trustees decided to offer competitive divinity scholarships with the intention of encouraging the overall learning of the Unitarian ministry. As a consequence they were criticised for perpetuating a scholarly ministry at the expense of the practical and pastoral skills needed.

Despite initial fears the college's finances proved surprisingly secure during the early years in London, largely because of new subscribers. The last year at Manchester had resulted in a deficit of £100, and in July 1853 a reduction of over £70 in annual subscriptions was reported. A month later the treasurer, S. D. Darbishire, was forecasting that the college's expenditure for the first year in London would exceed its income by more than £300, and with the costs incurred as a result of the move to London, he was predicting an overall deficit of nearly £1,200. The treasurer, with the help of Edwin Wilkins Field, a prime mover in the establishment of University Hall, appealed to the London friends of the college to become subscribers, and personal subscriptions doubled from £630 10s 6d, raised during the last year at Manchester, to £1,275 6s 6d. The financial situation improved so much that in January 1855 the committee was confident about the financial prospects of the college. Each divinity student was allowed an exhibition of £60 a year for board and lodging and the fees for his university course. Lay students studying theology paid the college three guineas a course. A fall in subscriptions in 1857, following the death of many older supporters, and a rise in expenditure due to an increase in both student numbers and the size of their grant, together with the cost of the extra mathematics tuition, led to a deficit of £140. An appeal by the committee in January 1858 successfully raised £110 in new subscriptions. The college continued to be able to add regularly to the endowment.

Between 1853 and 1860 the college educated 29 divinity students and 2 lay students. In addition 7 students transferred with the college from Manchester. The 2 lay students were sons of Thomas Ainsworth, a major manufacturer and proprietor of the Cleator Moor Ironworks. One of the sons, David, was MP for Cumberland. The most distinguished divinity students later taught for the college: James Drummond was a professor and later principal; Estlin Carpenter, a pioneer in the study of comparative religion, was successively professor, vice-principal, and principal; Charles Upton was professor of philosophy; and James Edwin Odgers was Hibbert lecturer in ecclesiastical history, having previously been principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board college. His successor as principal of the Missionary Board was another student, Alexander Gordon, the distinguished Unitarian historian. In 1855 the committee expressed anxiety that student numbers were again below the numbers required. During the first year in London there were only 10 students; there were 14 students in 1854, 16 in 1855-56, with 14 on the college foundation, and 17 students in both 1858 and 1859. Even this improvement fell significantly short of the numbers required. One critic

estimated that only 24 students at Manchester College between 1842 and 1862 actually entered the Unitarian ministry, a fifth of those needed.

The college moved to Oxford in 1889, selling University Hall to the trustees of Dr Daniel Williams's Charity. The building now houses Dr Williams's Library. In 1996 Manchester College became a full college of Oxford University, changing its name to Harris Manchester College by royal charter.

David L. Wykes

Archives

Details of the management of the college, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters, are contained in the minutes at Harris Manchester College, Oxford, (MS M.N.C. Misc. 74-75). The records for University Hall are at Dr Williams's Library (MS 12.85-12.86).

The following library catalogue and loan registers held at Harris Manchester College have been entered into *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*:

- Shelf list and author catalogue, 1854 (Misc 25.x and xi).
- Barcode prefix in VLS: man1854.
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Manchester New College, Manchester (1840-1853)

Manchester College (1786 to present):
New College, Manchester (1786-1803), Manchester College, York (1803-1840), Manchester New College, Manchester (1840-1853), Manchester New College, London (1853-1889)

The college returned to Manchester after thirty-seven years at York, and was renamed Manchester New College to mark a number of major changes. The decision was taken to expand and restructure the work of the college by offering a theological education for the Unitarian ministry entirely separate from a general, non-sectarian university education, which it was thought would appeal to students and parents more widely. Additional teaching posts were created, and to mark the ideal they were supposed to represent, the appointments were announced as professorships. At the same time the college obtained the privilege of matriculating and graduating its students at London University. In July 1839, G. W. Wood, the college treasurer and MP for Kendal, approached Lord John Russell on the question of incorporation. Having satisfied the authorities on the standard of education, the petition was granted by the Privy Council and the royal warrant signed on 28 February 1840, allowing the college to enter students for degrees in law, medicine, and the arts at London University. The teaching of the literary and scientific course was arranged to enable students to prepare for matriculation at London University in their first year, and for graduation over the following two years.

Whereas at York the literary and scientific subjects had been taught by two tutors, at Manchester the course, consisting of three sessions of nine months, was taught by five professors and greatly enlarged. Francis Newman, brother of the future cardinal and a former fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, taught Latin and Greek, and English grammar and composition; John Kenrick, the former classics tutor travelled from York, to teach ancient and modern history and the history of literature; James Martineau, minister of Hope Street Chapel, Liverpool, lectured every Wednesday on mental and moral philosophy and political economy; Robert Finlay, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, taught mathematics; and Montague Phillips, who had taught at the Liverpool Mechanics Institute school, lectured on physical science and natural history. The college also employed its first permanent teachers in modern languages: Francis Eugene Vembergue was appointed lecturer in French language and literature in 1840, and the following year, because of the requirements of the university syllabus, Ludwig Bernstein of the University of Berlin was appointed lecturer in German. The same year Edward Stang was appointed professor of civil engineering for three years, funded by the liberality of James Heywood, but the experiment only lasted a year. The professors delivered a series of inaugural lectures, subsequently published as *Introductory Discourses* (1841), in which they set out their courses in detail. In 1843 science was dropped from the arts syllabus by the university after complaints that it was discouraging many students. As a consequence the teaching of physical science was given up by the college, with the mathematics professor giving instruction in those branches of natural philosophy still required. Lay students were charged £21 a session for each course.

The five-year divinity course followed the earlier pattern, with the first three years largely taken with the literary and scientific course to enable students to take the Bachelor of Arts degree if they wished. At York Wellbeloved had taught the whole of the theology course. After 1840 it was divided between three professors. Robert Wallace as professor of theology undertook the major part of the work, teaching critical and exegetical theology, the evidences of natural and revealed religion, and the geography and archaeology of the Holy Land. He was assisted by John Gooch Robberds, minister of Cross Street Chapel, who was professor of pastoral theology and also professor of Hebrew, and John James Tayler, minister of Upper Brook Street Chapel, who was professor of ecclesiastical history. As Unitarians they

avoided teaching any particular doctrine. In his inaugural lecture Wallace wrote 'I shall regard it as my sacred duty . . . not to inculcate any formal scheme of doctrine; but simply to conduct my classes through a critical investigation of the Bible, and to supply them with the means of ascertaining for themselves what it teaches' (*Introductory Discourses*: *Theological Department*, 21). In 1847 the professors recommended that the divinity course should be extended to six years as the demands of the university course had reduced the time the students could spend on theology while studying for their undergraduate degrees.

The college was accommodated in a large house in Grosvenor Square at a rent of £150 a year. The library of 8,000 volumes was housed in two rooms on the ground floor, and the common hall on the first floor. A former student and assistant at York, John Howard Ryland, re-shelved all the books and updated the catalogues, managing the library until 1844. The loan registers reveal that only a fraction of the books were borrowed, and unsurprisingly they were the most up-to-date titles. There were also rooms for the professors and for teaching. Those students who did not live at home boarded together in lodgings in the neighbourhood. In 1846 the college committee stated that the cost of lodging for lay students ought not to exceed £35 to £40 a year. Following his appointment that year G. V. Smith agreed to take lay students as lodgers. Those students who transferred from York clearly missed the companionship of living together in the same building, but contemporary student accounts make clear the kindness and hospitality of the tutors, their wives, including the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, and of the Unitarian families living in the neighbourhood of the college. The students, for example, met regularly at Robberds's house to read and discuss Shakespeare.

There had been doubts whether it would be possible at Manchester to fill all the required teaching posts, but the more serious challenge was the cost of supporting the much larger teaching body. The appointments were initially guaranteed for five years, though not without considerable reservations from the treasurer. Many subscribers did maintain their support after 1845, but subscriptions were already declining. As a result of a special appeal, £1,407 14s was raised in personal subscriptions in 1840-41 (twice the figure for the last year at York), but this had declined to £1,197 19s. 6d. by 1844-45. Personal subscriptions actually fell every year after 1841, and in 1853, the last year the college was in Manchester, only £630 10s 6d was collected. Fortunately rents from the college property for the same year totalled £1,569. In March 1845 the committee admitted the college had not 'attained that extended degree of success which was hoped for' when the enlarged scheme had been agreed (*The Report of Manchester New College at the Fifty-Ninth Annual Meeting* (1845), 5). Faced with the need to lower costs they decided to reduce salaries rather than the number of professors. Expenditure was still substantial. Salaries for the theology department totalled £500 in 1841-42, though after 1845 they fell to £400 a year. The amount spent on salaries for the literary and scientific department was always higher, reaching £870 in 1841-42 after all the professors had been appointed, and falling to between £650 and £700 a year following retrenchment.

Robberds retired in 1845 as professor of Hebrew, but agreed to continue to teach pastoral care. The following year Wallace resigned, probably because of the reduction in salaries. The same year Newman was appointed to the chair of classics at University College, London, and Kenrick retired from teaching, but succeeded Wallace as principal. George Vance Smith, a former student at York, became professor of theology and Hebrew languages, and vice-principal of the theology department. Kenrick's teaching was redistributed. Eddowes Bowman, who had been educated at Glasgow and Berlin, was appointed professor of Greek and Latin classics, and took over Kenrick's teaching of Greek and Roman history. William Gaskell, another former York student, and minister of Cross Street Chapel, was appointed to a new chair in English history and literature to replace Kenrick. Bernstein also left in 1846, but was not replaced. Kenrick finally retired in 1850 and was succeeded by Smith as Principal. Vembergue left the same year and was not replaced.

The original ambitious plan of 11 professors had been reduced to 8 by 1846, and to 6 by 1853.

The college was to attain considerable academic success. By 1844 13 students had matriculated, 11 in the first division, and another 14 had graduated, 10 in the first division, 2 of whom, G. V. Smith and Philip Carpenter, passed the theology exam with distinction and received a premium of books. This success continued despite the reduction in teaching staff. Between 1847 and 1852, 10 students matriculated in the first class, and 24 had graduated, 18 in the first class. They also distinguished themselves in the examinations for honours. In 1845 three students from the college, and a fourth from Carmarthen College, were awarded honours in classics, compared with only two from University College, and none from King's or any of the other dissenting colleges. Two of the three, Charles Beard and J. H. Tayler, were placed second and third in classics, and the third, Samuel Roberts, also obtained honours in mathematics and natural philosophy, where he was placed second.

Despite these successes, the creation of a university college offering a broad liberal education proved a failure. Only twenty-nine lay students were enrolled during the thirteen years the college was in Manchester, though there were also occasional students who were not registered. The college failed because, despite every effort, it was seen as a Unitarian institution, and therefore treated with fear and suspicion by the orthodox. The committee and trustees came to recognise that the college could only continue as a school of theology. As a consequence there were renewed calls to move to London, reignited by the invitation in 1847 from the promoters of University Hall in Gordon Square. The latter had been established by Unitarians as a hall of residence with the intention of providing lectures in theology, mental and moral philosophy, subjects not taught by University College. The invitation was rejected, despite support from many trustees. John Owens's bequest for the foundation of a college offered a possible alternative in Manchester, though Owens College did not open till 1851.

The lay students were almost exclusively from Manchester and its neighbourhood and from elsewhere in Lancashire. Only one student was from London, a major source of lay students at York (perhaps evidence of the competition from University College). For those training for the Unitarian ministry there was no alternative in England, so the pattern for the ministerial students was almost the reverse: only one student was from Manchester, and two more from Lancashire, pointing to the failure of the college to recruit ministerial students from the heartland of Unitarianism. The rest were mainly from the Midlands and southern England, with two from Ireland.

The students at York, though largely from manufacturing families, had increasingly followed professional careers. At Manchester as many were involved in manufacturing, industry and commerce as the professions. They included Alexander Brogden, a railway contractor and quarry owner, who was MP for Wednesbury (1868-85); Swinton Henry Boult, founder of the Liverpool Fire and Life Insurance Company; and Russell Scott Taylor, joint proprietor of the *Manchester Guardian* with his younger brother, John Edward Taylor, who had attended the lectures of Martineau and Gaskell as an occasional student.

Charles Beard was the outstanding minister of his generation trained at the college: minister of Renshaw Street chapel, Liverpool, he was active in public and political life. Other leading ministers included Henry Crosskey, minister of New Meeting, Birmingham; Brooke Herford, with ministries at Chicago, Boston, and Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead; and Samuel Alfred Steinthal at Cross Street, Manchester. A number of students failed to enter the ministry. Richard Holt Hutton left the college after a year, briefly serving as principal of University Hall, and was later editor of *The Inquirer* and the *Spectator*; Frank Harrison Hill was editor of the *Daily News*; Henry Acton was a leader writer for the *Guardian*; and Theophilus Davies gained a position at the *Daily News*.

The college had failed in its primary object to supply Unitarian congregations with ministers. During the thirteen years at Manchester, only 31 students entered to train for the ministry. Another 7 transferred from York. The problem was more severe than this suggests. Five students did not finish the course (3 died), 4 did not settle in the ministry, and a further 3 left within ten years, usually for teaching. The committee was slow to realise the extent of the problem. Not until 1850 did they express concern about the number of students being insufficient to answer congregational needs, a concern that was repeated over the next two years. In June 1851 the British & Foreign Unitarian Association passed a resolution about 'the urgent want of able and approved Preachers and Pastors to supply pulpits already vacant, or about to become vacant' (*The Twenty-Sixth Report of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association*, 17). By the time the college left Manchester over thirty pulpits were said to be vacant, and as a consequence many of the chapels were shut. The college was also criticised for failing to address the needs of the poorer congregations. The Unitarian Home Missionary Board was established at Manchester in 1854 in part to address these needs.

Although the independent existence of the college was clearly no longer viable, the trustees were unable to agree on the alternative. In June 1850 a special committee was asked to investigate a connection with Owens College, upon which the hopes of those who wanted the college to remain in Manchester rested, but the new institution had only just commenced its first session. In December 1851 another committee was appointed. It reported the following December in favour of a move to London, recommending that the college should commence the next session. A special general meeting was held on 8 December 1852. After a lengthy debate a resolution was passed by thirty-six votes, with four against, in favour of London. Satisfactory arrangements were made to house the college library and to give the lectures at University Hall while maintaining the independence of both institutions. A final obstacle, the commencement of a suit in Chancery by W. R. Wood, the former treasurer, against the use of the college endowment in any location but Manchester, was overcome as a result of a judicial review.

David L. Wykes

Archives

The administration and finance records for Manchester New College, Manchester, are held at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. Details of the management of the academy, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters, are contained in the college minutes (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 71-74).

The following library loan registers held at Harris Manchester College have been entered into *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*:

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David L. Wykes, 'Manchester New College, Manchester (1840 to 1853)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, November 2013.

Moorfields Academy (1712-1744)

Following the death of Isaac Chauncey in 1712, Thomas Ridgley and John Eames were appointed respectively principal and assistant tutor of an academy in Moorfields. When Ridgley died in 1734, Eames, who was a layman, became principal tutor, and was assisted by Joseph Densham. Following Eames's death in 1744, the academy divided: the three students supported by the Congregational Fund removed to Zephaniah Marryatt's academy in Stepney, while those funded by the Coward Trust (numbering thirteen in April 1744) went to a new academy led by David Jennings in Wellclose Square, Wapping.

The academy was primarily intended as a place of education for ministerial students in London, a considerable number of whom were supported by the Congregational Fund. Others were funded privately by the Congregational philanthropist William Coward, and then by the Coward Trust: the minutes of the first meeting of Coward's Trustees on 16 May 1738 lists twelve students under the care of John Eames at the time of Coward's death in 1738. It is impossible to determine the total number of students educated at the academy, and numbers for the earlier period are particularly uncertain as Congregational Fund Board minutes are lost for the period from 1704 to 1738. From 1738, the Congregational Fund Board funded between three and seven students a year, and the Coward Trust usually supported twelve students. In the winter of 1739-40 a total of twenty-one students received exhibitions. Other students, privately funded, also attended: in June 1744, a student gave up his exhibition, 'he having lately had a consi[dera]ble Legacy left him' (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 75). Two students are known to have received grants from the Particular Baptist Fund (Isaac Kimber and Meredith Townsend). At least forty-three students entered the academy between 1739 and 1744. The tutor's salary of £30 a year was paid by the Congregational Fund, and the Coward Trust paid Joseph Densham's salary (also £30 a year). Each fund also purchased books and equipment for the academy.

The Congregational Fund Board and Coward Trust also played a significant role in the administration and discipline of the academy. Students were examined before being awarded an exhibition, at the end of each academic year, and on completion of the course. Students who had misbehaved were reported to the Trustees, and students who failed to attend lectures had their exhibitions discontinued. Though it began as an institution for training Congregational ministers, the academy accepted students of other denominations, and not all students became ministers. A number of dissenting tutors were educated at the academy, including David Jennings, Samuel Morton Savage, John Conder, and Evan Davies. John Howard, the prison reformer, John Mason, the author of works of practical divinity who had previously attended John Jennings's academy, and the philosopher Richard Price were also students at Moorfields. Thomas Secker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Amory were among the students who attended the academy for a short period to study experimental science under John Eames.

As assistant tutor, Joseph Densham lectured on logic, geography, algebra, trigonometry, physics, and conic sections. Additionally, students were sent to him 'to be finished in the learned languages and instructed in the initiating Academical Sciences before they are sent to Mr Eames' (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 9). The nature of the theology course at the academy is not known, though parts of Thomas Ridgley's two-volume work *A Body of Divinity* (1731-33), an exposition of the theology of the Westminster *Larger Catechism* designed to be read in families, may have come from his academy lectures. The ministerial education certainly also included lectures on Jewish antiquities (for which the text-book was Goodwin's *Moses and Aaron* (1625)), chronology, and ethics. When John Eames was principal tutor, his lectures on ethics drew on Isaac Watts's works on the passions, as well as the theories of Descartes and Henry More. The Coward Trust instituted a requirement that lectures be delivered 'on the discipline of the Congregational Churches' in April 1744, though it is not

known whether any such lectures were delivered before the academy closed in July 1744 (DWL, MS NCL/CT1, p. 41). Eames also lectured on anthropology, which was made up of pneumatology and somatology, and bears resemblance to what would now be called anatomy. His lectures on trigonometry, mechanics, projections of the sphere, and 'celestial mechanics' were used by other tutors. Eames had a collection of apparatus for conducting natural philosophical experiments which he bequeathed to the Coward Trust. In his lifetime, the Coward Trust purchased a pair of globes for the use of the academy. It also financed a library from 1741. This library, which was housed in a building on Forth Street, was not in the same place as the academy.

The rule imposed by the Congregational Fund Board that once a year, the tutors should visit the houses where students lived and inquire as to the students' domestic and devotional habits, indicates that the academy was not residential. Students received Congregational Fund Board exhibitions for up to four years, which was the usual length of the course.

Contemporaries praised the learning of the Moorfields tutors, and the academy appears to have had a high reputation. The mathematical and scientific curriculum was highly respected, thanks to the teaching of John Eames, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society. Lectures from Moorfields were in use at other academies, sometimes much later in the eighteenth century, indicating that the influence its tutors had on dissenting education reached beyond the students they personally taught. The paucity of extant sources for the curriculum of the academy (particularly under Ridgley), and the absence of contemporary records of students for a considerable period of its history, make it impossible to gain a clear and comprehensive sense of what education was offered and who received it at this important academy.

Tessa Whitehouse

Archives

The principal archival sources for Moorfields academy are the incomplete Congregational Fund Board Minutes, held at Dr Williams's Library (MS OD403), and the Coward Trust Minutes in the New College Collection (DWL, MS NCL/CT1). Some lecture notes attributed to Ridgley (DWL, MS NCL/L6/16) and a brief account of Densham's teaching (DWL, MS NCL 56/2) also form part of the New College Collection. Lecture notes attributed to Eames are held by the British Library (Add. MS 14053, Add. MS 59842 and Add. MS 60351, on celestial mechanics, mechanics and anthropology respectively) and the Congregational Library (MS I.f.27-28); notes of his lectures on ethics, chronology, and algebra are in Dr Williams's Library (MS NCL/L232). Versions of Eames's lectures in use at Hoxton academy are in Dr Williams's Library (MS 69.26).

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New College, Hackney (1786-1796)

The origins of New College, Hackney can be traced to a meeting that took place at the London Coffee House in Cheapside on 13 December 1785. The founding of New College was designed to remedy the shortage of places for ministerial training following the closure of the academies at Warrington and Hoxton. New College was based at Dr. Williams's Library in Cripplegate during its first academic year from 1786 to 1787. On 29 September 1787 it transferred to its magnificent new premises in Hackney, then a wealthy village three miles from London. Set in eighteen acres of carefully manicured pleasure-gardens, the College (formerly Homerton Hall) had originally been built for the Governor of the Bank of England, Stamp Brooksbank. It had been designed by the architect Colen Cambell and completed in 1732, five years after work had begun on it, at a cost of £28,000. Once the New College governors purchased the property, accommodation wings were added to the east and west sides of the building, giving the College an air of grandeur that announced the high aspirations of its founders. Open to students from any denomination, New College was the most ambitious and controversial of the eighteenth-century liberal academies.

It quickly attracted considerable funds and resources. The governors at the recently dissolved Warrington Academy donated scientific apparatus and half their remaining funds to the new institution. New College also acquired the loan of the library used at the second Exeter Academy (1760-71). In addition, by November 1788 it had received more than £11,000 in benefactions from around the country: Thomas Corbyn (1711-91), a wealthy Quaker from Worcester who had made money as a pharmaceutical chemist and apothecary, bequeathed £2,000; and Robert Newton (1713-89), a Derbyshire landowner who had been educated at Findern Academy with Theophilus Lindsey, donated at least £1,500. An array of distinguished figures also donated large sums. As a result, New College flourished throughout the late 1780s. Student numbers rose from six in 1786, to twelve in 1787, to fourteen in 1788, to thirty-four in 1789, and to a peak of forty-nine in 1790 (nineteen ministerial and thirty lay students). In the early 1790s, however, student numbers began to decline as the College's reputation was marred by controversy. In 1794 there were around twenty students in residence, a fact that exacerbated the financial difficulties of the institution. In total, 106 students are known to have passed through the College.

The institution was governed by an independent general committee consisting of sixty members, each of whom was either an annual subscriber or a governor for life. Although the general committee was required to meet annually, any group of thirteen members were empowered to act on behalf of the institution. Meetings attended by between thirteen and thirty governors met to discuss College business twice a month. From the general committee four members were elected as trustees. Thomas Rogers (1735-1793), a wealthy banker of Newington Green and the father of the poet Samuel, was the Chairman of Governors from 1786 until his death; he was succeeded by the Unitarian Member of Parliament for Camelford, William Smith (1756-1835). The New College governing committee consisted of an array of notable figures including Thomas Brand Hollis, J. T. Rutt, Capel Lofft, John Disney, Samuel Rogers, Joseph Johnson, and nine Members of Parliament.

In addition, the College attracted a number of celebrated tutors, several of whom were fellows of the Royal Society. In total, eighteen tutors were appointed between 1786 and 1796. The founding tutors were Richard Price, Andrew Kippis, Abraham Rees, and Hugh Worthington. Price taught mathematics and moral philosophy; Kippis belles lettres, including universal grammar, rhetoric, chronology, and history; Rees divinity, Hebrew, Jewish antiquities, and ecclesiastical history; and Worthington logic and classics. Lectures on experimental philosophy and elocution were also advertised in the College report for 1786. The academic year began on the third Monday in September and ended on the first day of July. Lay students followed a three-year course and were charged sixty guineas for the year,

including board and education. The course for ministerial students was five years in duration and they studied at a greatly reduced cost. In most instances, they received grants from the Presbyterian Fund.

Although the College developed rapidly in the late 1780s, it began to experience financial difficulties following a series of costly building projects. In total, more than £13,000 was spent on the purchase of Homerton Hall and major building works alone. These difficulties were accentuated by the institution's developing reputation as a centre of theological and political radicalism. Thomas Belsham's appointment as a tutor in 1789 marked the beginning of an important transition from a dissenting academy to a Unitarian seminary. Belsham instituted a series of reforms to the curriculum which placed emphasis on Unitarian ideas: in his theology lectures he began to focus on the doctrinal controversy surrounding the Trinity, whilst his philosophy lectures were firmly grounded on the doctrines of philosophical necessity and materialism. The shift towards Unitarianism was affirmed in 1791 when Joseph Priestley was appointed as tutor of natural philosophy and history following the Birmingham Riots.

The institution's reputation for theological heterodoxy was accompanied by a political radicalism inspired by the French Revolution. In June 1792 Thomas Paine was the guest of honour at a republican supper held at New College, only a month after he had been summoned to answer a charge of seditious libel for the second part of *The Rights of Man*. Three months later a French spy, François Noël, formerly Professor of Belles Lettres at the University of Paris, dined with Joseph Priestley at the College. Noël had been introduced to Priestley by the College's tutor of French and Italian, John Scipio Sabonadière (1752-1825), a man with high political connections who may well have been working as a French agent throughout this time at Hackney. Finally, in May 1794 William Stone, a prominent New College governor, was arrested on a charge of High Treason. He was accused of providing military intelligence to the new French republic. At the heart of the case was his correspondence with William Jackson (1737?-95), an Irish journalist who was also working as a French spy. Three other New College governors, Benjamin Vaughan, John Hurford Stone, and the chairman, William Smith, were also implicated in the plot. Although these men were not charged, William Stone was tried early in 1796. After a lengthy trial he was finally acquitted and released.

Within a few months of Stone's acquittal New College closed its doors as bankruptcy loomed. On 23 June 1796 the College and its grounds were sold at auction for £5,700. Four years later the main building was razed to the ground by developers. Despite its early demise, New College is of considerable significance within the intellectual, political, religious, and cultural life of the late eighteenth century. It was widely admired as a centre of learning and among its list of governors, tutors, and students can be found many of the most distinguished figures of the age. William Hazlitt, Jeremiah Joyce, Arthur Aikin, and William Shepherd were notable alumni, and a broad range of New College students went on to lead influential careers as writers, scientists, physicians, politicians, ministers, and tutors. Its legacy was felt throughout the early nineteenth century, notably at Manchester College, York: Charles Wellbeloved, a former New College student, was appointed as Principal of Manchester College in 1803.

Stephen Burley

Archives

Dr Williams's Library, London holds the administrative records of New College, Hackney (MS 38.14) and correspondence relating to its origins and establishment (MS 187.2). Other valuable records of College life can be found in correspondence of Theophilus Lindsey, part of the Unitarian College collection held at John Rylands University Library, and in the

autobiographical reminiscences of Thomas Starling Norgate held at the Norfolk Records Office (MS Horæ Otiose).

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Images

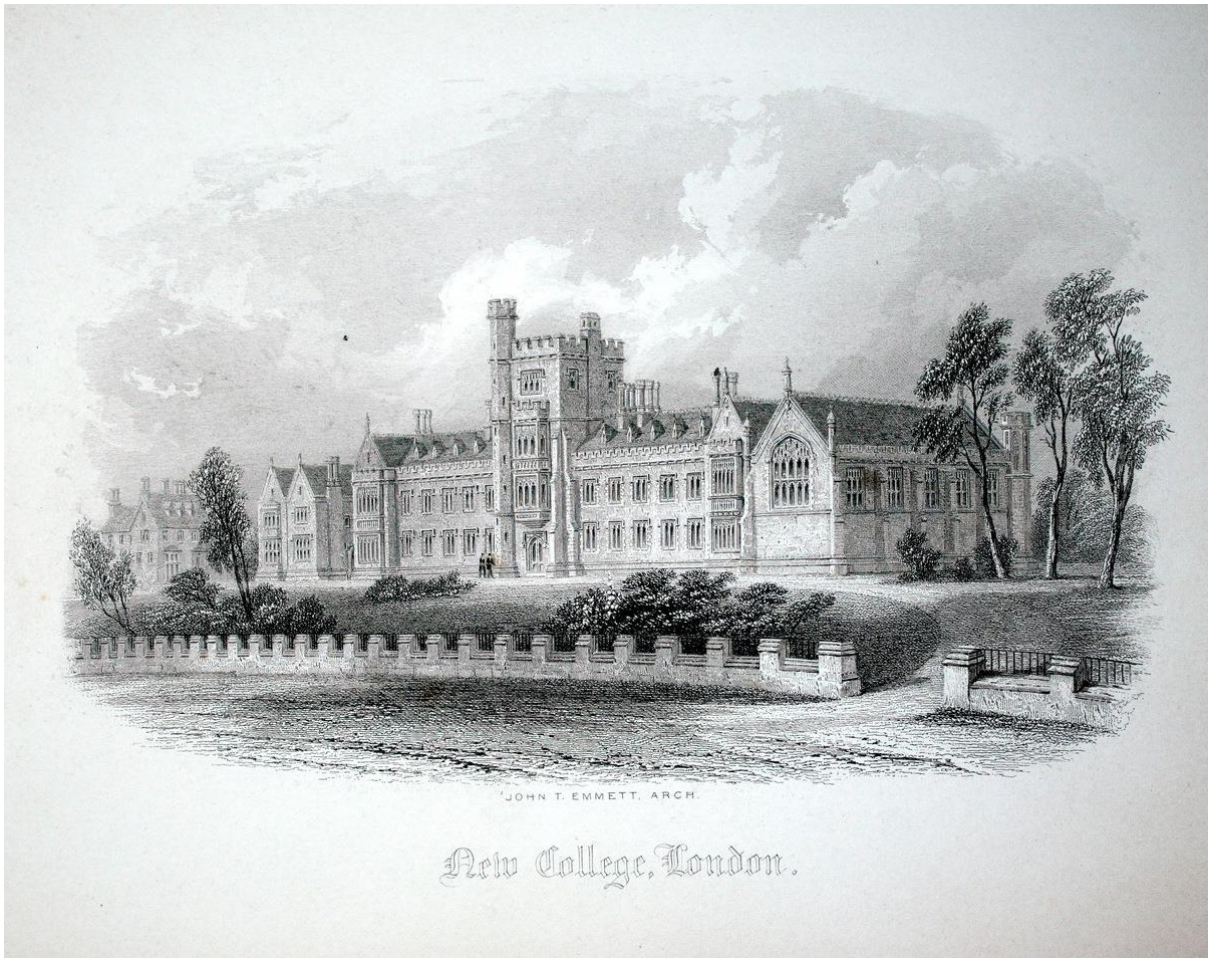
Two extant images of the New College, Hackney building are held at the London Borough of Hackney Archives. The site on which the College stood is now occupied by the Jack

Dunning Estate, a residential council block situated between Homerton University Hospital and Lower Clapton Road.

Stephen Burley, 'New College, Hackney (1786-96)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011, rev. November 2020.

New College, London (1850-1977)

(Historical account to 1860)



New College, London [source: DWL, MS NCL/460]

New College, St John's Wood, London was formed in 1850 from a union of Homerton and Coward Colleges with Highbury College, the foundation stone being laid on 11 May 1850 by John Remington Mills, Esq. Lectures were held in an adjacent house, temporarily hired for the purpose, until the new building was complete. The college was formally opened and consecrated on 1 October 1851, when the principal, Dr John Harris, former resident tutor at Cheshunt College, gave a lecture on 'Inspiration'. The new building had a frontage of 250 feet, with a central tower above 80 feet high. It was in Tudor style, containing 'some eight or ten lecture rooms, a library, a museum and a laboratory' (*Congregational Year Book* (1851), 247). The library had space for 20,000 volumes, and there was also a Council Room on the first floor. At the north end was the principal's house. The architect was Mr Emmett of Hatton Garden, and it cost around £20,000, donated by private benefactors, to build.

The college brought together teachers and council members from the three uniting institutions. There were two treasurers, Joshua Wilson (from Highbury) and Thomas Coombs. The professors who comprised the Faculty of Theology were Harris, who taught

systematic and pastoral theology; John Godwin (from Highbury), who taught criticism and interpretation of the Greek Testament; Philip Smith (from Cheshunt), who taught ecclesiastical history; and Maurice Nenner (from Homerton), who taught Hebrew and oriental languages, and the criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament. Those who comprised the Faculty of Arts were Dr William Smith (from Highbury and Homerton), who taught Greek and Latin languages and literature, and Dr Edwin Lankester, who taught natural sciences, together with Philip Smith, who taught mathematics, Godwin, who taught mental and moral philosophy, logic, and English literature, and Nenner, who taught German language. Dr John Pye Smith (formerly principal of Homerton) was listed as an honorary professor. In 1855 Samuel Newth, tutor at Western College, Plymouth, was appointed professor of mathematics and ecclesiastical history. On Harris's death in 1856 Robert Halley, formerly of Highbury College, was appointed principal. Newth succeeded Halley as principal in 1872.

The essential principle of education at New College was 'that Students for the ministry of the Gospel should be aided to acquire as high a degree of sound scholarship and general information as their time and abilities will permit, but that the pursuit of secular knowledge must not be allowed to interfere with those special duties which bear more closely upon the work of the ministry'. Furthermore all instruction was to be characterized 'by that religious element, by that homage to the majesty and laws of God, by that reference to the harmonies of truth revealed in Scripture with those learned from history and science'. The point was reinforced by the statement that, while due encouragement would be given for seeking London University degrees, the preparation for them 'must not intrude upon the time devoted to the Theological Course' (*Congregational Year Book* (1850), 206-7). The course was divided into a literary course of two years and a theological course of three years, save that the former might be abridged or dispensed with, if students were found to possess the proficiency in learning which entitled them to enter the theological course, later defined as having completed a BA elsewhere or being competent in classical literature. Ministerial candidates, who had to be over sixteen years of age, were required to present testimonials from their pastors and church concerning their personal and ministerial qualifications; by 1856 this was made more specific and candidates were expected 'to be a member of some Congregational church' (*Congregational Year Book* (1856), 247).There was a matriculation examination in English grammar, elements of Greek and Latin grammar with translation, outlines of Greek, Roman and English history, the practice and principles of arithmetic, and the first book of Euclid's *Elements*. The *Congregational Year Book* for 1850 contained a list of the questions to be answered by candidates before admission (which included one asking their opinions respecting the subjects and mode of baptism, and respecting the constitution and government of Christian churches). There was a detailed scheme for the financial support of students (with the suggestion that the churches from which they came should support them), limiting the number receiving support to fifty, the maximum being £40 for no more than 25 students, and partial support of £30 (15 students) and £20 (10 students). Students were initially expected to reside in houses approved by the New College Council, but this restriction was withdrawn in 1853. There would be a welcome for students for overseas missionary work.

As a result of the number of the teaching staff, and in particular the completeness of the Arts Faculty in the combined institution, New College also made provision for what was described as 'a new class of pupils', namely the children of parents who wished for the higher education of their sons on Christian principles without an intention of entering the Christian ministry. Presumably this was the result of dissatisfaction with the secular nature of University College, and the Anglican character of King's College, London. The principles of education were the same, and a minimum age limit of sixteen was required (later reduced to

fifteen); it was expected that such students would reside at home, but a register of approved houses would be kept for those who could not do so. There was a college matriculation fee of £2 and a sessional fee, depending on the number of classes taken; fees were also specified for each class, generally £5 per session although some were as low as £2. The annual session of the college began on the last Thursday in September and ended on the last Thursday in June, with a week's recess at Christmas only. It is not clear how many lay students there ever were at New College. Ironically the opening of Oxford and Cambridge Universities to dissenters for undergraduate degrees in 1854 and 1856 respectively probably weakened its appeal. The published detail available for New College (*Congregational Year Book* (1850), 205-15) is significant as an indication of where Congregationalists judged theological education was going in mid-century; the similarity of the syllabus and regulations to those of the older universities and the new University of London is a sign of institutional confidence, reflecting a feeling that this new institution was more solidly based than its predecessors.

A strong appeal for endowments was made, so that it should not be dependent on 'precarious supplies of subscriptions' (*Congregational Year Book* (1851), 247. By 1860, as well as the initial exhibitions of £20, £30, and £40 per session, there were three Pye Smith scholarships of £30 for three years (one awarded each year), one Mills scholarship of £30 for three years, one Henry Forster Burder scholarship of £30 for three years, one John Yockney scholarship of £25 for three years, and one Harris scholarship of £60 for two years. There were forty-three theological students, eleven lay students, and fourteen from Regent's Park (Baptist) College.

When the Faculty of Theology of London University was founded in 1900, New College, with Hackney College (formerly Hackney Theological Academy), became constituent parts of the Faculty, and the two colleges joined in 1924 as Hackney and New College in Finchley Road, Hampstead, London. The separate existence of New College, London, as it was renamed in 1936, ended in 1977, at a time of general reorganization of the colleges in the University of London. Its library, which by then had gathered to itself the libraries of a number of former academies (Northampton, Daventry, Wymondley, Mile End, Homerton, Coward, Hoxton, and Highbury), is preserved at Dr Williams's Library, London – and was commemorated at that time in an invaluable pair of lectures by its most distinguished historian, Geoffrey F. Nuttall.

David Thompson

Archives

The New College archives and surviving books are held at Dr Williams's Library. The archives, together with those of the Coward Trust, were catalogued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and the catalogue (3 vols) scanned by the National Archives NRA 13042 is available online at
https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/N13890710.
Some material is also held by the Congregational Library. The surviving New College books have been entered in *Dissenting Academies Online: Virtual Library System*.

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New College, Manchester (1786-1803)

**Manchester College (1786 to present):
New College, Manchester (1786-1803), Manchester College, York (1803-1840), Manchester New College, Manchester (1840-1853), Manchester New College, London (1853-1889)**

New College, Manchester, was founded in 1786 to replace the academy at Warrington, which was finally dissolved that year. At a meeting of supporters held at Cross Street Chapel on 22 February, chaired by Dr Thomas Percival, it was agreed that an academy should be established in Manchester, free from any religious test, to provide a comprehensive course of study for ministers and a preparatory course for those intended for the other professions and for business. The academy opened in September in rooms at Cross Street chapel until its own buildings in Dawson (later Mosley) Street were completed the following year.

Thomas Barnes and Ralph Harrison, the ministers of Cross Street Chapel, were appointed professors, and during the first year were responsible for all the teaching. According to the published prospectus, Barnes taught two courses, the first covering logic, pneumatology, jurisprudence, and commerce (including commercial law), and the second Hebrew, moral philosophy, evidences of Christianity, ecclesiastical history, and Jewish antiquities. Harrison taught the Latin and Greek classics, and belle lettres, the latter course consisting of the theory of language, oratory, criticism, composition, together with history and geography. No descriptions of their teaching survive. Instruction in French, Italian, drawing, writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts was advertised as available from private tutors. The following year Thomas Davies, a former student of Carmarthen, was appointed to teach mathematics and natural philosophy. He was also the resident tutor. Students who wished could also attend lectures at the College of Arts and Sciences given in anatomy, physiology, and midwifery by Charles White, and in chemistry by Thomas Henry, both members of the college committee. The cost was two guineas a course.

In 1789 Harrison resigned on the grounds of ill health, and responsibility for his teaching and the entire conduct of the college fell on Barnes. He appointed an assistant tutor, Lewis Loyd, to teach classics. Davies too resigned in 1789 and was succeeded by Francis Nicholls, who was also resident tutor. It was agreed in September 1790 that his salary should be not less than £80 a year. In October 1792 he was appointed librarian, and paid an additional £20. In December 1792 Loyd was succeeded by William Stevenson, father of the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, and Nicholls by the chemist John Dalton. At this time the future philanthropist and reformer Robert Owen often met with Dalton and one of the students, William Winstanley, in their rooms in college. They 'had much and frequent interesting discussions upon religion, morals, and other similar subjects, as well as upon the late discoveries in chemistry and science', until Barnes became alarmed by Owen's free-thinking and stopped the visits (*Life of Robert Owen*, 36). In 1794 Dalton was teaching natural philosophy and chemistry, mathematics, geometry, algebra, and merchants' accounts, and probably also geography and the use of globes, which were mentioned in the 1798 course outline. According to his lecture notes he used Antoine Lavoisier's *Elements of Chemistry* and also Jean-Antoine Chaptal's work of the same title.

From Warrington the college received the library, some 3,000 volumes, while New College, Hackney, had the philosophical apparatus. In 1787, following Davies's appointment, the committee decided to purchase Mr Clarke's electrical apparatus. It was agreed to lay out a further £100 to improve the philosophical apparatus in February 1792. The same year the library was insured against fire for £800 and the apparatus for £200. In 1799, following the closure of Hackney, the Manchester committee applied unsuccessfully for the philosophical

apparatus originally at Warrington. They applied again in 1812.

Ministerial students were expected to follow a five-year course. By 1789 they also received lectures on scriptural criticism, composition, and elocution. Although the committee made clear that the main object of the institution was to educate students for the ministry, the college during this period made a greater effort to attract lay students than any other dissenting academy. A three-year course was designed for students intending to enter the professions, covering the classics, French, mathematics and natural philosophy, polite literature and grammar, the elements of jurisprudence, with the promise of being constantly exercised in elegant composition and elocution. Those intended for business did not have a set course, but took the subjects they wished. In addition they were offered lectures on history, geography, and the general principles of commerce. All the lay students were promised a short system of logic and moral philosophy, together with a comprehensive view of the evidences of natural religion and Christianity. The fees were three guineas for each course, and £25 a year for boarding, advanced to thirty guineas in October 1795. Each lay student also paid two guineas in entrance money for the library, increased to four in 1795. Divinity students admitted on the foundation were given their board, room, fees, and a sum for books. In September 1790 it was agreed they would receive an allowance of twenty guineas a year, increased to thirty in February 1791.

New College was one of two academies established in 1786 to replace Warrington. The other at Hackney, also called New College, was far better funded, but grossly over-extended itself with a grandiose building project and closed in 1796 heavily in debt. By comparison the college at Manchester only raised a tenth of the amount in benefactions (£860 12s) and a third of the amount of annual subscriptions (£241 12s), with almost no support outside the north of England until after the closure of Hackney. The trustees at Manchester also engaged in an over-ambitious building programme, erecting a common hall to house the lecture room, philosophical equipment, and the library, and two wings, one to accommodate the students and resident tutor, the other the divinity tutor and his family. The cost was over £2,500, excluding what was paid for the land. As a consequence the funds were exhausted within a year, leaving the college greatly burdened by debt. From the outset the level of benefactions and subscriptions promised was inadequate to carry out the ambitious plans. Subscriptions never exceeded £300, and at times were under £200, insufficient to pay even the tutors' salaries. Recurrent financial difficulties not only threatened the survival of the college, but restricted the support available to ministerial students. The college nearly closed as a result of major financial crises in 1792, 1797, and 1800. In December 1792 Barnes offered his resignation and the committee was forced to acknowledge that the funds were inadequate to support the tutors as originally intended. Loyd and Nicholls also resigned, Nicholls because of doubts over the payment of his salary. Barnes was persuaded to continue and to accept responsibility for the general management of the college, including the domestic arrangements. The terms were much less advantageous. Barnes's eventual resignation in Midsummer 1798 created another crisis because of the state of the finances and the difficulty in finding a successor. The first five ministers invited all refused, and George Walker accepted largely because he was persuaded the survival of the institution depended upon it. By 1798 the accumulated annual deficit had exceeded £2,000, but a special subscription amongst the college's supporters paid off most of the debt. Under the new arrangement Walker was no longer paid a fixed salary, receiving instead an allowance of £20 for each divinity student. He was allowed to take as many lay pupils as he wished provided it did not interfere with his work as theological tutor. The new arrangements were unfavourable to Walker. The college was in surplus, but at the expense of Walker, who in 1801 told one parent he would be at least £100 out of pocket that year.

Initially he did have assistance. Charles Sanders, a recent graduate of Queens' College, Cambridge, was appointed classical tutor in June 1798, after Walker had overcome the committee's uncertainty about appointing a clergyman of the Church of England. Sanders

resigned after a year and was replaced by William Johns, who had been educated at John Horsey's Academy, Northampton. Dalton continued as tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy. In 1800 both Dalton and Johns resigned following a serious outbreak of student indiscipline. This was not the first occasion: Barnes had been forced to expel three students in 1792, including a divinity student. Much of the difficulty was caused by wealthy lay students having extravagant allowances. Again the critical financial condition of the college forced the committee to suspend the original plan. Dalton and Johns were not replaced. One parent, Samuel Pipe-Wolferstan, a Staffordshire landed gentleman, though he thought the college's finances made its long-term future hopeless, was sufficiently impressed to pay the fees and enter his son Stanley. He remained satisfied with the standard of instruction, but withdrew his son after eighteen months because of concerns over lack of regulation. In February 1794 Dalton could still write that the students were 'of all religious persuasions' (Davis, *Manchester College*, 64), and up to Barnes's resignation in 1797 the college continued to educate churchmen as well as dissenters. By 1801, Pipe-Wolferstan was told by his friends that most of the students were dissenters. He himself noted that William Robinson was the only other churchman.

Under Barnes the great majority of those educated were lay students. Between 1786 and 1797 only 20 out of 137 students were intended for the ministry, of whom 4 subsequently entered the established church. During this period ministerial students could also attend New College, Hackney, or Horsey's Academy, Northampton. The small number of ministerial students at Manchester is evidence of the college's financial difficulties and the limited funds available to support students on the foundation, though most received a grant from the Presbyterian Fund. Over two-thirds of all the students were intended for business, higher than for any other dissenting academy, and another sixth for the professions. Over a third of the lay students were from Manchester, and nearly three-fifths from Lancashire. There were only five students from the south-east, and none from London, evidence of the competition from Hackney. Six were from Europe, reflecting Manchester's importance as a manufacturing centre, including Hector Mortier, identified by one contemporary with Eduard Mortier, the Napoleonic general. The pattern of attendance and the family backgrounds of the students were very similar to those at the Scottish universities, especially Glasgow, where an open-class system allowed students to attend the lectures they wished on payment of the required fee. By 1794 students at Manchester who lived in college paid forty guineas for board plus tuition (though as Pipe-Wolferstan discovered in 1801 'extras' might be significant), but the costs for out-students were much more modest, with the fees set at twelve guineas. The average age of those students intended for business when they entered the college at this date was fourteen, and more than two-fifths stayed for a year or less. Parents were not seeking a formal education for their sons, but an introduction to a variety of modern and useful subjects in the short interlude between school and work. In contrast students for the professions not only attended the college in general for longer, usually two years, and were on average a year older, but the education they received was of an advantage to their future careers. Only a handful of Barnes's students later distinguished themselves. Benjamin Gaskell was MP for Malden (1806-7 and 1812-26) and John Aston Yates MP for Carlow County (1837-41). Edward Holmes and John Moore, leading medical practitioners in Manchester, both served as President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. William Henry was later a celebrated chemist. None of the ministerial students were noteworthy, except Loyd, and in his case it was in banking not the ministry.

Walker educated a higher proportion of divinity students than Barnes, despite being dependent upon lay students for his main source of income: 11 out of a total of 35 students. By 1798 New College was the only institution in England educating students for liberal dissent in England, following the closure of Horsey's Academy and New College, Hackney. Three of the students transferred to Manchester from the academy at Northampton, but others were deterred by the cost. They were quoted £40 a year for board without tuition. Under Walker the college lost the character of a Scottish university. The lay students were

sons of bankers, merchants, and the landed gentry, rather than local businessmen. They included David Gladstone, son of a Liverpool merchant and brother of the future prime minister, and Samuel Hibbert, later Hibbert-Ware, who gained fame as a geologist and antiquarian. The ministerial students were as undistinguished as those under Barnes.

Walker finally resigned in October 1802, prompting a debate over the future of the college. The chairman of the committee, Thomas Percival, favoured annexing the college to the University of Glasgow, while Thomas Belsham proposed that the surviving funds from the academies at Hackney, Manchester, and Exeter should be combined to found a new college at Birmingham. The Manchester committee eventually resolved to continue to use the funds for their original purpose, and rejected Birmingham as unsuitable. Fortunately, through the crucial intervention of William Wood, minister at Leeds, Charles Wellbeloved (who had declined an invitation to succeed Barnes in 1798) was persuaded to accept the committee's invitation to succeed Walker. The college reopened in York where Wellbeloved was minister.

David L. Wykes

Archives

The administrative and financial records of New College are held at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. Details of the management of New College, Manchester, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters are contained in the minutes of the college (HMCO, MS M.N.C. Misc. 65), the college ledgers (MS M.N.C. Misc. 63 (i)), and student admission register, 1786-1838 (MS M.N.C. Misc. 27). The missing student names for when Walker was theological tutor can be largely supplemented by DWL, MS NCL/L54/2/27 List of students, from c.1798-1800.

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Newport Pagnell Academy (1783-1850)

The academy at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, was opened in 1783 and closed in 1850, when the remaining two students, the library, and other assets were merged with Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire. The academy was in the house of the Independent minister, William Bull, who had previously kept a school. He had been a student of Caleb Ashworth at Daventry but was also influenced by the evangelical revival. Bull was minister in Newport Pagnell from 1764 and became a close friend of John Newton, curate at nearby Olney from 1764 to 1780. The poet William Cowper was the third member of an intimate group of friends. After Newton's move to London John Clayton, Independent minister of the King's Weigh House Chapel, approached him with a view to persuading Bull to open an evangelical seminary for training ministers. Arrangements were made during 1782 and the first students received in 1783. Clayton believed the institution could be financed by subscribers, but in 1786 the evangelical banker, John Thornton, undertook to cover the costs and set up a fund to pay Bull's stipend. Bull was joined by Samuel Greatheed as tutor from 1786 to 1789. Although the students preached in the surrounding area with a view to re-establishing old meeting houses as centres for evangelical ministry, Thornton's endowment and Greatheed's philosophy of vocational education suggest that Clayton's original aim had been broadened. Greatheed aimed to teach in a way that left the studies and consciences of the students 'unfettered' (Lewis, 'The Newport Pagnell Academy', 277).

The academy was never a large institution, being contained within Bull's house. There were 114 students in all, but the circumstantial evidence suggests there were never many students at any one time; there were only two students when the academy closed. In 1812, in anticipation of Bull's death, the Newport Pagnell Evangelical Institution was set up, consisting of two committees, a London committee to raise funds and a local committee to supervise the management. Bull died in 1814 and was succeeded by his son, Thomas Palmer Bull, who had been co-tutor since 1790, after Greatheed's departure. Thomas's son, Josiah Bull, became a tutor in 1831, by which time the institution had become *de facto* a Congregational seminary. Both father and son resigned their positions in 1842 and were succeeded by John Watson, who had been co-pastor in Islington. In 1848 Watson left to become tutor at Hackney College and was succeeded by William Froggatt.
The original curriculum was devised with advice from John Newton, whose *Plan of Academical Preparation for the Ministry* describes an ideal evangelical and non-denominational education, and it was designed to attract evangelical subscribers. It emphasised biblical studies and excluded the systematic study of doctrine, and in this respect was similar to the curriculum adopted at Trevecka by the Countess of Huntingdon. Rhetoric and science were also excluded. The library, the catalogue of which survives, did include early editions of Newton's *Principia* and *Optice*, but this may indicate the breadth of William Bull's reading rather than the teaching programme. The collection of books on travel is almost certainly associated with Samuel Greatheed, who was a prime mover of overseas missions. There are volumes of Puritan and evangelical devotion, sermons, and church histories, which are consistent with the aims of the curriculum. Most of these books could be classified as Protestant evangelical. There is some poetry, including Pope and Milton, which was read to improve the English style of the students.

In the 1840s the mood in Congregationalism moved towards the closing of small academies and the provision of larger colleges for the training of ministers, which the expansion of the denomination demanded. The subscriptions and student applications fell. The situation was not helped when four students were expelled for supporting the Anti-State Church Association against the specific instructions of Watson. A further related dispute broke out in Froggatt's time and the academy was criticised by the radical Congregationalist Edward Miall in his newspaper, *The Nonconformist*. Newport Pagnell Academy was judged unable to continue by its trustees and amalgamated with Cheshunt College in 1850.

Stephen Orchard

Archives

The library catalogue and correspondence relating to the merger with Cheshunt College are at Westminster College, Cambridge, in the Cheshunt collection. Lewis, 'The Newport Pagnell Academy', refers to archival material in the possession of William Bull's descendants. Letters of William Bull are in Lambeth Palace Library.

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Stephen Orchard, 'Newport Pagnell Academy (1783-1850)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, July 2011.

Original Burgher (Old Light Burghers) Divinity Hall (1799-1839)

The Original Burgher Synod (Old Light Burghers) was the smaller group resulting from the Burghers' schism of 1799. It continued as a separate body until 1839, when it voted to re-enter the established church in the wake of the evangelical revival. Four years later those who had joined the established church separated again and joined the newly formed Free Church. A majority of ministers (twenty-nine out of forty-one) had stayed out of the union of 1839. They joined the recently united Original Secession Church (formed by the Old and New Light Anti-Burghers) in 1842, and then in 1852 the Free Church. There are no records of ministerial training between 1839 and 1842 for this latter group.

As was conventional in the secession churches, the divinity hall comprised one professor. In 1800, William Willis was appointed, initially in Greenock, before moving to Stirling shortly after. He was succeeded in 1803 by George Hill, who held the post in Cumbernauld until 1818. William Taylor then conducted the hall from his church in Perth until 1833. After a year in which there was no divinity hall and the students were under the supervision of their presbytery, Michael Willis, son of William Willis, was appointed and the hall was transferred to Glasgow. It closed in 1839.

Like the other Secession halls, the purpose of the hall was to train ministers for the denomination. Some students later joined other churches, but this was seen as a lapse from grace. The hall seems to have been unfunded, the professors undertaking their duties without pay. In 1812 it was agreed that an annual sum of £25 should be collected from the congregations to pay for books, but it was never collected in full.

The course lasted for four years and each session for eight weeks, although it seems that some students may have been licensed after three years. Little is known of the teaching in the hall. *A Compendious View of Natural and Revealed Religion* by John Brown, professor of the Associate Burgher Divinity Hall (1767-87), was the core text, but it is not known whether this was the only work used. It was covered twice during the four years. There was also a confessional lecture where the professor demonstrated how the Westminster Confession was supported by Scripture. On Saturdays the Greek New Testament was studied, and on Mondays the Psalms in Hebrew.

The Original Burgher Synod, like all the Secession churches, was based largely in the Scottish lowlands, as well as Perthshire and Angus. A number of students were also trained for the sister Original Burgher Church in Northern Ireland. Students were expected to have attended a full university Arts course prior to enrolment, although few graduated. Competency in Hebrew was also required. The early ministers of the Original Burgher Synod had trained mainly under George Lawson at the Burghers' Associate Divinity Hall in Selkirk, and several of those who were students at the time joined the schism, ensuring there were sufficient ministers at the beginning. The initial class in 1800 consisted of five students who had been with Lawson at Selkirk prior to the schism, and a sixth joined the following year. Two more students joined in 1802, followed by five in 1803, though one of the five left in 1804 to study with Lawson and was ordained into the Old Light body in 1806. In thirty-nine years 106 students passed through the hall, seventy-two being ordained by the denomination and a further sixteen being ordained into churches outside Scotland, mainly in Ireland. A significant number of ministers later emigrated to Canada.

Few Original Burgher students achieved distinction outside their church. William Machray undertook his Arts course at Marischal College, Aberdeen. While attending the divinity hall, he was also teaching Greek at Marischal as deputy for the superannuated Professor Stuart. The last professor, Michael Willis was to have a career teaching in Canada and became the

first principal of Knox College, Toronto. Like most of its contemporary churches, the Original Burgher Synod had links particularly with Ireland and also with North America, but the church was never large enough to undertake work abroad although funds were raised to support mission work.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

Records known to have existed in 1884 are currently untraced.

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Pastor's College (1857 to present)

(Historical account to 1860)

Pastor's College was one of Charles Haddon Spurgeon's earliest educational and social initiatives following his settlement in 1854 as minister at New Park Street Baptist Church, Southwark. First named after its founder, the college provided basic training for ministerial candidates with a limited educational background and meagre financial resources. Its unpretentious origins can be traced to the effective but ungrammatical street preaching in Southwark, at Tower Hill and Billingsgate Market, of a young Bermondsey rope-maker, Thomas W. Medhurst. Medhurst was one of Spurgeon's first London converts, whose communication skills (and mangled English) were soon brought to his minister's attention. Recognising Medhurst's gifts and extremely poor education, Spurgeon (only four months his senior) taught him on Saturday mornings each week. He paid for Medhurst's preparatory studies under C. H. Hosken (the Crayford Baptist minister) at Mill Road Collegiate School, Bexleyheath, from July 1855, believing it to be 'excellent . . . preparation for the ministry'. Spurgeon clearly anticipated further students, telling Medhurst that, 'for those who may come after' he was assembling 'a good Theological Library for young students in years to come . . . You see, I am looking forward' (*Letters of Spurgeon,* [1923], 142-3). In March 1857, he sent Medhurst, along with a second student, to live with a more conveniently located tutor, George Rogers, minister of Albany Road Congregational Chapel, Camberwell. Rogers, a former Rotherham student, became the college's first principal, so remaining until his retirement in 1881.

In the first five years student numbers grew to sixteen, all fully involved in the work of the New Park Street church and accommodated in the homes of its members. Students were accepted irrespective of their financial resources and it was common for the college to meet not only the full cost of tuition and accommodation, but also of clothing, books, and medical and incidental expenses. Initially, the cost of maintenance and training (£50 p.a. per student) was borne personally by Spurgeon, largely from the income he derived from the publication of his sermons in America. When his forthright condemnation of slavery led to dramatically reduced sales, a weekly college offering was introduced at the church, supplemented by individual donations.

With Spurgeon as president, the college was self-governing and, although primarily serving Baptist churches, it was not narrowly denominational. Rogers was a committed paedobaptist, though he shared Spurgeon's evangelical Calvinism, and the earliest students included some from other denominations. There was no entrance examination but, in addition to appropriate references, prospective students were required to have had two years' preaching experience. Spurgeon interviewed all applicants; in the opening years, almost half were his own church members. He also made himself personally responsible for every student's settlement in a pastorate, often in churches they had helped to establish during their training. Its two-year course provided a basic general as well as theological education, including biblical languages. From the beginning Spurgeon had a weekly teaching session. The earliest curriculum detail is in George Rogers's *Outline of the Origin of the Pastor's College* (1867).

From 1861, increased numbers met for lectures in the newly built Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington Butts. In 1868 a small correction was made to its name, from Pastor's to Pastors' College. From 1874 the college was housed in non-residential, purpose built premises in nearby Temple Street, and by the close of its founder's life in 1892 over 800 students had been trained. On moving to its present location on South Norwood Hill in 1923, it became known as Spurgeon's College.

Raymond Brown

Archives

Spurgeon's College archives include annual reports (with occasional detail about courses) published with the Metropolitan Tabernacle's monthly magazine, *The Sword and Trowel*, lecture notes and student records for the period after 1860 but no documents from the first five years of its history.

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Reformed Presbyterian Divinity Hall (1803-1876)

(Historical account to 1860)

The Reformed Presbyterian Church has its roots in those covenanters, mainly in the south-west of Scotland, who did not recognise the Church of Scotland established by the Revolution Settlement of 1690 to be the true successor to the Presbyterian tradition. With no ministers until 1709, and only one until 1742, it never had a large body of clergy. Their divinity hall, initially based at the Reformed Presbyterian church in Stirling, was set up only in 1803 and closed in 1876 on the union of the greater part of the denomination with the Free Church of Scotland. A previous attempt to start a college in 1785 had failed when the nominated teacher of divinity died. In the period between the organisation of the Reformed Presbyterian presbytery in 1742 and the founding of the divinity hall, candidates for the ministry were trained informally over a period of around 15 months by a number of ministers at various churches, with 'trials for licence' covering different aspects of their education.

The hall followed the general pattern of the Presbyterian secession churches by being based in the church or manse of the professors, who were also ministers with charges. The first professor of divinity was Revd John MacMillan, who held the post from 1802 to 1818 in Stirling. He was succeeded by one of his former students, Dr Andrew Symington, D.D., who taught his students from 1820 to 1853 in Paisley. On his death, the post was divided; his brother William, also a student of MacMillan, looked after systematic theology in Glasgow from 1854 to 1862, and W. H. Goold taught biblical literature and church history from 1854 to 1876 at Newton Stewart in Dumfries and Galloway. It is not clear how the hall functioned after 1853 with its two professors in different places, but in the early days in Stirling the students lodged with families attached to the congregation. While the hall was in Glasgow, students on occasion had teaching or missionary posts within the city which supported them and allowed them to live independently. A library for the use of students was set up with a legacy of £20 and maintained from voluntary contributions.

The divinity hall was the charge of the Synod's Hall Committee. Initially Scottish students were required to attend four or five sessions. This led to tension with Irish applicants for Scottish churches as the Irish synod allowed ordination after only three or even two years' attendance at the divinity hall. The church finally decided that the Scottish church could only accept Irish probationers who had studied for the same length of time as Scottish candidates. The funding of the divinity hall was the responsibility of the church as a whole and initially assessed at £2 per year from each congregation. The salary of the professor of divinity was set at £30 per year, and remained at that level for 50 years, but this was in addition to his stipend as a minister, which at Stirling in 1802 was set at £52 per year. The church was not wealthy, as most of its members were from the rural working class.

In 1839 it was reported that the session lasted seven weeks. The first class meeting started at 7.30 a.m. with devotional exercises and a lecture from the professor, with the second meeting of the day from 11.00 a.m. till 1.00 p.m. This commenced on alternate days with a reading of Scripture in Greek and Hebrew followed by an examination of the students on the subject of the lectures, the students giving written answers to a number of questions. The professor examined these answers and commented on them in class the following day. There was a weekly essay, together with three vacation exercises which were delivered publicly and criticised by both professor and students. Afternoon and evening meetings of the class were arranged as required, so the formal teaching day might easily be six hours in length. Within the Reformed Presbyterian church it was believed that their students covered as much work in seven weeks as the university divinity halls covered in five months. After 1854, the course was formalised at five sessions each of eight weeks, with a course of intersessional study upon which the students were examined at the start of each session.

A small number of students already had degrees prior to entering, normally from Glasgow University. It seems likely that most were expected to have studied at university in the general arts curriculum. At least one studied in Germany after leaving the divinity hall before proceeding to ordination. In general students were expected to enter the Reformed Presbyterian ministry, either in Scotland or Ireland, although a few did join other denominations.

The hall served the denomination which had churches throughout southern Scotland, being strongest in the southwest. During the period of the college's existence, 108 ministers or missionaries were ordained, at the rate of one or two per year in the early years, peaking at five in 1865, of whom three were missionaries to the New Hebrides. The names of those students studying between 1805 and 1819 are known, and show that the number from year to year varied from four to nine. An unknown number of Irish students also attended as the Irish church had no hall of its own. After the union of the Reformed Presbyterian Church with the Free Church of Scotland in 1876, all training was conducted in the permanently staffed Free Church College at Aberdeen.

Noteworthy students included John Laidlaw (1832-1906) and John G. Paton (1824-1907). Laidlaw, who joined the Free Church after three sessions in the Reformed Presbyterian Divinity Hall and became professor of systematic theology at New College, Edinburgh, was influential in the unions of the Free and Reformed Presbyterian Churches in 1876 and in the abortive conference of the three major Churches in 1885 which laid some of the groundwork for the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in 1901. Paton was a renowned missionary in the New Hebrides; his autobiography is a minor classic of Victorian missionary memoirs.

Although small, the Reformed Presbyterian Church saw itself as a missionary church, taking as its primary sphere of influence the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) in the Pacific, and several missionaries were trained for work there. In addition to their divinity studies, potential missionaries were given rudimentary medical training at the Andersonian College in Glasgow and other practical training. A number of students also went as missionaries to colonial Australia and New Zealand.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

Such records as survive are in the National Archives of Scotland, generally at CH3/391 and specifically at CH3/391/20, the minutes of the Committee on Divinity Hall. CH3/391/21 contains the Matriculation book of Reformed Presbyterian Divinity Hall from 1805 to 1875.

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Relief Church Divinity Hall (1824-1847)

The Relief Church, the second secession from the established Church of Scotland to have occurred over the issue of patronage, differed from the original secession churches in being essentially moderate and forward-looking in its theology. Taking its birth from the dismissal of Thomas Gillespie as minister of the parish of Carnock in 1752, its first presbytery was founded in 1761, eventually growing to a synod of six presbyteries.

As there were no fundamental doctrinal differences with the established church, the Relief Church was for many years content to accept candidates for the ministry who had gone through an arts and divinity course at one of the Scottish universities. Although the Relief Synod had discussed the desirability of erecting a divinity hall as early as 1795, it did not actually come into existence until 1824. During the 1820s the universities began to ask students to subscribe to the established church, which made the previous arrangement impractical, and the Relief Synod took the decision to found its own hall. On the Relief Church's amalgamation with the United Secession Church to form the United Presbyterian Church in 1847, the divinity hall was subsumed into the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall.

Management of the divinity hall lay with the Committee for the Superintendence of the Divinity Hall, which reported directly to the annual synod of the Relief Church. Admission to the hall was generally restricted to members of the Relief Church. Students were expected to have a university education prior to enrolment, although few were graduates.

The first professor in 1824 was Dr James Thomson, minister of the Relief Church in Paisley, where his hall was based. He was professor for the greater part of the hall's existence. After his death in 1841, his lectures were read by William Becket and George Brooks, who served as temporary lecturers. The following year, the hall moved to Glasgow on the appointment of William Lindsay as professor of theology, and Neil McMichael as professor of systematic theology and church history. McMichael was later Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall.

As the sole hall for the Relief Church, it served the whole of Scotland, but most of the students came from west-central Scotland. A total of 191 students entered the hall, with the total attendance each year varying between eighteen and forty-five. The divinity hall was wholly funded by the Relief Church, with individual congregations expected to provide support, though in practice this was not always forthcoming. The six presbyteries each had to provide pulpit supplies for one or more Sundays during the session.

Thomson had two meetings of his class each day, six days per week, and regularly gave the students exercises. He gave lectures on four mornings in the week and heard discourses prepared by students on the other two mornings. During the afternoons students were examined on the lecture given the previous day, which was then recapitulated the following morning. Essays were written weekly and examined by the professor in private. On Monday afternoons students gave a written or verbal account of the sermons they had heard the previous day. On Tuesday they read the Greek Testament, and on Friday a portion of Hebrew Scriptures. Besides studies during the session, students had to write a very considerable number of essays on systematic theology, which were sent to the professor for inspection. Students who failed to write a sufficient number did not proceed to trials for licence. The course lasted for four years.

A list of students who had finished their course was given to the synod, which then decided which students were to be taken on trials for licence by individual presbyteries. There are however examples of students founding their own congregations without the full training. In 1826 Edinburgh Presbytery reported that two students had formed congregations in the Freemasons' Hall and in the Caledonian Theatre while still under their superintendence.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

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Rice Price's Academy, Tyn-ton (c.1698-c.1720)

Samuel Jones of Brynllywarch died in 1697, and on 28 February 1698 the Congregational Fund Board agreed that 'the case of Mr Price of Wales be considered next Munday', that is, Rice Price, a former Brynllywarch student (DWL MS OD401, CFB, I, 67). It seems, therefore, that Rice Price did not immediately follow Samuel Jones as tutor. The location of the academy was probably at Tyn-ton, Llangeinor, near Bridgend. Between 1699 and 1702, four students received grants from the Congregational Board, varying from £4 to £10, two of them being paid twice. A fifth person was promised £4 if he presented a satisfactory account of his abilities. The name of 'Mr Rice' was opposite five of the entries. There is no record that Price was paid as a tutor. One of his students, William John, went on to Attercliffe to study with Timothy Jollie.

The Presbyterian Fund Board did not support the academy. Different reasons have been suggested for the refusal. Rice Price's strict Calvinism would not have appealed to the Board, and his dogmatic spirit could have been another reason.

There is very little information available for the period from 1703 until Price's death in 1739. He had inherited a small family estate, married well, and had family links with the wealthy Powells of Coytrahen, in the parish of Bettws. He also ministered to two small congregations, one in Bettws, the other in Bridgend. It was possible for him, therefore, to support himself as tutor. He continued to educate students, one of whom was Lewis Rees, who received part of his education at the academy. Rees was born in 1710, and must have been with Price in the late 1720s. Rees played an important part in the spread of Independency in north Wales. He was also minister of Maes-yronnen, Radnorshire, for two periods, and later at Mynydd-bach, Swansea.

Price married first Miss Gibbon, and secondly Catherine Richards. Two of his grandchildren, of the second marriage, were the prominent London dissenters, William Morgan and George Cadogan Morgan. Rice Price's brother, Samuel, was partly educated at Brynllywarch. He was Isaac Watts's assistant and then co-pastor, and at his death followed him as minister. His son Richard Price was the eminent philosopher.

Noel Gibbard

Archives

Information about the academy at Tyn-ton can be found in the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, MS OD401-2) and in 'A list of Tutors and Students at Nonconformist Academies in Wales from 1696 to 1800' (NLW, ADD MS 373C).

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Roger Griffith's Academy, Abergavenny (1697-1702)

After the death of Samuel Jones of Brynllywarch in 1697, the Presbyterian Fund Board decided on Abergavenny as the new location to educate its students. From the lists available, one student, Philip Pugh, can be identified as having moved from Brynllywarch to Abergavenny. There could be others, because a complete list of students has not been preserved. The Board chose Roger Griffith, minister of the Independent church at Abergavenny, as tutor. He was a person well prepared for the work, having been educated at Bethnal Green and the University of Utrecht, supported at both by the Common Fund.

The number of students supported at Abergavenny by the Presbyterian Fund Board was small. On 21 June 1697 it was agreed that £30 a year would be paid for six students proposed by Griffith. £30 was paid for six students for 1700 and 1701, and £15 for six students for 6 months in 1702. Griffith was attracted to the established church, and left Abergavenny and conformed in 1702. When he left, the numbers in the Independent church were quite low. Only fourteen persons were present at his last communion service, two of them mentioned by name; two were from the town, and five were soldiers. From 1706 to 1708 Griffith was rector of New Radnor, and he was instituted archdeacon of Brecon in 1704. He was buried in St Mary's Church, Abergavenny, in 1708.

Although the academy was small, it produced two future academy tutors: Thomas Perrot of Carmarthen, and Samuel Jones, who received part of his education with Roger Griffith, of Gloucester and Tewkesbury.

Noel Gibbard

Archives

Information about the academy at Abergavenny can be found in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board (DWL, MS OD68) and in 'A list of Tutors and Students at Nonconformist Academies in Wales from 1696 to 1800' (NLW, ADD MS 373C).

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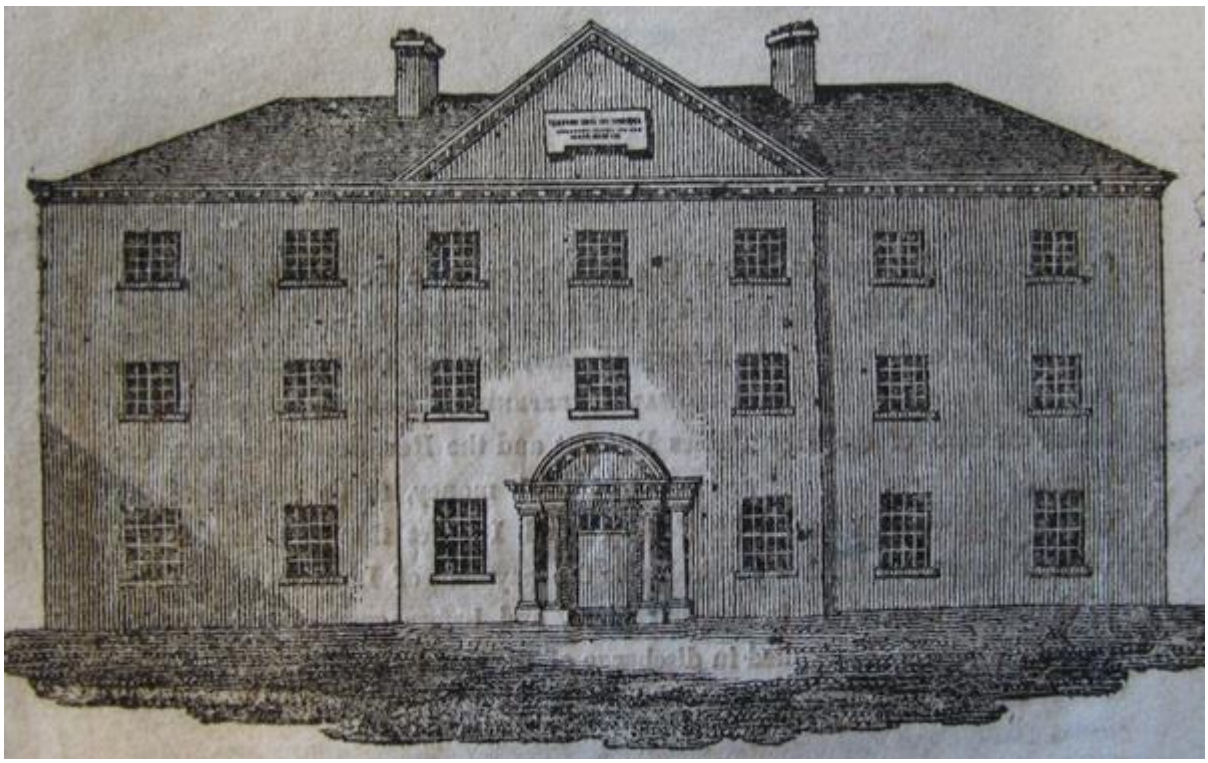
Rotherham Independent College (1795-1888)



Rotherham Independent College
[source: *Report of the Rotherham Independent College* (Sheffield, 1816), 1]

(Historical account to 1860)

When the London-based committee of the Northern Education Society dissolved Samuel Walker's Academy at Northowram in June 1794, the committee of the Society expressed the view that any future efforts to train ministers for Yorkshire and neighbouring counties should be managed locally. The following month a meeting at Leeds of twenty ministers and twelve laymen resolved to establish a new academy with two tutors, and appointed a committee of ten to draw up the necessary plans. The committee reported back to a general meeting on 11 September, at which it was agreed that the planned academy should be considered a new institution and not a continuation of that at Northowram. The tutors were to be Independent dissenters and could be dismissed if they departed from Calvinist principles. A committee of twelve ministers and twelve laymen was entrusted with the management of the institution, with a general meeting of subscribers held each June to choose the committee for the following year. Only ministerial students were admitted, and applicants for admission were required to present a recommendation from their church. They were expected to satisfy the committee of their religious and moral conduct and their qualifications for entering the ministry. With the exception of those who were willing and able to support themselves, students would receive their education, board, and lodging gratis.

It was initially assumed that the new academy would be situated near Halifax, and Northowram was again suggested as a suitable location. However, the appointment of Joshua Walker as treasurer in October 1794 led to Rotherham emerging as the favoured site. Walker was a member of a wealthy family of iron manufacturers from the town, whose father and uncle had built the Independent meeting house at Masbrough. The pulpit at Masbrough was vacant at the time, creating the opportunity for the appointment of a joint pastor and academy head. After failing to obtain the services of their first two candidates, the committee focused its attention on Edward Williams, the former Oswestry tutor who was

then minister at Carrs Lane, Birmingham. Williams accepted the invitation, insisting that the tutorial appointment should be held jointly with the Masbrough pastorate. Rotherham Independent Academy opened on 5 November 1795 in new premises near the chapel, erected with a loan of £500 from Joshua Walker. The plain classical structure was built on two floors, comprising a main hall, library, eight lodging rooms and fourteen studies. The property was surrounded by gardens and fields, which provided plenty of opportunities for exercise. Extensions to the building completed in 1816 added eight new studies, the same number of bedrooms, and a new library. By this date the name of the institution had been changed to Rotherham Independent College.

Edward Williams arrived in Rotherham on 30 September 1795, with the academy formally opening on 5 November. The appointment of a second tutor was delayed when the first two men approached declined the post. Maurice Phillips, a former student of Williams at Oswestry, was appointed in 1796 and remained at the academy until 1810 when Joseph Gilbert succeeded him. Williams served as theological tutor until his death in 1813, with his successor, James Bennett, holding the position until his faltering health prompted his resignation in 1828. Joseph Gilbert, who had been overlooked for the theological tutorship following Williams's death, continued to preside over the classical department until 1817. His successor, Thomas Smith, remained in post until 1850, during which time the theological department was overseen by Bennett, Clement Perrot (1829-34), and William Hendry Stowell (1834-50). Perrot's unhappy tenure was characterised by ill-discipline among the students, seven of whom resigned *en masse* in 1831. The incident led to a ruling by the committee stating that the theological tutor should also be considered principal, or head of the college. In January 1850 Thomas Smith resigned, apparently due to illness, with Stowell departing later the same year to become president of Cheshunt College. By this time the future of the college at Rotherham was in doubt due to financial difficulties, and in the first instance Frederick John Falding was asked to fill the vacancy in the classical department and take responsibility for the general oversight of the institution. A number of candidates were approached with a view to becoming principal and theological tutor, including Richard Alliott, the president of Western College, Plymouth, John Frost of Cotton End Academy, and Alexander Thomson of Glasgow Theological Hall. When they all declined, Falding was promoted to the post of principal and professor of theology, to be assisted by Thomas Clark as professor of languages and mathematics. Alexander Raleigh, minister of Masbrough Chapel, provided part-time instruction in sermon composition and the duties of the pastoral office. Falding remained in post until the union with Airedale Independent College in 1888. Cornelius Curtis Tyte replaced Thomas Clark as professor of languages and mathematics in 1854, a position he held until 1873. In 1855 a Monsieur Suryn was employed as a teacher of modern languages, a position held from 1857 by the Austrian-born M. Alexander Martini of Brook Hill in Sheffield.

The plan of education conceived at the foundation of the academy was for students to follow a four or five-year course. During the first year they were to study English, Latin, and the art of composition. The second year course encompassed Latin, Greek, logic, moral philosophy, and divinity. In the third year Hebrew, mathematics, and natural philosophy were added to the study of Latin, Greek, and divinity. Students in the final year focussed their attentions on divinity and church history. The more able students were to spend a fifth year perfecting their studies and studying 'the higher branches of literature' ([Williams], *An Account*, 24). Under Edward Williams, the logic course used Isaac Watts's *Logic* as a textbook, the mathematics course covered Euclid and the rudiments of algebra, and natural philosophy was based on the system of John Rowning. Williams developed his own system of moral philosophy, while the Biblical criticism course covered Carpzovios and Wolfius. Students read Lampe and Turretin on ecclesiastical history, and Marck's *Medulla* and Turretin's *Compendium* in their divinity course. Both James Bennett and William Hendry Stowell were skilled linguists, and an increased emphasis was placed on the study of both ancient and modern languages during their periods of office. Bennett provided instruction in French and German, and

Stowell was insistent that Syriac was taught as preparation for the Hebrew course. Both Bennett and Stowell taught rhetoric, and tuition was provided in preaching, elocution, sermon composition, and the duties of pastoral office throughout the history of the institution.

The senior students were permitted to undertake preaching engagements in towns and villages in the West Riding, while the junior students attended prayer meetings in adjacent villages. In 1841 the college was incorporated by Royal Warrant with the University of London, although eight years later the students complained that they were not receiving suitable preparation to take the degrees of the University. Their complaint was not without grounds, since John Lockwood was the only student to have graduated in that time. The small library used by Samuel Walker's students at Northowram was purchased at the foundation of the academy, and was supplemented with help from donations worth £100 each from Thomas and Joseph Walker. At the same time, ladies from the local neighbourhood presented two new globes, and Mr. S. Marshall gave a telescope and quadrant. An orrery bought by Edward Williams was sold to the academy in January 1810. In 1816 Thomas Walker made a further donation of one hundred guineas for the enlargement of the library, and in the same year a bequest of books was received from Rev. Charles Ely of Bury. Three years later, the insurance value of printed books kept on the premises, including those belonging to the students, was placed at £700. Further donations of books were recorded from George Bennet in 1832, and from Bennet, James Montgomery and William Wilson Esq in 1835.

Most students boarded in the academy building, with a few older married men living out. Under Williams and Bennett the domestic management of the institution was the responsibility of the tutors and their wives. Williams and his wife Jane employed three female servants and one man. They provided the students with four meals a day, although they were required to find their own tea and coffee. The students were provided with soap, but were expected to buy candles for their studies and pay for their own laundry. Before leaving Masbrough Jane Williams wrote to James Bennett stating that she would leave four pigs and the more profitable of her two cows for him. Shortly before his resignation, James Bennett relinquished responsibility for the domestic management of the college, and a housekeeper was later appointed. The 1841 census return shows six female servants in residence in the college.

The academy was funded by subscriptions and donations, mainly from supporters in Yorkshire and Lancashire, particularly the West Riding. It received strong support from the Walker family, with Joshua Walker succeeded as treasurer by his son Henry in 1815. The academy found influential friends in Sheffield, notably James Boden, minister of the congregation at Queen Street, and George Bennet, who regularly embarked on fundraising trips for the college prior to his departure to the South Seas as a missionary in 1821. Through Bennet's influence, the poet James Montgomery became a supporter of the academy. For a number of years he published the college's annual reports, at least one of which he authored. An examining committee of a dozen or more men was appointed by the annual general meeting to examine the students once a year.

While the intellectual standing of a number of the tutors employed at Rotherham suggests a flourishing institution, the college was continually blighted by financial difficulties. The annual accounts usually recorded a deficit, often in excess of three or four hundred pounds. The economic climate of the 1840s exacerbated the situation, and by 1847 a balance against the college of £578 was recorded. The situation became desperate the following year with the sudden failure of railway stock, to which the funds had recently been moved. A union with Airedale Independent College was first considered in January 1850, but rejected by supporters of the Bradford institution on the grounds that the Rotherham representatives were not wholly in favour of the venture. The finances recovered during the 1850s, but a new crisis beset the institution when the boiler exploded on Christmas Eve 1860. While there were no injuries, the resulting fire caused considerable damage to the building. Further

negotiations were held over a proposed union with Airedale College. When these again broke down, the decision was made to move the college to new premises in Rotherham. After much delay the new 'Collegiate Gothic' building at Moorgate was opened in September 1876.

Over 200 students had completed their studies at Rotherham by 1860. The extensions to the building carried out in 1815 enabled 24 students to be accommodated. The number in residence in a single year varied according to the state of the college finances. The depressed state of the funds in the early 1820s led to a reduction in the number of students from 24 in 1817 to 15 in 1823. During the crisis years of the early 1850s the number of students dropped to a low of just four. The most celebrated Rotherham alumnus was John Pye Smith, the future president of Homerton College. Several students in the academy would later become tutors at Rotherham, including Joseph Gilbert, Frederick John Falding, and Cornelius Curtis Tyte. Another, Thomas Hill, was classical tutor at Homerton for fourteen years prior to his death in 1820. Other men worthy of note who studied at Masbrough included the historian Benjamin Brook, the minister and antiquary Robert Weaver, the philosopher John Hoppus, and Thomas Arnold, who established a school for teaching the deaf at Northampton. The overwhelming majority of those trained at Rotherham went on to pursue careers as Independent ministers, and the college continued to operate independently until it finally joined with Airedale to form the Yorkshire United Independent College in 1888.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The institutional records of Rotherham Independent Academy/College form part of the Northern Congregational College archives at the John Rylands University Library, Manchester. The most important evidence for the life and management of the academy is the committee minutes, which survive in full, and the printed annual reports. The run of reports in the John Rylands Library is incomplete, but most of the missing years can be found in a second incomplete set held by the Congregational Library in London. Valuable details on the domestic management of the institution are provided by a letter of 12 July 1813 from Jane Williams to James Bennett (JRUL, NCCA, Box No. 6/6). Other manuscript material relating to the college can be found in the Congregational Library and Dr Williams's Library (New College, London).

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Simon N. Dixon, 'Rotherham Independent College (1795-1888)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011.

Samuel Walker's Academy, Northowram (1783-1794)

When the Heckmondwike tutor, James Scott, died in 1783 the committee of the Northern Education Society invited Samuel Walker to succeed him. Walker had been a student of Scott, and became minister at Northowram on leaving the academy in 1774. The ten students who remained under the care of Scott were transferred to Northowram where they were housed in the parsonage with Walker and his family, together with the books and apparatus from Heckmondwike. The new location was suitable for an academy, since classes could be held in the small school house erected for Walker's predecessor, Robert Hesketh. When the academy closed in 1794, the remaining four students were placed under the care of William Vint at Idle. The failure of the Northowram academy led directly to the establishment of Rotherham Independent Academy in 1795 and the Independent Academy at Idle in 1800, although neither can be regarded as a direct successor.

Very little information survives about Samuel Walker's academy. In addition to the ten students who began their education under James Scott at Heckmondwike, the names of 25 others are known. The academy was managed by the Northern Education Society, and would therefore have shared the aims of the Heckmondwike establishment to train orthodox ministers to serve congregations in the northern counties of England. It can also be assumed that students would have been expected to provide evidence of their piety and orthodox evangelical beliefs, as at Heckmondwike. The main benefactor was William Fuller, a London banker to whom the academy was in debt by £545 when it closed in 1794. The number of applicants is reported to have fallen as Walker lost the confidence of both the London committee and the local community. No evidence survives of the course of study followed or the teaching methods employed by Walker. He is not known to have received any assistance in his work. The academy library was purchased by Rotherham Independent Academy for £20, and was described as having been small and in poor condition. If any scientific apparatus was transferred to Rotherham, it was not regarded as sufficient for the purposes of the new academy.

In a letter to Joshua Walker of Rotherham dated 27 July 1794, Fuller reported that as a result of the debt owed to him it was 'no longer practicable to continue the academy in its present state' and that 'Mr. [Samuel] Walker could be no longer considered as tutor to that seminary' (*An Account*, 11). However, it seems likely that financial problems were a symptom of a wider malaise afflicting the academy, the precise causes of which are unclear but seem to have related to the conduct of Samuel Walker. The author of *An Account of the Rotherham Independent Academy* (Sheffield, 1797) stated that Walker's appointment was not met with universal satisfaction, and that 'the public, and particularly the churches in Yorkshire, grew dissatisfied, and the subscriptions were considerably reduced' (*An Account*, 7-8). Richard Hamilton Winter, delivering *An Address to the Constituents of Airedale College* (London, 1831), noted that Walker had 'not very satisfactorily discharged' his duties, and 67 years after the academy folded another writer commented that it had been broken up for 'reasons to which we need not here refer' (Jones, 29). The author of the 1817 report of the Independent Academy at Idle commented that the academy at Northowram had 'been generally viewed as covered with a cloud', although he also noted that those educated there still spoke 'with becoming respect of their *Alma Mater* with all her imperfections' (*Idle report* (1817), 4).

Walker had already resigned the pastoral care of the church at Northowram when he was dismissed from the academy, and he died in obscurity in 1796. There is no direct evidence to explain the low repute in which both he and his academy were held. It is possible that there had been a change in his religious views, since the founders of Rotherham Independent Academy were anxious to ensure that subscribers to the new institution had the right to dismiss any tutor who departed from Calvinist principles. Whether this concern was a direct result of the experience of the Northowram academy is not recorded. The Rotherham

founders could equally have been motivated by the difficulties experienced by the Coward Trust in the management of the academies at Daventry and under John Horsey at Northampton. There is some evidence that the relationship between Samuel Walker and the committee of the Northern Education Society had run into difficulties, and William Fuller was keen to stress that any successor institution should be managed locally and not from London.

Despite the evident failings of Samuel Walker and his academy, most of those who studied at Northowram went on to pursue ministerial careers. These included William Vint, minister and tutor at Idle, Benjamin Boothroyd, Hebraist and minister at Pontefract and Huddersfield, and William Maurice, minister at Bolton and later Fetter Lane, London. Jacob Brettell, the father of the Unitarian poet of the same name, studied under Walker and went on to become minister at Sutton in Ashfield, where he began to develop liberal views. Brettell kept schools at both Sutton and Gainsborough, where he later became minister. The testimony of one of his pupils that he was 'well versed in Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, Geometry, Latin, Greek and Hebrew' (Bolam, 135) suggests that Walker provided his students with a broad education.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

No archives relating to the academy have survived.

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The Countess of Huntingdon's College, Trevecka (1768-1791)

The Countess of Huntingdon's College, Trevecka, opened 1768 [source: DWL, MS NCL L64/1/8]

Trevecka College was opened in 1768 by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. (Trevecka was the spelling commonly used by English writers in the eighteenth century; it was also sometimes spelled Trevecca. The Welsh spelling was formerly Trefecca, and is now Trefeca.) This small hamlet near Talgarth, in what is now Powys, was the setting for two theological colleges, which are often confused. In the hamlet itself lies the former Calvinistic Methodist College (founded in 1842), now a conference centre, which stands on the site of Howel Harris's settlement. The Welsh evangelist Harris assisted Lady Huntingdon in finding a quite separate building, about half a mile down the road towards Talgarth, for her college.

The Countess had been considering the creation of a 'nursery' (Harding, 173) or college to train evangelical preachers for some years before the actual opening, which may have been finally triggered by the expulsion of six evangelical students from St Edmund Hall, Oxford in 1768. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Calvinist Methodist George Whitefield on 24 August 1768. The first president or superintendent was John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, who gave advice but did not reside in the college (the Countess had previously approached the Moravian Francis Okely, who declined). The appointment of suitable men to teach the students initially proved difficult. The first master appointed in 1768, John Williams, a protégé of Harris with limited experience, was dismissed in 1772. The second master, Joseph Benson, formerly tutor at John Wesley's school at Kingswood and senior to Williams, joined in early 1770 but his tenure was brief, a consequence of the Arminian controversy which divided the Methodist movement. Members of the college were obliged by the Countess to disavow Wesley's Arminian doctrines: Benson was dismissed at the end of the year and

Fletcher resigned in March 1771. Thereafter the Countess supervised the college herself, assisted by resident masters and a housekeeper. She had rooms in the college and stayed there for extended periods every year until a few years before her death. Following Williams's dismissal a senior student carried out administrative duties. The tenure of another master from Kingswood School, Isaac Twycross, was also shortlived, but the next master, Samuel Phillips, was appointed in 1774 and served for at least ten years. A second John Williams, clergyman and son of William Williams of Pantycelyn, was the last master in charge of the college, from *c.*1786 to 1791. John Jones helped out until the college moved to Cheshunt in 1792. The college was funded entirely by the Countess, at a cost of £500 to £600 a year, according to the Apostolic Society Report for 1791.

Trevecka differed from all other colleges at the time in that the emphasis was on training the students to be preachers, with academic study regarded as secondary. Entrance was dependent on vocation and the profession of religious sentiments acceptable to the foundress. At least 235 students passed through the college between 1768 and its closure in 1791. Two of the six students expelled from St Edmund Hall, James Matthews and Joseph Shipman, were among the first to be admitted; others applied to the Countess, or were recommended to her by clergy or people of standing, or were introduced by current students. There is no record of any fee-paying students being enrolled. There was a short period of probation, with students being tested on their capacity to preach. The poor preparation or hostility to learning of some the students caused problems; some were required to study with a minister or clergyman before admission. There was no set length for the course, though originally there were plans to make it three years; most students seem to have spent a much shorter time in the college, as they were regularly sent out on preaching tours. It is perhaps because of the emphasis on preaching that the students wore gowns. The curriculum was dominated by biblical studies, exegesis, with some Latin and Greek, and preaching. The students had access to the Countess's own collection of books. Rhetoric was not taught, in the belief that preaching should be direct and personal, leading to conversion.

The students were housed in the college but often sent on preaching trips to supply chapels connected with the Countess. This took them as far away as Cambridgeshire and Sussex. Welsh students were expected to preach in their own language at open-air meetings in the neighbourhood. The Countess wished to create a corps of effective preachers, able to work with the poor and labouring classes in the manner of the Wesleys, Whitefield, Fletcher, Henry Venn, and John Berridge. The possibility of overseas missions was also in her mind, so she wanted people who could fend for themselves and she discouraged social pretensions. In 1772 she sent a group of students on an unsuccessful expedition to Bethesda, Whitefield's ill fated Orphan House in Savannah, Georgia, which he had willed to her in the hope that she would carry out his plan to turn it into a college.

In an undated letter of about 1774 to William Piercy, who was the tutor in charge of the students at Bethesda, she revealed some of her own educational ideas. She commended Bishop Thomas Sherlock for style and the nonconformist Stephen Charnock for both style and ideas. She regarded Milton as important, both for his description of the Fall and his beautiful images. She thought Bishop Thomas Newton, Milton's eighteenth-century editor, had a systematic approach to facts which would be a good example to the students. She valued clarity and recognised the difficulty of presenting complicated ideas in a lively manner. Most interestingly, she urged patience in teaching. Both learning and spiritual knowledge were best built by example, rather than by constant attempts to check and correct the students. She believed that if the self-love of young people was indulged, they could be influenced as they began to recognise their own ignorance (Cheshunt A4/3/9b).

Her wish was that the Trevecka students should proceed into Anglican orders, but the bishops were wary of her nominees and only about twenty, including Henry Mead and James Glazebrook, received episcopal ordination, a few of them, such as Edward Burn and John Eyre, after further study at one of the universities. Following the secession of the

Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion from the Church of England in 1782, some were ordained as ministers in what was now a dissenting sect. Many were ordained as Independent ministers. Her prominent former students included Eyre, first editor of *The Evangelical Magazine*, and together with the Independent minister Matthew Wilks among the chief founders of the London Missionary Society; and John Clayton, a leading Independent minister in London.

As the Countess grew near to death, it became clear that a new home would have to be found for the college as the lease was running out. In 1787 supporters in her Spa Fields Chapel in London formed what they called the Apostolic Society to raise subscriptions for the college and to continue it in Wales or elsewhere in the future, but on a more carefully regulated basis. In her will she left the society the college library and furniture, but her funds were exhausted. After her death on 17 June 1791 the society took very little time to move the college much nearer London, securing a large house at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire and renaming the institution Cheshunt College.

Despite its academic and organisational problems Trevecka provided an important precedent for the development of ministerial training on a non-denominational evangelical basis, and a steady stream of preachers for the evangelical movement.

Stephen Orchard and Isabel Rivers

Archives

Correspondence relating to the creation of the college and its subsequent affairs, together with some of the Countess of Huntingdon's surviving books and the Minute Book of the Apostolic Society, are held in the collections of the Cheshunt Foundation at Westminster College, Cambridge.

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The Presbyterian College, London (1844-1899)

(Historical account to 1860)

Between 1836 and 1840 a Synod of the Presbyterian Churches in England was established by the joining together of initially two and eventually six presbyteries in connexion with the Church of Scotland. For a variety of reasons the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland decided in 1839 to declare the English Synod independent, and the Presbyterian Church in England came formally into being. Although the Assembly had assumed that the English Church would continue to draw its ministers from Scotland, some in England felt otherwise, and in 1842 the Presbytery of Lancashire presented an overture to the Synod meeting in Carlisle that means should be adopted 'for the establishment of a College, in which natives of this part of the Empire may obtain at a moderate charge the benefits of a literary, philosophical, and theological education, to qualify them for the office of the holy Ministry in the Presbyterian Church' (*Abstract of the Minutes of the Synod* (1842), 33). A committee was appointed which reported to the Synod at Berwick in 1844, where it was agreed to establish such a college. The urgency of such a move had been intensified by the fact that half of the Church's ministers had left to take vacant parishes in Scotland after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. On 5 November 1844 the college was opened, with a lecture at the Literary Institute in Leicester Square by Peter Lorimer outlining the history of the college and his hopes for it. Described clearly as a 'hall of theology', it was also intended to remedy the problem of 'an un-English ministry', with an 'un-English *voice* and *manner* and *address*' and a Scottish heart longing for a speedy return (*Introductory Lectures* (1845), 1, 11). The committee's attempts to secure theological professors from Scotland were unsuccessful – it had been seeking candidates from the Free Church of Scotland. Three ministers in England, Peter Lorimer, Hugh Campbell, and James Hamilton, were appointed to act as interim professors.

In the early years, lectures for certain courses, particularly those related to pastoral theology, were given by various London ministers, notably James Hamilton, minister of Regent Square Church. In 1845 Peter Lorimer was appointed Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Criticism, and Hugh Campbell Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Jurisprudence. In 1846 Thomas McCrie was appointed Professor of Theology and Church History.

The first classes were held in rooms at Exeter Hall in the Strand, and this arrangement lasted for eight years. Twenty-three students attended classes in the session of 1844-45, twenty-seven in 1845-46. As well as ministerial students, there were young laymen interested in theology, some elders of local churches, and some city missionaries wanting further instruction: there were also preliminary evening classes in Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Logic, which proved attractive to 'young men in business desirous of self-improvement' (Douglas (ed.), *Westminster College*, 4-5). Of the twenty-seven students in 1846, eighteen were ministerial students. But from 1847 the number fell suddenly (possibly because of the establishment of the Free Church New College in Edinburgh in that year), and only thirty-five students entered in the next ten years. In 1852 the college moved to 51 Great Ormond Street, then in 1858 round the corner to 29 Queen Square, and in 1864 to Queen Square House, where it remained until its removal to Cambridge and transformation into Westminster College in 1899. The principal advantage of Queen Square House was the provision of accommodation for students. So despite the original intentions there were lay students as well as ministerial from the beginning.

Students came from Wales and Ireland as well as England; at the end of the 1853 session only seventeen of the sixty-seven students who had passed through the college had been ordained in the Presbyterian Church in England. By 1863 thirty had been ordained, the remainder in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Australia, and China. For the most part, the

Presbyterian Church in England, although conservative theologically, was not wracked by the internal controversies that beset the Free Church of Scotland. The Queen Square students had regular meetings at their Students' Society, formed in 1852, at which papers on the controversial topics of the day, historical and scientific, were read. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Queen Square was much closer to the University of London than the Congregational Colleges in north London, its students were less involved in the Arts courses.

In the 1890s the debate about a move to Cambridge began, resulting in the establishment of Westminster College in 1899. In 1967 Cheshunt College, which had moved to Cambridge in 1907, united with Westminster, so when the United Reformed Church was formed in 1972, Westminster already united the Presbyterian and Congregational strands of the new Church.

David Thompson

Archives

The archives of the college are housed at Westminster College, Cambridge.

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The Western Academy (1752-1845)

Ottery St Mary (1752-65), Bridport (1765-79), Taunton (1780-94), Axminster (1796-1827), Exeter (1829-1845)

The Western Academy was established in 1752, following a meeting of Congregational ministers in Exeter concerned at the lack of an academy in the West of England educating ministers on evangelical principles. The first tutor was John Lavington Jr of Ottery St Mary in Devon. The Congregational Fund Board was to take a key role in the running of the academy by providing financial support and appointing the tutor. In February 1752 the Board agreed to support four students at the new academy. On Lavington's death in 1765 the academy moved to Bridport, Dorset, where the new tutor James Rooker was minister. It migrated to Taunton, Somerset, in 1779 when John Reader was appointed tutor, and to Axminster, Devon, in 1796 on James Small's appointment. From 1752 to 1827 the location of the academy was determined by the location of the congregation where the tutor was minister. In 1829 it was re-established in Exeter with George Payne as tutor. Originally named in the Fund minutes as the 'Academy in the West of England', from about 1794 it began to be called the Western Academy, and from about 1832 Western College.

Ottery St Mary (1752-65)

John Lavington was the eldest son of the orthodox Presbyterian minister of the same name who had been involved in the Exeter controversy between 1717 and 1719. Lavington trained for the ministry under John Eames and Thomas Ridgley at Moorfields. He served first as minister at Broadway, Somerset, then at Luppitt, Devon, and after briefly supplying Bridport in Dorset in 1751 he became minister of the Presbyterian congregation at Ottery St Mary in Devon, where he remained for the rest of his life.

As the only tutor Lavington was responsible for all the teaching. Little is known about the four-year course, but since it was intended solely to prepare students for the ministry Hebrew, Old and New Testament studies, and theology were probably the main subjects taught. Joseph Wilkins, one of Lavington's first students, described his tutor as 'a very good linguist, especially in the three learned languages, . . . and well skilled in the various branches of theology' (Wilkins, 'Lavington's Observations', 225). Lavington used Johannes Marck's *Christianae theologiae medulla* for his theology lectures. His course of 96 lectures lasted three years. The lectures themselves, covering the 'Principal Doctrinal Truths' including 'The Vast Importance of the Trinity' (DWL Wes 5, Lect. 24), 'Of Decrees of God', 'character and works' (Lect. 25), 'Of Election' (Lect. 27), 'Of Eternal Election' (Lect. 28-30), as well as the use of Marck, provide clear evidence of Lavington's orthodox views. The lectures were used by Lavington's successors. Thomas Reader began to make his own copy immediately on his appointment as tutor in 1780, and it was transcribed in turn by one of his students, Samuel Rooker. An incomplete copy of Lavington's lectures on Jewish Antiquities also survives. These lectures were clearly used by Reader and as a result copied by his students. A total of twenty-three students were educated by Lavington, including Samuel Buncombe, who for many years conducted a school at Ottery St Mary. By providing grammar and classical learning he prepared many of the students who entered the Western Academy. The importance of Buncombe's work was recognized by the King's Head Society, who agreed to provide £10 a year for up to six students. Lavington died on 20 December 1764.

Bridport (1765-79)

In January 1765, following Lavington's death, the Fund decided to continue the academy and named as his successor Jonathan Wheeler, minister at Axminster and a former student of Samuel Parsons at Clerkenwell Green and of Eames at Moorfields. Wheeler refused the

post, however, and in March the Fund chose James Rooker, who accepted it. Rooker, born in Walsall, Staffordshire, in about 1729, had been educated at Bedworth by John Kirkpatrick. In 1750 he became minister at Bridport in Dorset, where he remained for the rest of his life. With Rooker's appointment the academy moved to Bridport, where it remained until his resignation in 1779. By 1769 the academy was housed in newly built premises near the East Bridge in the town. According to Densham and Ogle, Rooker 'made no money out of his students, on the contrary, he was probably a poorer man for the work' (Densham and Ogle, *Congregational Churches*, 53).

In 1820 Joseph Chadwick, one of Rooker's students, gave Joshua Wilson an account of the four-year course. The students were taught Hebrew and had to translate a few verses from the Hebrew Bible each week, but they were clearly expected to have acquired their knowledge of Greek or Latin before they entered the academy, for little attention was given by Rooker to either subject, beyond expecting his students to translate a few verses of the Greek New Testament every morning, and a portion of Turretin's system of theology from the Latin each week. Many of the students who attended the academy had received a classical education from Samuel Buncombe at his preparatory academy in Ottery St Mary. Teaching consisted principally of Rooker reading weekly lectures from 'Dr Watts' Logic, ... Dr Watts' Geography & Astronomy, Dr Gibbons Rhetoric, Rowning's Natural Philosophy, & Mr Lavington's Divinity Lectures'. The students had to make copies of these lectures for their future use. During the first year students wrote short essays on set subjects. Only in the final year did they preach in public. Rooker, like Lavington before him, was clearly entirely orthodox. Chadwick described his tutor as 'a very pious character, rigidly attached to all the Sentim[en]ts commonly called Calvinistic, but at the same time very humane & compassionate, & peculiarly attentive to the comfort of the students, when under any mental or corporal indisposition' (DWL, L54/4/71). Rooker did not leave any of his own lecture notes, and he published only one sermon, *The Nature and Importance of Contending Earnestly for the Faith*, which was given in Taunton in April 1771. Rooker resigned as tutor in November 1779, having suffered a paralytic stroke, and died not long afterwards in early 1780. By the time of his death twenty-five students had attended the academy, a comparatively modest number over a period of fourteen years. In January 1772 the Congregational Fund Board had resolved 'In consideration of a Deficiency in the Number of Students in the Academy at Bridport', and the want of ministers in Wales, to support an additional student at Abergavenny at the expense of Bridport (DWL, OD407, 6 Jan. 1772).

Taunton (1780-94)

Following Rooker's resignation, the Congregational Fund Board decided in November 1779 to appoint Samuel Buncombe as his successor , but Buncombe declined. Thomas Reader was invited instead and accepted, and the academy moved to Taunton. Reader was born in 1725 at Bedworth, and like Rooker he was educated at John Kirkpatrick's academy. Reader served as minister at Weymouth in Dorset and Newbury in Berkshire before settling at Paul's Meeting in Taunton in 1771. An outline of the subjects taught by Reader can be found in the annual report he submitted to the managers of the Congregational Fund in 1791. The students had lectures on divinity and composition throughout the four-year course. In addition, in their first year they studied ethics and pneumatology; in their second year natural philosophy, history, rhetoric, and Jewish antiquities; and in their third and fourth years they continued their studies of rhetoric and Jewish antiquities, but were also taught geometry and astronomy. Nothing is known of Reader's teaching except that he used Lavington's theology lectures, of which he had made his own copy. The students studied Greek, Hebrew, French, and in their final year Syriac. Robert Crook, who was in his first year, had already read through Genesis in Hebrew, and had begun to learn French. Reader told the managers of the Congregational Fund that he saw little hope of adding to the subjects taught without an additional tutor. He published eleven works, but none of them were directly related to his work as tutor. During the fourteen years in which he conducted the academy he only

educated twenty-one students, so that in the opinion of Bogue and Bennett 'the reputation, or at least the usefulness of the academy, declined under this tutor' (Bogue and Bennett, *History of Dissenters*, IV, 275), though in fact the numbers were little different from those taught by Rooker. His students included his successor, James Small. Reader died in June 1794 aged 68. By the end of the academic session, in the summer of 1794, only one student, James Wheaton, remained.

Axminster (1796-1827)

It took almost eighteen months to appoint a successor to Reader. The Congregational Fund Board in December 1794 first nominated George Harvey, a former student at Homerton Academy and minister at Sherborne, Dorset, but he declined. Nearly a year later, in November 1795, the Board appointed James Small, who accepted the post, and the academy reopened at Axminster in 1796. It was agreed that Small's students were to be allowed £20 each. James Small was born in Taunton in 1759, and was educated by Buncombe in his preparatory academy at Ottery St Mary between 1780 and 1782. He then entered Reader's academy at Taunton, which he left in 1786. Shortly afterwards he settled at Axminster, where he was ordained the following year. In the same year he married James Rooker's daughter, Martha.

By January 1798, Wheaton was Small's only student, and he was soon to complete his course. The Fund's managers therefore resolved to discontinue the academy, though they allowed a further £40 to enable Wheaton to complete his studies under Small if he chose to do so. The decision to end their support for the academy was reversed within the year. The Revd Joseph Saltren of Bridport, the secretary of the Western Calvinistic Association, later known as the Devonshire Association, wrote to the Board expressing the association's interest in 'concurring with the Fund and Kings Head Society for the Support of the Academy under the Care of the Rev. James Small at Axminster' (DWL, MS OD415, 3 Dec. 1798). The Fund agreed to continue the academy, in the first instance for a year, granting Small an allowance of £25. They also agreed to support the two candidates recommended by Saltren, 'upon receiving proper Testemonials of their Faith, Experience and Motives for entering into the Ministry, with a Recommendation from Mr. Small' (DWL, MS OD415, 3 Dec. 1798). The extent of the support given by the Western Association is unclear. The King's Head Society was concerned only with grammar education, and agreed 'to allow £10 p[er] Ann[u]m toward the Education of two Students' in 'Grammar Learning' with Small (DWL, MS NCL 110, pp. 124, 136). In terms of managing the academy, the Association appears to have been responsible for minor matters and immediate concerns, while the more important issues were deferred to the Fund Board's judgement in London. For its part, the Congregational Fund Board continued to support the academy beyond the trial period of one year, with students receiving £20 a year. The academy's popularity gradually increased, and in 1812 seven students completed their course in the same year. In 1817 the Association wrote to both the Congregational Fund Board and the King's Head Society with a proposal to enlarge the academy by employing a tutor in classics and belles lettres to lessen Small's workload and to enlarge the academy. Joseph Turnbull, who was in fact appointed classics tutor at Wymondley Academy the following year, was named as a fit person to be tutor. This proposal was not acted upon, and after a few years the academy's numbers began to fall again. During the 1820s a number of Small's students conformed to the Church of England: six out of fifteen students educated between 1823 and 1827. By late 1826 only a few students remained, and in January 1827 Small tendered his resignation. The following April it was accepted by the Board, which regretted 'that circumstances have occurred to make him think such a step to be necessary' (DWL, OD 418, 2 April 1827). It was agreed that he would retire at the end of the year. During the last months he had only one student, J. K. Field, who completed his studies at Axminster in December 1827, and on 7 January the Board confirmed the official termination of its relationship with Small. He educated a total of fifty-four students, the most celebrated of whom was the missionary Richard Knill. Following

Small's retirement Field finished his studies at Tavistock with William Rooker, the son of James, with the continued financial support of the Fund.

None of Small's lectures or lecture notes have survived, and there is no evidence that he published anything, though he is known to have been a keen mathematician. It is likely that the course, which still lasted four years, was structured in a similar way to those under his predecessors. He dedicated almost half his life to training young men for ministry. In 1829 over thirty of his former students presented him with a silver basket and plate as a token of their 'grateful memorial of his kindness; and attention to their improvement, while preparing for the Christian ministry' ('Miscellaneous Intelligence: Western Academy, Axminster', 286). Small died in 1834.

After seventy-five years under the auspices of the Congregational Fund Board the Western Academy closed. Although it had not realized the hopes of its founders to become the main dissenting academy in the west of England, and an alternative to London, it nevertheless provided a regular, if limited, supply of Congregational ministers for the western congregations. The average number of students resident was four to five, with at least two students leaving the academy each year to begin their settlements. In peak years such as 1789 and 1822 as many as five to seven students completed their course. Across the seventy-five years of the academy's existence the numbers appear to have been steady. The majority of the students settled in the west, mainly in Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Hampshire, though a few went further afield, to Kidderminster, Bishop's Stortford, and London.

Exeter (1829-1845)

Western Academy, Exeter [source: DWL, MS NCL L64/1/4]

In 1829, shortly after the academy at Axminster closed, a new academy was founded at Exeter, with the same ambition to establish an institution in the west that might rival its counterparts in London and the north. Following Small's resignation, the academy's governing committee published an appeal in the 1827 report for financial assistance to save their institution. This appeal proved successful, with many existing supporters doubling their subscriptions and donations, and in November 1828 a general meeting of subscribers and friends was called in Exeter to discuss the structure and scope of the academy. It was unanimously decided to put the academy under the supervision of two tutors, to modernize and broaden the scope of the curriculum, and to relocate it to Exeter. An executive governing committee was elected, with Joseph Saltren, secretary of the Devonshire Association, as treasurer. The committee offered the position of resident and theological tutor of the new institution to George Payne, theological tutor at Blackburn Independent Academy. Payne accepted and resigned his position at Blackburn by mid-January 1829.

Together with two of his students, John Edwards and James Gregory, Payne moved to Exeter, where two houses were rented in Alphington Terrace as temporary accommodation for the academy. Enough money was raised in the next three years for a more permanent and appropriate building, and in 1832 Marlfield House, Pennsylvania, was purchased for £2,450. It was about this time that the academy adopted the name of Western College, although in the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board it appeared as Western Academy for another decade. In 1837 the Board decided to renew its support of the academy by agreeing to fund four students a year with £30 each. However, by 1844 the institution again found itself in severe financial difficulties, with only three resident students, and only one student a year completing the course since 1840. In June 1845 the Board decided not to continue its support beyond the end of the year. It did not exclude its future involvement, should a new institution be formed that would be 'favorable to future prosperity' (DWL, OD420, CFB Minutes 1839-1856, 2 June 1845, p. 113).

John Pyer, a Devonport minister, in a letter of 20 December 1844 to John Blackburn, minister at Claremont, Pentonville, questioned the appropriateness of the college for the purposes of supplying the West Country with Congregational ministers: in his opinion the churches of the west required 'good, sound, laborious, lively preachers of Christ's gospel, rather than profound scholars', thus implying that the course was unnecessarily scholarly in nature (DWL, MS NCL/L52/6/54). He suggested a number of changes for reviving the academy, among them a curriculum streamlined to fit its purpose, and the relocation of the college. He thought Exeter strategically a poor choice for training Congregational ministers. For him, Plymouth stood out as the best place for such an institution, because of its location at the centre of West Country Congregationalism, and the benefits and opportunities that the numerous and growing congregations within easy reach would afford the students. This letter was written in anticipation of a conference of western ministers to discuss the fate of the institution in early 1845. Judging by its outcome, Pyer's ideas were adopted and the academy relocated again, this time to Plymouth - despite the explicit decision of 1829 to put an end to the academy's migratory nature. In December 1845 the college, still under the headship of Payne, moved to its new premises in Wyndham Square, Plymouth.

Payne remained the academy's principal throughout its period at Exeter, and as such bore the brunt of the academy's teaching responsibilities, consisting of theoretical and practical divinity and associated subjects. He was assisted by the resident tutor for classics and mathematics, who besides these subjects also taught English language and grammar and natural philosophy. In the academy's sixteen years at Exeter four classical tutors were employed: Daniel Currie, a former Axminster student, who took up the position in 1829, and who died in post in 1831; Jonathan Glyde, a former Highbury student, who left in 1835 to become a minister at Horton Lane, Bradford; John White Pope, who stayed on as a tutor for three years following his completion of the course in 1836, and who then went on to become a minister in Dorchester in 1839 and later a private tutor at University College, London; and

finally Orlando Thomas Dobbin, an Irishman who had received his education at the Hoxton Independent Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, and who was tutor from 1840 to 1845; he later joined the Church of England and became the principal of Hull College.

A total of thirty-one students were educated at Western College in its sixteen years at Exeter. Almost all of them became Congregational ministers, several became Congregational missionaries, and a few eventually conformed or joined other denominations, such as John Poole, who became a Particular Baptist and was appointed secretary of Bristol Baptist Academy.

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The main records are the Congregational Fund Board and King's Head Society minutes held in Dr Williams's Library (DWL, MS OD455, MSS OD405-20, MS NCL 108-10). The Wilson Papers contain student lists and other information about students (DWL, MS NCL L54/4), while the report from Thomas Reader to the Congregational Fund Board, dated 27 December 1791 (NLW, Add MS 383-D, p. 75), and the letter from the Western Calvinistic Association to the King's Head Society in 1817, contain important information about the academy (DWL, MS NCL 538/8/1-2). Lavington's lectures can be found in 'Theological Lectures, from Marck's Medulla, & c. By the Rev. Mr. John Lavington of St Mary Ottery Devon Transcribed & studied over again ... By Thos. Reader Between Aug. 11th 1780, & Nov. 8th 1783' (DWL, WES.5-7); his 'Expository Lectures on the scripture account of the travels of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, with practical remarks', volume 1, are in the Congregational Library (CL, II.d.63). John Pyer's important letter is in the Blackburn MSS in the New College Collection at Dr Williams's Library (MS NCL/L52/6/54-55). The printed reports of Western College for 1837-60 are located in Plymouth & West Devon Record Office. Those for 1856-76 are in the Northern College Collection, John Rylands University Library. They provide extensive information on the regulations, curriculum, and examination procedures of the college. They also contain lists of ministerial students, including students in college at the time of each report.

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Timothy Kenrick's Academy, Exeter (1799-1805)

The closure of Exeter Academy at the end of 1771 or early in 1772 left the west of England without an institution that could provide ministerial and lay training accessible to all denominations. Almost immediately after arriving at Exeter in 1785, Timothy Kenrick began to consider rectifying this situation. In a letter written in October 1785 to his uncle Samuel Kenrick, he outlined the previous attempts to establish such an institution, pointing out that the library of the last academy was available and that John Hogg, minister of the Mint Meeting and a former tutor at Exeter Academy, and Joseph Bretland, a former student at Exeter Academy, schoolmaster, and minister of the Mint Meeting, had agreed to work with him. A lack of funding, however, prevented Kenrick from executing his plans at the time, and the library was moved to New College, Hackney, a year later.

In 1799, three years after the closure of New College, Hackney, Kenrick resurrected his plans and circulated a proposal for an academy in the south-west which would provide training to both ministerial and lay students of the age of fourteen and over. He was joined in this endeavour by Bretland. The proposed duration of study was three to five years, depending on the level of knowledge and the requirements of the student. The proposal was accepted and a 'Society for supporting an Academical Institution in the West of England' was formed, which raised funds to support the academy and ministerial students in particular, awarding bursaries and exhibitions, and acting as the academy's executive body. The president, treasurer and chairman were appointed annually. Bretland acted as chairman while the president from 1799 to 1802 was Samuel F. Milford, a Unitarian and co-founder of Exeter City Bank. Provision was made for boarding students at 45 guineas per session, and the course fee amounted to 10 guineas (5 for each tutor), with ministerial candidates receiving a considerable discount, the extent of which is not known. Each student was required to pay a further 2 guineas for the use of the library and scientific apparatus. Although both Kenrick and Bretland were Unitarians, and their original motivation was the lack of adequately trained Unitarian ministers in the west of England, the academy was open to all denominations and no doctrinal tests were imposed.

Despite initial difficulties Kenrick managed to secure local support. He rented the house next to his own and by October 1799 had three students under his care, two of them boarding with him. Some revenue was generated by subscriptions and donations, but these were never substantial and the academy was sustained by the fees. As a result the fees were relatively high, thus considerably narrowing the pool of prospective students. Although some provision was made for poorer students who wanted to become ministers, the society's resources were limited. The academy remained quite small, with a total of only fifteen students in the almost six years of its existence. Eleven students completed their course, while four continued their studies elsewhere. Despite the limitations thus imposed on the academy, it quickly shed its initial regional focus, with several students coming from Wales, and others from as far afield as Ipswich and Cork. Besides John Kenrick, the academy's more prominent alumni were the Unitarian ministers James Hews Bransby and Thomas Madge.

Kenrick and Bretland shared the teaching of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and English composition and elocution, while Kenrick was responsible for the teaching of logic, the theory of the human mind, metaphysics, morals, evidences and the history of natural and revealed religion, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history, and critical lectures on the New Testament. Bretland covered mathematics, natural philosophy, geography, general grammar, oratory, and history. The methods of teaching and discipline adopted by both tutors followed very closely those at Daventry, where Kenrick had been a student. The generosity of the academy's supporters allowed the purchase of scientific apparatus and some books, and the

library of the earlier Exeter Academy of Towgood and Merivale was returned to Exeter from Hackney for the use of Kenrick's Academy shortly after it opened.

The academy came to an end as a result of Kenrick's sudden death in August 1804. Bretland continued to run the academy alone as best he could, but early in 1805 it became obvious that he could not carry on, and the committee agreed to close it by 25 March. Thomas Madge, John Simpson and Henry Davies continued their studies at Manchester College, York, while Kenrick's son John, who later became the principal of Manchester New College, Manchester, and who was a student of the academy at the time of his father's death, chose to study with John Kentish, minister at Plymouth Dock, and then at Glasgow University.

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The main manuscript material for Timothy Kenrick's Academy, Exeter can be found in the minute books of the Exeter Assembly in the Devon Record Office (DRO, 3542D-0/M1/2-5), Kenrick's divinity lectures in Dr Williams's Library (DWL, 28.137-47), and the Bretland Papers at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. The academy's library catalogues are also in Harris Manchester College (HMCO, MS Misc. 26.iii-v), as are copies of five annual reports, *Annual State. Subscriptions and Benefactions received for the Academical Institution* (1799-1805) (HMCO, MS Exeter Academy 2-6).

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Trevecka Calvinistic Methodist College (1842-1906)

(Historical account to 1860)

Calvinistic Methodist College, Trevecca [by permission of The National Library of Wales]

Trevecka College, in the parish of Talgarth, Breconshire, was set up by the Calvinistic Methodist Association in South Wales with the express purpose of providing education for ministers. There had been strong support for Trevecka as a potential location as the idea of a denominational institution began to gain ground in the early years of the nineteenth century. Once Bala College had been established in 1837, there was a growing sense that separate provision was needed for south Wales and that it should be located at Howel Harris's old home. This would also solve the question of what to do with the premises, which had been transferred to the Breconshire monthly meeting of the Calvinistic Methodists in 1837 by the last remaining members of the 'Family', the religious community set up by Harris in 1752. The property was conveyed to the Association in South Wales in August 1853.

The new institution was regarded as a revival of the Countess of Huntingdon's College (which had reopened as Cheshunt College in Hertfordshire in 1792), although it occupied different buildings and had no direct connection with her foundation. The previous college had been housed nearby at Trefeca Isaf or Lower Trevecka, subsequently known as College Farm, whereas the second college was at Trefeca Fach or Lesser Trevecka, the home of Howel Harris and his 'Family'. The emphasis on continuity remained, however, as the planned alterations were contrived to preserve untouched Harris's study and the room set aside for the use of the Countess on her visits. When the college was formally opened on 7 October 1842, it was noted that the sermon to mark the occasion was delivered within sight of the spot where George Whitefield had preached at the opening of Lady Huntingdon's College. 'These hallowed associations' were the source of much pride (*First General Report*,

7). The rural location was also regarded as an advantage since it would allow students to gain preaching experience in relatively small, local congregations, placing less pressure on them.

Although Bala and Trevecka were administered separately by the two Calvinistic Methodist Associations in Wales, Trevecka was largely modelled on Bala, with David Charles moving from Bala to act as principal and sole tutor of the new College until 1862. The major difference, however, was that Trevecka was intended exclusively for candidates for the ministry among the Calvinistic Methodists. The college was under the control of a committee appointed annually by the Association in South Wales and including members from each of the southern counties, who were largely laymen, drawn from elders already serving on the monthly meetings. It was to meet at least four times a year and to report to the Association once a year. Much of the direct supervision was undertaken by a management sub-committee appointed by the college committee to carry out its resolutions relating to the premises, approve the payment of bills and to assist the tutor with any appeals or complaints. All expenses, including the tutor's salary, were paid out of the fund established through collections throughout the congregations in south Wales, with £202 collected in Jewin Calvinistic Methodist chapel in London and minor donations from Liverpool, Worcester, and Bristol in addition. £7,570 had been collected at the outset. The initial repairs and alterations had cost over £1,000, but further subscriptions meant that the fund amounted to £5,981 by 1855, with an annual income of £292 from interest on securities, annual subscriptions, and rents of cottages and fields attached to the premises. Students received their education free, although the rules stated that they would have to reimburse the money expended on them if they left the Connexion at a later date. In 1849, the Association resolved that students should be granted 3s. 6d. a week towards their board as well. Covering these expenses, along with the tutor's salary and the servant's wages, placed some strain on the annual income.

With only one tutor and limited accommodation, no more than 12 students, under the age of thirty, were to be enrolled at a time. Up to 6 'outdoor' students were also permitted, who were to be either married preachers or those over thirty who might benefit from further instruction. With only a handful of external students, however, numbers rarely exceeded 12. Students were received by recommendation from the county monthly meetings and had to have been accepted as preachers by the Connexion, as well as having demonstrated to the meetings that they possessed sufficient 'natural powers' to equip them for their studies and that they were well-informed in general knowledge (Calvinistic Methodist Archives, T 3281, 7). The tutor would have the opportunity to examine them in person to satisfy himself that they were suitable. The rules stipulated that four years was the usual course of study, although 6 of the 11 students who entered before the end of 1842 were accepted for two years in the first instance, which was later extended in most cases to at least three years. The first student to be enrolled in November 1842 was George Williams of St David's, Pembrokeshire, who had already spent two years at Bala and completed his studies in 1845. The register of students survives and demonstrates that 74 students were admitted between 1842 and 1860, although, rather alarmingly, 7 of these died before completing their studies.

The general examination at the end of each session tested the students on their study of English composition, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, 'mental science with the History of Philosophy', physical science, mathematics, history and 'evidences of Christianity, with theology' (*Second General Report*, 7). The Welsh language did not figure in the syllabus until after the college was reopened in 1865, but even then it was taught as a subject similar to Latin and Greek rather than used as a medium of instruction, although it would have been the first language of the majority of students. Students were to retreat to their bedrooms no later than 11pm and to rise at 6am between March and October and at 7am during November to February. Fines were imposed for drinking, smoking tobacco, missing the morning or evening worship, loitering in the kitchen, and interrupting the servant in her work.

A portion of the garden was set aside to be cultivated by the students, who might make use of the produce. They were granted a few days' vacation for Christmas and Easter and eight weeks in the summer, between early June and early August.

Strict rules also governed library loans, under the supervision of a librarian selected from the sub-committee, but more directly under the control of a deputy librarian appointed from among the students. The extent of the library is not clear, but a fair proportion of its stock seems to have derived from donations from supportive individuals and also from the British and Foreign Bible Society who presented the College with twenty-four Hebrew Bibles and twenty four Greek New Testaments, along with single copies of the Arabic, Moldavian, Slavonian, Gaelic, and Dutch Bibles, as well as single copies of the Arabic, Manx, Georgian, Guajarati, Laponese, Malay, Armenian, Catalonian, Irish, and Danish Testaments. Further individual donations included the entire works of John Calvin, volumes by Richard Baxter, Walter Cradock, Matthew Henry, Philip Doddridge, Jeremy Taylor, and Jonathan Edwards, along with a few Welsh works, including popular devotional manuals, translations of John Bunyan, and a volume of William Williams's hymns. Two globes were purchased for £10 from the college fund, whilst the Merthyr district Sunday schools donated a microscope, David Jones of Bristol presented the College with a six-foot 'Newtonian' telescope, and David Charles of Carmarthen, the principal's relative, donated further 'electrical apparatus' (*Second General Report*, 19-20).

The college fund proved inadequate to finance more than one tutor, placing considerable strain on the principal. Controversy arose in 1862 when no external examiner had been appointed to mark the end of year examinations in June and David Charles intended to take on the role himself. Rumours that Charles had opposed the appointment of Dr John Harris Jones as examiner led to a student strike, with the register noting that all twelve students had 'rebelled' (Calvinistic Methodist Archives, T 3281, 31-32). Charles tendered his resignation and the college closed temporarily, but reopened in 1865 with Revd William Howells as principal and Dr John Harris Jones as classics tutor. The college fund would be enhanced in future by regular donations from the south Wales area, with a target of 10s. a year from each congregation.

Trevecka seems to have gained a solid reputation, based on the respect afforded to David Charles and his family connections. Although only a limited number of students were educated there, the availability of a Calvinistic Methodist college in south as well as north Wales was a great convenience. The major problem was the somewhat inadequate funding, which was addressed after Charles's resignation. The college was moved to Aberystwyth in 1906 and was subsequently amalgamated with Bala Calvinistic Methodist College in 1922 to form the United Theological College in Aberystwyth. Trevecka was re-opened in 1906 in a new guise as a preparatory school, concentrating on preparing students for theological colleges, until its eventual closure in 1964.

Eryn M. White

Archives

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Unitarian Home Missionary Board (1854 to present)

(Historical account to 1860)

The Unitarian Home Missionary Board was established in Manchester in 1854, the year after the removal of Manchester New College to London. Proposed as early as 1850, it was not intended to replace New College, but to answer a need 'to provide [the] means for training ministers suited to the wants of the less educated classes of the community' (*The Inquirer*, 10 June 1854, 365). Its object was to prepare 'home missionaries' for Unitarian congregations or missions. The promoters of the new institution were conscious not only of the failure of Unitarians to address the needs of the poorer families, but also of the inability of the movement to train enough ministers. Over thirty pulpits were said to be vacant, and as a consequence many of those chapels were shut. Perhaps worse, without trained ministers 'miscellaneous and non-descript persons' were taking possession of Unitarian pulpits (Beard, *Unitarian Home Missionary Board, . . . May 31st, 1854*, 14).

The new institution opened in December 1854 with ten students, though two quickly withdrew. They included students from both the north and south of England. The Revd John Relly Beard was appointed principal and theology tutor, and the Revd William Gaskell literary tutor. The appointment of a superintendent missionary proved more difficult, and the Revd Francis Bishop, minister to the poor in Manchester, was not appointed until the following year. The board chose not to acquire any college buildings, and so the students were accommodated privately in the town, and given ten shillings a week for their board and lodging. At first lectures were held in the homes of the tutors, then in 1855 rooms in Cross Street were rented, and in 1857 the board took four rooms at the top of an old warehouse in Marsden Square. The latter proved quite unsuitable. The air was foul and poorly ventilated, leading to health problems for both tutors and students. In 1865 the institution moved to the Memorial Hall, Albert Square, built in part for the purpose of accommodating the lectures and library. It remained there until premises in Victoria Park were purchased to mark the college's jubilee in 1904.

The board sought to provide an education which mixed practical experience with academic study. The students were engaged in systematic visiting of the poor, usually for two hours on Mondays, and sent out on Sundays to preach. In 1859 13 students conducted over 1,000 services in 55 towns. To avoid the accusation that the board was lowering the standard of ministerial education, a general course of instruction covering three years was adopted. Made up of six terms of five months each, the course consisted of lectures on English language and literature, New Testament Greek, the history of the world, the history of religion and the evidences of revealed religion, the literary history of the bible, biblical interpretation, the qualities, laws, and relations of the human mind, as well as instruction in pastoral care.

There were nonetheless those who saw the new institution as providing an inferior, indeed inadequate education, below that acceptable for someone to be entitled to call himself a Unitarian minister. The controversy intensified in 1862 when a majority of the ministers who had been trained by the Home Missionary Board publicly stated that the education provided was 'not sufficient for the purposes of their work' (*The Inquirer* (29 Nov. 1862), 843). The college gained support because it clearly answered the need for more trained ministers, though in doing so it departed from the original aim to train missionaries. One critic calculated that only 24 students educated at Manchester New College between 1842 and 1862 actually entered the Unitarian ministry, a fifth of the number required, while the Home Missionary Board in its first seven years educated 25. In turn, only 9 of the first 25 served as domestic or district missionaries compared with 15 in regular ministry. Most observers recognised that whatever the board's intentions, the majority of its students would serve

regular congregations, not least because out of forty missionary stations no more than fifteen were likely to have the resources to support a missionary.

Despite the early success of the college (it did not lack for candidates, nor did its students lack pulpits to fill), it was in financial difficulties almost from the start. The committee believed it needed an income of £1,100 a year to undertake its work. This was never achieved in the early years. Subscriptions for the first year amounted to £763 1s. 6d., and expenditure £677 5s. 11d., but expenses were low because not all the offices of tutor were filled and the number of students was only eight. The financial situation became increasingly desperate. In 1863 the board's receipts were only £891 against expenditure of £1,211, and the original reserve fund of £472, formed from donations made in the first year, was by then entirely exhausted in meeting successive deficits.

In 1889 the board changed its name to the Unitarian Home Missionary College, and assumed its present title Unitarian College in 1925. The college continues today as a member of 'the Partnership for Theological Education' based in Manchester.

David L. Wykes

Archives

The principal archives are the minutes, reports and correspondence of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, part of the Unitarian College Collection at John Rylands University Library Manchester: Unitarian Home Missionary Board minute book, vol. 1 (Dec 1853-Feb 1855), vol. 2 (19 Mar 1855-15 Aug 1861); letters and applications for admission, 1854-69 (UCC/1/1/1-16); printed circulars and reports (UCC/1/6/2). There are two student accounts in the UCC collection covering the period: George Fox, letters, diaries and MS Autobiographical notes; typescript copy of MS diary of J. C. Street.

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United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall (1847-1900)

(Historical account to 1860)

The United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall was set up as a result of the union of the United Secession and Relief Churches in 1847, creating the third largest Presbyterian Church in Scotland, which in the lowlands and borders was similar in size to the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. It had very little presence in the Highlands, but was strong in Orkney, while it effectively ruled Glasgow in the latter years of the century. It also had a significant presence in England and Ireland, and the divinity hall therefore educated men for those ministries too.

The hall was funded by the synod and managed by its Committee on Theological Education. This consisted of the professors and no fewer than twelve others, ministers and elders, with their proceedings reported to synod annually. They also superintended the library. The hall prepared ministers for the United Presbyterian Church, but it accepted students from outside the church.

The original professors were John Brown, who taught exegetical theology, James Harper, professor of systematic and pastoral theology, Neil McMichael, professor of history of doctrines, William Lindsay, professor of sacred languages and criticism, and John Eadie, professor of hermeneutics and evidence. John Brown died in 1858 and the decision was taken to continue with four professors. With the death of William Lindsay in 1866, they were reduced to three, but the following year restored to four with the appointment of John Cairns.

Entry to the hall was through examination by the student's presbytery. This was intended to test their piety, motives, talents, and acquirements, and might be repeated at intervals throughout the course. They were expected to have studied Latin, Greek, logic, and moral philosophy at one of the universities for at least three sessions. The presbytery also examined the students in Hebrew, mathematics and religious knowledge. Students were strongly recommended to have studied geology, chemistry, and other natural sciences, to keep pace with the advances in learning.

The hall was in Edinburgh, with the professors continuing to hold pastoral charges outside the session. For the first time it was housed not in the professors' churches, but in the new Synod Hall at 5 Queen Street, built by the United Secession Church in anticipation of the union. It was replaced in 1877 by a new synod and theological hall in Castle Terrace (since demolished). One of the four United Secession professors had died in 1843, so in preparation for the union, he was not replaced. The new United Presbyterian Synod decided on four professors, but accepted that it should open with five: the two Relief Church and the three United Secession Church professors.

The hall followed the general Secession pattern of four short sessions lasting no more than eight weeks. For the remaining ten months the students were under the superintendence of the presbyteries. The amount of work, examination and involvement varied significantly between presbyteries, but included discourses on scripture and examinations on ecclesiastical history, the Greek and Hebrew Bible, and theology. A bursary scheme was put in place under synod management which used a written examination. In 1849 it provided thirty-four scholarships of £10 or £15 pounds per year.

The professors taught a prescribed syllabus. Latin studies were based on Calvin's *Institutes*. Greek was based primarily on the Epistles to the Romans, Timothy, the Galatians, and the Hebrews. Hebrew studies were based on selected chapters of Genesis, Isaiah, the Psalms, and Daniel. Theology was based on the lectures of Andrew Dick, published in 1840; biblical literature on Samuel Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied*; and Church

History on George Waddington's *A History of the Church from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation* and J. H. Merle D'Aubigny, *The History of the Reformation in England*, with the final year covering Scottish Church history since the Reformation, and the history of the United Presbyterian church and its predecessors.

The library was also housed at the Synod Hall in Edinburgh and was available to ministers of the church as well as students. Printed catalogues of the library were prepared in 1850 and 1868, and show the library to have contained around 5000 volumes, mainly theological, but with some literature, philosophy, and travel, as well an as extensive reference library. The library also held the archives of the denomination and its predecessors. As most students had also matriculated at one or other of the universities, their libraries were also available to them.

The hall opened in 1847 with over a hundred students, twenty-seven in their first year. Thereafter the intake varied between seventeen in 1855, and fifty-five in 1856, but the total number of students was normally between 130 and 150. The students included the first African to be ordained in any of the Scottish churches, Tiyo Soga, who entered the hall in 1852. He was ordained in 1857, and returned to South Africa as a missionary. Isaac Salkinson was born a Russian Jew, and was converted to Christianity in England. He later entered the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall and was ordained in 1859, serving mainly as a missionary to the Jews.

The United Presbyterian Church inherited missions in the Caribbean and in Calabar, Nigeria, from the Secession Church. Soon after the union it also took over the work in Jamaica that had been commenced earlier that century by the Scottish Missionary Society, as well as the mission in Kaffraria that had been established by the Glasgow South African Missionary Society. Strong links were maintained with the Presbyterian churches of Canada and the United States.

The hall's independent existence came to an end with the union of the greater part of the Free Church to form the United Free Church in 1900. The majority of the United Free Church itself reunited with the Church of Scotland in 1929.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead

Archives

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Images

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland holds plans for the original building of 1846 and for later changes. A ground plan of the building can be seen on the OS 1:1056 plan of 1851: (Town plan of Edinburgh Sheet 29). The building later became BBC Scotland's Edinburgh studios and offices before being developed as a music performance
venue. http://maps.nls.uk/townplans/view/?sid=74415443&mid=edinburgh1056_1_sw.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead, 'United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall (1847-1900)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, November 2011.

Warrington Academy (1757-1786)

Warrington Academy, Lancashire, was opened on 23 October 1757. It closed twenty-six years later in 1783, due to financial difficulties and a decline in the number of students and subscribers. Although the Trustees attempted to revive the academy in 1784 and 1785, it was formally dissolved at a Trustees' meeting on 29 June 1786.

The plan to found a new academy at Warrington was conceived in response to the deaths of Philip Doddridge, Caleb Rotheram, and Ebenezer Latham in the 1750s and the concern that for the first time in nearly a century there was no academy serving the north of England which did not impose a religious subscription as a criterion of admission. At the dissolution of the academy in 1786, the Trustees resolved that any surpluses accruing from the sale of the buildings be transferred equally between the new academies at Hackney and Manchester. The library was transferred to the latter institution and the scientific apparatus to the former. Although New College, Hackney came to be regarded as the principal successor to Warrington Academy, New College, Manchester has an equal claim, many of its first promoters and tutors having been educated at the older institution.

The decision to locate the academy at Warrington was in part to serve the two major centres of dissent, Manchester and Liverpool. Manchester and the rest of Lancashire supplied a significant number of students, particularly during the academy's early years. However, recruitment throughout the lifetime of the academy was not confined to the north-west: students came from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well from the British colonies of Jamaica, Barbados, and South Carolina. By July 1760, when the Trustees printed a report of the academy's progress for the subscribers, forty-four students had been admitted. Ten of them were enrolled on the divinity course. At this time, the academy taught around thirty students each academic session. The number of students increased steadily throughout the 1760s, but declined in the academy's later years. Between 1757 and 1783, a total of 397 students were educated at Warrington. Significantly, however, only fifty-three of these followed the divinity course. Recent studies have shown that although the total number of students was noticeably higher than Warrington's principal rival, Daventry, it was small in comparison to the English universities. Furthermore, the proportion of students who entered the dissenting ministry was significantly lower than at the academies of Doddridge and Rotheram.

The academy was funded by annual subscriptions and by donations from individual benefactors, as well as by student fees. This enabled the Trustees to establish a foundation to support poorer students to train for the dissenting ministry. When the academy opened in 1757, three students were admitted on the foundation, entitling them to free tuition, a stipend of £10 per annum, and 'several other advantages' (HMCO MS Warrington 2, f. 91). By 1760, eight students were enrolled on the divinity course on the Trustees' foundation, but in 1776 the debts incurred as a result of the purchase of new buildings forced the Trustees to suspend these exhibitions. A number of ministerial students were, however, funded by the Lady Hewley Fund and by the Presbyterian Fund: around twenty between 1766 and 1783, who received £15 and £12 per annum respectively. The first subscribers to the academy were from Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Warrington. When the academy opened in 1757, subscriptions totalling about £450 per annum had been obtained from London, Norwich, Birmingham, Worcester, Shropshire, Chester, Liverpool, and Manchester with the help of local agents and receivers. In the academy's early years, major donations were received from figures such as John Hopkins, who donated £100 in 1758. A list of benefactors printed in 1780 indicates that Henry Hoghton, William Tayleur, Mrs Hardman, Richard Bright, and Robert Newton had donated the same sum.

The governing body of the academy was made up of the subscribers and benefactors; it consisted of a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a secretary, and a committee of twelve members, only a small minority of whom were ministers. This committee managed all aspects of the institution's finances, and had the final say in decisions relating to the curriculum and the appointment of the tutors. The first president was Lord Willoughby, followed by John Lees, and then Sir Henry Hoghton.

The divinity course at Warrington Academy was primarily intended to train candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. However, from the beginning the academy was open to students of all denominations without the requirement of any form of religious test. This meant that in its later years the academy largely lost its character as a dissenting institution: Gilbert Wakefield recalled that during his time as a tutor at Warrington at least a third of the students were from Anglican families.

The divinity tutors were John Taylor, John Aikin, and Nicholas Clayton. Other tutors of note include Joseph Priestley, John Reinhold Forster, William Enfield, George Walker, Gilbert Wakefield, and (it has been suggested) Jean-Paul Marat, who, though it has never been substantiated, may briefly have served the academy as a French tutor. Among the divinity students were Thomas Barnes and Ralph Harrison, the first tutors at New College, Manchester, as well as the future dissenting ministers Thomas Astley, John Simpson, John Palmer, Philip Taylor, James Pilkington, William Turner, William Hawkes, John Prior Estlin, and John Coates. Prominent lay students included John Aikin Jr., the physician and writer; Thomas Percival the physician; Henry Hanbury Beaufoy, MP for Calne; Samuel Farr, the physician and fellow of the Royal Society; Benjamin Vaughan the diplomatist and political reformer, and his brother William, a prominent merchant and fellow of the Royal Society; William Wilkinson, the son of the celebrated ironmaster; and Thomas Robert Malthus, the political economist.

From its inception, the Warrington Academy taught two different courses reflecting its intention to provide an education for students training for the dissenting ministry and the learned professions and for students intended for commerce and other areas of civil life. Divinity students followed a five-year course comprising the classical languages and mathematics in the first year; languages, logic, natural history, and natural philosophy in the second year; belles lettres, mathematics, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy in the third year; moral philosophy and divinity in the fourth year; and divinity - including practical training in preaching and pastoral care - in the final year. Under Aikin, the divinity course was restructured slightly. In their first two years, divinity students studied under the tutors in belles lettres and philosophy and attended Aikin's teaching in Hebrew. In the third year, Aikin taught philosophy (ontology, pneumatology, and ethics) and jurisprudence, as well as critical lectures on the Scriptures and Jewish antiquities. In the final two years, Aikin added to the curriculum taught by Taylor a course of lectures on ecclesiastical history. Aikin's teaching was largely structured on Philip Doddridge's divinity lectures.

Students intended for civil life followed a shorter, three-year, course which comprised mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, and geometry), French, universal grammar, and rhetoric in the first year; mathematics (with an emphasis on the practical subjects of trigonometry and navigation), natural philosophy (including astronomy), and French in the second year; and natural philosophy, chemistry, morality, and the evidences of the Christian religion in the final year. This course was updated throughout the academy's lifetime as the result of the innovations of individual tutors. Priestley introduced lectures on logic, the theory of language, and anatomy, as well as civil history, the history of England, and legal and constitutional theory. John Reinhold Foster delivered lectures on natural history from 1767, offering instruction in topics as diverse as mineralogy, fortification, and gunnery. Enfield lectured on commerce, elocution, and composition from 1772, and Italian was taught by Lewis Guerry from 1773. Students intended for business were also offered classes for an additional fee in practical subjects such as bookkeeping, writing, drawing, surveying, and shorthand, which

were provided by external tutors. From 1766 instruction was even available in music and dancing. In addition to their lectures, students were required to complete a regular course of academic exercises. These included translations from Greek and Latin, compositions, and public speaking for the divinity students; and English-French translation, letter-writing (in both English and French), and English composition for the students intended for civil life. Priestley also introduced weekly public exercises when the students read essays from Latin, Greek, and French authors and orations in English, French, and Latin before an audience of tutors, fellow students, and visitors.

When the academy opened the library consisted of the tutors' books, together with Seddon's own, and those bought by the Trustees. This was augmented by the gift or loan of the libraries previously belonging to Samuel Stubbs and Benjamin Grosvener. By the end of 1758, the collection was large enough to warrant the appointment of Seddon as librarian, with power to select a deputy and the brief to compile a catalogue. *A Select Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library of the Warrington Academy*, printed in 1775, gives some idea of the collection at that time. By the 1780s, the academy had acquired a respectable collection of almost 3,500 volumes. These are listed in a number of hand-written catalogues now held at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. The academy also acquired a substantial collection of scientific apparatus, which was improved in the institution's final years under Clayton, a skilled instrument maker. Clayton furnished the academy with a device for demonstrating the laws of the composition and resolution of forces and a pair of whirling tables.

At the opening of the academy, the Trustees were keen that students should board in the tutor's houses as far as possible. There is evidence from an early date that students boarding in the town were the source of problems relating to discipline and attendance: in 1759 the committee passed a resolution that 'all the Students whether resident in the Academy or not, shall attend y^{e} Morning & Evening Devotions and publick Exercises of the Academy' (HMC MS Warrington 2 f. 99). In 1761 the Trustees decreed that all students 'be directed to board in the families of some of the Tutors', and that when this was not possible 'only in such other families in the town as the Tutors shall approve of' (*A Report of the State of the Academy*, 1761). The Trustees soon embarked upon an ambitious programme of building, the aim of which was to provide 'apartments for the reception of all students' in order that they 'be much more secured against those avocations from study, and temptations to what is wrong' (*A Report of the State of the Academy*, 1762). By 1769 twenty-six apartments were available for the students' residence, and when these were full, students were required to board in the tutors' houses. All students dined together in the common hall.

From the beginning the academy had a number of links with the Scottish universities. Taylor, upon whom Glasgow conferred an honorary degree in 1756, was a friend of the Glasgow theologian William Leechman. Aikin had been at student at Aberdeen, and Seddon, Walker, and Clayton had studied at either Glasgow or Edinburgh and brought the influence of their university education to bear on their own teaching. A number of Warrington students went on to complete their studies in Scotland. The links with continental Europe were less strong than they had been with some of the older academies. What connections there were relate primarily to the native speakers employed to teach modern languages: Reinhold Foster had studied at Berlin and Halle; Fantin La Tour at Geneva; and Guerry at Lausanne and Leiden.

Warrington has acquired the reputation of being the greatest of the dissenting academies, indeed, one of the leading educational establishments of the eighteenth century. In particular the introduction of modern languages, civil and constitutional history, and experimental science has been interpreted as an important contribution to the development of a particular kind of modern education. In recent years these claims have been qualified. Warrington Academy was an extraordinary achievement, but in many respects it was not typical of other eighteenth-century dissenting academies, bearing more the character of a university. Its

contribution to dissent, the body it was established to serve and by whom it was largely maintained, was limited. It only educated a small number of students for the dissenting ministry. The disciplinary problems, which haunted the Trustees throughout the academy's lifetime, have been retold many times and have augmented the academy's reputation for political radicalism and indiscipline.

Ultimately, the fame of a number of Warrington's tutors and the later achievements of a significantly high proportion of its students in the dissenting ministry, politics, medicine, the law, and business have secured the academy a place in the social and intellectual history of the eighteenth century. However, its role within Protestant dissent has, on the whole, been insufficiently understood, and its supposed innovations are often unfairly discussed in comparison with the English universities during the same period and with inadequate attention being paid to Warrington's relationship to other dissenting academies.

Simon Mills

Archives

The collection MS Warrington 1-4 at Harris Manchester College, Oxford is the most important archival source for the history of the Warrington Academy. It includes the Trustees' minute-books from 1757 to 1786, a register of admissions, and a list of subscribers and benefactors. Also included are a series of printed Trustees' reports for the years 1760-1764; 1766-1769; 1772-1773, and a list of benefactions beginning 1780.

John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Unitarian College Library Manuscript Collection, quarto notebook containing a collection of documents relating to Warrington Academy compiled by Samuel Heywood.

Harris Manchester College, Oxford, MS Seddon 1-6, correspondence concerning students and subscriptions, and lecture notes.

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Wesleyan Theological Institution: Hoxton (1834-1842) and Abney House (1839-1843)

The Wesleyan Methodists were latecomers among the major nineteenth-century denominations in providing formal training for their ministerial candidates. However, the question of such training had concerned the Anglican clergyman and Methodist leader John Wesley from the early days of the Methodist societies. In the first Conference Minutes for 1744 and 1745, the question of a 'Seminary for labourers' (i.e. preachers) was raised but postponed 'till God gives us a proper tutor'; in the Minutes for 1745 and 1746 the preachers were given explicit instructions about what, when and how to read: they were to consider themselves 'as young students at the university, for whom therefore a method of study is expedient in the highest degree' *(The Methodist Societies*, 144, 159, 179). In 1746 Wesley consulted the Congregational minister Philip Doddridge, tutor at Northampton, about a collection of books for his preachers; he did not adopt Doddridge's recommendations, contrary to what is sometimes supposed, but he published them years later, in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1778. He published his own fifty-volume collection for the preachers' use, *A Christian Library* (1749-55). In 1747 and 1749 he had supervisory sessions with some of the preachers at the Orphan House in Newcastle and Kingswood School in Bristol, and he devised a four-year academic course which he appended to the second edition (1768) of his account of Kingswood, his school for the preachers' sons. In 1775 Wesley's colleague John William Fletcher, who had acted as superintendent of the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Trevecka from 1768 to 1771, suggested that Kingswood could be used to bring inadequately trained preachers up to ordination standard--but crucially Methodist preachers were lay assistants, not Church of England clergy, and definitely not dissenting ministers.

Following Wesley's death in 1791 the Methodist Connexion became in effect a dissenting denomination, and the preachers, who from 1795 were allowed to administer the sacraments, became in effect ministers. The question of appropriate training for them became more pressing. The Connexion was centrally organised: local preachers who had passed tests of their suitability were placed on what was termed the list of reserve, and the annual Conference then allocated them to circuits as itinerant preachers for a four-year trial period. They were regularly examined on their reading and their religious experience, and if they were deemed suitable they were recognised as ministers in full connexion. The question of what supervision they should have in the trial period, which always fitted in with their working lives as preachers, was for Conference to decide. In 1807 Conference ordered the publication of an anonymous letter, usually attributed to the philanthropist Joseph Butterworth, entitled *Observations on the Importance of Adopting a Plan of Instruction for those Preachers who are Admitted upon Trial in the Methodist Connexion*: the arguments put forward included the great increase in wealth, education, and the circulation of books among Methodist members, and the sheer embarrassment caused by inadequately educated preachers. The letter contained an exhortation by the biblical scholar Adam Clarke, much quoted in later arguments for Methodist education: 'the time is coming, and now is, when *illiterate piety* can do no more for the interest and *permanency* of the work of God, than *lettered irreligion* did formerly' (*Observations*, 6). The plan put forward was unambitious in the light of later developments, with a period of study of no more than a year, but it made no progress. The author of the letter, though supporting the plan, opposed the idea of an academy or college as unsuited to 'the Genius of Methodism': it would have a bad effect on the young men, encouraging them to be critical and self-important and resulting in loss of piety (*Observations*, 7).

The question of the preachers' training was considered again several times in the 1820s, but

it was not until 1833-4 that an appropriate system was agreed and established. The Conference of 1833 appointed a committee to arrange a plan for the better education of ministerial candidates; this was published the following year as *Proposals for the Formation of a Literary and Theological Institution: with a Design to Promote the Improvement of the Junior Preachers in the Methodist Connexion*. The committee included several figures who were to be closely involved in the future of the institution: Jabez Bunting, Joseph Entwisle, John Hannah, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Treffry. Their recommendations included admitting all accepted candidates for the Methodist ministry to a residential establishment for a course of instruction for one, two, or three years, to be followed by continuous supervision and examination for the remainder of their period of probation. In answer to the arguments that had often been put forward against such a plan, essentially that human training was being elevated above divine calling, the committee stressed that only those who had previously given evidence of their conversion and call to the ministry and who were placed on the list of reserve would be admitted to the institution. The possibility of attaching the institution to one of the Methodist schools, Kingswood or Woodhouse Grove, Yorkshire (founded in 1812), was rejected. The committee reluctantly resisted the idea of combining tuition for the junior preachers with general education of a collegiate kind, on the model of the Upper Canada Academy (later Victoria College) which was then being established in Cobourg, Ontario. They recommended that premises should be rented near London for the tutors and students for the following reasons: the possibility of the students attending lectures at King's College (which opened in 1831); the need for students for foreign work to be within reach of the mission secretaries; and the opportunity for students to preach around the metropolis. They assumed that accommodation would be needed for between eighty and sixty students, and that there would be three tutors. They calculated the annual costs of the institution as not less than £4,500.

The Conference of 1834 adopted the committee's recommendations, but with significant revisions. Despite some opposition (largely because of the way the appointments were made), it was agreed to establish the Wesleyan Theological Institution for the Improvement of the Junior Preachers. The plan would be tried on a small scale at first, with only some of the preachers on the list of reserve entering for a period of two or three years. A third year spent in the institution would count as the first of the four years of probation. Premises would be rented to hold thirty students, sixteen intended for work in Great Britain, four for Ireland, and ten on the missionary list. The plan of tuition comprised 1) English grammar, composition, and elocution; geography and history; elementary mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry; logic and philosophy of mind; 2) theology, including the evidences, doctrines, duties, and institutions of Christianity; 3) elements of biblical criticism; Hebrew, Greek, and Roman antiquities; outlines of ecclesiastical history; 4) composition and delivery of sermons; 5) Latin, Greek, and Hebrew for the purpose of studying Scripture in the original, though some students might confine their attention to English and theology.

The main members of the committee of management were Bunting, president; Entwisle, house governor; Hannah, theological tutor; and Samuel Jones, classical and mathematical tutor. For the institution's premises the committee rented the buildings at Hoxton occupied until 1830 by Hoxton Missionary College, and before that by Hoxton Independent Academy. The lessees, the London Missionary Society, deliberately charged a much lower rent than they could have received from a secular organisation, £85 p.a. for a fixed term. Repairs and alterations were made at a cost of £538. In November 1834 Entwisle moved in, and in December the students took up residence and Hannah began teaching. On 26 January 1835 a special prayer meeting was held for the full start of the institution's business, attended by the committee, the preachers in London and the vicinity, and all the inmates. Entwistle was house governor until 1838, when he was succeeded by Treffry; in 1841 Treffry was succeeded by Philip C. Turner, who transferred to the Northern Branch in Didsbury in 1842. Hannah was theological tutor until he too transferred to Didsbury; Jones was appointed classical and mathematical tutor shortly after the institution opened in 1835, and in 1840 was

succeeded by William L. Thornton, who also transferred to Didsbury in 1842. Bunting as president had no tutorial role.

Entwisle was the students' class leader in the Methodist sense, i.e. he was responsible for their pastoral care and kept close watch over them as a group and individually. The range of Hannah's theological course can be gauged from his *Letter to a Junior Methodist Preacher* (1836), which provides a very detailed reading list under the headings of evidences, doctrines, duties, and institutions of Christianity. He also gave lectures on the English scriptures, biblical interpretation, sacred antiquities, ecclesiastical history, popery, pulpit preparations, and the Greek testament. Jones gave classes on Hebrew, Greek, Latin, mental philosophy, logic, geometry and algebra, and physical sciences. His successor Thornton taught the Pauline epistles, Demosthenes, Horace, and Virgil, English and classical composition, rhetoric, including Longinus and Quintilian, moral philosophy, including an outline of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and modern writers such as Butler, Chalmers, Brown, and Wardlaw. In addition, some students attended lectures at King's College, at a cost of £22 in 1836. The aim was that of Charles Wesley's hymn at the opening of Kingswood school: 'Knowledge and Vital Piety:/ Learning and Holiness combined' (*Report* for 1837 (1838), 15).

It became evident that some students with poor educational backgrounds could not cope with the course, and that the classical and theological tutors should not be wasting their time providing elementary instruction. In 1839 the decision was made to rent additional premises, Abney House at Stoke Newington, partly to solve the problem of housing students who could not be accommodated at Hoxton, and partly to provide a preparatory or auxiliary branch. Abney House, where Isaac Watts had lived as a guest for many years until his death in 1748, had recently been bought by a cemetery company, which leased the house to the institution for two years for £125 p.a., prior to demolishing it and laying out the cemetery (which still survives). John Farrar was appointed classical tutor and governor, and remained until he transferred to the new premises of the Southern Branch at Richmond in 1843; he taught the elementary branches of learning, together with history, mathematics, logic, and general literature. He also taught some students Greek and Latin, and doctrinal, experimental, and practical theology. John James was temporary additional tutor in English and the elementary department. Hannah gave some theology lectures at Abney House, and on his departure to Didsbury was replaced by Jackson, who then transferred to Richmond.

The annual examiners' reports regularly commented favourably on the academic performance of both the Hoxton and Abney House students, despite their early disadvantages, on their behaviour and religious experience, and on the quality of the teaching and supervision. The students' activities included preaching every Sunday in London and the adjacent circuits, house to house visiting, tract distribution, and outdoor preaching, for example at Shoreditch, Tabernacle Square, Kennington Common, Elephant and Castle, and Lambeth Marsh. The report for 1840 noted that they had preached in 177 different places that year, including twenty in the open air in summer: 'though opposed by Socialists, Chartists, Infidels, and Romanists, they have manfully and successfully maintained their ground' (*Report* for 1840 (1841), x-xi). Though the numbers never encompassed all those on the list of reserve they rose steadily: in 1835 there were 27 students; in 1836 32; in 1837 51 in total, with 34 in residence at Hoxton, while the rest boarded out with the tutors; in 1838 60, of whom 28 boarded out; in 1839 79, 40 of them at Hoxton and 29 at Abney House, which still left 10 to board out. In 1840 the number was limited to 60, though still more than both centres could accommodate; in 1841 there were 55, 30 at Hoxton and 25 at Abney House; in 1842 36 of the 60 students were now at Didsbury, with the remaining 24 at Abney House. Only a few spent three years in the institution, with several going into the ministry after one or two years. Between 5 and 14 each year were missionary students. The report for 1842 listed all students from 1834 to 1840 who had spent at least a year in the institution and had been appointed to stations at home and

overseas, totalling 152. (The list does not include those who spent time in the institution and were not so appointed, for whatever reason.) Notable students included William Arthur, missionary to Mysore, India, and later secretary to the Missionary Society; John Hunt and James Calvert, missionaries to Fiji; and William Burt Pope, theologian and successor to Hannah at Didsbury.

From the outset the library was considered an important feature of the institution. In the first report donations especially of 'Old Divinity' and of all works connected with Methodism were solicited, so that a collection of Wesleyan literature might be formed (*Report* for 1834-5 (1836), 13), and titles with the names of donors were listed annually. This was the origin of what was to become an important collection at Richmond. In 1835 the Book Room (the Methodist publishing organisation) donated the collected works of the principal Methodist theological writers, Wesley, Fletcher, Joseph Benson, and Richard Watson. In addition substantial sums were spent on books and philosophical (i.e. scientific) instruments. In 1835 multiple copies of John Wesley's *Sermons* and *Notes on the New Testament*, Pearson on the Creed, Whately's *Logic*, and a wide range of other texts were purchased from the Book Room, clearly for the students' use. In 1836 £324 was spent on library books and philosophical instruments, and £206 on books for students and stationery; in 1837 the respective figures were £146 and £341, and in 1838 £39 and £475.

The published annual reports give clear information about the sources of funding and the costs of running the institution. Though the income increased steadily, the committee was much exercised by the need to raise more money to achieve the original aim of admitting all candidates on the list of reserve. The institution was supported in part by subscriptions from local Methodist societies, not only in Britain and Ireland but in the West Indies, Canada, France, Switzerland, Ceylon, India, Australia, Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), New Zealand, the Friendly Isles and Feejee (Fiji), and South Africa, and by occasional legacies and donations. Despite this large constituency, there were regular complaints about the number of societies who contributed little or nothing. Annual grants were made by the Book Room and the Wesleyan Missionary Society (which paid the costs of the missionary students). Costs included rent, taxes, the tutors' and governor's salaries and travelling expenses, household expenses, wages, provisions, quarterage (i.e. maintenance) to students, books, and stationery. In 1836, with 32 students, the subscriptions provided £1382, the grant from the Book Room was £500 and from the Missionary Society £629, and the fund available for current expenses totalled £2999; the expenses included £372 for tutors' salaries and expenses, and £441 for quarterage to students, with a credit balance at the year's end of £1060. In 1840, however, with 60 students in two locations, the report warned that income was not keeping pace with the increase in numbers, and this situation would only get worse when the projected new buildings had their full complement: 'Nothing but a greatly increased amount of Annual Subscriptions can preserve the Institution from distressing, if not even irretrievable, embarrassment' (*Report* for 1840 (1841), xiii). Indeed in the following year a large part of the income, £1500, was interest from the Centenary Fund, as against £2070 from subscriptions.

The Centenary Fund in 1839, commemorating the centenary of John Wesley's establishment of the first Methodist society and supported by Methodists worldwide, had as the first of several aims the erection of suitable premises for the institution to replace the temporary rented ones in Hoxton and Stoke Newington. The report for 1839 recorded the grant of £55,000: £24,000 for a new house in the vicinity of London, £16,000 for a second house in the neighbourhood of Manchester, and £15,000 for general purposes, and there were to be later disbursements from the massive total raised of over £220,000. When Didsbury opened in 1842 the components were formally described as the Northern Branch of the Institution at Didsbury and the Southern Branch of the Institution at Abney House; from 1843 the latter became the Southern Branch of the Institution at Richmond. The two branches had their own local management committees, but they were regarded as forming

one institution with a general management committee which was responsible to Conference. By 1842-3 the timidity of the early nineteenth-century Methodists about formal education for the preachers had been replaced by ambition on a grand scale, which was to create its own problems.

Isabel Rivers

Archives

The Methodist Archives and Research Centre at The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, holds the records of the Wesleyan Theological Institution at Hoxton and Abney House, including the printed annual reports from 1834-5.

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Wesleyan Theological Institution: Northern Branch, Didsbury (1842-1940)

(Historical account to 1860)

Within five years of the establishment of the Wesleyan Theological Institution the premises leased for it at Hoxton Square had proved inadequate. A temporary solution was found in the location of a preparatory branch at Abney House, Stoke Newington, but by the time of the 1839 Wesleyan Methodist Conference it was clear that a more permanent solution was required. An initial sum of £55,000 was made available from the denomination's Centenary Fund for the establishment of premises for ministerial training in two locations, one in the vicinity of London and a second near Manchester. A sub-committee consisting of northern members of the management committee of the institution was formed, and the 1840 Conference heard that premises had been obtained at Didsbury, a suburb to the south of Manchester. The late eighteenth-century building received substantial alteration, and two tutors' houses and a college chapel were also built, with the work completed by September 1842. The Richmond branch of the institution would not be ready for another year, and as a result the Hoxton establishment was transferred to Didsbury, including the house governor, three tutors, and six students.

The teaching staff at Didsbury consisted of a theological tutor, classical tutor, and usually an assistant tutor. The house governor was employed to take responsibility for the pastoral care and spiritual development of the students, as well as the domestic management of the house. John Hannah, the theological tutor at Hoxton, transferred to Didsbury with William Thornton, classical tutor, Theophilus Woolmer, assistant tutor, and Philip Turner, house governor. Turner stayed for a year before returning south to assume the same responsibilities at Richmond, and was replaced by John Bowers, president of Conference in 1858. Bowers and Hannah both provided the institution with long service, Bowers dying in post in 1866, and Hannah resigning shortly before his death in 1867. Jonathan Crowther succeeded Thornton as classical tutor in 1849, and was replaced seven years later by John Dury Geden. Assistant tutors included John Hebb, Benjamin Hellier, George William Olver, and Charles Kelly. Specialist assistance was occasionally obtained from external lecturers: in 1845 Jonathan Barber delivered a series of elocution lectures, and science lectures were delivered by William Sturgeon in 1844 and William Crawford Williamson of Owen's College in 1856.

The substantial classical building at Didsbury provided accommodation for as many as forty students. During the first decade numbers varied between 32 and 35, although financial difficulties affecting both branches of the institution led to a reduction during the mid-1850s. Just 13 students were in residence at the start of the academic year 1853-4, and numbers did not recover fully until they reached 38 in 1858-9. By 1860 over 230 men had been admitted to study at the Northern Branch of the institution. Candidates were all on the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion's list of reserve, which involved evidence of their conversion and their call to the work of the ministry. The full course lasted for three years, and students were expected to remain for a minimum of two.

The establishments at Didsbury and Richmond were two branches of a single Wesleyan Theological Institution. A general committee of management was appointed each year consisting of the president and secretary of Conference, president of the Institution (Jabez Bunting until his death in 1858), tutors from both branches, treasurers, secretary, general secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the local branch secretaries and treasurers. The management of the separate branches of the Institution was entrusted to local sub-committees, also appointed by Conference. The Ecclesiastical Board, renamed the

Board of Discipline after 1846, was made up of members of the branch sub-committee and dealt with disciplinary matters. A number of local businessmen stand out among the early managers of the Northern Branch, including Peter Rothwell, an engineer from Bolton, James Heald, banker and MP for Stockport, and John Burton, branch treasurer for many years. The finances of the two branches were treated jointly, with the proceeds from donations and subscriptions shared between them. The institution was not financially self-sufficient during its early years. Expenditure regularly exceeded income, leading to the accumulation of debts in excess of £1,700 by 1853. These were only eradicated through the provision of a further grant from the Centenary Fund in 1855.

The basis for the theology course at Didsbury was John Hannah's *Letter to a Junior Methodist Preacher* (1836). Hannah divided the subject into four parts: evidences, doctrines, duties, and institutions of Christianity. His suggested readings included Watson, Wesley, Fletcher, Doddridge, Wardlaw, Paley, Butler, and Chalmers. He also provided classes on the Greek New Testament, and lectured on ecclesiastical history, Biblical interpretation, Biblical antiquities, preaching, and the 'Claims, Doctrines, and Practices of Popery' (*Report*, 1845, xv-xvi). In order to provide the students with a firm grounding in Wesleyan theology Hannah read aloud from Wesley's sermons and sections of Edmund Grindrod's *A Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism* (1842). The classical and assistant tutors taught Greek, Latin, English grammar and composition, geography, mathematics, physical science, logic, mental and moral philosophy, and rhetoric. The importance of hymnody to Methodist worship is reflected by the instruction provided to students in singing. Steps to establish a library were taken at outset, with an initial allowance of £50 for the purchase of books in 1842. Supporters of the institution donated a number of books, particularly during the first few years, and the annual reports record a total of approximately 319 titles (743 volumes) given by 1860. Subscriptions were taken out to a range of periodicals, including *The Times*, *Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Dublin Review, Churchman's Monthly Review*, *Eclectic Review*, *Christian Observer*, *Evangelical Magazine*, and *Missionary Register*.

A strong emphasis was placed on practical training for the ministry. Each student was allocated a district in one of the neighbouring villages where they were expected to conduct weekly household visits. Bowers, in his report for 1849, stated that 800 families were visited each week, with a religious tract left with each one. The students also undertook preaching engagements, covering thirty circuits by 1848. A proposal for German to be introduced into the curriculum was rejected in 1857, with Bunting commenting that such an innovation would 'be viewed by our people at large with *extreme jealousy*' in the light of the controversy surrounding Samuel Davidson at Lancashire Independent College (Johnson, 58). Students received an annual examination on their academic progress, conducted by prominent local ministers or heads of other Wesleyan educational institutions such as John Manners, headmaster of Wesley College, Sheffield.

Students were boarded in the college building at Didsbury, where they were placed under the care of the house governor. A matron or housekeeper was employed, a post held in succession by Miss Wylde, Miss Goodwin of Carnarvon, and Elizabeth Lee of Rossington, Yorkshire. At the time of the 1851 census the house was occupied by Bowers, his wife and seven daughters, the assistant tutor Benjamin Hellier, thirty-one students, a housekeeper, nurse, under-nurse, cook, two under-cooks, three housemaids, a laundress, and two house servants. Among Bowers's daughters was Elizabeth, aged 23 at the time of the census. In November 1851 it was discovered that a student, Robert Pearson, had 'clandestinely commenced an intimacy which was virtually a matrimonial engagement' with her, and subsequently induced her to elope with him to Gretna Green (Wesley College, Bristol, Ecclesiastical Board Minutes, A1/3/1, 23 Jan. 1852). Pearson was dismissed from the institution for breaching the rule prohibiting students from getting engaged. At the same meeting another student, John Bond, was dismissed when it was found that he too had

entered into an engagement with Elizabeth. The minutes of the Board of Discipline record other periodic breaches in the rules of the institution, including an occasion in June 1854 when nine second and third year students were censured for visiting the theatre in Manchester. Other recreational activities were also discouraged. In February 1858 a request from students to have an area set aside 'for their use in such athletic exercises as will conduce to their health & physical vigour' was declined on the grounds that such activity was inappropriate for candidates for the ministry (Wesley College, Bristol, Subcommittee Minutes, A1/2/1, pp. 408-9).

At least three-quarters of those who studied at Didsbury went on to become Wesleyan Methodist ministers, and all except a few of these remained within the denomination throughout their lives. Among the more celebrated alumni of the Northern Branch were Marshall Randles, later tutor in systematic theology at Didsbury, the historian Luke Tyerman, Gervase Smith, William Tindall, Richard Roberts, and Peter Mackenzie. Ministerial training continued to take place at Didsbury until 1940, when what had become known as Didsbury College was requisitioned for use as a military hospital. After the war the decision was taken not to return to Didsbury, and the college was transferred to a site at Henbury Hill, Bristol, where it was renamed Wesley College, Bristol in 1967. In 2010 the Methodist Conference voted to close the college. The Didsbury buildings still stand, and are currently used by Manchester Metropolitan University's Institute of Education.

Simon Dixon

Archives

The Methodist Archives and Research Centre at The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, holds the central records of the Wesleyan Theological Institution. The records of the Northern Branch of the Institution are held by Wesley College, Bristol, including subcommittee minutes (A1/2/1), minutes of the Ecclesiastical Board (A1/3/1), and John S. Workman's notes on John Hannah's theology and Biblical criticism lectures (D4/4-6).

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Images

For a modern photograph of the main Didsbury building, now part of the Manchester Polytechnic School of Education, search https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/.

Simon Dixon, 'Wesleyan Theological Institution: Northern Branch, Didsbury (1842-1940)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, September 2012, revised April 2015.

Wesleyan Theological Institution: Southern Branch, Richmond (1843-1972)

(Historical account to 1860)

Because of the unsatisfactory nature of the leasehold premises of the Wesleyan Theological Institution at both Hoxton, where the institution opened in 1834, and Stoke Newington, where the auxiliary branch opened in 1839, the Wesleyan Methodist Conference decided to build two appropriate houses, one near London, the other near Manchester, to accommodate the anticipated increase in student numbers. Funding these buildings was the first commitment of the Centenary Fund in 1839, with £24,000 initially allocated to the house near London. Because the committee of management had trouble finding a suitable site near London for the Southern Branch, the Northern Branch in Didsbury opened first in 1842.

The Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond, Surrey [courtesy of Dr Michael Brealey, Wesley College, Bristol]

In 1841 a 'very eligible property' on Richmond Hill, Surrey, was finally purchased and settled on the trustees of the Wesleyan Theological Institution; the negotiations were conducted by the institution's treasurer, Thomas Farmer (*Report* for 1841 (1842), xvii). The property, totalling about eleven acres, consisted of a substantial mansion, two other houses and two cottages, extensive gardens, and several acres of land. A number of architects were invited to submit plans for the new building, and Andrew Trimen of Regent Street (who published *Church and Chapel Architecture* in 1849) was chosen; the contractors were Evans and Co. of Oxford. Comparison with ancient collegiate buildings was evidently intended.

Trimen's imposing neo-Tudor building of ashlar Bath stone, adjoining the original manor house, was on three floors with a tower and two wings, and with a frontage of 248 feet. The entrance hall, dining hall, and lecture rooms were on the ground floor, the library and studies on the second, and bedrooms for sixty students on the third. The cost of the building was £11,000. The statue of John Wesley in the entrance hall (now in Methodist Central Hall, Westminster) was donated by Farmer in 1848. The house governor and theological tutor lived in the manor house, and the classical tutor in the modified dairy buildings. A new Wesleyan chapel was built in 1850, described by Thomas Jackson in his manuscript 'Recollections': 'Connected with the Theological Institution is a commodious and beautiful chapel, for which we are mainly indebted to the kindness and liberality of Mr Farmer, of Gunnersbury-house' (Methodist Archives and Research Centre, MAW334 MS 154, notebook 16). A new organ was installed in 1859.

On Friday 15 September 1843, after the tutors and students had taken up residence, the Southern Branch of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, Richmond, was formally opened, with about 300 people taking part. Breakfast was followed by hymn-singing and prayers in the large lecture hall, and an address by Jabez Bunting, the institution's president. Bunting insisted that the institution was not a college: 'There were many things implied in what was properly speaking a college which they did not aim to realise in this establishment' (*Illustrated London News*, 73 (September 23, 1843), 208). This two-edged statement was designed both to reassure those Methodists who still doubted the wisdom of formal training for the preachers, and presumably to disparage the intellectual ambitions of the nonconformist colleges. Bunting went on to claim that the question of a 'Seminary for labourers' which John Wesley had raised at the 1744 Conference (*The Methodist Societies*, 81) was now providentially realised. Because there were too many present to fit into the existing chapel, the concluding service was held on the lawn.

The general committee of management for the whole Wesleyan Theological Institution included the president Bunting, with no tutorial role, and the tutors, house governors, and treasurers of the two branches. The branches had their own committees of management with their appropriate members. The tutors for the Southern Branch transferred from Abney House to Richmond, and continued with the same course of teaching. Thomas Jackson was theology tutor until 1861; John Farrar was classical tutor until 1857, when he moved to Woodhouse Grove School as governor. He was replaced by Benjamin Hellier, a former student at Richmond who had served as assistant tutor at Didsbury. Farrar from time to time had other assistants, including another former student, John Dury Geden, who became classical tutor at Didsbury in 1856. Hellier's assistant was William Fiddian Moulton, who succeeded him as classical tutor in 1868.

For the first few years the post of house governor, who was responsible for the students' spiritual welfare, was held by three people in quick succession: Philip C. Turner moved from Didsbury to Richmond for the years 1843-4 (the annual reports make no reference to his departure, but he was expelled by the 1846 Conference); no house governor was listed in the report for 1845, but William Wood Stamp held the post for the years 1846-7 and then returned to circuit work; in 1848 Samuel Jackson, Thomas Jackson's brother, was appointed and stayed in post until he retired in 1854. He was followed in 1855 by William Martin Harvard, who had served for many years in Canada and who died in 1857. Hellier, the classical tutor, was acting governor for a year until the appointment of Alfred Barrett, who held the post until 1868. The 1859 report described Barrett as governor and chaplain, but the title chaplain was dropped the following year.

The annual reports up to 1846 included details of the teaching by the theological and classical tutors; in 1847 it was decided that as the course of study was now settled, nothing would be said in detail in the reports about the curriculum. The examiners however continued to provide a good deal of information about the contents of the courses and the level of student attainment. Jackson's course, a continuation of what he had begun at Abney House, was characterised as 'evangelical Arminianism' (*Report* for 1848 (1848), x; *Report* for 1849 (1849), vii). In addition to his lectures on the evidences, doctrines, institutions, and duties of Christianity, he taught pastoral theology and ecclesiastical history.
Paley's *Evidences* was used as a textbook. The 1848 examiners reported that their anxiety that teaching so many young men simultaneously 'the same truths' might lessen 'individual peculiarity' was 'completely relieved' (*Report* for 1848 (1848), xiv). The 1860 divinity examiners lauded the thoroughness of the teaching, 'both in its tendency to impart a correct Theology, and to habituate to a careful study and analysis of the Scriptures themselves' (*Report* for 1860 (1860), xi).

Farrar, the classical tutor, was responsible as at Abney House for the preparatory course, which from 1844 was taught by the assistant tutor. This consisted of English grammar, geography, history, composition, elocution, arithmetic, and some branches of physical science, progressing to Greek and Latin grammar, the Greek Testament, and Virgil. At the start Farrar taught the other students Latin (Horace and Cicero), Greek (Pauline epistles and parts of the *Iliad*), and Hebrew (grammar, and part of Genesis); philosophy of mind, including an outline of the history of philosophy; Whately's *Logic*; and mathematics, including Euclid and algebra. From 1845 he arranged the students in six classes (based on 'previous advantages and attainments', not time spent in the institution; *Report* for 1845 (1845), x). The advanced students' reading included the entire Psalms in Hebrew, *Medea* in Greek, and Butler's *Analogy*. Farrar later included Francis Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* in the philosophy course. The 1855 examiners reported with satisfaction on the range of reading in Latin (Livy, Juvenal, Terence, Cicero, Horace, and Virgil), Greek (Aeschylus, Plato, Euripides, Homer, and the Greek New Testament); and Hebrew (Isaiah and the Psalms). However, the range of ability and previous knowledge among the students, and the demands of the literature course in relation to the theological one, were continual problems. The 1845 examiners hoped that the standard of literary qualification required for admission would be raised. In 1847 the examiner in logic and philosophy, Joseph Beaumont MD, observed that 'the Students of this Institution cannot be expected to plunge very deeply into the ocean of philosophical study' (*Report* for 1847 (1847), xii).

Student numbers at Richmond varied over the years, partly depending on the demands of the circuits for ministers: in 1845 and 1846 there were 40, but the numbers dropped in the 1850s to 35 in 1852, 19 in 1853, and 18 in 1857. In 1858 they went up again, and in 1860 the number was the highest yet, with 60 students admitted. The students, who had to be unmarried, were all on the Connexion's list of reserve, and in principle the length of the course was three years, though not all stayed that long, usually because they were called on for circuit work. The 1845 theology examiners, John Beecham and Robert Young, who had acted for three years and observed the students' development, were confident that the expense incurred in training the students was fully compensated by their proficiency, and urged that there should be few exceptions to the rule that students should stay three years before they entered the work of the ministry. In 1859 four principles underlying the Wesleyan Theological Institution were emphasised: 1) every candidate for the ministry must give evidence beforehand of personal conversion and divine call to the office of preacher; 2) all candidates, for the sake of the Connexion as well as themselves, must with rare exceptions be trained by men appointed for the purpose; 3) this was especially necessary now because

of the relations between Methodism and other churches, the prospects of widening influence, and 'the character and tendencies of the age'; and 4) this could only be secured by the system of collective instruction successfully pursued by Methodism for the last twenty-five years. Great regret was expressed that many young men were still drafted into the ministry without the benefits of the institution. The remedy would be to have at least 120 candidates in training in both branches instead of 80 as at present (*Report* for 1859 (1859), v-vi).

The students were engaged in several evangelising activities outside their academic work, one of the concerns of the Wesleyan Theological Institution being 'To regulate the employments of the persons admitted to instruction, so that the zeal of the evangelist may be preserved from being overlaid by the habits of the Student' (*Report* for 1845 (1845), [vii]. These involved outdoor preaching and tract distribution in Richmond and the surrounding villages, with the hope that the institution would become the centre of home missionary operations in the locality. It was however acknowledged in 1857 by Harvard, the house governor, that the distance between Richmond hill and Richmond town created problems: 'When the former Chapel was sold in favour of the erection on the hill, another was to have been built for the other side of the town and suburbs; but this we have not been able to accomplish' (*Report* for 1857 (1857), vi). The following year the sphere of home missionary labours was enlarged, with additional tract districts, a new preaching room opened in the town, and bible classes formed. These activities were not always popular among the inhabitants: Jackson noted in his manuscript 'Recollections' that domestic servants employed by local wealthy families were threatened with dismissal if they continued to attend the chapel attached to the institution.

The increasing running costs of the institution and the difficulty of meeting them was a perennial complaint. The capital costs of the building, paid for by the Centenary Fund, were entirely separate from the running costs, as Bunting pointed out at the formal opening in 1843. For the latter the management committee was dependent on several sources: the Wesleyan Missionary Society (the Society's annual payment for missionary students was always a significant sum, usually over £1000); the Wesleyan Methodist Book Room (initially £1000 p.a., decreasing to £800 in 1849 and £500 in 1852); subscriptions from districts, ministers, and missionaries; and legacies. The Southern Branch at Richmond was considerably more expensive to run than the Northern Branch at Didsbury. There were more students at Richmond, but the cost of rates, provisions, servants, etc. was also higher. In 1845 the total cost of Richmond was £3167 (compared with £2432 at Didsbury); the salaries of the house governor and tutors totalled £555. The total expenses (including general administrative costs) of the Wesleyan Theological Institution that year were £6026. There were some yearly variations, down as well as up, depending on the number of students: £6693 in 1848 (£3617 attributable to Richmond), £6788 in 1849 (£3115 attributable to Richmond), £6401 in 1852 (£2600 attributable to Richmond), £6238 in 1859 (£3225 attributable to Richmond, with salaries now £629). There was anxiety about the level of debt that was carried forward. The main problem was that the amount brought in by subscriptions was too low. The sources were always listed in minute detail, and attempts were repeatedly made to elicit further subscriptions, for example from circuit quarterly meetings and trust funds of chapels. Methodists were regularly berated for not contributing enough to the training of the ministers whose services they enjoyed.

Serious attempts were made to build up the library at Richmond, with regular appeals for donations and lists of donated books published in the reports, as well as details of annual sums spent on books (in the region of £70). In 1849 it was stressed that there 'was still a

paucity--both in the Department of Theology and in that of Classics and General Literature--of such Books as are desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for purposes of general consultation and reference' (*Report* for 1849 (1849), xiv). Important donations included a large number of books which had formed part of John Fletcher's library, donated in 1844 by Mrs Legge, executrix of Mary Tooth of Madeley (*Report* for 1844 (1844), xxxiv-xxxv). In 1859 Christopher Walton donated his extraordinary biography of William Law to both branches of the institution. In the same year James Heald bought and donated Thomas Jackson's library of 7,510 books, by far the most significant accession. New stalls and book cases were provided to accommodate them. The Richmond library was now 'the completest collection of Protestant Theological Literature in the Connexion', and 'a fit nucleus around which to gather the acquisitions of future years' (*Report* for 1860 (1860), viii).

The great majority of those trained at Richmond became ministers. The report for 1848 stated that 250 ministers had now passed through the institution (i.e. in all its locations from 1834); that for 1853 stated that over 400 ministers had now been trained. The annual reports up to 1857 provided a full list of students who served as ministers with their dates of admission, their terms of residence, and the stations to which they were appointed at home and overseas; thereafter only their names and dates of admission were given. Of those admitted in 1843, 16 served in Britain and Ireland, and 8 overseas in Africa, India, Australia, and the West Indies; of those admitted in 1850, 24 served in Britain and Ireland, and 6 overseas in Canton, Australia, Canada, Feejee (Fiji), and Tonga. In 1852 several former students, including Josiah Cox, went to join George Piercy, the first Wesleyan Methodist missionary in Canton, southern China. The house governor Harvard, who had served in Ceylon as a young man, was gratified by the missionary spirit he found. The committee warned that in the East 'the Christian Preacher will encounter the opposition of minds subtile and acute, though perverted, and find the need of a logical and thoroughly intellectual discipline' (*Report* for 1857 (1857), [v]). In 1860 it was noted that more than half the students were now missionary candidates and missionary income bore a proportionately large share of the institution's expenditure. The notable students who served at home include Robert Newton Young, tutor at Headingley and then Handsworth Colleges, and Governor of Handsworth; John Dury Geden, classical tutor at Didsbury and Old Testament scholar; William H. Dallinger FRS, biologist; and Thomas Bowman Stephenson, founder of the Children's Home.

The Wesleyan Methodists took a long time to accept the need for formal ministerial training, and their attitude to higher education differed in important ways from that of their nonconformist contemporaries. The Wesleyan Theological Institution did not train laymen: its students were already on the path to becoming ministers in the Connexion. Whereas London colleges such as Regent's Park College, New College, London, and Manchester New College, London, were associated with London University and encouraged their students to take degrees, it was a long time before Richmond had a university affiliation, and only three students in the period up to 1860 (Stephenson, Emile Cook, and George Terry) and one assistant tutor (Moulton) earned BA degrees, though a number were given honorary degrees in later life. Jackson had pointed out in 1839 that American Methodist colleges were awarding their own degrees (*Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism*, 239-40), but in 1860 he was still trying to persuade British Methodists that all candidates for the Wesleyan ministry should have the benefit of the institution and that all those admitted should be properly supported and remain for the full three years (*Present Demand*, 26-7).

In 1863 the Wesleyan Missionary Society bought the Richmond estate from the trustees for £37,500 and endowed it with a further £20,000, and from 1868 to 1885 ran the college for

missionary students only. From 1885 the college, although still owned by the Missionary Society, reverted to preparing students for both home and overseas service. In 1902 Richmond became a divinity school of the University of London. At the turn of the century the building was enlarged, with a fourth story added to each wing; in 1932 the former library on the first floor was transformed into a new chapel. During the First World War the premises were used by other organisations, with the students returning to Richmond in 1920. From 1932 (following the union with the various Methodist churches which had split from Wesleyan Methodism in the nineteenth century) the appellation Wesleyan Theological Institution was dropped. During the Second World War the buildings were taken over by London University; the tutors and students returned in 1945-6. In 1972 the Methodist Conference closed the college and sold the buildings and estate. It is currently the Richmond Hill Campus of the American International University in London.

Isabel Rivers

Archives

The Methodist Archives and Research Centre at The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, holds the records of the Wesleyan Theological Institution: the Wesleyan Theological Institute [sic] collection, including the printed annual reports, and the Richmond College collection. The Richmond College Library collection (MAB R/-) comprises several thousand monographs, bound pamphlets and periodicals covering the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries; it is not currently known how much of Jackson's original library survives.

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Western College, Plymouth (1845-1901)

(Historical account to 1860)

In the early 1840s Western College, Exeter suffered from severe financial difficulties and a shortage of students. After deliberation, in 1845 the governing committee of the college decided to relocate it to Plymouth. They had considered Taunton and Bristol, but Plymouth was ideally located, offering better connections and access to congregations in Dorset, Somerset, and Cornwall, as well as to the Channel Islands, and the Plymouth congregations were more positive about assuming responsibility for the ailing college.

Western College, consisting of the principal tutor George Payne and three students, thus moved to Plymouth in December 1845. Samuel Newth, a mathematician and classicist who had been minister at Brosely in Shropshire, was employed as the new classical and mathematical tutor, and arrived in Plymouth at the end of December 1845 to oversee the setting up of the college. Although the Congregational Fund Board had previously indicated that it would cease to support the college in Exeter, after a renewed appeal it agreed in early 1846 to continue to support four students with £30 each – a commitment that was upheld throughout the college's existence. The college was first based in temporary accommodation at Wyndham Square. Five more students joined the college at Plymouth, in line with the college's proposal to begin with seven to eight students and gradually to increase the number to twelve. By 1847 this objective was almost achieved, with eleven students resident in college. Following a visit to the college in June 1847, the Revd George Clayton, a member of the Congregational Fund Board, concluded that the decision to remove the college had been the right one and that its advantages were 'manifold & unquestionable'. He pointed out that not only was Plymouth's population much more numerous than that of Exeter, thus affording the students many more opportunities for development, but that the college was surrounded by several thriving churches and enjoyed the patronage of both influential ministers and their lay congregations (DWL, OD419, pp. 150-1).

The laws of the college set out that the governing committee was to be appointed annually at the subscribers' meeting, consisting of a treasurer, a secretary, and a management committee of fifteen to thirty members, half of whom should be Congregational ministers, whether subscribers or not, and the rest subscribers. The treasurer and the committee were each to produce an annual report of their proceedings, including reports on the students' progress. The course structure was modernized and made more flexible, although the college still retained its character as a Congregational seminary, whose primary aim was to supply well-trained preachers and ministers. This accounts for the fact that homiletics formed the core of the course.

Because of the previous financial difficulties of the college, in 1850 the decision was made to admit lay students, provided that, like the ministerial students and the theology tutor, they were Congregationalists and agreed to a list of eight doctrinal articles. By 1857 the college offered both a full course, which lasted five years and could be extended by another year, depending on the student's requirements and the committee's approval, and an abridged three-year course. In addition to homiletics, which was offered at every level, in the first year of the full course the students studied logic, rhetoric, and elocution with the theology tutor, while elements of universal and English grammar, classics, mathematics, and natural philosophy were taught by the classical and mathematical tutor. The students continued their studies in the last three subjects with the classical tutor in the second and third years. With the theology tutor they studied mental and moral philosophy and Hebrew in the second year, and natural theology, textual criticism, hermeneutics, evidences of Christianity, Hebrew, and New Testament exegesis in their third year. In their last two years of study the students delved further into exegesis, and took the more advanced theological subjects such as

doctrinal theology, inspiration, sacred hermeneutics, ecclesiastical history, and Chaldee and Syriac languages, while studying the early Christian Fathers with the classical tutor. If they required it, students were admitted to a sixth year of study: in this case they took classics, mathematics and natural philosophy in their fourth year, and then continued with the regular course. If any of the students displayed advanced knowledge, they could enter the abridged three-year course. In this case the students took classics or mathematics and natural philosophy with the classical tutor in the first year only, and spent the rest of their time at the college under the supervision of the theology tutor. As in the full course, homiletics formed the basis of their course, in addition to which they studied logic, rhetoric and elocution, and natural theology in their first year, hermeneutics, inspiration, evidences of Christianity, and Hebrew in their second year, New Testament exegesis in the second and third years, together with doctrinal theology and ecclesiastical history in their final year.

To be eligible for either course, candidates for Christian ministry had to have completed their seventeenth year and have full letters of recommendation. For lay students the minimum age was sixteen, and each class cost 3 guineas per session. Sons of ministers were admitted at half fee, and students intending to apply for the ministerial course were admitted as lay students without fees. For graduation the minimum requirement was attendance at four classes for two sessions as well as the requisite examination.

Payne, who had run Western College at Exeter from 1829 to 1845, continued in his position as principal and theology tutor at Plymouth until his death three years later. Samuel Newth, who had graduated from the University of London, considered the expectations of the governing committee to be too low. Ignoring the request to provide a very basic level of education and following the example of other dissenting institutions which had already established a relationship with the University of London, he prepared three of his students for matriculation, all of whom passed in the first class. Despite the committee's original misgivings he persuaded them of the benefits of a formal affiliation of the college with the university, which was achieved in 1847. On Payne's death Newth was left in charge, forced to teach the college's entire curriculum for almost a year, until a new principal was appointed. Richard Alliott, educated at Homerton College and the University of Glasgow, took up his position in 1849 and remained until 1857. On Alliott's arrival Newth was appointed resident tutor. Until Newth's departure for New College, London, in 1855, Newth and Alliott worked together to improve the standard of the education they provided, and the number of students rose steadily. By the time Alliott left for Cheshunt College in 1857, twenty-nine students were being educated in the college, eight of whom were non-resident, an increase of seventeen students within eight years. The number of students remained constant to 1860 and beyond. Despite this increase in students and thus in income, the rate of expenditure was still high; by 1860 the college was still £246 in debt, with annual income having exceeded expenditure by only £15.

In 1854 Newth was succeeded by William Henry Griffith, a graduate of Coward College and later the headmaster of the West of England Dissenters Proprietary School in Taunton. Griffith did not stay long, and in 1857 two new tutors were appointed to succeed Alliott and Griffith respectively: John Moon Charlton and Frederick E. W. Anthony. Charlton, a former student of Highbury College, had fifteen years' ministerial experience, whereas Anthony had only just finished his studies at Western College. For eighteen years the two men worked alongside each other to promote the college and the education it provided. Charlton died in post in 1875, while Anthony remained until 1901, when the college moved to Bristol.

The examination reports for the last years of the period under review show that the education provided by the college was of a very high standard, with only the scientific subjects considered satisfactory rather than excellent. Although the college was primarily intended to train ministers for churches in the west of England, by the mid-1850s it was attracting students from all over the country. A few of the students eventually conformed, and some became Methodists. The majority, however, became Congregational ministers or

missionaries. A total of sixty-one students are recorded as having been educated in the college between 1845 and 1860. The surviving reports list ministerial students only. In 1857 over a quarter of the students (eight out of twenty-nine) were lay; if this was typical then the overall number of lay students for the period between 1845 and 1860 was above eighty. Amongst the more prominent students were Frederick Anthony, college tutor; Charles Chapman, principal from 1876 to 1910; Thomas Broughton Knight, tutor at the Bristol Theological Institute and the financial secretary of Western College from 1890 to 1905; and the Congregational historian Bryan Dale.

In 1852, on the hundredth anniversary of founding of the Western Academy by John Lavington, the Centenary Fund was established to raise funds for a new and better building. By 1858 a site in Mannamead, Plymouth, was chosen, and in 1860 the works began. By 1861 the new Gothic building was erected, at a cost of £6,500. In 1863 the Bristol Theological Institute was established, and in 1891 for financial reasons amalgamated with Western College. In 1901 Western College moved to Bristol, first to temporary accommodation, and in 1906 to a new building in the Arts and Crafts style.

Inga Jones

Archives

The main surviving letters and papers relating to the Western College are contained in the Congregational Library and New College Library collections at Dr Williams's Library. They include the letters and papers directed to Joshua Wilson (Congregational Library II.c.48) for the years 1847 to 1860. The minutes of the Congregational Fund Board (DWL, OD420-21) are the most important source of information for the running of the academy and its students and tutors. The printed reports of Western College (Plymouth, 1857-76) in the Northern College Collection, John Rylands University Library, provide extensive information on the regulations, curriculum, and examination procedures of the college. They also contain lists of ministerial students, including students in college at the time of each report.

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William Roby's Academy (1803-1808)

In 1803 William Roby became sole tutor of a small academy for training ministers funded by Robert Spear, a wealthy cotton merchant. Teaching took place in the vestry of Mosley Street Chapel, Manchester, with students residing in private lodgings. The purpose of the academy was to train 'evangelists with Congregational interests to meet the needs of Lancashire and Cheshire and supply candidates for the Itinerant Society' (Surman, 'Roby's Academy', 13). The cost of board and lodging for most students was paid for by Spear. The academy operated until 1808, and was dissolved when Spear retired to Mill Bank, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, and withdrew funding. Continuity with subsequent initiatives to provide ministerial training in Lancashire is demonstrated by the involvement of both Roby and Spear in the management of Leaf Square Academy and Blackburn Independent Academy.

There are no formal records extant for the academy, so the number of students educated there cannot be accurately determined. At least sixteen men have been identified as having received some training at Mosley Street, but the total number may have been higher. Rules of the academy have survived, and candidates for admission were required to send a written account of their doctrinal sentiments, religious experience and circumstances that inclined them to join the ministry. They were expected to present testimonies to their religious character and natural abilities. Generally speaking, the students were older than at other academies, with at least seven aged over 30 at the time of admission, and at least eleven aged 25 or above. They were not expected to be bachelors, and it was later observed that 'Mr Roby's Students were mostly married men' (JRUL, NCC, Box 19, George Hadfield to Gilbert Wardlaw, 21 Jan. 1831).

The course of study provided by Roby was short but intense, lasting for two years with no vacations. The curriculum covered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, English grammar and composition, logic, biblical languages, ecclesiastical history, geography, astronomy, 'use of globes', mathematics, and natural and moral philosophy. The students read Watts's *Logic*, Hugh Blair's works on rhetoric and Greek, and John Hutchinson's works on philosophy. A Latin and mathematics teacher provided tutorial assistance in the evenings, and external lectures on elocution were attended. Roby delivered his own series of eighty lectures in systematic theology which students were required to commit to memory. The plan of education also had a substantial practical element, and students presented a weekly sermon to their tutor for criticism. In preaching and practical divinity Roby urged his students to be 'useful rather than showy preachers' (Robinson, *William Roby*, 118). Most Sundays were occupied with preaching engagements, and an account of the day's labours was delivered to Roby on Mondays. A library was provided by Robert Spear and kept at Mosley Street, but there is no record of its extent.

All of the students known to have received some of their education under Roby went on to pursue careers as Congregationalist ministers. Two continued their studies at Rotherham under Edward Williams, but for the remainder the education provided at Mosley Street seems to have been regarded as sufficient preparation for a ministerial career. After the formal closure of the academy in 1808, Roby continued to train young men for the ministry. On the value of the education provided in the vestry at Mosley Street Charles Surman wrote, 'Roby certainly seems to have fired his *protégés* with tremendous enthusiasm for their task and to have initiated them fully into the joy of hard work' (Surman, 'Roby's Academy', p.43).

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

No formal records of the academy survive. Some records relating to the academy can be found within the William Roby manuscripts, which form part of the Northern Congregational College Archives at the John Rylands University Library.

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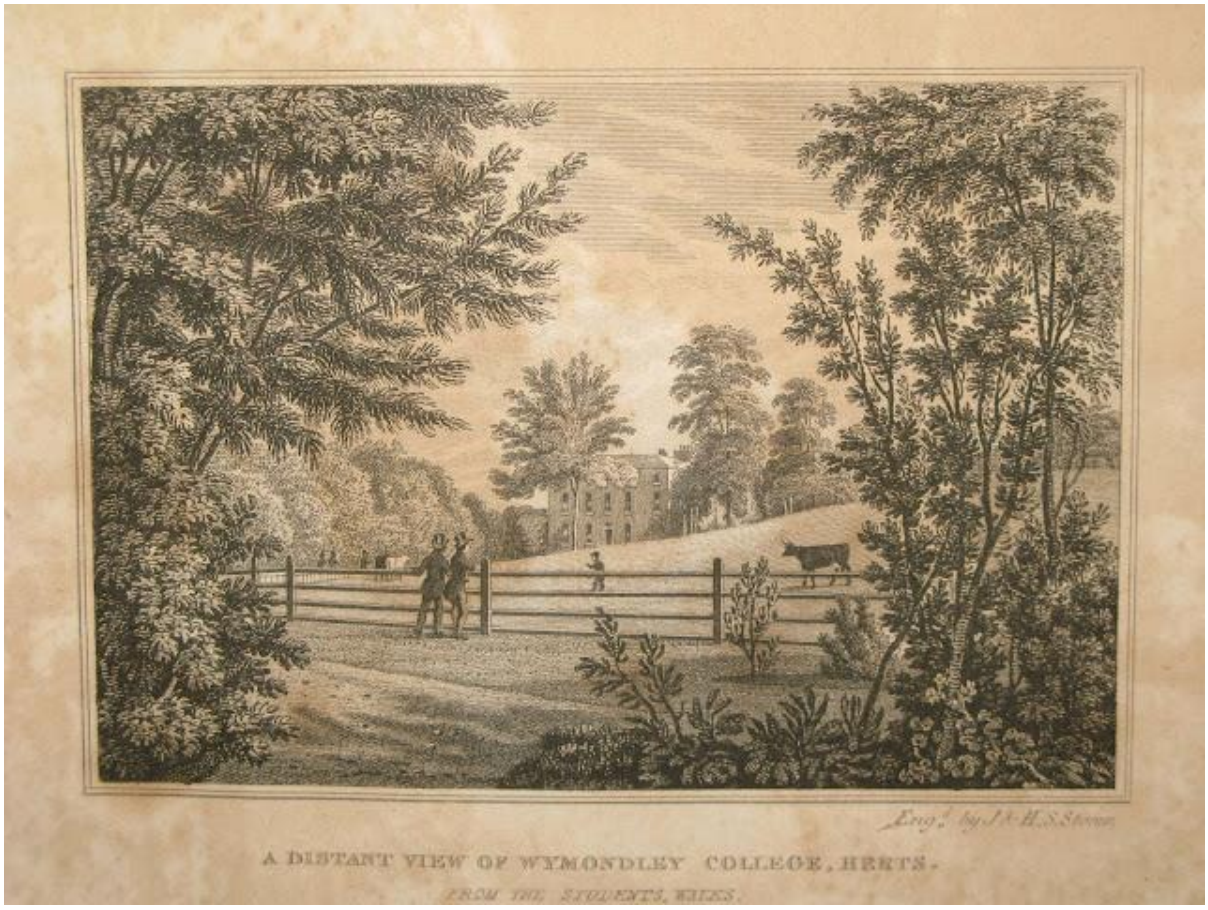
Wymondley Academy (1799-1833)

Following the closure of John Horsey's academy at Northampton, the Coward Trust set about the task of establishing a new institution for training ministerial students. In January 1799 a surveyor, Joseph Greated of Ely Place, Holborn, was asked to place a newspaper advertisement seeking a large house with a kitchen garden and three or four acres of land within thirty or forty miles of London. After two Coward Trustees had been robbed by highwaymen on their return from viewing premises at Oakingham, Berkshire, a 'Commodious Family House' with a garden and meadow at Wymondley, Hertfordshire, was identified. The purchase of Wymondley House was finalised in June 1799, and by the time modifications designed by Greated were complete the total cost of acquiring and renovating the building came to £4,258. In August 1799 the Coward Trustees resolved that the new establishment should be 'described and Directed to by no other Title than Wymondley House' (DWL, MS NCL/CT2, p. 116), although most contemporary and historical accounts refer to it as either 'Wymondley Academy' or 'Wymondley College'.



H. S. Storer, *A Distant View of Wymondley College, Herts* [source: DWL, MS NCL/L64/1/5]

The new academy was under the management of the four trustees of William Coward (1648-1738), who at this time were Revd Thomas Tayler, Revd Noah Hill, Revd Thomas Urwick, and Joseph Paice Esq. For the first twenty years at Wymondley the office of theological tutor was held by William Parry, previously minister to the Independent congregation at Little Baddow, Essex. On the recommendation of the Rotherham tutor, Edward Williams, John Pye Smith was invited to complete his studies at Wymondley and assist Parry in the instruction of students in classics and mathematics. However, his appointment was abandoned after he made the introduction of a probationary period for new students a condition of his acceptance. The position went instead to William Ward, a former Homerton student, who had been minister at Uppingham. Ward fell out with Parry and resigned in

1804. His successor, William Brown, fared little better in the post, and he left in 1807 following complaints against him from the students. Henry Forster Burder and Alexander Bower then held the position for a year each, before the appointment of John Bailey in December 1809. Bailey was already providing preparatory training for grammar scholars supported by the Coward Trust, a function he continued to fulfil at his home in Hitchin while serving as classical tutor at Wymondley. He died in post in 1818, and was replaced temporarily by William Day, a former student, whose employment was terminated after a few months when Parry provided the Trustees with 'exceedingly painful & disgusting accounts' of his colleague's moral conduct (DWL, MS NCL/CT3/1, p. 38).

Parry died on 8 January 1819, and was replaced by John Atkinson, former headmaster of Mill Hill School and classical tutor at Hoxton from 1801 to 1807. Like Parry before him, Atkinson struggled to maintain discipline among the students under his charge, and in February 1821 the trustees informed him that his continuation as tutor was incompatible with the effective running of the academy. The next day he suffered a 'paralytic seizure' from which he never recovered, dying shortly afterwards. His replacement was Thomas Morell, Independent minister at St Neots, Huntingdonshire, who brought much needed stability to the academy. He remained at Wymondley until 1833, and served as theological tutor of its successor institution, Coward College. Morell was assisted at first by Joseph Turnbull, who had briefly had sole charge of the academy following the death of Parry. The trustees considered Turnbull's appointment unsatisfactory, and elected to replace him in September 1822 with Revd Robert Lee, formerly of Downing Place, Cambridge. Lee's employment was terminated two years later following a 'moment of weakness' with a maidservant while his wife was away (DWL, MS NCL/L53/2/78). His successor, William Hull, stayed until 1832, when he accepted an invitation from the congregation at Baker Street, Enfield, after learning that his services would no longer be required when the academy relocated to London. Richard Cotterell Evans supplied the classical department during the final year at Wymondley.

Under Parry, students at the academy studied divinity, pneumatology, ethics, natural philosophy, Jewish antiquities, general and scriptural chronology, logic, geography, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and algebra. The theology course was based on the lectures of Philip Doddridge, which students were expected to study closely. As at Northampton, the length of the course was five years. Morell, who had published a number of historical works, added a course of lectures on general history to the curriculum. He also lectured on belles lettres, and established a course on the history of philosophy and science. A request from William Hull to introduce the teaching of German literature in 1827 was rejected by the Coward Trustees. On occasion, external lecturers were employed to run classes on different subjects. William Trew, who had taught elocution at New College, Hackney, delivered lectures at Wymondley in 1805 and 1822. When he first arrived at the academy Morell felt ill-equipped to teach natural philosophy, so students attended lectures held by John Jackson. Charles Frederick Partington, a popular science lecturer, provided a similar service between 1827 and 1829.

Students had access to the extensive library that had been started by Doddridge and included books acquired by the later academies at Daventry, Hoxton, and Northampton. In 1812 David Bogue and James Bennett described the collection as 'thought to be the most valuable among the dissenters' (Bogue and Bennett, IV, 271). In August 1807, after news had reached the trustees of fires at Chudleigh, Devon, and Stevenage, a 'small Engine & Buckets' were bought to protect the library and furnishings (DLW, MS NCL/CT2, p. 143). Scientific apparatus was also transferred from Northampton, and added to at Wymondley. In 1825 Morell welcomed the acquisition of a solar microscope among other items, and regarded the apparatus to be 'in a very complete state', noting that it contained 'a great variety of excellent & valuable instruments in all departments of Philosophy' (DWL, MS

NCL/L53/2/109). Partington praised the standard of apparatus at the academy when he visited to deliver scientific lectures in 1828 and 1829.

The number of students at Wymondley varied. At the time of the trustees' visitation of 1803 there were 9 in residence. In 1810 the number was 13, and in October 1819 the house was full, with 18 students. Resignations and expulsions had reduced the number to four at the time of Atkinson's departure, although numbers recovered under Morell. Over 130 students entered the academy during its time at Wymondley. They boarded in the academy house, and the majority had their board, lodging, and tuition paid for by the Coward Trust. The terms of William Coward's will excluded those aged over 22 from receiving a regular grant, and the Jackson Trust often provided support for older students. The domestic management of the institution was the responsibility of the theological tutor and his wife. Students admitted on Coward's Trust were expected to be 'well instructed in the true Gospel doctrines according as the same are explained in the Assembly's Catechism and in that method of Church Discipline which is practised by the Congregational Churches' (Thompson, *Coward Trust*, 5). In 1821 Morell repeated the demand of John Pye Smith that candidates should be admitted initially for a probationary period of three months. This time, the trustees acceded to the demand in the hope that it would bring to an end the disciplinary problems that had prevailed under Parry and Atkinson. However, they did not change the rules for admission in order to test a candidate's religious beliefs.

The Wymondley academy was the scene of frequent student unrest, division, and ill-discipline. Under Parry the institution developed a reputation for heterodoxy, which led to reluctance among local congregations to permit the senior students to supply their pulpits on Sundays. For their part, students who held heterodox views complained that they were discriminated against. The obituary of James Whitehead, who arrived at Wymondley in 1809, stated that he was one of five or six students who held heterodox views. The group believed that they were treated by Parry, Bower, and the other students as 'intruders', and complained when one of the tutors had referred to them as 'eating the bread of dishonesty' (*Christian Reformer*, (1859), 259). In his first report to the trustees, Morell provided brief comments about the religious views of his students. He found one to be 'decidedly orthodox' although not 'a decided dissenter', two to be far removed from 'what I conceive to be the essentials of Christianity', and a fourth whose 'religious zeal and ultra-orthodoxy' required moderation (DWL, MS NCL/L53/1/76). Expulsions, resignations, and defections to the Church of England occurred throughout the Wymondley period, with significant breakdowns in discipline occurring in 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1833. However, Morell's tenure generally witnessed an improvement in the reputation of the academy and a greater degree of harmony among its students.

Among the first intake of students at Wymondley was William Harris Murch, theological tutor at Stepney Baptist College from 1827 until 1843. Another student who became a Baptist was Thomas Steffe Crisp, principal of Bristol Baptist College for over forty years. Henry Griffiths, later president of Brecon Memorial College, entered the academy in 1829 and completed his studies at Coward College. John Deodatus Gregory Pike, who later achieved prominence as a minister of the New Connexion of General Baptists, spent four years at Wymondley but departed before the end of his course when he and his two brothers were asked to leave in 1806. Thomas Binney's attendance at the academy was interrupted when he resigned over the expulsion of two fellow students in 1820, although he returned following Morell's appointment. Edward Miall, the journalist and Liberal politician, spent three years at the academy, resigning in 1831 to accept a call to the pastorate at Ware, Hertfordshire. A number of students went on to become Unitarian ministers, including John Philip Malleson, James Whitehead, and Noah Jones. Often, a student's religious position changed after he had completed his studies. However, the fact that there were so many different views among the students was due partly to the lack of strict religious tests governing admission to the academy.

The academy remained at Wymondley for thirty-four years. In 1819 an invitation was received from the managers of the short-lived Bristol Theological Institution to relocate to Bristol, but the suggestion was never seriously entertained. The first suggestion that the trustees were planning to remove the academy from Wymondley appears in the minutes of the Coward Trust for December 1831. It was felt that moving to London would allow them to take advantage of the teaching available at the newly founded London University. While Morell entertained initial doubts about the scheme, he was won over and at the end of May 1832 suitable new premises were found in the capital for what became Coward College. Teaching continued at Wymondley House until 1833, after which the house was sold. The building, which later became a boarding school for boys, still stands and is now divided into residential flats.

Simon N. Dixon

Archives

The archives of the academy at Wymondley House are exceptionally rich, and form part of the New College, London, collection at Dr Williams's Library. Details of the management of the institution, including the appointment of tutors, admission of students, financial arrangements, and disciplinary matters are contained in the minutes of the Coward Trust for the relevant years (DWL, MS NCL/CT2-3). A wealth of correspondence survives, including that of William Parry (DWL, MS NCL/431/1-52, MS NCL/411/1-21), John Atkinson (DWL, MS NCL/469/1-25), and William Hull (DWL, MS NCL/471/1-37). Three large volumes of Coward Trust papers contain further valuable information, including tutors' reports on student progress and correspondence to and from the trustees, tutors, and students (DWL, MS NCL/L53/1-3).

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Images

For a modern photograph of Wymondley House
search https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/.

Simon N. Dixon, 'Wymondley Academy (1799-1833)', *Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia*, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, June 2011.