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Smith, Joe William Ashley

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Abstract of thesis:

THE CURRICULUM OF THE DISSENTING ACADEMIES, with special reference to factors determining it.

by J W Ashley Smith.

1950.

pp. 1-521 + x, + map, chart and plate; in two volumes.

Tutors of English academies between 1660 and 1800 are arranged in three groups:

Chapter 2: Tutors trained at Oxford and Cambridge;

Chapter 3: Tutors without Oxford or Cambridge experience, but apparently endeavouring to reproduce, with some modification, the traditional curriculum;

Chapter 4: Tutors constructing their own curricula - classified thus:

- I. Doddridge and his successors;
- II. Unitarians;
- III. Orthodox;
- IV. Baptists;
- V. Methodist Revival.

(Appendices contain lists of tutors not included in the body of the Thesis, and an original theory concerning the Short family).

Details are given of curricula in a number of academies, and some longer original accounts, with some textbook lists, are reproduced in an appendix. Determining factors for the curriculum are shown principally by investigating

- (i) statements by tutors (and other influential men),
- (ii) textbooks written by tutors,
- (iii) educational and other antecedents of tutors.

Evidence is given of the educational effect on the academies of various influences, including that of the Cambridge Platonists and those of foreign (particularly Dutch and - although not so significantly in some matters concerning the curriculum as sometimes claimed - Scots) universities. In more than one case the inspiration of an innovation is traced back to a less-known predecessor of the tutor (eg Rowe, Doddridge, Oldfield) who introduced it.

continued

Abstract of thesis:

SECOND SHEET

The Curriculum of the Dissenting Academies ...,
by J W Ashley Smith.

The part played by the academies in shaping the curriculum of modern English higher education is indicated, particularly in relation to the introduction of new subjects (English Language and Elocution, English Literature, Modern Languages, Modern History and Political Theory), to the reorientation of approach to traditional subjects, and to other matters (including specialization and integration of the curriculum, lecture-method, freedom of discussion, and the instructional use of the vernacular).

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

by

J. W. Ashley Smith, M.A., B.Sc..

1950.

Thesis presented for degree of
Master of Education in the
University of Durham.

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from it should be acknowledged.

It is usual to ascribe to the Dissenting Academies a large share in the development of the modern curriculum. The aim of this thesis is to examine their part in that development and to trace the influences which caused the curriculum in the Academies to undergo its various changes. Particular attention may be drawn to the cases in which this thesis shows the indebtedness to others of tutors who have frequently been credited with initiating changes "out of the blue". Thus, for example, Rowe (3,10) is here shown as perpetuating and developing the influence of Gale; Oldfield's debt to the Reyners is made clear (3,23); the claims sometimes made that Eames was the first tutor to teach anatomy (3,12) and that Warrington (4,9) was the first academy to intend the inclusion of prospective merchants amongst its pupils, are both shown to be unproved; and it is indicated that Doddridge's comparative method (4,2) was anticipated by several of his predecessors. Nevertheless there remain several directions in which the Academies' claim to have introduced profound modifications into the curriculum cannot be challenged; whilst their indebtedness to Scottish influence is shown to have been less than has been suggested. An interesting possibility emerging from the study of Cole (2,13) is that of the latter's influence on Locke.

No effort has been made in this thesis to disentangle dates before 1751 from the confusion of Old and New Styles. Some of the sources (1) are in a condition of considerable muddle, and disentanglement would require simultaneous consultation which is not possible for a part-time reader borrowing by post from several libraries.

I wish to record my thanks for help of various kinds: first, to the staffs of various libraries, particularly of Dr. Williams's Library and of the University of London Library, and more still to Rev. E. J. Tongue D.D. of Bristol, Librarian of the Baptist Historical Society, who has gone out of his way to give the maximum assistance (2). In the second place, I am grateful to the following who have kindly answered my enquiries: to Professor J. P. Tuck of King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (for comments on the extent of the use of English as teaching-medium in the earlier Academies); to Mr. Gerald Culkin of Ushaw College (for denial of the suggested (3) existence of Roman Catholic Academies in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); to Mr. Alec Maughan, my

(1) e.g. Doddridge (Humphreys), where the letters are arranged in order as dated, but the dates are clearly sometimes New and sometimes Old Style.

(2) The inaccessibility of the Memorial Hall Library (Farringdon Street, E.C.4) owing to the continuance of war-time requisitioning of the premises by the L.C.C. as a restaurant has been an unfortunate restriction.

(3) Richardson 204; Owen Moderation Still 101.

colleague at Henry Smith School (for directing my attention to the activities of John Wesley (4,28)); to Dr. A. Kessen of the Bibliotheek der Rijks-universiteit te Leiden (for references for Dutch University details) and to Miss A. Stenfert Kroese, Cultural Attaché to the Royal Netherlands Embassy, London (for passing on my request to Dr. Kessen); to Prof. William Boyd of Mauchline, Ayrshire (for remarks on the possible influence of the Academies on Scotland, particularly through the Scots Academies (5,14)); to Rev. C. W. Rose of Hugglescote Baptist Church, Leicestershire (for information - not included below - regarding a local reference in 1797 to ministerial education); to Mr. Henry J. Boak, of Kirbymoorside (for details of a Pickering scheme for the training of Congregational ministers, which, however, originated in the nineteenth century, and so is outside the scope of this thesis); and to Rev. Charles E. Surman M.A. of Erdington, Birmingham, Secretary of the Congregational Historical Society (for the loan of his full and useful typescript list of places of education of Congregational ministers). I must also record my appreciation of my typist, Mrs. A. Turek of Hartlepool.

Finally, I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Prof. E. J. R. Eaglesham of Durham, for a variety of valuable criticism and advice.

Hartlepool,
March 1950.

J. W. ASHLEY SMITH

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map, chart and plate - in pocket (end of volume I).

CHAPTER I.Introduction.

Apprenticeship is an obvious way of training for any calling. This applies as much to the calling of the learned man as to any other. There is therefore always a tendency for a group of disciples to form itself around any man of learning who is not unwilling to allow such a grouping. The earlier dissenting academies were such groups. Some years before the Ejectments of the Restoration period, Thomas Gataker (1574-1654) kept a "private seminary" in his house, and "many foreigners" as well as English students "resorted to him and lodged at his house for advice and direction in their studies" (1). It was not, however, until the closing against the dissenters in 1662 of the Universities that the need became urgent for a wide following of Gataker's example. The resultant galaxy of "Dissenting Academies" are often credited - or debited - with the initiation of large changes in the content and treatment of the university curriculum. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the justice of their claim in this connection, by detailing their actual curricula in a number of cases, and by attempting to show the factors which caused the various tutors to introduce their respective innovations.

This subject as a whole is not too irrelevant at a time when the university and VI-form curriculum

(1) Watson Refugees 96-7.

is frequently brought under adverse criticism, and when various reforms are being discussed and tried out. The story of the Academies themselves as places of general (as opposed to purely ministerial) education finishes in the early years of the nineteenth century with the foundation of London University, free from religious tests and consequently available to those Dissenters, whose needs were the only *raison d'être* of the Academies. This thesis will therefore take no account (save for an occasional reference) of anything after 1800.

The Welsh Academies are not brought into this thesis except where necessary for the sake of continuity.

Classification of the Academies.

Any attempt to view all the Dissenting Academies is closely analogous to an attempt to view the whole system of a single sizeable river. There is an irreducible chaos of the earliest stages, when numerous tributaries take their rise in fundamentally unrelated manners and situations. It follows that the various attempts which have been made to classify the academies represent efforts to impose a semblance of order where none exists, and not in any sense to descry a hidden pattern.

The first example of an attempt to describe most of the academies is probably that of Bogue and Bennett in the early nineteenth century (2). They divide their History of the Dissenters into several periods of time, and give cross references where the same man or institution occurs in more than one period. The pioneer work on the Academies alone, that of Mrs. Parker-Crane (3), distinguishes on a broadly chronological basis three types of Academy - the one-tutor Academy of the period of persecution (until about 1689), the slightly larger and more stable private academy of the first half of the eighteenth century, and the institutional academy, supported by an organisation of subscribers who appointed the tutors as their servants. The Cambridge History of English Literature attempts

(2) History of Dissenters, 4 volumes, 1812.

(3) Parker. Dissenting Academies, 1914.

to distinguish only the denominations to which the Academies may be assigned;⁽⁴⁾ a classification successful enough with the Baptists (4 [IV/]), but doomed to failure as regards the times, at any rate, of the Happy Union of Presbyterians and Independents of the closing decade of the seventeenth century, and again^{of} the very confused denomination^{(atmos-}phere of some aspects of the Methodist revival (4,31 below). Pupils, moreover, frequently came from the "wrong" denomination - including the Church of England (5). The standard work on the Academies, that of Dr. McLachlan (6), throws overboard these classifications and is content merely to differentiate between those academies which did and those which did not have pupils intending to follow professions other than that of the Dissenting minister. Unfortunately even this simple distinction cannot be maintained - as may be seen by comparing McLachlan's list with that of Whitley (7) - and would be of little value for the purpose of this thesis, even if it could. It cannot be maintained because there was no distinction in the seventeenth century between the university course regarded as usual for a minister and that regarded as usual for the general man of culture. It was therefore

(4) CHEL X chap. XVI, by W. A. Shaw, Appendix.

(5) Orton Doddridge 121; Priestly Works; Jeremy 19; Grove Works I Preface (xix); Watson Refugees 32; Nicholson & Axon 197.

(6) English Education under the Test Acts (1931.)

(7) TBHS IV-220-6.

unnecessary for any of the earlier tutors to decide whether he was restricting himself to ministerial candidates or not; and it is impossible to decide whether a given academy was or was not purely ministerial without knowing the intentions (not necessarily coincident with subsequent history) of each pupil. Not only, however, is this distinction impossible of realization; it would also be irrelevant to the present thesis. This is so not only because of the identity of seventeenth-century university curricula for all men of learning, including ministers - an identity which may be seen as in part an indication that the field of knowledge was so restricted that specialization had hardly begun, and in part an accidental coincidence of ministerial vocational needs with Renaissance educational ideals (8); but it is irrelevant also because the Dissenting minister - throughout the whole century and a half under review - was normally expected to have at his finger-tips at least one secular occupation (4,32). In the later academies, when the aim to be ministerial (4 (IV), 4,54) or general (4 [II]) is clearly defined, the latter consideration renders the curricular differences less than might otherwise have been the case. The needs of ejected ministers had shown the value of a knowledge of medicine or law, which had enabled many of them to make a living

(8) Brubacher 477-8.

after ejection or silencing (9). Even in normal circumstances it was expected that the village clergyman or pastor would be capable of acting as lawyer or medical man when necessary; and Milton's belief that training of ministers to be self-supporting "in trades and especially physic and surgery" contributed to the well-being of the church, on principle rather than as mere expediency, was no doubt widely held (10).

For the purpose of this thesis a tripartite classification is made. In Chapter 2 are grouped those tutors who had experience of Oxford or of Cambridge, and whose aim was therefore to give their pupils an equivalent - often with improvements - of the good things which they had enjoyed in one of the ancient universities. In Chapter 3 are the tutors who, although not themselves conversant with Oxford or Cambridge, were still - so far as can be judged - attempting to continue the traditions of those universities; by ignorance or by design, however, they often departed in notable ways from those traditions, frequently importing ideas which they themselves had picked up in universities abroad. Lastly, in Chapter 4, are those tutors who seem to have tried to construct the ideal curriculum, with necessary consideration of, but no unnecessary deference to, the traditional ideas. This classification is not rigid; in

(9) Gray 330-1; Richardson 195 ff.

(10) G. Herbert quoted in Richardson 155;
Milton Considerations... in Works III 27.

particular the line between Chapters 3 and 4 is thin, and one or two university-trained tutors have, for reasons stated, been removed from Chapter 2. Nor is the classification chronological; clearly Chapter 2 is entirely concerned with earlier tutors, but Chapter 4, even, needs to go back to the seventeenth century in one case (4,23; 4,26). Nor is it suggested that the classification is superior, for any purpose other than study of the curriculum, to those adopted by other people.

Factors determining curricula.

Part of the purpose of this thesis is to accumulate information concerning the curricula of the Academies. But it is also intended to show the reasons for the main features. The relevant factors here seem to include the statements of the tutors themselves, where available, of the value they attached to various items of the curriculum; the methods of teaching adopted; and the antecedents of the tutors (and other curriculum-makers) - their own education, their relationships with other tutors, and their positions in the general movements of ideas. Clearly a century and a half of over seventy Academies provides a wealth of material in which it is necessary to pick out prominent cases for detailed treatment. This is particularly the case in the latter part of the period, when the more public character of many of the Academies and the disappearance of the need for secrecy which existed in times of actual or possible persecution, are amongst causes of the existence of a large mass of detailed evidence, in which somewhat arbitrary selection has been necessary.

Nature and Reason.

The story of the whole period from 1660 to 1800 can be regarded, from one point of view, as the story of increasingly universal conformity to a belief in the supremacy of Reason, as the keystone of the perfect creation of Nature. The story is, however, immeasurably complicated by vast changes in the concept of Reason and of Nature, changes which went on continuously throughout the period.

Erasmus and other men of the Renaissance reemphasized Aristotle's view that it is the reasoning intellect alone which distinguishes man from brute (11). Christian Humanism in the seventeenth century equated human Reason with the God-given Inner Light of Quakerism (12). Regarded at first as a means whereby God intended his self-revelation in the Scriptures to be understood, this view justified an allegorical approach to the Bible, and was readily extended to include the use of human Reason to find God not only there but also in Nature (13). An almost imperceptible step led to a view of Reason as common sense rather than as divine light (14), leading to a profound change in the interpretation of Scripture, which was now to be taken (as Luther had urged) in its plain and

(11) Brubacher 104, Erasmus De Pueris in Woodward 186.

(12) Willey Seventeenth Century VIII.

(13) Pattison II 79, 118.

(14) Powicke 213.

literal sense - "unum, simplicem, germanum et sensum literalem" (Luther) (15). So far, the Bible was supreme, being understood by common-sense Reason and having its revelation reinforced by what that same Reason found in Nature. Now, however, the rôles of the Bible and of Reason could conveniently interchange; and for Locke, the Christian revelation merely makes plain what is already proclaimed by Nature (16). The intelligent Deist merely took the final step of supposing that his superior Reason was able to interpret Nature so cleverly that he had no need for any further Revelation (17). All these various viewpoints, and many intermediate ones, found their way into the Academies, and affected in various directions the content of the curriculum, the emphasis put upon the several parts of it, and the method of treatment of the subjects.

The divergence of views outlined above may be seen, for example, in the field of moral science. Four kinds of ethical theory can be distinguished at the end of the seventeenth century. First, the Calvinist saw moral obligations as the results of God's fiats; what God has ordained is revealed through the Scriptures to the elect, and must be done, without any but a passing interest in why He has ordained it. Second, Platonism, agreeing that it is a matter of God's decision in origin, found the basis of moral obligations in the natural law implanted in men's hearts and consciences,

(15) Pattison Loc cit, Presbyter VII (1) 15.

(16) Stephen I 98.

(17) Stephen I 206sqq, Bogue & Bennett III 250sqq.

together with the dictates of social relations and community life; Nature, interpreted by divinely-given Reason (2,17). Third, Hobbes and Spinoza relied on Nature to bring things out right in the end provided every man acts according to his own enlightened self-interest - a view satirized by Mandeville on the lines that public benefit is the outcome of private vice (18). Fourth, and most influentially of the four, Cumberland deduced moral principles by a quasi-mathematical process from Nature, including common experience (19). He uses no arguments from the Bible. His principles, thus deduced, are to be enforced by political means; he was an authoritarian royalist. "Hutcheson, Law, Paley, Priestly, Bentham, belong, no doubt some of them unconsciously, to the school founded by Cumberland" (20). Butler and Paley were both indebted to him, whilst Puffendorf, a favourite text (21) in the Academies, whilst holding that the moral law is imposed by God, also believed that it is therefore deducible, as Cumberland maintained, from Nature and by Reason. Thus both Cumberland and Puffendorf have a fundamentally utilitarian outlook on ethics, an outlook which it was a rôle of the Academies to take a leading part in propagating.

(18) Willey Eighteenth Century VI.

(19) De Legibus Naturae Disquisitio Philosophica 1672.

(20) Hallam IV cIV s33.

(21) De officiis.... 1673.

Some of the steps by which the Academies came to adopt those outlooks, in this and other respects, which were destined to become the dominant outlooks of the succeeding epoch, will become clear in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

TUTORS TRAINED AT OXFORD OR CAMBRIDGE.

Motives of Early Tutors.

The motives of the first generation of academy tutors were summarised by one of them (Morton, 2,31) under the three heads that it would be wrong for the tutor to hide his talents, that he had to provide for himself and his family, and that some provision must be made for the education according to their parents' conscience of the children of dissenters (1). Another tutor (James Owen, 3,5) mentioned the last of these, and added a reason for the existence of academies which, although at first "almost incidental" in many cases (2), became their principal function - the training of ministers (3). At the same time, this was certainly not their sole function. The academies gave higher education of a general character, and that not to dissenters only: "Some of the country gentry, and a few of the Whig nobility also, welcomed the opportunity of placing their sons under men so well qualified to give instruction as were some of the Bartholomeans" (4).

Nevertheless there is no doubt that ministerial training was the only function of some early academies and the principal interest of others. The demand for a highly educated ministry was particularly strong in those sections of protestantism to which many of the dissenters belonged. Calvin had referred to "les études

(1) Morton Vindication, in Calamy Continuation 190-1.

(2) Whitley TBHS IV 220.

(3) Owen Moderation Still 98.

(4) Matthews Calamy lvi.

nécessaires pour pouvoir enseigner la multitude et expliquer l'Écriture Sainte" and had set a magnificent example in the comprehensive studies of the Geneva Academy (5). There were dissenters (as there have been Christians since the second century) (6) who doubted the value of learning to a minister. These included the Friends, whose rejection of the full-time ministry was coupled with mistrust of learning in general. They opposed, for example, the intended Cromwellian Durham University (7). Thus we are deprived, in the following pages, of any references to Quaker activities in higher education (8), save during the final decade of the eighteenth century, when Dalton was tutor at Manchester (4,11).

The extent to which the academies were in this early stage regarded as temporary substitutes for Oxford and Cambridge is shown when the tutor quoted first above goes on to express the hope that soon the need may disappear with the opening to dissenters of at any rate some lesser halls of the Universities (9). Theophilus Gale (2,19), dying in 1677/8, left money to found exhibitions at academies, of which the holders were to be entered at a College of Oxford or Cambridge to obviate any delay in their proceeding

(5) quoted in Presbyter VI (3) 10.

(6) Rascoe 15.

(7) Richardson 18.

(8) JQHS XXXIX 70.

(9) Morton Op.cit. 196.

thither as soon as permitted (10). A beneficiary of Dr. Owen's similar bequest refers to a parallel condition attached to it; Owen wished "to have us entred at the Publick Universities, though educated at these private ones" (11).

(10) TCHS III 398.

(11) Wesley Letter 4.

Oxford and Cambridge before 1660.

The early tutors, then, and many later ones, thought of their activities as an attempt to provide the equivalent of Oxford or Cambridge.

"When it is considered that the tutors had received their education in the universities, and that some of them were engaged in the business of tuition in their colleges, it may naturally be supposed, that in their new seminaries, they entered on the same departments of literature, and adopted the same methods of instruction, which were used by themselves before, and which were regularly employed in the universities, as best adapted to the improvement of the studious youth. In confirmation of this general reasoning, the accounts which have been handed down to us of the method of study in the academies lead us to conclude, that this was the case." (12).

What, then, was the state of the universities in the period prior to 1660 when the tutors were familiar with them? The curriculum was the resultant of the impact of the Renaissance upon medieval traditions. Thus to Aristotle's Ethics, Aristotle's Politics, Aristotle's Physics and Aristotle's Metaphysics, were added classical studies (Greek, Latin and Hebrew) with an emphasis upon style and "Rhetoric". The needs of Protestantism had also a hand in shaping the university curriculum; on lines which were, by a convenient

(12) Bogue & Bennett II 79.

coincidence, similar:

the required instruction ... was largely aimed at training clergymen who would be well versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the art of disputation so that they could go forth and defend their religious doctrines against all assailants. (13).

The result of these influences was enshrined in Laud's Oxford statutes of 1636, which continued to be a reasonably accurate basic description of either university until the nineteenth century. In them the central emphasis was on Dialectic and the supremacy of Aristotle. Examinations of a sort were prescribed, for a B A in Grammar, Rhetoric, Ethics, Politics, Economics, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry and Greek, and for M A in (additionally) Astronomy, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy and Hebrew - all subjects being treated Aristotelianly (14). At the same time, and again during the Commonwealth, efforts were made to insist upon the use of Latin or Greek for colloquial as well as academical purposes (15). It is stated of a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, Oxford, c. 1660, that he
spent some years in diligent study, reading many volumes of Latin authors, especially

(13) Butts 375.

(14) Mullinger III 135-6.

(15) ibid. 136, 368.

Divines, such as Zanchy, Camero, Paraus, &c, and Greek historians, as Thucydides, Herodotus, &c. ... He had a master to teach him the elements of Hebrew, and eventually he read his Hebrew Bible through several times. Nor did Mr. Trosse ~~the student~~ remain unskilled in Rhetorique, Logick, Physicks, Ethicks, and Systemes of Divinity. (16).

A scheme which had been prepared in 1658 for the training of puritan ministers - forty at each university - intended a reasonably complete course. The students were to read as undergraduates Latin, Greek, Hebrew and

other oriental languages, and in the several arts and sciences, so far forth as their geniuses will permit.

This was to be followed by a resident B A course of four years, of which the last three were to be "principally divinity". (17). Although this proposal - which had the support of Baxter - came to nothing, its terms indicate what were then reasonable proposals for the universities.

Further indications exist of wider possibilities than the Laudian scheme suggests. An Oxford don with Cambridge experience wrote in 1654 of opportunities for exponents or students of modern theories such as those of Copernicus and Gilbert, and stated that instruction was available inside the walls of either university in every subject which anyone might desire to study (18). An undergraduate who

(16). Murch 418.

(17). M. Poole, Model for Maintaining..., in Mullinger III 536-8.

(18). Seth Ward, Vindiciae Academarum, quoted in Mullinger III 460-6.

went up to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1647 recorded afterwards that he had to blame himself for not applying himself more "close to humane literature", his "time and thoughts" being "most employed in practical divinity", so that he "preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, Sibs, far above Aristotle, Plato, Magyrue, and Wendreton" (19). At Cambridge the supremacy of Aristotle was severely shaken long before 1660. From 1590 Remism had maintained an increasing foothold, and from 1649 Cartesianism was of increasing importance. But at Oxford the parallel developments were delayed several decades at least (20). In the field of Theology, the Commonwealth purges had by no means succeeded in eradicating Arminian tendencies in both universities (21). In several respects the Commonwealth was a period when university studies reached a peak. Oxford saw a revival of interest in oriental languages (22), whilst a Cambridge don boasted to his pupils in about 1654 of progress in mathematics:

Nempe Euclidis, Archimedis, Ptolemaei,
Diophanti, horrida olim nomina iam multi
 e uobis non tremulis auribus excipiunt.
 Quid memorem iam uos didicisse arithmeticae
 ope, facili et instantanea opera uel

(19) Heywood Diaries I 162.

(20) Wordsworth Scholae 85, *Carré* 229, 250.

(21) Whitley G B Minutes xxii.

(22) Wordsworth Scholae 167.

arenarum enormes numeros accurate computare ... Sane de horribili monstro, quod Algebram nuncupant, domito et profligato multi e uobis fortes uiri triumpharunt: permulti ausi sunt Opticem directo obtutu inspicere; ... Dioptrices ... Catoptrices ... Mechanicae quo artificii magnus Archimedes romanas naues comburere potuit. (23).

There was, however, a less satisfactory side to the picture of seventeenth century university studies. It was possible to have passed normally through Oxford to MA

without having had the intelligence opened at all ... The best education which the University could give at that date did not go beyond ... the languages - or rather the Latin language, for Greek was rare, and the amount of it slight - the technical part of logic, the rudiments of grammar. (24).

This might well be referred to as "an evident failure of ... universities to meet the new conditions of life which had arisen during the seventeenth century" (25). At the Restoration the forces of conservatism were strengthened: Pearson's inaugural as Lady Margaret Professor in 1662 announced (26) his intention and method as those of the Schoolmen, particularly Aquinas; but this reaction occurred, obviously, too late to touch any but one or two special cases amongst those who became dissenting tutors. On the whole we may, perhaps, generalize

(23) Barrow quoted in Wordsworth Scholae 64.

(24) Pattison, A Chapter in University ... in Essays I 311.

(25) J. W. Adamson in CHEL IX 381.

(26) Mullinger III 587.

from the rather conflicting evidence, to say that those trained at the English Universities before 1660 had been under a system which was at its minimum extremely poor and conservative; but which provided a field wherein enlightened tutors and serious students could stray a remarkably long way beyond that minimum.

Obstacles.

Before proceeding to consider how the tutors of the early academies used their experience of Oxford and Cambridge, it is necessary to refer to some features of the conditions under which they worked.

The laws against nonconformity, applied with varying severity from time to time and from place to place, had two effects on the academies. They caused removals and discontinuities in the arrangements, which can hardly have contributed to the creation of a suitable academic atmosphere; and they forced a measure of secrecy upon the tutors, who therefore worked in, frequently, remote places (see map), and in ignorance, except here and there, of each others' activities. To this is to be ascribed the bewildering diversity of the early academies, and also the impossibility of classifying them in any reasoned manner. The grouping adopted in this chapter is no more than a convenience.

Clearly the academies could not boast with Commonwealth Oxford (2:2) of being able to teach anything required. A pupil could learn only that which his sole tutor could teach, and he could read only those books which his tutor happened to be able to provide. The lack of an adequate library was mentioned, for instance, by a pupil of Shuttlewood of Northamptonshire (Appendix C) (27).

(27) Thomas Emlyn, quoted in McLachlan 43.

Even Defoe, whose enthusiasm for his own education at Morton's Academy was in most respects unbounded (2,31), complained of the "want of conversation" at the academies as compared with the "public universities" (28).

The remainder of this chapter is an account of some of the university-trained tutors of the years following the Restoration, and an attempt to indicate some causes of the various ways in which they departed from the traditional curriculum. Other tutors of the same class but who are not here dealt with at length, are listed in Appendix C.

(28) Wilson Memoirs of Defoe quoted in McLachlan 79.

Frankland, Henry and other Presbyterians:

Amongst early tutors were several whose dissent was of a moderate type, who endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with conformists, and hoped for re-incorporation in a reformed Church of England. They are the subjects of the next sections (2,5 to 2,9).

Richard Frankland of Rathmell.

Richard Frankland, 1630-98, MA, Christ's College, Cambridge (29), is generally stated (30) to have been designated a tutor of Cromwell's proposed College at Durham. His name does not, however, occur in the Letters Patent of 1657 (105)³¹, nor do there appear to be any details of the intended curriculum (31). His Academy, begun in 1669/70 if not before, was very influential; (32) Frankland

pursued in his northern refuges the methods of his Cambridge training. Frankland's institution set the model for all the older Academies whose Tutors ranged themselves under the Presbyterian name.

Philosophy and theology formed the solid nucleus of study; philology, science, Biblical apparatus were added in various proportions, according to the aptitudes and particular tastes of individual Tutors (33).

Details of Frankland's course are given by James Clegg, a pupil who spent three years at the Academy until was closed in 1698 by Frankland's death. He refers to

(29) Matthews Calamy 211.

(30) S. Wesley Reply 34, DWL MS 4, Bogue & Bennett II 16, Toulmin 236.

(31) Gray Appendix 112, Hutchinson I 518 ff, Allen.

(32) Ranson; Durham cuttings LH 1 F 1.

(33) Gordon Addresses 201.

the usual course of Logick, Metaphysicks, Somatology, Pneumatology, natural Philosophy, Divinity, and Chronology; during which [the pupil] writ over the accurate Tables his Tutor had drawn up for instructing his Pupils in these Sciences (34).

————— The "Table" for Logic begins thus:

Quaestiones quaedam LOGICAE perspicue discussae & determinatae: Qn.1. An disciplina illa quae Rationem instituit rectius dicatur Logica, an Dialectica?

...

Qn.3. An Causa sit fons omnis Scientiae. Aff. (35).

Some indication of the subjects regarded as necessary for ministerial students is afforded by accounts of pre-ordination examinations. Thus, in 1678, with candidates including one of his pupils, Mr. Frankland .. examined them about Hebrew, in the Greek Testament, in philosophy, in divinity authors...

and, after a candidate had delivered a thesis in Latin, two ministers "opposed him in short dispute syllogistically"; whilst another candidate begged leave to deliver himself in English which was permitted for the benefit of such as were present .. (36).

(34) Life of Ashe 35, quoted by McLachlan 66.

(35) Nicholson & Axon 131.

(36) Heywood Diaries 195, 196.

It appears that the latter was not one of Frankland's pupils, any of whom would perhaps not have dared to make any such suggestion. The agreement to dispense with Latin is however very significant. Its low priority is further indicated by another incident on a similar occasion in 1681, when, after the candidate "Mr Tho. Jolly" had preached in public,

we dismissed the people, and then fell to our work of examining him, wherein we spent about three houres, going through logick, philosophy, languages, divinity, but (through an oversight) we had no position in latin, however something was done extempore by way of disputation. (37).

The regular procedure was, however, followed with John Heywood in the same year:

Mr Frankland proceeded to examine him in logick, philosophy, history, chronology, &c. and then ordered him to read his thesis in latin upon this Qu: An Episcopus sit qui presbiter: he read a long discourse, affirming it, Mr Dawson, Mr Issot, framed argts agt it, he answered, we refresht ourselves and so parted. (38).

The University disputation was still there in principle; but it was already on the way to becoming a formality rounding off the real curriculum. "History" would presumably not include anything modern.

(37) op cit 199.

(38) op cit 203.

Clegg gives the following account (39) of life at the Academy; to which he went up in 1695 at the age of sixteen - earlier than normal because of schooling difficulties.

He [Frankland] had at that time about eighty young men Boarded with him and in ye Town near him, to whom he read Lectures with the help of an assistant. About a dozen more came near that time, and were formed into a class .. We entered with Logick; .. One tutor was a Remist but we read ye Logick both of Aristotle and of Ramus, and within the Compass of the first year I was thought an acute disputant in that way. But about yt time I fell into perplexing doubts about ye existence of God, and a future state, which put me on reading all the books I could compass on these subjects much more early than I otherwise should have done; but I went on with my studies thro' metaphysicks and pneumatology which took up the three years I spent there ... On Thursday afternoon we sometimes met for disputation, and often each night we had a conference on what we had been reading during that day. About a dozen of us agreed that one should sit up all night and call ye rest up next

morning about 4 o'clock, and we went to bed at 10 or 11.

The resulting fourteen hour day of hard study led, however, to ill health, and later Clegg bemoans of his time

Too much of it was .. spent in conversing with the Ladies, Mr. Frankland's daughters, which first led me to read Poetry and Novels and such like trash, which I found reason to wish I had never meddled with (39).

The benefits of a study of current English literature in a co-educational atmosphere were evidently not appreciated by Clegg, who was soon redeemed by a fellow pupil, James Openshaw. His interest in natural philosophy, fed at the academy presumably from an entirely theoretical angle, remained with him, however, throughout life. In 1743 whilst away from home, at Gainsborough, he went .. to a Lecture on Experimental Philosophy by one Mr Miden or Mithin. It was on the influence of air and water in vegetation. Several experiments were tried with the air pump to show the manner of respiration, &c. (40).

Later in the same year he bought a barometer (40) and in 1747 saw "the Electrical Experiments" at Manchester (41).

Frankland was reputed an "acute mathematician" (42). But the most interesting feature of his

(40) ibid. 79-80.

(41) ibid. 90.

(42) DWL MS 4; Toulmin 236.

arrangements is probably the freedom of approach to philosophy mentioned in the above extract. Here was a forebaste of the "free Philosophy" which was to be a marked feature of some later academies (3,13; 3,17; 4,2). That this method was followed reasonably thoroughly under Frankland is shown not only by the above reference but also by the list of textbooks used (Appendix A). These include Ramus, who had published his epoch-making attack on Aristotle in 1543, and who was well-known at Cambridge in Frankland's time (43) (2,2); and, even more significantly, Descartes on Philosophy, the Cartesians Rohault and Clarke (who only later became a Newtonian (44)) on Physics, and the Platonist More (2,^{2,17}18*) on Ethics. The only Astronomy text is Gassendi, an anti-Aristotelian whose (45) philosophy of space paved the way for Newton (46). It is only in the department of theology that the texts (Windelius, Ames and Wollibus) are orthodox (Calvinist). Even here, however, it is recorded that the students disputed weekly before Frankland on subjects selected from Ames, various students taking the pro and the con of each question (47). Frankland himself published anti-Socinian tracts (48). Evidently he had kept well up to date with current

(43) Mullinger II 406-7.

(44) d'Irsay II 107, 112.

(45) d'Irsay II 46.

(46) Whittaker 75-77.

(47) Heywood Diaries III 164.

(48) Colligan 10.

literature - several of the texts (More, Clarke, Rohault) were not published until after he had started his furtive and peripatetic tutorship.

It might be expected that a one-man effort (for the assistants were merely senior pupils - Issot, Owen and Frankland's son) conducted under constant persecution (the Academy enjoyed seven successive locations (49) in under thirty years) would necessarily show some lowering of standards. That Frankland avoided any such lowering is shown by the acceptance of his pupils (50) at Edinburgh to enter the final year of the M A course. No doubt Frankland's success in this respect is bound up with the strong sense of vocation which his ministerial students in particular brought to the prosecution of their studies. We have seen above how they had their own arrangements for rising early. Heywood records (51) with satisfaction overhearing whilst on a visit to the Academy his sons' fervent prayers. Such an attitude in pupils explains a good deal of the success of such men as Frankland.

(49) TCHS II 422-5.

(50) Mounfield 70, Heywood Diaries 165, 177.

(51) Diaries 165.

Philip Henry of Broad Oak.

Another presbyterian who engaged from an early date in tutorial activities, though on a much more restricted scale than Frankland, was Philip Henry, 1631-96, M A Christ Church, Oxford (52). He kept no regular academy, but during most of his life after his ejection had living with him one or more students whose studies he superintended. Usually they had already been through a course of university standing elsewhere (53). In several cases these pupils were also tutors to Henry's children (54).

The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the Ministry, was to study the Scriptures and make them familiar. Bonus Textuarius est bonus Theologus, was a Maxim he often minded them of. For this Purpose he recommended them to the Study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the Scriptures in the Original. He also advised them to the Use of an Interleaved Bible, wherein to insert such expositions or observations, as occur occasionally in Sermons and other Books, which he would say, are more happy and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed Commentators. When some young Men desired the Happiness of coming into his Family, he would tell them, You come to me as

(52) Lee Henry.

(53) Wordsworth VI 317, Diaries 231, Toulmin 242.

(54) Diaries 231, 236, 282, Wordsworth VI 256.

Naaman did to Elisha, expecting that I should do this and t'other for you, and alas! I can but say as he did, "Go, wash in Jordan". Go, study the Scriptures. I profess to teach no other Learning but Scripture Learning ... the true learning of a Gospel Minister consists not in being able to speak Latin fluently, and to dispute in Philosophy, but in being able to speak a Word in Season to weary Souls (55).

This comment would give an impression of a rather narrowly biblical curriculum were it not qualified in several ways.

Henry's interest in recent history - a subject not yet much esteemed - is occasioned by the encouragement he derives from the deliverance given by God in previous times of persecution (56). He was acquainted with Tallents (2,29) and appreciated his Tables (57). Henry's interest in history did not, however, extend to earlier ecclesiastical history. He admitted at the time of his ordination that he had not read the whole of Eusebius (58). The subject's main purpose - the elucidation of points in dispute with the various early heretics - would probably not appeal to him much. He was willing, when necessary, to give an account of his

(55) Diaries 333-4.

(56) Diaries 101, 343.

(57) ibid 306, 317.

(58) ibid 37.

reasons for his own nonconformity and anti-congregationalism (59), and on one occasion to take part in a public debate in which he collaborated with James Owen (3,5) and Jonathan Roberts in defending Presbyterian ordination against Bishop Lloyd and Mr. Dodwell (60). But his own inclinations lay much more with those of Baxter (61) in the direction of tolerance. He deplored words wasted in useless controversy over ecclesiastical order (62) and advised some of his friends to send their sons to the University (63). For some time after his ejection his dislike of schism kept him from preaching (64). Thus Henry was unlikely to be enthusiastic over a subject like early ecclesiastical history, which seemed concerned principally with controversies.

In addition to history, there was another modern subject whose importance Henry appreciated. That was French. Writing to his son, the famous Matthew, then a student at Gray's Inn, in 1685/6, he expresses approval of the study of French. To a lawyer it was practically indispensable at a time when recent law reports were in French (65). But Philip Henry also wishes that he himself had known some French, for reading ecclesiastical works (66).

(59) Diaries 277.

(60) ibid 309.

(61) Wordsworth VI 217.

(62) Diaries 234-5.

(63) Wordsworth VI 257.

(64) Bogue & Bennett II 212.

(65) Watson Refugees 6.

(66) Diaries 341.

As regards the standard curriculum, Philip Henry valued the study of the classics, although making little use of them in the pulpit (67). He risked disapproval from some particular acquaintances by going to see a children's performance of some Terence in 1665 (68). Natural science, however, seems to have been outside the range of his interests - apart from curiosity in regard to such matters as a change of colour of a hen and the spontaneous combustion of a stick placed in liquid. He does express his lack of interest in astrology (69). Mathematics is never mentioned. A subject which rarely entered into the curricula of academies, although often of considerable interest to the rural minister, is horticulture. Something of the kind is mentioned in connection with Trosnant Baptist Academy (Pontypool) in its early days (70), in the priestly college of St. Samson in Wales in the fifth century (71), and in connection with modern Greek ministerial training (81). There is no indication that Philip Henry instructed his pupils in anything of this kind, but the frequent detailed references in his Diary (72) indicate that the tending of his estate occupied a great deal of his own thought and time. He can hardly have avoided transferring some of his enthusiasm and his knowledge to his pupils.

(67) Wordsworth VI 127.

(68) Diaries 171.

(69) Diaries 155, 319.

(70) Roberts 57.

(71) Roscoe 19, 50.

(72) Diaries 172, 274, 281, 282, 297.

It remains to be added that Henry's Will provided for each of his daughters to receive not only, in accordance with his emphasis on Scriptural knowledge, a copy of Poole's English Annotations, but also a copy of Barton's singing psalms. References to musical interests of tutors are so rare that they are worth mentioning when met with.

Henry's tutorial activities hardly amounted to an academy, but the influence of his personality and his outlook was transmitted by a pupil who became a tutor of some fame, Samuel Benion (3,5). Henry's central interest in Scripture blossomed in his son Matthew's famous Commentary, which achieved such preëminence that it is still, for instance, occupying the first place in a list of commentaries drawn up by C. H. Spurgeon for his students in 1876 (73).

(73) Commenting 2.

John Malden of Whitchurch.

Amongst Philip Henry's friends were, in addition to Francis Tallents and Henry Langley, of whom accounts will be give later (2,21; 2,29), two other men who engaged in tutorial work in a small way.

John Malden (died 1681) of Whitchurch or Alkington, in Shropshire, was a member of the presbytery which ordained Philip Henry in 1657. He was a "man of great learning, an excellent Hebraician and a solid preacher". Philip Henry, commenting on Malden's death, says: "So much learning, piety, and humility, I have not seen this great while laid in a grave". Malden had a few pupils. His Library at the time of his death was valued at £24 (74).

(74)Henry Diaries 38, 309, 298;

Wordsworth VI 156, 383;

Toulmin 244;

Parker Appendix I;

TBHS IV 220-1; CHEL vol X chap XVI Appendix.

Henry Newcome of Manchester (and Ellenbrook).

The other friend of Philip Henry who engaged in minor tutorial activities is perhaps of more importance than Malden in the story of the academies, for he paved the way for the notable academy of his assistant and successor in the pastorate, John Chorlton (3,17). Henry Newcome (died 1695) MA, John's, Cambridge, was noted for his "great eloquence", and seems to be the ideal example of the Commonwealth Presbyterian who did not undervalue worldly pleasure. He enjoyed a game of "Bowles", liked to see his daughter dancing to the virginals, helped a fellow-minister (Robert Wilde) to rewrite his play The Benefice for publication, and hinted on one occasion ^{that} "a barrel of oysters" impeded his study of Chronology. It is perhaps unfortunate that his influence was passed on through only a few pupils. His private reading included travels and recent history (75).

(75) Richardson 142, 185, 216, 247;

JPMS IX 67;

Bogue & Bennett II 38-9;

Henry Diaries 303;

TCHS I 62-8.

Hickman of Warwickshire.

Another moderate dissenter was Henry Hickman, BD, former fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who had an academy in Warwickshire. Bromsgrove, Stourbridge and Dusthorp are given as its locations. Oliver Heywood, who knew what a University was (2,2), describes the training there in 1673 of his two sons as "university-learning". For them, however, and for some other pupils, the course of a year or so under Hickman was only preparatory to that under Frankland (2,5). Thus presumably the "logic and philosophy" taught by Hickman were, at any rate at that date - it is suggested that he was then on the point of retiring on account of old age - not of quite the highest standard. Hickman's interests included the theory of the ministry, on which he wrote a tract* intended for European circulation. He spent two periods in Holland and is perhaps one of the earliest tutors to have been in contact with Dutch ideas (3,2) (76).

- (76) Parker Appendix I;
McLachlan 7;
Heywood Diaries 204,334;
CHEL vol X chap XVI Appendix;
Whiting 459.
 * Apologia pro Ministris 1664.

Thomas Doolittle of London and neighbourhood.

Another of the ejected presbyterians to keep an academy was Thomas Doolittle, 1630-?1707, MA, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He began educational activities very soon after ejection, and from about 1672 was doing work of university standard. Persecution caused him to work in several successive places in and near London. He was assisted for a time by Thomas Vincent, 1634-1678, MA, Christ Church, Oxford, and by incorporation at Cambridge, and stated to have taught in one of the universities (77).

In speaking of the qualifications of ministers Doolittle singles out for sole mention amongst intellectual matters the necessity that a minister shall excel his hearers in acquaintance with, and understanding of, the Bible (78). Perhaps we may link this with the preëminence of one of Doolittle's pupils, Matthew Henry, as a Biblical commentator, and deduce that the curriculum was specially Bible-centred. The Scriptures are referred to by Doolittle in a way which suggests that he was prepared to let them speak for themselves rather than refer to commentators (79).

(77) Doolittle, Body, Memoirs prefixed;

Parker Appendix I;

McLachlan 10;

CHEL vol X ch XVI Appendix; Wilson Dissenting II 191-2;

DNB s v Doolittle and Vincent;

Bogue&Bennett II 53; DWL MS 3.

(78) Body 432.

(79) Young Man's 14 sqq.

It cannot be supposed, however, that Doolittle's course was a narrow one. "Students of philosophy" are mentioned as distinct from "students of divinity" (80), and Matthew Henry was under Doolittle's care to prepare for entry to Gray's Inn (81).

In ethics, Doolittle's standpoint, in accordance with his orthodox calvinism (82), is that man's duty is defined and revealed by God:

Could man since the fall have known his duty to God, except God had revealed it unto man? No. (83).

Estimates of Doolittle vary. A pupil who is known for his later divergence from orthodoxy, Thomas Emlyn, says that his tutor was

a very worthy and diligent divine, yet was not eminent for knowledge or depth of thought (84).

On the other hand, he was an esteemed friend of James Coningham (3,17) (85), and Baxter (whose influence had been a major factor in Doolittle's conversion and decision to enter the ministry (86)) told Philip Henry that he "could not have plac'd" his son "better" than under Doolittle (87). Amongst his pupils who became tutors were Thomas Ridgley (3,12),

(80) Calamy Life I 106-7.

(81) Lee Henry.

(82) Young Man's 117, 47 sqq; Body passim.

(83) Young Man's 268.

(84) Calamy loc cit, editor's footnote quoting S. Emlyn Memoirs.

(85) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 4275 (193).

(86) DNB s v Doolittle.

(87) Henry Diaries 291.

Thomas Rowe (3,10), John Ker (3,3) and probably Samuel Jones (3,8). All these men were, however, students also at other places of higher education. It is therefore difficult to estimate the extent of Doolittle's influence on and through them.

The Reyners, Cole, Traill, and other Congregationalists.

The second major section into which English dissent crystallized out was that in which the form of ecclesiastical government led to the alternative names of "Congregationalist" and "Independent". These dissenters were, on the whole, the more strictly calvinist in theology, and the less firmly convinced of the utility of higher education. Several early tutors of this persuasion are the subject of the following sections (2,12 - 2,16).

Edward and John Reyner of Lincoln.

Amongst the earliest dissenting tutors after the Restoration was Reyner of Lincoln. Edward Reyner, born 1600, MA 1624 of St. John's College, Cambridge, was stated by his son to be already deceased in 1663 (88). The son, John, (died 1697) was therefore presumably the tutor whose influence was transmitted through his pupil Oldfield (3,23) (89). John Reyner accepted his father's educational views and published, with slight amendments, Edward Reyner's small but condensed Treatise of The Necessity of Humane Learning for a Gospel-Preacher, 1663. The prefatory Epistle is by John Reyner. Platonism is specifically rejected in the body of the book (90), and Edward Reyner is orthodox in rejecting any trace of works-salvation (91). There are, nevertheless, noticeable similarities between the ideas of the Reyners and those of the Cambridge Platonists (2,17), and authorities quoted include Cudworth and More. In connection with the latter fact it is, however, necessary to notice that the list of authorities shows remarkable eclecticism, including also such names as Grotius, Baronius and Capel - representatives of three very diverse viewpoints all definitely out of the orthodox calvinist tradition. Gale's belief

(88) J. Reyner Epistle to Humane Learning.

(89) DNB; CHEL X chap XVI Appendix;

Wilson Dissenting IV 160; Parker Appendix I.

(90) Humane 103.

(91) Whethæ Grace 305.

in the biblical origin of pagan learning was accepted (92) by Edward Reyner. John Reyner said that true religion raises and advances Reason, which is the candle of the Lord (93) - a favourite biblical phrase of the Cambridge Platonists. His father wrote

Philosophy ... is the birth of right Reason (or, as one has called it, the child of rectified reason) it is the knowledge of Truth invented by the light of natural Reason, which is put into man's mind by God Himself (94).

This resemblance to the ideas and language of the Platonists is specially marked in connection with Ethics. Thus John Reyner found moral law "written on the hearts of men and published by the voice of Reason" (95), and Edward Reyner defined the usefulness of moral science to the minister under three headings:

1. To declare that the Moral Law of God is written naturally in the Heart, seeing divers of the Heathen, who were amiably and laudably moral, were never by Grace elevated above Nature.
2. To shew what Dictates or Doctrines even Nature teacheth men...
3. To shame Christians, who enjoy Means of Grace, the light of the Gospel, yet come

(92) Humane 98-9.

(93) Epistle; cf. Prov.20.27.

(94) 101.

(95) Epistle.

very short even of Heathen men in Moral virtues ... (96).

There seems to be a touch of an attitude which was to become more common at a later date in the older man's inclusion in his summing-up of the case for Learning,^{of} a reference to its power in "regulating, reforming, and restraining even carnal men" (97). His general position on the basic questions of moral science was evidently close to that of the Platonists.

The Reyners find a use for a very wide curriculum. Hebrew and Greek have pride of place. Specific mention is made of their usefulness in correcting papistical errors arising from mistranslations in the Vulgate (98). John Reyner used a metaphor which seems worth recording:

The milk of the Word is then most sincere, when drawn from those full breasts, the Hebrew and Greek Texts: whereas it becomes more dilute by being siled through a Translation, where, part of the cream sticking in the passage, it loseth somewhat of its delicious and genuine relish (99).

To the usefulness of Syriac and Chaldee, explained by Edward Reyner, who added that of Arabic, by his son (100).

Latin's claim to be counted the third Christian language was based, interestingly, on

(96)109, 108.

(97)255.

(98)11-12.

(99)Epistle; cf. I Pet. 2.2.

(100)26-34.

on its use together with Hebrew and Greek for the superscription on the Cross (101). But its utility was found in four directions:

- 1/ the use of grammars and lexicons in dealing with other languages;
- 2/the interpretation of the many Latin words and Latinisms found in the Greek New Testament;
- 3/"Authors of all kinds, and on all subjects" in Latin;
- 4/the understanding of English words, especially technical theological terms, of Latin Etymology (102).

The uses of Rhetoric and Logic included English preaching (103) - a foretaste, surely, of the development of the former subject under much later tutors. Nevertheless the aim of the student of logic was to "proceed syllogistically" (104).

In Natural Philosophy Edward Reyner had the outlook of the Platonists as his principal interest: from His works of Creation and providence we may and should learn the power, wisdom, goodness and glory of God (which Natural Philosophy may, through God's blessing, much further us in) ... (105).

He added two further uses of Natwal Science - it enabled a minister to confute arguments to the effect that Christ's miracles are not supernatural,

(101)2; Luke 23.38.

(102)24-25.

(103)50-51, 81.

(104)81.

(105)92.

but fall within the framework of the laws of Nature (an argument more frequently advanced in the twentieth century by apologists than by opponents of Christianity); and secondly, "Philosophy is a very pleasant study". (106). A most human and cogent reason for studying any subject! It was used again when the author turned to consider astronomy, which has an additional value, the interpretation of various passages of scripture (107).

A minister would find geometry useful in its applications to other sciences, and arithmetic in the interpretation of scripture. The latter rather unusual reason for this particular study was enlarged by a reference to genealogies, prophecies, and mystical numbers, an example of the latter being the Number of the Beast (Rev. 13/18) (108).

History included Jewish, classical and ecclesiastical, and its uses were the interpretation of the Bible, the understanding of ecclesiastical matters, and appreciation of the providence of God, particularly in the preservation of the Church (109). Geography was sacred only (110).

Despite the Reyners' acceptance of much of the Platonist viewpoint and their belief in the existence of some God-given "light of Nature" (111) in all men, they do not seem to have found

(106)93-4.

(107)153-7.

(108)150,141.

(109)110-129.

(110)158.

(111)Whether Grace 299.

any reason why the prospective minister should study the classics. For tutors with so broad a curriculum, so high a regard for the value of human learning in general, and so sure a belief in the virtue of the best pagans, this was a particularly notable omission at that date. It would, of course, be mollified by the knowledge that grammar school education then gave the student far more knowledge of classical literature than, say, at the present day.

The Reyners' book, being an apology for learning, was written in English; but there is no reason to suppose that they doubted the appropriateness of Latin as the academical language.

Edward Reyner sums up his belief in the value of Learning, evidently to the general student as well as to the minister, thus:

- I. a Natural Good by which the Heathen have attained to so much knowledge of God from the Creatures ... as made them unexcusable, though not sufficient to save them.
- II. a Moral Good, for regulating, reforming, and restraining even carnal men, the very Heathen.
- III. a Civil Good, to qualifie men for all Callings, and employments ... (112).

The importance of the Reyners lies principally in the influence of one of them on Oldfield (3,23), whose views - owing more to the Reyners

2:12

2:12'

51.

than might at first sight be supposed - were also embodied in a book and so became an important influence on later tutors, including Doddridge (4,2).

Thomas Cole of Nettlebed.

Thomas Cole, 1627?-1697, MA, tutor at Nettlebed in the Chilterns between about 1666 and about 1674 (when he moved to London), had been a tutor at Christ Church and for four years Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford (113). The Nettlebed course is described thus:

Mr. Cole ... read to us Aristotle's Philosophy, and instructed us in the Classicks, and Oratory. He Preach'd twice every Sunday to his Family and us (114).

There was a protracted dispute thirty years afterwards about charges against Cole of slackness in "Matters of Morality and Religion" which made Nettlebed an academy where pupils met "all the Dangers and Vices of the University, without the Advantages" (115). Whatever may be the truth in this matter, the description of Cole's course would seem to tally with the statement that he "pursued his former employment" (116), with no indication of any innovation.

There are, however, three further details which call for mention. The first is that Cole belonged, ecclesiastically, to the more extremely calvinistic section of Dissent. He rejected

- (113) Gordon Freedom 240; Parker Appendix I;
CHEL vol X ch XVI Appendix; McLachlan 11, DNB.
 (114) Wesley Defense 43-4 quoting Bonnel Memoirs.
 (115) Wesley loc cit, quoting Bonnel Life.
 (116) Bogue & Bennett II 58.

Antinomianism (117) but wrote against Daniel Williams, saying "Hell is full of Legal convictions" (118). He accordingly expressed the distrust, often found with such views, of human learning:

let our rational faculties be never so quick and strong, they cannot carry out a Child of God, much less others, to the least act of Faith, without the help of the Spirit (119).

... very specious, and very suitable to Humane Reason, as most things are that contradict the Mysteries of the Gospel ... (120)
The Light of Reason lies in the evidence of the thing it self, as it falls under a Humane Understanding arguing from the cause to the effect, drawing certain conclusions from undeniable premises, granted and acknowledged by all men to be Truths in Nature: Upon such Concessions they build all their acquired Knowledge, and do put the stamp of Truth upon all fair inferences from thence, which they judge agreeable to those first principles and notions of Truth, that pass for current under that name among credulous men, who do but think they know, and do rather guess than judge; so great is the uncertainty of all humane Knowledge, and

(117) Regeneration 48, 104.

(118) Colligan 16.

(119) Regeneration 77.

(120) Faith 64.

we have little cause to glory in it. (121).

But Cole gave also his belief that "Humane Learning" may be good, provided it is sufficiently deep and "well managed". He wrote:

"The Learned Lord Bacon saith, that a little Phylosophy makes men Atheists, but a great deal will convince them of a Deity. Some mens Logick and School Learning overthrows Reason, which duely improved and well managed, would teach them to argue otherwise ..." (122).

This is the first point of interest regarding Cole. He was troubled, as the Presbyterians and near-Presbyterians were not, by doubts as to the status of learning in the Christian scheme of things. He resolved the question in the manner indicated, and became a pioneer tutor to put his principles into action.

Secondly, it is interesting to learn that Cole is

against the use of ... Scholastick Terms in Divinity; I am casting them out, and perswading you from mingling vain Philosophy and Science, falsly so called, with the Mysteries of Faith, which are best understood in their own native simplicity, as they are delivered to us in plain Scripture-language (123).

Perhaps an example of Cole's refusal to be hidebound by accepted conventions in one realm, that of logic, is found in his proof of a

(121) Faith 21-22.

(122) Faith 123 73.

(123) Regeneration 92.

proposition (that "the Subjects of Regeneration" are "The Elect, only the Elect, and all the Elect"). The proof is by reductio ad absurdum, but with the unusual feature that there are three options, two of which are proved impossible (124).

But perhaps the most interesting point about Cole is his relationship to Locke. The latter had been his pupil at Christ Church in 1652. In 1689, the year before the appearance of Locke's Essay Concerning the Human Understanding, Cole wrote:

The Word makes an outward proposal of the Object, the Spirit inwardly enlightens the faculty, disposes the heart to receive it: as things of sense are perceived by a more gross corporeal contact, so things of reason and Faith are let in, in a more intellectual way, by mental conceptions. How all intelligible things, purely rational, do arise from Sense, I shall not now speak to; but 'tis certain that all inward representations of things purely spiritual and supernatural are made to us by the Holy Ghost; revealing Christ in us, and in him discovering to us the reality and truth of all the Word speaks of (125).

(124) Regeneration 33-34.

(125) Regeneration 53 (italics not in original).

The words underlined, introduced as they are by way of an aside mentioning something which Cole expects his readers to accept as normal (anyway from him), look very much like a re-statement of a classical outlook in such a way as to render it indistinguishable from Locke's tabula-rasa theory. Two questions arise. To what extent did Locke owe his ideas to Cole? To what extent was Cole, in his position as a leading London Congregational minister and a founder of the Congregational Fund Board (126), a factor in gaining acceptance for a Lockean philosophy in that ultra-calvinistic section of Dissent which must have been repelled by the unorthodoxy of Locke's writings on toleration (where, also, Cole showed less bigotry than, perhaps, the average minister of his persuasion (127)) and on the Epistles?

(126) TCHS V 135.

(127) Regeneration 99.

Robert Traill of London.

There is no evidence that Cole continued his tutorial activities after his removal to London in 1674. His assistant in the pastorate, Robert Traill, 1642-1716, MA, Edinburgh, is, however, known to have taken at least one ministerial pupil, as well as associating himself with Cole in the foundation of the Congregational Fund Board in 1695 (182). Traill had no connection with Oxford or Cambridge. He fled to Holland at the Restoration and took a prominent part at Utrecht in controversy against the Arminians (129). Thus he had the benefit of Dutch as well as Scottish University contacts, but the early date of these contacts, and his close connection with Cole, warrant Traill's inclusion in this Chapter rather than in Chapter 3.

Traill follows Cole in several respects, and shows interesting differences from him in others. Like Cole, he is distrustful of human learning:

Many ministers have found, that they have preached better, and to more profit to the people, when they got their sermon by meditation on the word, and prayer, than by turning over many authors. From this neglect of the word also come a great many doctrines, that are learned by man, and borrowed from philosophy; which though they may have some truth

(128) Wilson Dissenting I 141, 256; TCMS V 135.

(129) Memoir in Works I iv-v.

in them, yet since it is divine truth that a minister should bring forth to the people, he should not rest on such low things (130).

Again, he condemns

The establishing and advancing of divine truth upon the foundation of human reason; as if there were some weakness and insufficiency in those methods and arguments of working on mens consciences, that the Holy Ghost prescribes (131).

Thus "it is needful that ministers be well acquainted with the holy scriptures" (132) and, presumably, not much else. With Cole, Traill considers traditional logic ill-adapted for the treatment of theological topics (133). His condemnation of the customary curriculum includes, at any rate to some extent, oratory (134).

Traill succumbs to the spirit of his age in some matters, however. As a first example, he is found quoting with approval the dictum of Ames that "Arminian divinity ... is contra communem sensum fidelium" (135) - surely a not very thin end of a rationalist wedge. Secondly, Traill welcomes the experimentalist approach to philosophy and so to theology:

They have done good service to the commonwealth of learning, who, leaving the

(130) By what means may ministers best win souls?
1682, in Works I 243.

(131) ibid 248.

(132) ibid 242.

(133) Doctrine of Justification vindicated from the charge of Antinomianism in Works I 257.

(134) By what means ... loc cit 249.

(135) Doctrine of Justification ... loc cit 265-6.

unprofitable, speculative, and notional philosophy, have set upon the experimental. And any man may see, that theology hath been, especially by the school-men, as much corrupted; and it is to be cured by reducing it into practice and experience. For certainly religion consists not so much in the notions of truth in the mind ... as in the faith and love of truth in the heart, and in the fruits of that faith in the life (136).

So Traill parts company with the high calvinism of Cole and, under the influence of the experimentalism he had perhaps imbibed in Holland (3,2), joins the Cambridge Platonists (2,17) in preparing the way for the practical evangelical religion of the Doddridge school (4,2). As a London minister and a foundation member of the Congregational Fund Board he was a person of some influence.

(136) Preface to Sermons concerning the Lord's Prayer (Jn 17/24) in Works II iii.

Richard Swift of Mill Hill.

An early academy kept by an ejected congregationalist was that at Mill Hill from 1665 of Richard Swift (1616-1701). He was probably self-educated, being "proficient at Latin and Greek".

"His pupils must have imbibed some of his piety. One wonders whether he also imbued them with the fifth-monarchy and communistic notions which he seems to have exhibited in his earlier years" (137)..

(137)N. G. Brett-James in TCHS XVI 34-36;
Parker Appendix I.

Payne of Saffron Walden.

John or William Payne (c1648-1726) was a friend of John Owen (of Oxford during the Commonwealth) and was pastor at Saffron Walden from 1694, where he undertook the training of ministers under the aegis of the Congregational Fund Board (138). A somewhat restricted course is perhaps implied by a pupil's statement that tutors of academies

instruct their Pupils in the Principles of the Christian Religion, the Duties of Loyalty, and the Practice of all Moral Virtues (139).

The second item indicates the inclusion in Payne's course of some attention to political matters.

(138) TCHS V 139-146, 81-2; Bogue & Bennett II 66.
(139) Theophilus Lobb 88.

Tutors influenced by the Cambridge Platonists.

The group of writers known as the Cambridge Platonists included no nonconformists. Nevertheless it exercised a profound influence on the academies.

The men in question - Benjamin Whichcote (1609-1683), John Smith (1616-1652), Ralph Cutworth (1617-1688), Henry More (1614-1687), and others - propagated a philosophy which was specifically Christian and yet of a broadly Platonic character. They "condemned alike the Anglicanism of Laud with its ceremonies, and Puritanism with its insistence on the doctrines of election and predestination" (140), and rejected the point of view from which Christianity appeared made for nothing else but to be 'proved'; what use to make of it when it was proved was not much thought about (141).

There was thus a practical strain in their teaching. Despite their having been termed "îlot unique dans cette mer d'empirisme qui enveloppe toute la philosophie anglaise de François Bacon à Locke" (142), their reading of Plato and Plotinus led them to find in every man a "seed of deiform nature" (143) and to lay emphasis on the consequent outgrowth of moral virtues in actual life (144).

(140)Hart 49.

(141)Pattison Essays II 48.

(142)d'Irsay 42.

(143)R. Jones 290. quoting Whichcote via Burnet.

(144)Powicke 47-8.

Such views were more akin to Quakerism than to orthodox Calvinism. More, in fact, became increasingly sympathetic towards the Friends in later life (145), in spite of natural aversion from their "enthusiasm" (146). Smith wrote

David, when he would teach us how to know what Divine goodness is, called not for speculation but sensation. 'Taste and see how good the Lord is' (147). ...

Our Saviour's main scope was to promote a holy life (148).

And Whichcote said

The first thing, in religion, is to refine a man's temper, and, second, to govern his practice (149).

Reason, which is "the very voice of God" (150), reveals how we should behave (151); the Scriptures (abundantly illustrated by quotations from Plotinus and Plato) confirm what Reason has revealed, and the Atonement is (in More's words) a "sweet and kind condescension of the Wisdom of God ... to win us off, in a kindly way, to love and obedience" (152).

The importance of all this emphasis on the good life is that it alone is the key to

(145) Powicke 169.

(146) Willey Seventeenth Century VIII.

(147) Powicke 109.

(148) Powicke 47.

(149) Powicke 62.

(150) Powicke 23 quoting Whichcote.

(151) R. Jones 300.

(152) Powicke 21, 31, 62, 73.

knowledge of God. Only in the context of a Christian life is Christian theology possible (153).

The attitude of the Cambridge Platonists to Natural Philosophy was not constant. In general they began by accepting the necessarian atomic outlook (reminiscent of Epicurus and Lucretius) of Descartes, at any rate so far as concerns inert matter (154). More in 1659 recommended Descartes

"in order that students of philosophy may be thoroughly exercised in the just extent of the mechanical laws of matter ... which will be the best assistance to religion that Reason and the knowledge of Nature can afford" (155).

But he changed his mind, and by 1671 was condemning Cartesianism wholeheartedly (156); its mechanical character assorted ill with the Platonist denial of predestination and determinism (157). Hobbes' similarly mechanical philosophy, incorporating the logical limit of their own trust in Reason as Divine illumination in the form of a reduction of the basis of philosophy to human expediency, was, naturally, anathema to the Platonists (158). Their own line of approach to nature was that of Plato and Plotinus, for whom "the love of nature is the

(153) Powicke 33, 47-8, 171.

(154) Carré 264, CMH IV 791.

(155) d'Irsay 43.

(156) Powicke 158.

(157) Powicke 35, 169; R. Jones 291.

(158) Hart 35, 49; R. Jones 291.

first stage in the ascent to the love of the divine, invisible and eternal values of the spiritual world", so that "He whose soul is in patria with God" can "behold natural beauty" with "a sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused" (159). They therefore, unlike Descartes and his school, made great use of teleological arguments (160). More was sufficiently up-to-date to use recent Royal Society experiments for his arguments; but the danger of such up-to-dateness is that it is difficult to distinguish the sound from the spurious, and More showed great credulity regarding apparitions and the magic of the Fluddists (161). That Kepler was amongst those taken in by the last-named is an indication of how little blame can be attached to More, whose special province was not natural science.

Another question on which the Cambridge Platonists were in front of their contemporaries was that of religious toleration (162). If every man's Reason is the "candle of the Lord", then it must be respected as such. This outlook no doubt received a stimulus in the case of Smith from his upbringing at Achurch, Northamptonshire, whose incumbent until 1631 was Robert Browne, founder of congregationalism and pioneer agitator for religious liberty (163).

(159) A. W. Argyle, Bapt @ XIII 211.

(160) Carré 270.

(161) Powicke 158, 196. Carré 232.

(162) Powicke 17.

(163) Powicke 88-9; Horne II.

It is perhaps not surprising to be able to record finally that this group of men, differing from their milieu in so many ways, produced a peculiar doctrine of the Trinity. It was expounded by Cudworth, who claimed its consonance with the orthodox Christian fathers as well as with Plato, in Considerations on the explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity 1692 (164).

One difficulty in the scheme taught by the Cambridge Platonists is the necessity of accounting for the fact that Plato, living before Jesus and outside the Old Testament tradition, should be so very correct in so many ways. The obvious answer to this question is to say with Augustine:

The thing itself, which is now called the Christian religion, existed among the ancients, nor has it failed from the beginning of the human race, until Christ Himself came in the flesh, whence the true religion, which already existed, began to be called Christian (165).

This answer did not, however, wholly satisfy the men themselves. Cudworth and, in particular, More, were inclined to accept the theory - frequently resurrected from the time of Ambrose, in the fourth century A.D., onwards - that part at least of the Greek philosophy was derived from the Hebrew, by some hypothetical connection (166). The detailed working out of this theory by one of their followers, Theophilus

(164) Toulmin 175-6.

(165) quoted in Bapt Q XIII 212.

(166). Powicke 133, Carré 13.

Gale, will be mentioned when his tutorial activities are considered (2,19).

How much influence did the Cambridge Platonists exert upon the academies and their curricula? First, there were two tutors who are known to have been associated with the group, and who, in different ways, exerted a lasting influence. They are the subjects of the next two sections (2,18; 2,19). There is another tutor, Oldfield, who appears to have absorbed a good deal of the outlook of the Cambridge Platonists, but whose varied preparation for his work justifies postponing him to Chapter 3 (3,23). He was amongst those who brought Cambridge influences to bear on Locke, whose thought is frequently in line with that of the group (167). All the Cambridge-trained tutors must at least have heard of the movement. Another lasting influence was that of John Ray's Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation 1691. Ray was inspired by More and favourably compared Cudworth's philosophy with those of Aristotle, of the Epicureans and of Hobbes, and of Descartes. He also developed Cudworth's ideas which anticipated the theory of evolution (168). Ray's book was an almost universal academy textbook, and was still in use at the end of the eighteenth century (4,31).

(167) Powicke 198-205.

(168) Carré 320, 347.

Its teleological motive became the dominant justification for the study of natural science in the academies, to the exclusion, with very few exceptions, of any consideration of the usefulness of science, such as would have appealed to Ray's contemporaries in the Royal Society (169).

Samuel Cradock of Wickhambrook and Bishops Stortford.

The dissenting tutor who had come most closely into contact with the Cambridge Platonists was Samuel Cradock (1621-1706) MA BD, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was related to Whichcote, was executor to John Smith, and succeeded Cudworth as Rector of North Cadbury in 1654. Cradock held a fellowship at Emmanuel (or perhaps at Oxford) and was prominent in a stand made in 1651 against parliamentary encroachment on academical privilege (170). On his ejection from North Cadbury - he was a convinced Presbyterian (171) - Cradock retired to live on his estate at Wickhambrook, Suffolk; the last ten years of his life, however, he spent at Bishops Stortford. He kept his academy at both places (172).

Cradock had adopted many of the specific ideas of the Cambridge Platonists. On the presence of God in every man he quotes from Vergil by way of comment on Ac.17/27:

Prope est à te Deus tecum est, intus est, Nihil Deo clusum est. Interest animis nostris & cogitationibus mediis intervenit (173).

The position of Scripture as confirmatory of Reason is reflected in a hymn by Cradock:

- (170) Mullinger III 412-3, 590-1; Matthews Calamy 140; Wilson Dissenting IV 69; Powicke 52, 113.
 (171) Cradock Apos.Hist. 218; Knowledge Preface.
 (172) Parker Appendix I; McLachlan 15; CHEL X ch XVI Appendix; Calamy Life I 132; Bogue & Bennett II 62; THE TCHS V 190.
 (173) Apos. Hist. 110.

Reason, and Holy Scripture both

lowdly condemn all Sin,
Which should discourage all Mankind
from going on therein. (174).

The emphasis on the practice of Christian living occurs here, and throughout Cradock's writings. He speaks of

those glorious Truths revealed by God in His holy Word, which tend so much to the bettering of man here, and to the bringing of him to eternal happiness hereafter. (175).

————— Cradock's comments on Titus include:

He directs Titus to inculcate this into his Hearers, with firm and solid reasons, That true Believers ought especially to be careful to employ themselves in good works 2 That they should avoid foolish questions and disputes about genealogies, and contentions about the various interpretations of various places in the Law (176). At times the expression is highly

Pelagian:

"There being two things mainly necessary to Salvation, Right Knowledge and Right Practice" (177).

A Discourse Containing Several Useful Directions To be Practised by those, who

(174) Knowledge, Supplement, 281 (Hymn XVI).

(175) Apos.Hist., Epistle Dedicatory.

(176) Apos.Hist. 189.

(177) Knowledge l.

seriously Desire to save their Souls ...

I come now to speak of such things, as are to be practised by such, as do in good earnest desire to save their Soul (178).

Craddock's distance from the orthodox emphasis is further shown by his comment on "fire" and "wind" in Ac 2/2,3:

Hae figurae nos docent modum operandi, quo Spiritus sanctus in nobis utitur. Operatur per modum ignis, & venti. Per modum ignis, quia emollit, illuminat, accendit, purgat cor. Per modum venti, qui refrigerat, ac reficit tempore angustiarum per solatium & initia vitae aeternae, & quia movet per efficacem suam operationem sicut ventus impellit naues (179).

Such ideas as conviction of sin and repentance are noticeably absent. The frequency with which comments of Grotius are quoted (180) is another indication of Craddock's unorthodox outlook.

On the subject of tolerance Craddock is again of the same opinion as the Cambridge Platonists. He is proud to state that the conformist Tillotson has read and approved his book (181), and he says

(178) Knowledge 37.

(179) Apos.Hist. 7.

(180) Harmony and Apos.Hist., passim.

(181) Harmony, Epistle.

the Church which is truly Catholick containeth within it all those Congregations, which are truly the Churches of Christ ... We do therefore in Charity think, that some of our Ancestors formerly, and some of the Papists at this day who hold and believe the main Articles of the Christian Faith, and do live good lives according to their knowledge, may be saved; but not by their Popery, but by their Christianity (182).

So far, Cradock appears (with the exception of his nonconformity) as a normal member of the Cambridge Platonist group. But there are ways in which he differs from the group line. The principal one, perhaps, is in his use of Scripture. He is very anxious that it shall be given a central place in his readers' Christian philosophy (183), and, unlike most of the group (184), is opposed to allegorical interpretation. Commenting on 1Cor.1/20, Cradock says:

σοφοῖς qui docet alios: γραμματεῖς --
 οὐ μυστικῶς, -- -- -- Qui mysticè & allegoricè
 Scripturam interpretatur, cujus commentataria
 interrogationibus, & questionibus referta
 sunt (185).

What kind of course did Cradock give at

(182) Knowledge, Supplement 91-92.

(183) Knowledge 125-6, Apos.Hist., Epistle Dedicatory.

(184) Willay Seventeenth VIII.

(185) Apos.Hist. 154.

Wickhambrook and Bishops Stortford? So far as concerns ministerial pupils (there were also pupils destined for law, for medicine, and for none of the three professions) (186) Cradock defines briefly his ideal. The minister must be

apt to teach, well instructed in the Doctrine of Christianity, and skilful to divide the word aright, and to accommodate his teaching to the edification of his auditors ... (187).

- He is
- (1) To instruct the people, to feed them with knowledge and understanding, And to teach them the right way to Salvation.
 - (2) To pray for them ...
 - (3) To be an example to the flock in a holy and unblameable life and conversation.
 - (4) To visit the sick.
 - (5) To labour the setting of the distressed in conscience.
 - (6) To watch over the flock to preserve them,
 1. From corrupt Doctrine.
 2. From corrupt Conversation (188).

There would seem here to be some ground for training in pastoral care. Cradock himself

(186) Calamy Life I 133.

(187) Apos. Hist. 216.

(188) Knowledge 180.

referred to his course a "Logick and Philosophy" (189). A pupil says he "went through logic, natural and moral philosophy, and metaphysics", and adds that Cradock

read upon systems that were of his own extracting out of a variety of writers, and all the young gentlemen with him were obliged to copy them out for their own use ... (190).

This represented a radical departure, being paralleled at the same time by Fränkland (2,19), from the usual university method of lecturing on a standard text. The latter method was soon obsolete in the academies.

Cradock's books are written in English but with numerous Latin notes. It is hinted that the use of Latin is to prevent the "unlearned" from reading things which might "disturb" them (191). Its use seems to confirm the statement that Cradock lectured in Latin (192).

Cradock's influence on subsequent tutors was larger than might be supposed from the fact of his having trained no tutors. One of his pupils - Calamy - became an extremely influential figure in dissenting circles. And Cradock's writings - highly recommended, for example, by Doddridge (4,2) - were the means of spreading some of the influence of the Cambridge Platonists throughout English nonconformity.

(189) Vindication (against the charge of having broken the graduation oath by giving university teaching) in Calamy Continuation 732-4.

(190) Calamy Life I 132.

(191) Cradock Apos.Hist., Recommendation, 6.

(192) Gordon in DNB.

Theophilus Gale of Newington Green.

Another tutor who was responsible for passing on a Christian Platonist influence was Theophilus Gale (1628-1677/8) (2,1). He had brief experience of a French protestant academy as an additional training in unusual ways of thought (3,2). He proceeded BA at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1649 after keeping only two years, and the following year became a fellow. After ejection in 1660 he spent some time at Caen as tutor to the sons of Lord Wharton. His Academy at Newington Green commenced about 1666 (193; 194; 195). Gale was

a man of great reading, well conversant with the writings of the Fathers and old philosophers; a learned and industrious person, an exact philologist and philosopher, and a great metaphysic and school divine (193).

Thus he was well qualified to tackle the task of giving university teaching single-handed, although subsequent generations have not confirmed the thesis of his magnum opus

the Court of the Gentiles (1669-78),
[which] traces all European languages to Hebrew, and the entire culture of pagan antiquity to the Hebrew tradition (194).

(193) Wilson Dissenting III 161-7.

(194) Gordon Freedom 269.

(195) McLachlan 49-50.

Gale, in thus following Ambrose, and, as he claims (196), others between them in time, gives a clear picture of his own philosophy, which he also embodied in a Latin textbook (197), presumably used (with another for theology) by his pupils. He explains the aim of this work thus:

Philosophiam ad suum originarium exemplar primaevasq̄ Ideam reducere, ut genuina Philosophia à simulate ementitaq̄, ac verus Philosophiae usus ab abusu discriminetur (198).

He therefore gives the highest praise to the Alexandrian Eclectic philosophers (199), and, complaining of the errors which have been deduced from the old and from the new philosophy (200), including that of Spinoza in particular (201), he emphasizes that Reason rather than Authority must be the basis of philosophy:

Nonne idem hodie faciunt non pauci Platonis, Aristotelis, & Cartesii sectatores, quibus, in verba Magistri juratis, invictissima, imo unica ratio est, IPSE DIXIT? Summa quidem ratio & aequitas suadent, ut in omnibus, quibus verum falso permixtum est, unum ab altero secernamus (202).

- (196) Phil. Gen., Dissertatiuncula Proemialis Philosophiae Candidatis Dicata 5.
 (197) Philosophia Generalis, 1676.
 (198) Phil. Gen. loc. cit..
 (199) Phil. Gen. 942.
 (200) Phil. Gen., DissPr. 4.
 (201) Phil. Gen., Diss. Pr. 3.
 (202) Phil. Gen., Diss. Pr. 9.

The supremacy of Reason is unchallenged in Philosophy, but in Theology the former has a more limited status:

In Philosophia nihil ut veram agnoscitur, nisi quod ratione demonstrari possit;
At in Theologia, quicquid in S. Scriptura revelatur, firmiter credendum est, etsi rationi nostrae depravatae haud consonum videatur (203).

Further, in any clash between the two, "Theologia non ad Philosophiae amussim exigenda; sed contra" (204).

So far, Gale is not very obviously lining up with the Platonists, save that he is inclined to illustrate his remarks by references to Plato, and that the plan of the work is (i) summary of Plato, (ii) briefer summary of other philosophies (Cardan, Lydiat, Gassendi, Cartes, Boyle, Willis and Du Hamel are mentioned under Physics), and (iii) "General" (i.e. Eclectic) Philosophy (205).

In ethics, however, Platonism is considered superior to others, which are used for illustration and do not include much outside the Platonic orbit (Augustine, Jansen, Aquinas, Ariminensis, Bradwardinus, Alvarez, Suarez, Gibieuf are listed) (206). The basis of moral science is therefore the existence of an innate moral law (207). The

(203) Phil. Gen. 912.

(204) ibid., Diss. Pr. 8.

(205) Phil. Gen. 755, Diss. Pr. 10-11.

(206) Phil. Gen. Diss. Pr. 12.

(207) Phil. Gen. 844.

latter is one manifestation of the divine presence in the heart of every man, the idea beloved of the Cambridge Platonists and accepted by Gale (208).

Perhaps the most difficult task confronting Gale in his efforts to assimilate Platonism to Calvinism was in the matter of predestination and freewill. He was sufficient of a Calvinist to write against Arminian trends in Howe (a fellow-disciple of Plato) and to be a member of Thomas Goodwin's (2,22) congregational church, rather than of a presbyterian congregation, at Oxford (209). Gale's Calvinism required predestination; his Platonism required freewill. The reconciliation is effected at some length, with quotations from Jansen rather than Calvin, and with expressed disapproval of Aquinas. The human will is free but is incapable of resisting successfully the divine will (210).

Gale's emphasis is perhaps more seventeenth-century than Platonist when he extols experimentalism:

... *Ἐμπειρία* , *Experientia*, quae,
utcumq; sit aliquando minus certa, non
minima tamen species est Philosophiae.

Dignitas Philosophiae Experimentalis ex
ejus Qualitate & Natura demonstratur ...
Ejus ideae sunt magis q̄ congeneres &
naturales (211).

(208). Phil. Gen. 906-7.

(209) Whiting 62; DNB.

(210) Phil. Gen. 454, 452, 486, 491-2.

(211) Phil. Gen. 763, 765.

Natural philosophy is, however, to be believed on the authority of the Bible, and to be left undecided where necessary (212).

It is agreeable to find Gale regarding music as worthy of mention. It reached its highest peaks amongst the Hebrew Levites and prophets (213).

Gale's importance does not lie in the detail of his course or of his philosophy. It arises from his method, and from his having as pupil a tutor who was to wield, through one of his pupils, a profound influence. The method will be sufficiently clear from the above sketch of Gale's philosophy. Enthusiasm for Plato (214) and experience in France combined with Gale's basic Calvinism to produce an attitude to philosophy which might lead to anything. Himself rejecting Cartesianism (215), Gale was nevertheless just the tutor to produce one of the first people to teach Cartesianism in England. This was Thomas Rowe (3,10), who succeeded Gale in the tutorship at Newington Green. As a pupil of Gale, Rowe taught Cartesianism in such a way that his pupils might accept either it or some other philosophy. Thus Isaac Watts, Rowe's famous pupil, whose ideas on education exercised, both

(212) Phil. Gen. Diss. Pr. 12.

(213) Phil. Gen. 50.

(214) Powicke 28.

(215) Phil. Gen. 821.

through his writings and supremely through their realization in Doddridge's Academy (4,2), so marked an influence on the academies, and, indeed, on the whole of English-speaking higher education, was a second generation product of Gale in a very real sense. It has been customary to begin the story of Watts with Rowe (216); Gale should receive his proper share of the credit.

(216)Davis Watts 12-13.

Comenius and his disciples, and tutors
acquainted with them.

While Cambridge was the principal point from which radiated the potent influence of Christian Platonism, Oxford was the centre of a more specifically educational influence, that of Comenius and his disciples, amongst whom may be mentioned in particular Hartlib, Dury and Petty. Their educational proposals were aimed mainly at the elementary levels, but their principles were of wide applicability. They anticipated Locke's environmental psychology, Hartlib writing "nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit in sensibus", and they therefore called for experiential teaching techniques (217). They were convinced that such improvements in method would make possible the covering of a very wide curriculum in which the emphasis was on the acquisition of factual knowledge rather than on less tangible matters such as appreciation of style - Latin style, in particular, being discounted, teaching being in the vernacular (218). Thus Petty wished "to point at some pieces of knowledge the improvement whereof ... would make much to the general good and comfort of all mankind" (219), and Hartlib proposed to replace the lectures at Gresham College on Divinity, Civil Law and Rhetoric by others in trade subjects, and supported the grandiose proposals of George

(217)Turnbull 65, Laurie 147, Petty Advice 142-158.

(218)Adamson Pioneers; Laurie 153, 156, 179.

(219)Advice 142.

Snell in 1649 for widespread technical education, in graded schools, confined to useful knowledge and conducted in the vernacular (219). On the other hand, Hartlib and Petty wanted music and drawing taught to all pupils; Dury wrote A Seasonable Discourse ... the Grounds and Method of our Reformation ... in Religion and Learning ... 1. By the Knowledge of Oriental Tongues and Jewish Mysteries, 1649, published, like I. Hall's Of the advantageous reading of History, 1657, by Hartlib (221); and Dury, telling a university divinity student what studies are useful for the ministry, instructed him to read the Bible and divinity for half of each day, and in the other half to devote himself to Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Rhetoric, Ethics, Politics, Economics, Metaphysics and (in Mathematics) Chronology, (222) Geography and Astronomy⁽²²²⁾. The Constitution should (223) be taught to all pupils. Thus these men tempered their desire for a purely useful curriculum with a very wide definition of what is useful. Comenius, like Descartes and others of his contemporaries with some of whom he had little else in common, aimed at casting all possible subjects into a mathematical form (224). There is an

(220)Turnbull 49, 46-7.

(221)ibid. 46, 93, 105.

(222)Some Proposals towards the Advancement of learning, 1650, MS probably by Dury (Turnbull, 50).

(223)Turnbull 264.

(224)ibid. 344.

obvious indebtedness to Bacon in much of this, and Comenius devoted some of his boundless energy to the furtherance of the "Solomon's House" pansophic idea of Bacon (226).

Comparison of the above very brief outline with some of the curricula detailed in this thesis might lead to the expectation that a clear connection may be shown between the two. This does not appear to be the case. There are two of the early academy tutors who came into close connection with the Comenius group; they are the subjects of the next two sections. No doubt there were others, particularly those who had been up at Oxford during the Commonwealth years, who had come into contact with these new educational ideas. Another line of connection leads to Milton, (whose Tractate of Education 1644 was published by Hartlib), but the extent of his influence on the academies is doubtful (227). An occasional reference (228) to Comenius by a tutor indicates that he was known to some of them, at least. No doubt there was, in fact, a considerable indebtedness in the matter of general outlook if not of specific patterns for the academies. The facts that a number of the earlier tutors used Latin as a teaching medium, that they omitted

(225) Petty Advice 142-158; Laurie 127-132.

(226) Turnbull 348, 373.

(227) Turnbull 39, Laurie 179, Curtis 54, Brubacher 427, Adamson in CHEL IX 384.

(228) Oldfield ¶ 13.

technical subjects, drawing and music (save for a little sacred music in some cases) and that in only a few cases was any provision made for practical scientific work, suggests that there was no widespread effort to embody the whole scheme of Comenius in the lives of the academies.

Henry Langley of Tubney.

Amongst Hartlib's friends at Oxford was Henry Langley, 1611-1679?, MA DD, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and canon of Christ Church (229). In 1651 he wrote to Hartlib saying that he was glad to hear that Comenius was devoting himself entirely to the Baconian pan-sophic scheme. The next year Langley unsuccessfully nominated Hartlib for the post of Library-keeper at Oxford, and wrote encouraging the latter to persevere with his scheme for realizing some of his educational ideas in Chelsea College (230). After ejection Langley maintained, from about 1668, an academy at Tubney, Abingdon, Berkshire. Here he taught 'logic and philosophy' to prospective ordinands and others and is stated to have admitted his pupils to degrees (231). It may be supposed that Langley's activities were affected by his admiration of Hartlib and Comenius, but it does not appear that his academy exercised any direct influence on any others.

(229) Toulmin 244, DNB.

(230) Turnbull 373, 30, 48.

(231) McLachlan 14, Parker Appendix I, CHEL X
ch XVI Appendix, TBHS IV 220-1, DNB.

Thomas Goodwin, senior, of London.

The second academy-tutor to be in direct contact with Hartlib was Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680) DD, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a graduate (BA 1616, MA 1620) of Cambridge (232). He had perhaps met Hartlib, who was studying at Cambridge a few years later than Goodwin; the latter is mentioned in a letter to Hartlib in 1638, is with Hartlib amongst the addressees of a "Letter" published by Hartlib for Dury in 1644 on church order, and is included with Dury in a list drawn up by Hartlib of suitable persons to be appointed trustees of a proposed educational fund in 1648 (233). Dury failed to convince Goodwin of the superiority of presbyterianism; amongst the members of Goodwin's congregational church at Oxford was Theophilus Gale (2,19). After ejection Goodwin organised a congregational church in London, and also kept an academy (234), in which it may be presumed that the influence of Dury and Hartlib would be seen. He died just too soon to include amongst his pupils Samuel Wesley, who might have left us some account of the curriculum (235). Goodwin's son continued in his father's tutorial vocation (Appendix C) after absorbing another kind of educational experience in Holland. It does not appear that

(232) DNE.

(233) Turnbull 14, 91, 54.

(234) McLachlan 13.

(235) Wesley Letter 3.

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any other pupil of Thomas Goodwin, senior, became
a tutor.

Academies in the area of the United Brethren
of Devon and Cornwall.

The next group of academies consists of those in the South-West, whose curriculum was early subject to the pressure of external examination requirements: the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall, a body of Presbyterian and Independent ministers established in 1691 as a result of the Happy Union proposals, administered grant aid to theological students. Amongst its principal founders were ~~the~~ at least two of the tutors whose activities came to some extent under its control. They were Moore (2,25) and Flavell (2,27). Thus the tutors were, in accordance with the best educational practice, fundamentally concerned in the body which was to influence their activities. No doubt it was with their approval that the United Brethren in 1696 resolved

- (1) That no Grammar Scholar shall receive any contribution .. in order to his reading Logic, Philosophy or Divinity until he has given satisfaction .. of his skill in the Latin and Greek tongues.
- (2) That those scholars and students in philosophy and divinity .. shall once a year pass under an examination..
- (3) That we will not encourage any students in divinity to preach until they have been examined .. concerning their knowledge

in the Scriptures, aptness to teach,
and other qualifications for so great
a work, ..

(4) That we will not approve or ordain
any until they have stated and defended
a theological question in Latin, and
preached a practical sermon .. . (236).

This scheme differs from the 1645 provisions
of the Westminster Assembly in one or two details
only. Allowing for the generality of both state-
ments, the most noticeable difference is the
absence of Hebrew from the 1696 provisions. In
1645 there is the possibility of "compensation"
(in modern terminology) in passing a candidate
whose ability to read and translate into Latin
the Biblical Hebrew and Greek is below standard,
but who "hath skill in logic and philosophy" (237).
This concession to the erudite but non-linguistic
is not mentioned in 1696. The description in
the latter year of the sermon as 'practical'
indicates an increased emphasis on Christian
living - perhaps a distant effect of Platonist
influence (2,17).

This action of the United Brethren in
1696 necessarily had the effect of standardizing
to some extent the curricula of the academies
concerned. Thus for example they would be
unlikely to include Hebrew, but would certainly

(236) McLachlan 71, quoting U.S. minutes ~

(237) The form of presbyterial church government
agreed upon by the assembly of divines at
Westminster ... 1645, in Neal II, Appendix III.

provide for Latin disputation on theological topics and probably for practice in preaching. The academies in question are the subject of the following sections (2,24 to 2,27).

Warren of Taunton.

Amongst those participating in the above scheme were the pupils of Matthew Warren, 1642-1706, of Otterford and Taunton. He had come down from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1660, after two years as an unmatriculated student, and maintained his Academy from about 1679 until his death (238). It is recorded that

Taunton was for a long time the scene of his labours, Where he trained up many young men in piety, and sacred and useful learning, And was Pastor of a Presbyterian society. (239).

Unlike the more exact Calvinists, Warren did not use a systematic scheme of Divinity, whether of Ames or of some other commentator; but adopted the method of "free and critical study of the Scriptures", which was to become the watchword of the less orthodox dissenters (240).

An equally modernistic and free method was adopted in the remainder of the curriculum:

Tho' bred himself in the Old Logic and Philosophy, and little acquainted with the improvements of the New, yet he encouraged his pupils in a freedom of enquiry, and in reading those books which would better gratify a love of

(238) DNB, Gordon 376, McLachlan 70.

(239) Gibbons English Version 23.

(240) Adamsen Locke 76 fn. Grove Posthumous Works, Preface by Amory, xiv.

truth and knowledge, even when they differed widely from those writers on which he had formed his own sentiments ... (240).

The lecture-textbooks included Eustache (ethics), Derodon and Burgersdyck. The last-named had published his *Logic*, which adhered on the whole to an Aristotelian outlook, in 1626; it was adopted at Cambridge in 1710 (241). Eustache was already in use at Oxford in 1680 (242). Much more revolutionary books were put into the hands of the pupils for private reading. They included Cumberland, recent exponent of his rationalist ethics (1,4); Locke, a contemporary of very doubtful respectability; and Leclerc, whose *Logic* appeared in 1693, and who was well-known as a tutor in the anti-Calvinist Remonstrant Academy at Amsterdam and as one whose writings were condemned alike by the Amsterdam Synod and by the Glasgow University Visitors of 1695 (243).

Warren's pupils received an additional advantage in the free conversation of the learned Mr. George Hammond, who then resided in the same town (244).

- (240) Grove, Posthumous Works, Preface by Amory, xiv.
 (241) Adamson Locke 76 fn.
 (242) Magrath 321, 324.
 (243) Amory loc cit; Smith II 565; Kerr 124;
 Toulmin 231; McLachlan 301.
 (244) Wilson Dissenting IV 393.

George Hammond (died 1705), MA Oxon, settled at Taunton in 1677 as congregational minister, and boarded the sons of "a number of people of rank". In 1695, however, he was in London (245).

Warren trained men for "civil Stations" as well as for the ministry (246). Amongst those in the latter category were three - James, Grove and Darch - who inherited the academy on Warren's decease (3,13). Grove had imbibed a second dose of freedom of outlook under Rowe (3,10) and had also taken the precaution of undergoing a course of natural philosophy - which was, perhaps, not Warren's forte - under Eames (3,12).

(245) TCMS II 45, transcription of contemporary list;
Whiting 422.

(246) Calamy Continuation 747-8.

The Moores of Bridgwater.

Another West country Academy with ex-university tutors was that at Bridgwater. The founder, John Moore (c1642-1717), and his son of the same name, were both members of the Church of England during their student days at Brasenose, Oxford, and both subsequently became nonconformists. John Moore senior seems (247) to have spent two years at Oxford, without graduating; he founded the Academy between 1679 and 1688 (248), and continued it till his death in 1717. He was a founder and a most enthusiastic member of the United Brethren and of the parallel Somerset organization (~~332~~²⁴⁹). John Moore junior, BA, continued the Academy from 1717 (having for some years assisted his father) until his death and the consequent disappearance of the Academy - by this time definitely arian (249) - in 1747. The Academy attracted ministerial training endowments in 1704 and 1733 (250), but was by no means confined to theological students (251). A certificate to the United Brethren in 1712 by the two Moores states (250) that a pupil has gone through a course of philosophy and preparatory studies and also read a body of theology.

(247) Matthews Calamy 353.

(248) McLachlan 7 &, DNB, Murch 177, CHEL X ch XVI
Appendix.

(249) Murch 178, 187; Bogue & Bennett III 290.

(250) McLachlan 7, 13.

(251) TBHS IV 220-1, TCHS V 72.

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95.

There is no reference to training in
oratory or preaching.

Moore of Tiverton.

Distinct from the preceding Moores and from another son of John Moore senior, tutor at Abingdon (Appendix C), is John Moore who kept an academy at Tiverton. He arrived there in about 1687, and was still alive in 1740. He maintained his academy at least from 1721 to 1729, and his pupils - who were not all intending the ministry - had the advantage of his excellent and varied library. He was definitely anti-arian. (252).

The dates given seem to make it clear that none of the above tutors is to be identified with the John Moore who published an anti-enclosure tract in 1653 (253).

(252) McLachlan 14, Bogue & Bennett III 290,

DNB, TBHS IV 225.

(253) Richardson 39.

Flavell of Dartmouth.

Another tutor who took a leading part in the formation of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall was John Flavel(1), c1630-1691, educated at University College, Oxford, and tutor of a small academy at Dartmouth and at Slapton (just beyond the five-mile limit from Dartmouth) for some years prior to his death. He succeeded in evading the mob and the law, the former by discreet retirement when necessary (as in 1673 and 1685), and the latter by preaching on the Saltstone Rock, which, being isolated by high tides, was counted within the jurisdiction of no bench of magistrates. It was his experiences on one of the said retirements, when avoidance of shipwreck on a sea voyage to London appeared a direct answer to prayer, that gave Flavell many of the ideas for his Navigation Spiritualized, or, a New Compass for Seamen (254).

A striking feature of Flavell's outlook is his distrust of human learning, resembling more a Quaker or early Baptist view (4,41) than that of a founder of the respectable United Brethren and a man who was himself engaged in higher education. He wrote of "Satan's ... treacherous design .. to delude and cheat /Christians/ in the great concern of their salvation":

(254) Bogue & Bennett II 200, Toulmin 507, DNE,
Parker Appendix I, Gordon Freedom 265,
Cong Q XXVII 236, McLachlan 8.

we are not ignorant (saith the apostle) of his devices; ... $\kappa\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$, trains and methods of temptation, which are thoroughly studied and artificially moulded and ordered; even such systems as tutors and professors of arts and sciences have, and read over to their auditors ... (255) ... I do assure you, it is far better you should have the sweet and saving impressions of gospel-truths feelingly and powerfully conveyed to your hearts, than only to understand them by a bare ratiocination, or dry syllogistical inference. Leave trifling studies to such as have time lying on their hands, and know not how to employ it ... (256). It should both amaze and grieve a pious mind, to see how some ingenious persons can sit with unwearied patience and pleasure, racking their brains upon some dry school problem, or some nice mathematical point; whilst no reasons or persuasions can prevail with them to spend one serious hour in the search and study of their own hearts! (257). The studying, observing, and diligent keeping of your own hearts, will marvellously help your understanding

(255) The Touchstone of Sincerity, in Works V 521-2.

(256) A Saint Indeed, or, the Great Work of a Christian, opened and pressed 1667, in Works V 421.

(257) Touchstone ..., loc cit 510.

in the deep mysteries of religion (258).

The tone of the last two of these quotations coincides well with Flavell's fondness (shown by frequency of quotation) for Bernard of Clairvaux. It is almost a surprise to find Flavell explaining that true learning may be a cure for pride and self-esteem (259).

Despite Flavell's willingness to sink the finer points of his independency in union with presbyterians, and despite the similarity of some of his views to those of the Friends, he is found writing, in 1687, "No Quaker that understands and professeth the Principles of Quakerism, can be a Christian" (260). Persecution does not always breed tolerance. Flavell's preaching was lively, and he wrote verses, including one beginning

Oh, what a dull desponding heart is mine,
That takes no more delight in things divine
(261).

His works remained in circulation for over a century and gave currency to some of his ideas.

(258) A Saint . . ., loc cit 498.

(259) Husbandry Spiritualized, or, the Heavenly Use of Earthly Things, in Works V 112.

(260) TCES I 165.

(261) Bogue & Bennett IV 313, Richardson 236.

Three innovators: Tallents, Woodhouse
and Morton.

Having in previous sections given some account of a number of tutors whose departures from tradition are, on the whole, confined to minor matters, it remains to notice three men whose academies displayed features of marked originality, and which were foreshadowings of future academies.

Tallents of Shrewsbury.

Shrewsbury Academy became, under subsequent tutors, a famous and influential one (3,5). It was founded in a small way by Francis Tallents (1619-1708). After residing at Saumur (3,2) for a time as tutor to two English gentlemen he became Senior Fellow and Vice-President of Magdalene College, Cambridge (262). He was ejected at Shrewsbury in 1662, but is stated to have joined John Bryan in the presbyterian ministry at the same place only as late as 1674. John Bryan MA (1627-99) was educated at Emmanuel College and Peterhouse, Cambridge, but it does not appear whether he took any hand in educational activities (263). Tallents was a man of broad views, to whom is ascribed the inscription on a chapel:

This place was not built for a faction
or party, but to promote repentance and
faith in communion with all those who
love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.
Our help is in the name of the Lord,
who made Heaven and Earth (264).

His principal claim to attention, from the point of view of curriculum, is his work in the field of History, including modern history. He drew up for his pupils a Scheme of General Chronology

(262) Tallents, View, Title; Gibbons English Version; DNB.

(263) Gordon Freedom 224, Parker Appendix I,

Gibbons English Version.

(264) Evans Midland 192.

and published (engraving the copper plates himself (265)) a View of Universal History (1681). The latter is a remarkable work, consisting of eight sheets, each covered with minute printed script on an area about forty one inches wide by fifteen deep. Dates descend, and the facts given are classified under headings, mostly national, but including "Miscellanies". Under the latter for the seventeenth century are included Napier and Briggs, Harvey and other anatomists, Descartes, Gassendi, and the Royal Society. At the heads of the columns are listed principal authorities (subsidiary references are also given in the body of the table). At the first opening, for example, some of the columns are headed thus:

EGYPT - Manetho, Iosephus

BABYLON, CHALDEA - Eusebius pubd. by
Scaliger, Helvicus

GERMANY - Aventine

GREECE - Paus., Euseb: Scal: (and, under subdivisions?)
Homer, Herodot', Diodor: Siculus,
Strabo, &c; Aegialeus.

WRITERS EXTANT, & OTHER LEARNED MEN -
Suidas, Vossius.

ITALY - Annus Viterb; Dionys: Halicar;
Livius.

SPAIN - Tarapha, Vasaesus.

GAUL - Dupleix.

BRITAIN, IRELAND - Bale, Seldon, Milton, &c.

— a A well-mixed collection of ancient and modern.

"Advertisements" explain why Tallents has followed some authorities rather than others. Not all his choices have been confirmed by subsequent scholarship; at the appropriate point, for instance, he inserts

Of the great chang. made in the Earth
by the Flood, See Mr. Burnet's Telluris
Theoria Sacra

a work which enjoyed considerable popularity for a time, and which, published in 1681, explained the present configuration of the earth's crust as being the result of "ruin" by the Flood of the original perfect sphere (266).

In all this, Tallents is not interested in facts merely for their own sake. Of his inclusion of "uncertain and fabulous" ancient non-Biblical history, he says in justification

by which, the Newness and Vanity of the
Gods and Religion of y^e Heathens, clearly
appear (267).

No doubt the prudent avoidance of any detailed reference to Cromwell and the Commonwealth in the View - although it comes to 1680 (268) - need not be taken to imply that the Academy course was equally barren of modern English history and its applications.

(266) Willey, XVIIIth Century, 28-33.

(267) View, first opening, Advertisements.

(268) final opening, column England-Wales.

The View was welcomed and no doubt used by contemporaries such as Philip Henry (2,6), and was later recommended by Doddridge (4,2) and other tutors. The fact of its being in English is significant, but the View is even more important as an early example of that interest of the academies in modern history, which was to reach its peak in Priestley (4,8).

Woodhouse of Sheriffhales.

John Woodhouse (1627-1700), "Fellow-commoner at Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 1655; did not matriculate" (269) married well from the financial point of view, and did not need to earn. Nevertheless he kept the Academy at Sheriffhales near Shifnal, Shropshire, ^{from} _L Very soon after 1662 until about 1697. He was assisted by Samuel Beresford (died c.1698), MA King's College, Cambridge, and later by certain former pupils - John Doughty, John Southwell (3,22) and Edward Harley (270). The last, Woodhouse described as

truly pious, completely skilled in the Tongues (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) in a Course of Philosophy and in Divinity (271).

Many of Woodhouse's pupils (he had as many as forty at one time), were not aiming at the ministry (272).

The students were conducted through a course of lectures on logic, anatomy and mathematics ... followed by lectures in physics, ethics and rhetoric. They were heard successively in Greek and Hebrew, at other times of the day or week. .. All the students were obliged to read in natural theology. .. Practical

(269) Gordon, Freedom .. 389.

(270) Wilson, Dissenting I 371; DWL MS I; Toulmin 226-8; McLachlan 48; TCHS III 387 ff.

(271) Gordon, Cheshire Classis, quoted McLachlan, loc cit.

(272) Parker, Appendix I; DWL MS 1.

exercises accompanied the course of lectures, and the students were employed, at times in surveying land, composing almanacks, making sun-dials of different constructions, and dissecting animals. .. On one day of the week Latin, Greek and Hebrew nouns and verbs were publicly declined in the lecture-rooms: disputations, after a logical form, were holden on Friday afternoons: they were accustomed to English composition under the form of letters and speeches .. Once a year there was a repetition of all the grammars, especially of the Oxford Latin Grammar, by all the students (273).

It has been remarked that there is no mention of apparatus for the practical science (274). It would, however, hardly be feasible to perform the operations mentioned without some apparatus, at any rate of a simple type. It has also been suggested that "presumably, as elsewhere", Hebrew was studied only by theological students (275). Against this guess must be set the importance assigned to Hebrew in Renaissance studies, which would be revived amongst those conversant with the work of Gale (2,19). Possibly, similarly, anatomy was restricted to medical students. But it must be remembered that the ecclesiastical conditions

(273) Toulmin 226-8.

(274) McLachlan 48.

(275) McLachlan 46.

of Stuart times made it desirable for a dissenting minister to be able to earn a living otherwise than by ministerial or educational activities; and equally desirable for a dissenting layman to be able to act as minister if necessary.

The following specialized studies were provided: a law lecture was read one day in the week to those who had entered at the Inns of Court, or were designed for the law; and they who were intended for the pulpit were conducted through a course of theological reading. .. and the students designed for the ministry, according to their seniority, were practised in analysing some verses of a psalm or chapter, drawing up skeletons or heads of sermons, and short schemes of prayers and devotional specimens, according to Bishop Wilkin's method; and were called to pray in the family on the evening of the Lord's day, and to set psalms to two or three tunes (276).

The appearance of music, even though only as something to which psalms are to be set, is a welcome break in the long banishment from higher education of this Cinderella of the quadrivium. It will be seen that the curriculum contains all the usual elements, with the notable additions of practical science and, above all, English composition. The list of Sheriffhales textbooks (Appendix A) displays interesting

features. Several of the books (Moxon, Rohault, More, Euchard, Gibson, Wilkins, Ruffonius, Williams) in diverse parts of the course, were not published until the Academy was in existence: demonstrating that Woodhouse was not only modern in his general outlook but also able to keep abreast of current literature in the whole field - an heroic achievement for a tutor of a one-man Academy. In Natural Science Cartesianism reigns supreme. But elsewhere there is a notable combination of irreconcilable viewpoints. That Woodhouse combined study of Calvin, Ames and the Orthodox Confession and Catechisms with that of Grotius and Baxter and even Williams shows him to have possessed a breadth of view remarkable for his time.

The specification of textbooks in at least one subject - history - on which no lectures were given presumably indicates that they were read privately by the students, with tutorials of some kind. It is stated that anatomy, natural philosophy and ethics were dealt with in the same manner (277).

Some indication of the high standard attained by Woodhouse is afforded by the preliminary education of Matthew Clarke, junior, under his father. Preparatory to his going to

(277) Parker, Part II.

Sheriffhales, he

made himself master of the Latin, Greek, and several of the oriental languages, to which he afterwards added the Italian and French: the latter of which, he spoke and wrote with uncommon fluency and exactness (278).

Two of Woodhouse's pupils became tutors - Robinson at Hunderford^(Appendix C) and Southwell at Newbury (3, 54; ^{3, 22}3, 55). They thus provided wider advertisement for the innovations of Sheriffhales - the practical science, the English composition, and the modernity and diversity of viewpoint of the textbooks.

(278) Wilson, Dissenting I 474.

Morton of Newington Green.

Charles Morton, 1627-98, admitted to Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1646, but scholar at Wadham College, Oxford, ~~and perhaps fellow,~~ from 1649, and MA (1652)^{and perhaps fellow} there, was quoted above (2,1). His Academy at Newington Green, from soon after 1662 until 1685 (279), was described as the most considerable [in England], having annexed a fine Garden, Bowling-Green, Fish-pond, and within a Laboratory, and some not inconsiderable Rarities, with Air-Pumps, Thermometers, and all sorts of Mathematical Instruments. We had a list of all those who had been entred of our Society, some hundreds it amounted to .., with the Distribution of the Faculties, and Employments of every one, whether Law, Divinity, Physick, or what else; ... (280).

Morton excelled in mathematics at Oxford, in which, "especially the Mechanic part thereof", his "chiefest Excellency lay" (281). This reputation makes all the more remarkable Morton's solution, as follows, to a problem in probabilities: In a gambling game, the "hazard" is one shilling, and the total prizes four shillings; there are twenty "blanks" to one "significant". Then, says Morton, " 'tis 5, to 1, that" the proprietor wins,

(279) Matthews Calamy 356; DNB; Wesley Letter 4-5.

(280) Wesley Letter 6.

(281) Wesley Letter 5; Richardson 193 quoting Calamy Account.

and the gambler loses (182). This would appear to be the correct answer with nineteen, not twenty, blanks. Perhaps it is only charitable to refer to the rudimentary state of statistical science in the seventeenth century, and to the fact that Morton is not, in this instance, giving a mathematics lesson, but merely pointing out the unwisdom of gambling.

Morton's interest in the other, practical, end of natural science led to his proposals for the improvement of the state of Cornwall, which included the use of sea-sand as manure, and were published in the Transactions of the Royal Society (283).

The academy course does not seem, however, to have been biassed in the scientific or in any other direction. Politics formed an important subject, with practice by the students in a "sort of Democratical Government" (284), and a textbook, $\langle \nu \tau \alpha \rangle \lambda$, compiled by Morton for the purpose. This exhibited the principles of policy exactly correspondent to the English Constitution; asserting at once the rights and honour of the crown, and the liberties of the subject. It traced the origin of all government to the institution of GOD; enforced from the subject love to the person of the king, obedience to the laws,

(282) Morton Gaming 29-30.

(283) Toulmin 234.

(284) Wesley Letter 7.

and a dutiful submission to legal taxes for the support of the crown and the laws. It confirmed the ordinary method of succession; and in the case of total subversion or failure, gave a right to the ordines regni to restore the constitution, by the extraordinary call of some person to the throne (285).

Evidently the writer was on safe ground who cited this work in defending (286) the academies in general, and Morton in particular, against charges (287) of republicanism.

But this political interest was not, any more than a mathematical or scientific one, allowed to deflect Morton from giving a broad and balanced course. His best-known pupil, Daniel Defoe, claims to have come from the Academy "master of five languages" and to have "studied mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, history and politics as a science" (288), as well as theology. Elsewhere the same alumnus lists as the subjects of instruction

Physicks ... Astronomy as a separate science ... Geography in a separate or distinct class ... History, ecclesiastic and civil, ... and all parts of academiack learning, except Medecine and Surgery (289).

(285) Toulmin 233.

(286) Palmer Vindication 54.

(287) Wesley Letter 6; Sacheverell Assize Sermon, quoted by Owen, Moderation Still 101.

(288) Parker Part II, quoting Wilson Memoirs of Defoe 31.

(289) Compleat 218-129.

Possibly the final exception is Defoe's ideal rather than Morton's practice, as the latter does seem (from a passage quoted above, for example) to have had medical students. A recent critic has said of Defoe

his education ... appears to have been practical and well adapted to the needs of his journalistic career, since emphasis was laid on history, geography and politics, the modern languages and proficiency in the vernacular (290).

Modern languages in higher education at this date would be sufficient to give Morton a name as no mean pioneer. But his most remarkable innovation is undoubtedly the place given to English, both as medium of instruction and as subject for study. Defoe says

the master or tutor read all his lectures, gave all his systems, whether of Philosophy or Divinity, in English, and had all his declaimings and dissertations in the same tongue. And though the scholars from that place are not destitute in the languages, yet it is observed of them, they were by this made masters of the English tongue, and more of them excelled in that particular, than any school at that time (291).

(290)Dr. Trent in CHEL IX 6.

(291)Morley 16, quoting Defoe Present State of Parties 1712.

Defoe's satisfaction with the more rapid rate of progress made possible by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction, and his unbounded confidence in human ability to absorb knowledge, are shown in his prescription for a country gentleman, who now knows nothing, and is to become a "gentleman of learning" in four and a half years at four hours per day, thus:

He run thro' a whole course of Phylosophy, he perfectly compass'd the study of Geography, the use of the maps and globes; he read all that Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Halley had said in English upon the nicest subjects in Astronomy and the secrets of Nature; he was extremely delighted with Sir Isaac's Opticks and all his nice experiments, separacion of colours, and other writings; with translations where necessary so that in a word ... he was a mathematician, a geographer, an astronomer, a philosopher, and, in a word, a compleat schollar, and in the last half year learned Latin so that he could "understand any Latin author pretty well" and speak that language. Although Defoe admits the need of "unusual applicacion" and "unwearyed diligence", and mentions that the tutor died of strain, yet the general effect is in line with the as yet unquestioned belief that the learned man must - and can - be learned in all fields. (292).

Morton's wide curriculum was, however, more than an attempt to produce walking encyclopedias. He gave his reasons for including the various subjects in his course:

Acquired Habits do much Alter the Genius or Spirit, from what it would be, if men were left to their Pure Naturals. These Habits arise partly, (1) From Instruction & Rules; so Intellectual & Moral Habits (whether good or evil) are formed much according to the Information men meet with, especially in their younger dayes. Thus (as to Advantage) every part of Philosophy contributes its share; Logick and Metaphysicks, sharpness of Judgement; Mathematicks Solidness and Sagacity; Physicks good conjecture at the Reasons of things; Moral Philosophy and History, Prudence; Rhetorick, Fairness and Confidence of Address; Poetry, quickness of fancy, and Imagination; Any of these as they are better studied, do accordingly. Enable and Incline the mind of Man (293).

Despite so detailed a belief in the disciplining of the mind by suitable activities, and despite his reputation as a mathematician, Morton had no use for chess, which he characterized as "rather a tiresom study, than a cheerful sport" (294)..

(293) Spirit 21-22.

(294) Gaming 38.

But he has a word of praise (rare amongst these tutors, whose busy lives can have left little time for relaxation) for sport, saying

The exercise of skill or strength in man, or the sagacity, courage, celerity, or any other excellencies, in brutes, is pleasant and innocent to behold, and may administer occasion to admire and praise God's Wisdom and Bounty in the Creation (295).

Thus we have the agreeable spectacle of the Puritan Morton and his pupils not only using the Bowling-Green but also taking part in one of the contemporary types of hunting, or perhaps emulating Charles II's Newmarket interests (296); and justifying their relaxations by an extension of the stock argument in favour of fishponds and astronomical observatories.

It must further be pointed out that Morton, although in general the greatest innovator amongst the early tutors, was yet a traditionalist in some ways. His Compendium of Logic, drawn up for the Academy, dropped well into place in the very conservative atmosphere at Harvard (3,2) as the standard textbook (297). In Moral Philosophy, on the other hand, Morton's standpoint seems to have been an intermediate one, between the Calvinist who saw moral law itself and the power to discern it and obey it as equally fruits of Grace acting on the believer, and the Platonist (2,17) who

(295) Gaming 39.

(296) Trevelyan Social History 279-282.

(297) Toulmin 233.

supposed that Natural Reason, God's candle in the soul of every man, was sufficient to enable him at least to discover unaided the content of the moral law (1,4). Morton wrote:

Thermos. May not Right Reason direct us and a distinct apprehension of such things as you have alledged? Eumenus. Such allegations are means, but whence shall we derive efficacy? Alas Friend! there is in us such a corrupt nature, that no means or motives, will prevail upon us, unless we be made partakers of the Grace of Christ, and receive of his fulness Grace for grace (John.1.16) ... The Law indeed commands, but the Gospel it is, which enables us to give it due observance (298).

A similar tendency to eclecticism is apparent in the information about textbooks (Appendix A) which it is possible to glean from the remarks of pupils (299) and from Morton's Advice to Candidates for the Ministry (300). In theology, for example, whilst there is nothing which could be regarded as accounting for the broad deism of the mature Defoe, there are to be found both the thoroughly 'sound' Ames and the Westminster Assembly's Directory, and the recent and anti-traditional Wilkins and Baxter. Perhaps it is reasonable to link this with Morton's insistence that the Church may be well served - or hindered - by persons of very diverse temperaments (301).

(298) Peacemaker 84.

(299) Wesley Letter 11; Defoe Compleat 218-9.

(300) in Calamy Continuation 198-210.

(301) Spirit 90.

Such tolerance and such cautious excursions from the narrow way of tradition were, however, not confined to Morton amongst early tutors. He is more remarkable for other reasons - for his practical science, for his modern languages, for his political studies, perhaps for his attitude to sport, and most of all for his use and study of English.

Conclusion.

It is particularly difficult to generalize about the first class of academy. On the one hand, many tutors aimed at reproducing as far as possible the conditions they had enjoyed at Oxford or Cambridge. On the other were men who introduced - independently of each other, in almost all cases - various modifications; modifications whose importance lay not only in their immediate value but more in their continuing influence, exerted through the next generation of tutors, and so setting the pace for the forward trend which was to be characteristic of many academies. Principal amongst these modifications may be recapitulated the introduction of unorthodox textbooks at Rathmell, Taunton, Sheriffhales and Newington Green (2,5; 2,24; 2,30; 2,31); the practical science at Newington Green and Sheriffhales (2,31; 2,30); the political theory at Newington Green (2,31); the modern history, particularly at Shrewsbury (2,29); the composition or declamation in English at Sheriffhales (2,30); and, on the side of procedure, the compilation of special courses (rather than commentary on a single text) by tutors at Rathmell, Wickhambrook and Shrewsbury (2,5; 2,18; 2,29). All these innovations, which may perhaps have appeared in other early academies besides those named, were to become staple features of later academy life.

CHAPTER III.TUTORS WITHOUT ENGLISH UNIVERSITY TRAINING,
BUT CONTINUING THE TRADITIONAL EDUCATION.Introductory.

This chapter deals with academies in which the tutors were (save for one or two exceptions) without Oxford or Cambridge experience; but who, like the tutors of the previous chapter, seem to have aimed principally at reproducing as far as possible the best features of the English Universities.

But

The veneration ... which the first race of tutors felt for the method of education which they had received in the universities, began gradually to subside. The second generation thought it was possible to make improvements, and that there was no presumption in the adoption of new methods of teaching theology and science.

Both tutors and students breathed in a pure air, and having no cause for an idolatrous veneration of antiquity, they sought every improvement within their reach, in order to enrich their course of study (1).

These tutors had not, in any case, direct

(1) Bogue & Bennett III 300-1; op. Payne 70.

experience of the English universities. They were therefore bound to start from the tradition in which they had themselves been reared. In some cases this was that of the Academies of Chapter 2; but a number of them had spent time, as students or otherwise, at foreign (mainly Scottish or Dutch) universities. These experiences are reflected in various aspects of their tutorial activities. It is also true that, to the extent to which they lacked a stable traditional framework for their work, they would be the more susceptible to current opinion. The latter was often highly critical of traditional university methods. Evelyn, for instance, complained in 1699 of the emphasis on formal logic ("scholastic") and the neglect of history (2). The ideas of seventeenth-century educational reformers, particularly Locke, were also well-known to at least some of the tutors.

The connections of tutors of the present Chapter with each other and with their various educational backgrounds are summarized in Chart I, and the locations of the academies are shown on the Map. Notable features of the foreign universities are indicated in the next section.

(2) Diary & Correspondence IV 23-4.

Foreign Universities Contributing to the Education
of Tutors.

THE NETHERLANDS:

If the end of the seventeenth century initiated a period of stagnation and decline for Oxford and Cambridge, it was by contrast a time of energetic progress in many directions for the Universities - notably Utrecht and Leyden - of the Netherlands. As strongholds of the more radical, Calvinist wing of the Reformation, these centres were more than willing to discard anything belonging to the old order. Cartesian philosophy displaced the Ramism which had driven out Aristotelianism, and itself gave way, at about 1700, to Newtonianism.

Perhaps the most striking developments at about this time were in the field of science and medicine. At Leyden, founded in 1574, and (like Edinburgh and Emmanuel College, Cambridge) consciously modelled on Calvin's Geneva Academy (3), medicine and mathematical sciences were well established by the time of the issue of the first prospectus in 1592, and practical work in mathematics, astronomy, anatomy and botany was begun as early as 1600.

ce qui fonda la gloire de l'Université pendant deux siècles et même davantage fut l'établissement de l'enseignement pratique en médecine, la clinique ...1636 (4).

(3) Butts 274.

(4) d'Irsay II 10, 13, 15.

Such foundations were laid for the early introduction, at the end of the century, of experimental science proper by Boerhaave, who to a somewhat agnostic epistemological attitude accepted from Spinoza (5) added an emphasis on experiment learned from Bacon (6). His doctoral thesis in 1693 bore the title Disputatio de utilitate explorandorum excrementorum in aegris at signorum (7), and he brought medicine "down from dusty bookshelves to the bedside" (8). In the sphere of non-medical science the most notable advance in Newtonian experimental emphasis at Leyden came with 's Gravesande, a utilitarian who succeeded to the chair of mathematics in 1717 (9). A few years later P. van Musschenbroek, pupil of Boerhaave and acquaintance of Newton, introduced similar ideas at Utrecht (10). The reputation of the Academies for experimental science can to some extent be traced back through the tutors who had been in contact with these Dutch influences.

But it was not in this direction alone that Leyden and Utrecht put themselves in the van of the attack on medieval traditions. Puffendorf (1632-1694) of Utrecht was responsible for giving a practical turn to legal studies by investigating the limitations in the application of Roman Law to current European practice (11). He and Perizonius

(5) Smith II 107; Durant chap. IV.

(6) Brunet 46.

(7) Brunet 39.

(8) Wilson Holland & Britain 98.

(9) Smith II 39; Brunet 48, 50, 59.

(10) Smith II 123; Brunet 51, 61.

(11) d'Irsay II 71.

of Leyden (for twenty years until 1715) rescued history from its restriction to Plato and Roman Antiquities (12); the lectures of Puffendorf became standard textbooks in the academies (Appendix A).

In the field of philosophy proper the Dutch Universities were the stage for varying but unending battles. From 1665 the struggle was between the Aristotelians, led by Voet or Voetius of Utrecht, and the Cartesians, by Cocceus, the calvinistic mystic of Leyden. The anti-rationalist Aristotelian de Vries in 1688 gave his philosophy lectures a political application (13).

Side by side with the philosophical struggle there went on a good deal of theological questioning. It does not appear that English students (with a few exceptions, including no tutor) came into contact with the Remonstrants and their Academy at Amsterdam, save through the works of the professors of the latter, particularly Le Clerc, Episcopius and Limborch. Moreover a reference by a very orthodox London minister, whose own experience of the Netherlands extended over some years from 1667, suggests that the Dutch universities were a stabilising influence on English nonconformity of which he (Robert Traill, 2,14) wished there could be a larger dose (14). Nevertheless it is true

(12) Wilson Dissenting II 263; Paul Godwin I 3; d'Irsay II 13.

(13) Mosheim V 423, 429; Griffiths 57; Calamy Life I 157.

(14) Doctrine of Justification Vindicated from the charge of Antinomianism, in Works I 253.

that departures from orthodoxy were at least as frequent amongst Dutch-trained nonconformist ministers as amongst others (15). It has been suggested that this may be traced more to the general climate of Dutch theology than to any considerable deviations of the Dutch professors from the calvinistic norm. The cleavage between Aristotelians and Cocceians could not remain a strictly philosophical one, but was carried over into the theological sphere, where Aristotelianism inevitably involved the rejection of the Calvinistic plank of the unlimited Will of God (16). Thus the Aristotelians tended to lean slightly away from the highest Calvinism, and the result on the student-mind was to inculcate a mild eclecticism which was a suitable foundation for the later acceptance of much more uncalvinistic opinions than were ever expressed in the Dutch universities (17).

Whatever may have been the importance of the part thus played by Holland in contributing to changes in the theological norm of English non-conformity, she certainly led the way in a remarkable diversity of matters connected with higher education. Graevius and Gronovius, of Utrecht and Leyden respectively, produced just before 1700 their vast encyclopedias of Ancient Rome and Ancient Greece (18). In cartography and globe-construction no other seventeenth-century nation could hold a candle to the Dutch (19). At Leyden

(15)Colligan 50; Griffiths 54-5.

(16)Griffiths 59.

(17)Colligan 50.

(18)Hallam IV ch.I s.20.

(19)Stevenson II 2-17, 66, 72, 173.

was first introduced a course of practical pastoral theology for ministerial candidates (20). A similar interest in daily affairs of protestant parish life led to a study of the vernacular, which came into existence as a literary language early in the seventeenth century through the efforts of the poet Heins of Leyden (20). French was also part of the Leyden course from the beginning(20). Voet (mentioned above) established philology and oriental languages at Utrecht (21). An important part of the educational set-up was the freedom of conversation between students and dons (22). The latter feature was also prominent in the academies, whose life and curriculum were indebted to an undeterminable but evidently very considerable extent to the influence of Holland. This influence was felt not only directly, but also via Scotland, whose university life, which is the subject of the next paragraphs, leaned much upon the Netherlands for a long period after the Reformation.

(20)d'Irsay II 12,14.

(21)Mosheim V 429.

(22)Buchan 127 ff.

SCOTLAND.

The Scottish Universities - principally Glasgow and Edinburgh - contributed directly to the education of about thriteen of the fifty tutors in this Chapter; and of eight in Chapter IV. The idea of completing one's education as a dissenting minister in a Dutch University was effectively killed by the increasing use, during the eighteenth century, of the respective vernaculars for instruction, in place of the previously universal Latin. No such barrier arose between England and Scotland; and the rising prestige of the Northern Universities led to the foundation of trusts such as that of Dr. Ward in 1754 (23), who provided for education for the Particular Baptist ministry normally at Edinburgh. Thus the influence of Scotland on the Academies * was a continuing one.

Glasgow University was put on its feet, after the Reformation, by the indefatigable Andrew Melville, who, in his brief reign as Principal from 1574 to 1580, established a curriculum which remained the basis of the University's activity for two centuries. His distribution of the subjects of the course between the years is a scheme to which

* The word "Academy" is used throughout in the sense of Dissenting (not Scottish) Academy.

similarities can be noticed in many of the Academies.

His arrangement was this:

Year 1: Humanities (Greek and Latin) and Ramus' dialectic.

Year 2: Mathematics, Cosmography, Astronomy.

Year 3: Moral and Political Science.

Year 4: Natural Philosophy and History (24).

It is stated (25) that Greek and Latin were continued throughout the course. Melville aimed (26) a first blow at the 'regenting' system whereby each pupil was taken through the whole course by one tutor - the four tutors each taking all the entrants for one year, in turn. But he was before his time: it was long before the expanding field of knowledge persuaded the tutors of Glasgow University or of the Dissenting Academies that there were any advantages in dividing that field between several instructors. And it was not until 1727 that Glasgow followed the example set by Edinburgh in 1707 and finally abolished regenting (27). But the most striking of Melville's innovations was undoubtedly the introduction of Ramus, the founder of anti-Aristotelianism. Apart from history (which included chronology and topography (28)) the rest of the course was Aristotelian.

(24) Kerr 118.

(25) Curtis 210.

(26) Kerr 119; Curtis 210.

(27) Kerr 215, Grant 263.

(28) Grant 80.

Doubtless in all this Melville was building on his experience as professor for five years at Geneva (29). Edinburgh University - like Leyden, and to some extent Emmanuel, Cambridge - was from the start an imitation of Geneva (30). In the latter University, to the theology and arts courses (including Hebrew) of the original 1558 foundation, were soon added faculties of medicine and law (31). It was to be some time before Edinburgh could boast a like completeness, but the target was set. The establishment of a chair of law had to wait until 1707, when it took the form of a Professorship of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations (32); it was not until 1741 that the legal course became properly organized (33). At Glasgow a Chair of Civil Law came into being in 1712 (34). But as late as 1743 it was still usual for the Scottish student to complete his legal studies in the Netherlands (35). Such inter-university migration as a normal thing is an aspect of Continental and Scottish educational life which has not been reproduced in England except in the Academies, whose pupils often similarly migrated (36).

Theoretical Natural Science was not allowed to languish in the Scottish universities. Glasgow

(29) Grant 79.

(30) Butts 274; Grant 177-8.

(31) Grant 177-8.

(32) Kerr 258.

(33) Grant 289.

(34) Kerr 229.

(35) Fergusson 25-6.

(36) McLachlan 23-4.

added astronomy and anatomy to the curriculum in 1664 (37); chairs of medicine were instituted at Edinburgh in 1685 (38), and at Glasgow in 1712 (39). The foundation about 1670 in Edinburgh of a medicinal herb garden - not in connection with the University - by Robert Sibbald, to-be Professor of Physic, led to the institution of a Chair of Botany in 1676 (40). Despite this practical scientific interest, however, and despite the close connection with the Dutch Universities during several decades on each side of 1700 (41), the entry of experimental science into Scottish Universities was slow. In 1714 there was no recorded disapproval at Glasgow of the Provost's action in refusing permission to an Englishman to conduct a course of experimental science in the University (42). In 1726 Aberdeen witnessed a similar failure, this time not affected by possible racial antipathy (43). Thus any suggestion that the interest of the Academies in practical science might be traced to Scotland (44), must refer only to the later Academies.

Another matter in which the academies appear to have anticipated rather than followed Scottish example is the method of lecturing. Leechman, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow 1743-61 and Principal of the University 1761-85 was known as the inventor of the new way of lecturing, in which the lecture no longer consisted of notes on a set book (45). In the academies a similar

(37) Kerr 122.

(38) Grant 226.

(39) Kerr 229.

(40) Grant 218-223.

(41) Reid Profs. 105; Kerr 214, 229.

(42) Kerr 229.

(43) Kerr 251.

(44) McLachlan 32.

(45) Reid Profs. 243;
McLachlan 32.

reform is associated with Benion, tutor at Shrewsbury from 1706 (3,5).

The replacement of Latin by English as the medium of instruction is often regarded (46) as one of the major achievements of the Academies. This movement began in some of the earliest Academies (2,16; 2,20), but it is difficult to say at what point it became general. There would presumably be a good many transitional stages. Certainly Latin was still used to a considerable extent well on in the eighteenth century (3,8; 3,12; 3,17; 3,21). To what extent may the Academies have been stimulated to this change, or at any rate encouraged to it, by Scottish University example? The credit for the development at Glasgow is usually given to Hutcheson, who became Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1729 (47). But the way had been paved long before, by Burnet, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow 1669-74 and by Wodrow and Ross at Glasgow from 1692 (48). Both the latter still, it is true, regarded Latin as normal, but "used English frequently". On the other hand, (49) Latin was the language of lectures in Physic at Edinburgh in 1740⁽⁴⁹⁾ and of those in Church History at St. Andrews as late as 1776 (47). In 1683 the pupils are said (50) to have conversed always in Latin at Glasgow, and in 1705 the fact that they

(46) Tuck in Education Papers VI 4, 52.

(47) Curtis 231.

(48) Reid Profs. 157, 187.

(49) Doddridge (Humphreys) III 430.

(50) Buchan 49.

conversed always in English was deplored (51). It is thus difficult to go further than that the introduction of English as the teaching medium of the Academies probably owed something to Scottish influence.

We are on safer ground when we notice the similarity between the Glasgow textbook lists and those of some of the Academies (Appendix A), although even here it is very difficult to say definitely in any given case precisely how much importance can be attached to observable resemblances.

(51) Reid Profs. 198.

HUGUENOT ACADEMIES.

In three cases there is a known direct connection between the pre-Revocation Academies in France and the English Dissenting Academies: Jean Cappel (52), Professor of Hebrew at Saumur Academy until its dissolution on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, later joined the staff of Oldfield's London Academy (3,23); Thomas Amory, tutor at Taunton (3,14) was educated for a time by a French refugee minister, Majendie of Exeter (53); and Theophilus Gale (2,19) had spent a couple of years at Caen as private tutor to two English youths who were studying there (54).

The Huguenot Academies appear to have been the first of higher educational institutions to deviate from the path of Calvinistic orthodoxy; already in 1618-21 Cameron, Professor at Saumur, was "striving to find a way out of the calvinistic prison" (55) by removing determinism from the human will to the mind. The tendency was general:

we find in the books that were composed by the doctors of Saumur and Sedan, after the Synod of Dort (1619), many things which seem conformable, not only to the sentiments of the Lutherans, concerning grace, predestination, the person of Christ,

(52) McLachlan 9.

(53) Wilson Dissenting II 385.

(54) ibid. III 161-4.

(55) Reid Principals 202sq.

and the efficacy of the sacraments, but also to certain peculiar opinions of the Romish Church (56).

Perhaps we may connect the continuation of this process in France with the eclecticism or heterodoxy of those tutors who were affected at first- or second-hand, viz., Gale (2,19) and Amory (3,14) and their pupils.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

America contributed one tutor - Isaac Chauncy (3,12) to a Dissenting Academy. Harvard, like other emigré institutions, tended to be very conservative. Isaac Chauncy, whose father was Master of the College from 1654 to 1672, came to England during the Commonwealth, and became tutor at Moorfields in 1701 (57). During his time at Harvard the initial tradition - the College was founded in 1636 - was still strong; that is to say, there would be no distinction between a liberal and a theological education (58), and its two sources would be first, Calvinism and second, Aristotle. The initial regulations of Harvard prescribed that

Every scholar /not only theological students/ shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice daily, that they be ready to give an account of their proficiency. And all sophisters and bachelors shall publicly repeat sermons in the hall whenever they are called forth (59).

The main differences of curriculum between Harvard and an English University at this period were an emphasis at the former on logic and rhetoric (as aids to the ministry) and on Hebrew, and Arabic and Syriac (60). Experimental

(57) Davis Watts 23.

(58) Butts 303.

(59) Peabody 247.

(60) Morison 30.

science, vernacular instruction and the supersession of Aristotle waited for the eighteenth century (61).

This conservative tradition reacted directly on the academies through only one tutor, Chauncy. He, however, was of some influence, being the original sole tutor of the Congregational Fund's London Academy. It is possible that Chauncy shared his brother's interest in English literature - the latter's commonplace book contains extracts from over two dozen English poets, principally Spencer (62). There seems, however, to be no evidence of any corresponding activities in Chauncy's Academy.

The details of "foreign" universities given in this section are an important feature of the background of the remainder of this and the next Chapter. A number of specific references in both Chapters indicate the part which the Academies played in transmitting these external influences to English higher education.

(61) Morison 31, 43, 89.

(62) Scholes Puritans 40.

Bethnal Green - Ker.

Scottish and Dutch Universities, and an Academy of the previous chapter, all contributed to the education of John Ker (1639-1723), tutor at the Academy at Bethnal Green which appears to have been financed by the Rev. Thomas Brand (1635-94), graduate of Merton, Oxford (63). Brand was a philanthropist, with several educational interests, including occupational training for paupers, and there is no evidence that he took any part in the life of the Academy (64).

Ker had been a pupil of Doolittle (2,10), had graduated MA at Edinburgh, and had been employed in Dublin as a private tutor, before he became tutor of the Academy some years prior to Brand's death in 1691. In 1692 Ker left the Academy in the hands of John Short (Appendices B,C), and - as if convinced by his initial tutorial efforts of the incompleteness of his own education - spent five years at Leyden before resuming the Academy tutorship in 1697. At Leyden Ker graduated MD with a thesis Disputatio physico-medica inauguralis de secretionis animalis efficiente causa et ordine (65). The title indicates association with the experimentalist school, which was to become famous under the leadership of Boerhaave. The latter's thesis for the doctorate in 1693 was entitled

(63) McLachlan 85-86.

(64) DNB; Jeremy 22.

(65) TCHS V 155.

Disputatio de utilitate explorandorum excrementorum in aegris at signorum, but his weight did not begin to be felt until about the time of his De usu ratiocinii mechanico in medicis, 1702 (66).

The surviving account of the studies in Ker's Academy (Appendix C) does not indicate, however, that he made any special feature of the Leyden experimental and mechanical (iatromechanistic) approach to medicine.

A detailed account (Appendix C) of Ker's course in about 1700, given by a pupil, may be summarized thus:

	<u>1st year</u>	<u>2nd year</u>	<u>3rd year</u>	<u>4th year</u>
<u>Daily</u>	Logic.	Metaphysics.	Ethics.	Natural Phil., & Rhetoric.
<u>Monday</u>	. . .	Buchanan's Psalms	
<u>Alt. Days</u>	. . .	Latin Disputations	
<u>Sats.</u>	--	. . .	Latin Declamations	. . .
<u>Daily</u>	Latin and Greek Classics			
<u>Mon. & Fri.</u>	Greek NT, Theology, Sacred criticism (incl. Geog.)			

Private reading. A great variety of works recommended in the above lectures, and works of various viewpoints on recent theological and ecclesiastical controversies.

The eldest pupils conducted prayers at the Divinity lectures - in their own words, or reading the words of others, as they judged appropriate (67).

(66) Brunet 40, 45.

(67) Palmer Defence 4 sqq.

A notable omission from the course is that of Hebrew. This may perhaps be related to its neglect in Scotland (68). The general layout of the above scheme - Logic and Rhetoric in the first year, Metaphysics in the second, Ethics in the third, Natural Philosophy in the fourth - also shows clearly enough the Scottish pattern (3,2). The influence of Holland is seen in the large proportion of Dutch authors. The dethronement of Aristotle but the continuance of his struggle with his would-be successors is reflected in his inclusion alongside Descartes and his disciple Heereboord, and the Newtonian Le Clerc. This comparative method was, it is evident from the books listed, used also in the rest of the course. In fact the same pupil adds

in all Controverted points he [Ker] never offered to impose upon the Judgment of his Pupil. The Doctrine of the seventeenth Article of the Church of England, which affirms the strictest Predestination, has been a Question much agitated, and with unaccountable Heat, and is therefore necessary for Divines to understand: Hereupon he always took care to give us just Ideas of it, by a View of all that has been said on every side, and forming perhaps invincible Arguments for his own Notions, but yet with great Generosity wou'd entreat us to consider the Importance

of the Point, and Danger of Error, and left it to our more ripe Judgments to determine our Assent. He was the same Encourager of free and large Thoughts in every part of our Studies (69).

This indicates that Ker went a good deal further in such methods than was usual in Holland (3,21), and must be numbered with the founders of the comparative method typical of the later academies (4,21). Perhaps we may connect this emphasis on Biblical criticism (in the final paragraph of the description of the course) with Ker's training under Doolittle (2,10).

The texts include a number in English, and it is difficult to imagine Latin as the teaching medium with English texts. On the other hand, Ker (70) conducted daily prayers in Latin, which would hardly be likely in a dissenting tutor who did not regard Latin as his normal language - or at any rate, one of his normal languages - of communication with his pupils.

(69) Palmer Defence 6.

(70) ibid. 7.

Warrington : Charles Owen.

One of the pupils of Bethnal Green (3,3) to become a tutor was Charles Owen, whose Warrington Academy continued, with an interruption at about the time of the Schism Act (1714), from about 1697 until Owen's death in 1746 (71, 72). As there is no record of assistance from the Presbyterian Fund, it has been suggested that Owen did not aim at completing the education of ministers (72). His interests included Church Order and Natural Science. On the former he published several works on Ordination, continuing the Presbyterian arguments of his brother (James Owen, 3,5) and using the latter's materials (73). In 1728, probably as a result of these labours, he received an honorary D D from Edinburgh (72). Ker's method (3,3) of presenting all sides of theological questions had born fruit in Owen's belief that such questions are to be regarded as not finally answered; so much we can deduce from the trust deed in which he made over the Warrington Chapel, previously his private property. There are no doctrinal entanglements, the deed prescribing that the chapel was for the minister

to preach the word of God in, to pray in, and administer the sacraments (74).

Owen himself, however, was an expressed calvinist and anti-arminian on a strictly scriptural basis. He wrote of Frankland's pupils:

(71)McLachlan 15.

(72)Mounfield 92-3.

(73)Bogue & Bennett I 426.

(74)quoted by Mounfield 101.

the reason why they determine against Arminius is, because their Judicious and Learned Tutor directed 'em to study the Scriptures and their own Hearts, which enabled 'em betimes to exalt the free Grace of God, and to depress the proud enslav'd Will of Man (75).

In the field of Natural Science Dr. Owen was the author of a remarkable work entitled An essay towards a Natural History of Serpents: in two parts.

I. ... a general View of SERPENTS ... a short Account of ... Poison ... where also the SERPENT is used as Food and Physick.

II. ... a View of most Serpents...

III. To which is added a Third Part; containing Six DISSERTATIONS

1. Upon the PRIMEVAL SERPENT in PARADISE ... The whole intermix'd with Variety of ENTERTAINING DIGRESSIONS, PHILOSOPHICAL and HISTORICAL. ... 1742.

Parts I and II consist of a mixture of well-authenticated scientific material and ancient and modern myths, displaying an amazing breadth of knowledge and reading in the author. A detailed account is given of the properties of asbestos (76). The bee is said to have four feet (77). There are numerous quotations, classical and other, not

(75) Ordination 96.

(76) p.95.

(77) p.147.

excluding modern Romist sources (78). The illustrations show a blending of precise knowledge and imagination (see Plate I). The time had now passed when it could be taken for granted that scientific studies of this character were a necessary part of Christian education, and Owen explained his point of view thus in the Preface:

The Divine Wisdom so variously displayed in the Works of Nature, even the lowest Order of them, entertains the human Eye with Prospects exquisitely beautiful and pleasurable: As our Knowledge is defective, we are at a loss how to account perfectly for the particular Ends of their Formation, and Manner of their Subserviency to the Whole of the Eternal Design. if we consider the Noxious [Creatures], we shall find, if not an Argument, why they should be made, yet we shall be able to discern no Reason why they should not, because their Noxiousness is not unavoidable, but that we may, and almost everyone does avoid it. in cultivating the Subject, I have attempted to give a short Display of the Divine Perfections, which, as they appear eminent in the System of the Creation in general, so in the Serpent they may be seen in particular ... (79).

(78) eg p.77.

(79) vi, vii.

It is interesting to notice here how thoroughly Owen accepted the thesis of Ray and Jenyns - at which Samuel Johnson poked fun - that the world is perfect (80).

Owen's remark (81) that he was providing in English a good deal of information previously available only in other languages indicates his realization of the growing importance of English as a medium of serious science.

A point which emerges from the list of subscribers to the production of the work is the growing interrelation of the academies by this date; the list (82) includes Amory, Doddridge, Eames, and other tutors. And the connections of English dissent with Holland are testified by the appearance of the names of several Amsterdam merchants. In his Dedication Owen gave this "Picture of" the man of "real Worth" -

What is it that makes the great Character, but Knowledge in all its diversity, a Sollicitousness for the Spread of Arts and Sciences, excelling in one's particular Station of Life, and being divinely forward to all the high Offices of Humanity? (83).

As a program of university education, combined with the emphasis in the previously quoted passage on the integration of the scientific part of the curriculum with the core-subject of theology, this would be hard to improve.

(80) Willey XVIIIth Century 50.

(81) Serpents vii.

(82) Serpents ix.

(83) ibid. iv.

Oswestry and Shrewsbury: James Owen and Benion.

Charles Owen's elder brother James (1654-1706) was also a noted tutor. He had received his higher education at Brynllwarch under a Samuel Jones, MA Oxon, and as assistant minister to Stephen Hughes of Swansea. Owen founded his academy at Oswestry at some date soon after his arrival there between 1676 and 1680, and removed it to Shrewsbury in 1700. Presumably his tutorial work was closely related to that of his co-pastor, Francis Tallents (2,29) (84). Perhaps it was the latter's enthusiasm for history which inspired Owen to write Vindiciae Brittanicae, proving the existence of a pre-Roman civilization in Britain (85). It is recorded of him that

He was versed in many Languages, ancient and modern, but his greatest skill was in History, especially ecclesiastical, in all parts of which, he was critically conversant, & could with great accuracy, recite the several stages of the Church, & the progress of opposition & alteration it met with in each century. He was well acquainted with the councils of the Fathers many of which he abridged, in Greek & Latin, & could readily tell what sett of opinions prevailed in every age.

As to Polemical Divinity, he was a Champion. In the year 1681, on the

(84)Roberts 14, 43; Thomas History of .. Baptist .. 25; Jeremy 26; Gordon Freedom 323.

(85)TCHS V 18.

27th of Sept, he managed a public dispute, with Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph, at the Town Hall at Oswestry ... (86). on the Apostolical Succession, ranging himself with Philip Henry (2,6) and Jonathan Roberts against Dr. Lloyd and Mr. Henry Dodwell. The subject continued to interest him; he published a Plea for Scripture Ordination, and left behind him at his death materials which his brother, Charles Owen, used for publications on the same subject (3,4) (87).

Another account of Owen says

Besides an accurate knowledge of the Latin, the Greek and the Hebrew, he is said to have been no mean proficient also in the Arabic, Syriac, Saxon and French languages; not to mention his thorough and critical acquaintance with the English and Welsh tongues. In divinity and ecclesiastical history likewise, he had confessedly attained to eminence (88).

These two comments taken together would suggest a man able to cover satisfactorily any university course, save perhaps for mathematics and natural science and, possibly, formal philosophy. The list of his textbooks (Appendix A) fits in with this supposition. There were weekly Latin disputations, in which a provision designed

(86) DWL MS 22.

(87) Bogue & Bennett I426.

(88) Monthly Rep I 402 quoted by McLachlan 81.

to protect the orthodoxy of the pupils was that any heterodox view must be defended in the third person. English was used as well as Latin for orations and original verses to celebrate special occasions, especially that joyful dissenting anniversary the fifth of November. On these occasions Owen encouraged the introduction of humour (89). The reference to English and Welsh in the second passage quoted may indicate some attention to the use for preaching of these two languages, but the lectures were in Latin and no other language might be spoken at dinner (89).

Owen's own summary of his methods and objects stressed the formation of character and accorded special mention of Bible knowledge.

He wrote:

I have observ'd in our Dissenting Academies, that the Tutors do conscientiously form the Minds of their Pupils with Principles of Religion and Vertue, acquaint 'em with the Holy Scriptures, strictly inspect their Morals, oblige 'em to redeem their Time, and improve 'em in all the Parts of Useful Learning. (90).

After Owen's death in 1706 a call to the pastorate and to the tutorship was accepted by Samuel Benion, who "raised" the Academy "to considerable eminence" (91). He had been educated

(89) C. Owen Life of J. Owen, 70, 92, quoted by McLachlan 81-2; Bogue & Bennett II 26.

(90) Moderation still 103.

(91) DWL MS 22.

by Philip Henry at Broad Oak (2,6) and at Glasgow University, and avowedly modelled his Academy on the latter (92). He had already spent a few years at Broad Oak as Philip Henry's successor, and seemingly had there continued Henry's tutorship to a small number of ministerial pupils (93). Amongst the latter was, apparently, Latham, afterwards tutor at Findern (3,7). Benion compiled a "Schematismus" for his pupils, showing the subjects in order:

- (a) Gnostologia (including Praecognita)
- (b) Logic
- (c) Metaphysics.
- (d) Physics
- (e) Mathematics
- (f) Ethics (94).

He is stated to have been specially keen on logic and on pure mathematics: in the latter he differed notably from his predecessor. His time at Glasgow (1695-6) had perhaps come soon enough after the establishment of the chair of mathematics in 1691 (3,2) for the subject still to be regarded as a special feature of University life. The omission from the Schematismus of the oriental and other languages which had been his predecessor's forte no doubt reflects the neglect of those subjects in Scotland. On the other hand, Benion's curriculum does not follow the Glasgow order (3,2). His keenness on elocution and

(92) Bogue & Bennett II 28.

(93) DWL MS 27.

(94) McLachlan 83-4, quoting M. Henry Life of Benion; Bogue & Bennett II 29.

pronunciation, for which time was set apart each week (95), does not appear to be a following of a Glasgow precedent. Benion was also a modernist in educational method. Matthew Henry says that

few men dictated more their own thoughts than he did (96);

a remark which is explained in that

He hit upon a better Plan of education than his predecessor, He drew up several schemes of the sciences, Logic, Pneumatology, Natural Philosophy, Ethicks, & applied to Mathematicks. (97).

But at Glasgow it was not until the time of Leechman, twenty years after Benion's student days, that the old way of lecturing by commenting on a set book, was displaced. (3,2). Similarly

In Theology, the Bible was the system he read, & the genuine exposition of that, he thought the most profitable divinity Lectures he could read to his pupils, to that only, he was devoted, and not to any man's hypothesis (97).

The textbooks recommended by him were orthodox (Appendix A).

Under Owen this Academy continued the training (begun at Abergavenny, Appendix C) of Perrot of Carmarthen; and of Samuel Jones of

(96) Life of Benion, quoted McLachlan 83.

(97) DWL MS 27-28.

Tewkesbury^(3,5), and of Hardy of Nottingham^(3,6). Benion's^(3,7) pupils included Latham, afterwards tutor at Findern^(3,7). The last three tutors are the subjects of the next sections. Benion is also mentioned as having taught Jeremiah Jones of Nailsworth, who, however, completed his course at Tewkesbury (3,8). (98).

The continuation of the Shrewsbury Academy under Reynolds and Gyles is mentioned in Appendix C.

Nottingham: Hardy.

John (99) or Thomas (100) Hardy, pupil of James Owen (3,4) was

a learned and liberal Divine, who, for many years, took the care of a small number of pupils, at Nottingham (99).

and of whom Doddridge wrote:

He has left behind him few equals in learning, though many superiors in prudence and steadiness (101).

One of his pupils was Caleb Fleming, afterwards D D and a noted Socinian minister: born in 1698,

At sixteen years of age, he applied himself to the study of logic, ethics, natural philosophy, and astronomy ...

From the instructions of the same gentleman [Hardy], he had also particular advantages for improvement in theological knowledge ... For his knowledge of geometry, trigonometry, and algebra, he was indebted to the instructions of a Mr. Needham (99).

Hardy, as a pupil of Owen, naturally needed a colleague to do mathematics for him (3,4). It would be interesting to know how he got on with his astronomy and natural philosophy. Perhaps it is understandable that Fleming developed under

(99) Wilson Dissenting II 283-4.

(100) McLachlan 12.

(101) Doddridge Letters, Humphrey, II 361; letter dated 28/10/1727.

Hardy a preference for theology (99), and some years later decided to enter the ministry. Hardy continued his Academy until 1727, when he had a severe apoplectic fit, and joined the Church of England (101)..

(99) Wilson Dissenting II 283-4.

(101) Doddridge (Humphreys) II 361, letter dated 28/10/1727.

Findern: Hill and Latham.

Before detailing another pupil of Shrewsbury, Ebenezer Latham, we have to deal with his predecessor, Thomas Hill, who had probably been educated by his father, and whose tutorial activities continued from at latest 1712 until his death in 1719/20. Hill's own account of his activities, given in a successful defence against a charge of unlicensed school-keeping in 1712, was thus:

I board young men; I advise them what books to read; and when they apply to me for information on anything they do not understand, I inform them (102).

He printed in 1715, for his pupils to sing, a selection from Dupont and Buchanan of the Psalms in Latin and Greek verse. It has been commented that this indicates a high standard of classical teaching (102). Even more out of the ordinary is that it indicates some regular attention to a musical activity.

Ebenezer Latham MA MD.

Hill's successor (and perhaps assistant for a time) was Ebenezer Latham (1688-1754), educated by Benion (3,5) and at Glasgow (from 1704). From 1720 to 1754, he educated upwards of four hundred pupils, mostly not destined for the ministry, and carried out his duties as village minister and village doctor (103). Some of the four hundred were engaged on studies of grammar school rather than university standard. (104). His higher course lasted four years and its subjects (deduced from the list of textbooks, Appendix A) were: Logic, Mathematics (not to a high standard), Natural Philosophy (with no mention of apparatus or experiments), Chronology, Anatomy, Hebrew, Theology and Hebrew Antiquities, at least. Some of the textbooks (eg Gravesande, the first of whose two main works did not appear until 1720; (3,2)) are too up-to-date to be attributed to either Benion or Glasgow, but the inclusion of Carmichael's Logic, at any rate, shows Scottish influence.

French was also studied under Latham (105); this would appear to be his own innovation. He continued his predecessor's psalm-singing (104).

Further information about the course for theological students is afforded by a Minute

(103) McLachlan 132-4; TUHS IX 129.

(104) TCHS V 152.

(105) Stedman Doddridge Letter X of 8/1/1722/3.

of the Presbyterian Fund, when in 1725 they decided in future to assist pupils only at Taunton (3,13), Findern and Carmarthen. They then recorded that:

none of the managers of this fund will encourage [the exhibitioners'] being employed anywhere as ministers ... unless it appears upon examination that they can render into English any paragraph of Tully's offices ... that they read a Psalm in Hebrew, translate into Latin any part of the Greek Testament to which they shall be directed, give a satisfactory account of their knowledge in the several sciences they studied at the Academy, and draw up a thesis upon any question that shall be proposed to them in Latin, and compose a sermon on a practical subject calculated for the improvement of a serious and well-disposed congregation (106).

This in effect makes compulsory a considerable knowledge of Latin and Greek, a smaller knowledge of Hebrew, study of Tully, and the ancient and modern rhetorical requirements, viz. respectively the Latin thesis and the English sermon.

Tallying with the selection of Findern by the Presbyterian Board are Latham's attitude to theology and to ethics. In the former, although he had the standard Genevan Pictet as textbook (Appendix A), yet he followed Benion in deprecating

much use of any commentary.

We have (he says) our bibles, the only complete system of divine knowledge, in our hands; by which we may improve on the best compositions of fallible men (107); and he urges (108) the impartial examination of the Bible - thus explaining the comment of a nineteenth century Unitarian,

From the first, Dr. Latham's pupils were distinguished by a spirit of fearless enquiry, and by their indifference to the reputation of 'orthodoxy' (109).

In ethics, Latham's standard viewpoint that the truly rational man would necessarily be the ethically perfect man may be illustrated by his sentence:

every ill action is an implicit violation of some true proposition, as every good one owns and confirms it (110).

This viewpoint, a growing one of the age, was nevertheless a very long way from the true Calvinistic view of the moral law as a divine fiat which can be heard - let alone obeyed - by depraved man, however, rational, only through the operation of omnipotent grace. It is evident that we must take with caution the remark that Latham's "own views", in accordance with his education, were Calvinistic (111). No doubt this was true of the general framework of his theology, particularly

(107) Sermons I 1 (on Rom 5/14).

(108) ibid. 432-3 (on 2 Tim 1/13).

(109) Evans Midland 124.

(110) Sermons I 233 (on Phil 4/8).

(111) Evans Midland 125.

as exhibited in his sermons. But it is a peculiar feature of Calvinism that though

the two levers used to break the authority of the Holy See, ...Free enquiry and the priesthood of all believers (112)

were both intended to belittle fallen human reason by refusing to allow to any of its achievements any final authority, yet these very levers both tend in due course to elevate their fulcrum of human reason to a position in which it is not so much the mouthpiece for God's edicts as the arbiter upon them. Thus it was that Latham was only one of many sincere Calvinists whose disciples found their teaching a quick road to hyper-rationalism.

(112)Brown Puritans vi.

Gloucester, Tewkesbury, etc: Forbes, Alexander,
Fleming, S. & J. Jones.

Gloucester: Forbes.

The third of the four Shrewsbury pupils to become tutors, Samuel Jones, succeeded to an academy established at Gloucester after 1680 by James Forbes (113). In about 1690 it was reported to the Presbyterian Fund:

Mr. James Forbes has 3 young men wth
him

Students in Philosophie and Divinity
very poor (114).

_____ These were studying for the ministry. Forbes had graduated MA of a Scottish University and spent some time at Oxford prior to his ejection at Gloucester in 1662. Shortly after that date he was active in maintaining the dissenting cause in London, but also kept up his Gloucester connections. He was sufficiently orthodox to be aided by the Congregational Fund (115), but also of broad views; his chapel, built in 1699, was on a trust which imposed no credal or other test except that the congregation must be "his Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England" (116).

(113) McLachlan 8.

(114) Gordon Freedom 47.

(115) TCHS V 139-146, 248.

(116) Murch 11-16.

Stratford: John Alexander and John Fleming.

A group of members of Forbes' church were dissatisfied with his latitude, and called John Alexander to be first minister of a congregation on stricter lines. Alexander (died 1743) had been educated at Glasgow and probably also by Isaac Noble (Appendix C). He was minister at Gloucester from 1712 until 1718, and for at any rate part of that period maintained an academy, which he took with him to Stratford-on-Avon in 1718, and continued there until his emigration to Ireland in 1729. He was noted for his oriental and patristic learning - rather surprisingly, in view of the backwardness of Glasgow in oriental languages (3,2). Alexander was succeeded by John Fleming, probably the same as had already established an academy at Bridgnorth since 1726. Notes made in 1731 by a pupil are mainly in Latin, which was thus, evidently, the language of instruction. (117).

(117) McLachlan 8,13; Parker Appendix I;
CHEL X chap. XVI Appendix; TCHS V 81;
Bogue & Bennett III 291;
DNB; Murch 11-16.

Tewkesbury and Gloucester: Samuel Jones.

On the death of Forbes in 1712 apparently Samuel Jones (~~1680~~^{died}-1719) brought to Gloucester the Academy which he had kept at Tewkesbury since about 1680. Jones had been a pupil successively of Doolittle (2,10) (probably), of John Weaver at Knell in Radnorshire, of Griffith at Abergavenny (Appendix C), and at Leyden (118); if he had also been (119) a pupil at Oswestry^(3,5), the dates make it clear that he was one of the earliest there.

An account by a pupil of Jones' course in 1711 (reproduced in Appendix C) (120) may be summarized thus:

Morning, daily: Logic;
Hebrew (translated into Greek);
Jewish Antiquities (when
Logic completed).

once weekly: Sacred Geography.

Afternoon:

four times weekly: Hebrew Antiquities and
Rabbinics;
the Septuagint;
Greek New Testament;
Mathematics.

Saturdays: Thesis (those pupils only
who have completed Logic).

twice weekly: Greek & Latin Classics.

The letter from which this account is compiled was written by a student in his second

(118) DWL MS²⁶; McLachlan 127; Parker Part II; DNB.

(119) DWL MS 28; Parker loc.cit.

(120) Letter from Thomas Secker to Isaac Watts, from Gloucester November 1711, in Gibbons Watts 347-352.

year of the four-year course. It is therefore probable that those subjects which he fails to mention and which would normally appear later in the course were in fact taught by Jones in the third and fourth years. Ethics and Natural Philosophy are such.

Dutch influence is considerable. Jones explicitly used his notes from the Classics lectures of Perizonius. Gronovius (1645-1718), Professor of Belles-Lettres at Leyden, was similarly used for a course entitled (by Andrew Gifford (4²⁶45) in his notes from Jones) with suitable generality Notae Gronovi et viri clarissimi, which range over a variety of subjects including the movements of the earth (121). Another result of Dutch influence may be the "free discourse on anything that is useful" between pupils and tutor (122). Probably Jones' library,

composed for the most part of foreign books, which seem very well chosen (122) was also collected on a basis of Dutch experience.

Like his tutor's tutor, Ker (3,3), Jones paid considerable attention to Heereboord's Logie, but brought him up to date by means of Le Clerc, and, in Jones' case, Locke.

The restricted range of the initial mathematics syllabus under Jones, despite special commendation of it⁽¹²¹⁾ is shown by other notes by a

(121) McLachlan 292-3.

(122) Secker's letter in Gibbons Watts 351.

student, dated 1712, which cover the following ground:

Arithmetic: Vulgar and decimal fractions, root-extraction, proportion.

Algebra: Solution of equations, Arithmetic-Progression.

Geometry: Euclid II, III, V, VI (123).

This agrees with the account in Appendix A, and might be a syllabus at ordinary level in the present-day General Certificate of Education.

At a similar date the Oxford University mathematics course was even more restricted (124). Moreover, Jones intended to enlarge his course (125).

If Jones had indeed been at Oswestry under Owen (3,5), we might connect that fact with his preëminence in linguistics, indicated in the large place given to Hebrew in the above description, and in the statement that Secker

had not only made considerable progress in Greek and Latin and read the most difficult writers in both languages but had acquired a knowledge of French, Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, had learnt Geography, Logic, Algebra, Geometry and Conic Sections and gone through a course of lectures in Jewish Antiquities (126).

The reference to Conic Sections indicates that Jones had managed to fulfil his intention of enlarging the mathematics course.

(123) McLachlan 292-3.

(124) op. Wordsworth Scholae 216.

(125) Secker's Letter, loc.cit.

(126) McLachlan 129, quoting B. Porteus, Life of Secoker, in Secker Works (1825) I.

Secker found it necessary to complete his education by a course of science under Eames (3,12), but expressed his general satisfaction with Jones, and incidentally indicated that Jones had succeeded in making the course appear as a reasonably integrated though varied whole. Secker wrote

I see nothing we are engaged in, but what is either necessary, or extremely useful for one who would thoroughly understand those things, which most concern him, or be able to explain them well to others (127).

There is no suggestion that Jones had any use for any study of or use of English.

The pupils

are obliged to ... speak Latin always, except when below stairs amongst the family (128).

Evidently the use (129) of English intermixed with the Latin of the Mathematics notes referred to above, was a lapse of the student only into the vernacular.

Secker's course under Jones (and Jollie (3,20) and Eames (3,12) for shorter periods) was criticised contemporaneously by an Oxford don who, saying that Secker's progress in the Church was due to the superiority of his education

(127)Secker's Letter, loc.cit. 352.

(128)Secker, loc cit, 351.

(129)McLachlan 292.

and moral training over that given in Oxford or Cambridge, and praising the divinity and classics of the academies, on the other hand commented adversely on the neglect of belles lettres (130) . That this is very much a matter of opinion is shown by the inclusion of belles lettres in a list of subjects studied by Francis (mentioned above as Secker's contemporary) - the others mentioned being only languages and "Jewish Antiquities, and other points preparatory to a critical study of the Bible" (131). Horace Walpole found that Secker retained a "tone of fanaticism" from his dissenting education (132).

An even more famous pupil of Jones was Butler, Bishop of Durham and author of the Analogy (1736). He went on from Tewkesbury to Oriel, Oxford, where "the frivolous lectures quite tired me out" (133). It has been suggested that with regard to the exclusiveness of his habit of quoting from Holy Scriptures rather than from authoritative commentators it seems probable that his education as a Presbyterian Dissenter may have done much to form the habit of his mind (134). If this is so, it indicates that Jones was more at one with those other tutors who believed in a self-interpreting scripture rather than a galaxy of commentators, than might be supposed from the reference to what "other authors have said" in Secker's account quoted above.

(130) Knox, quoted in unsigned editorial memoir,
Watts Works I.

(131) Wilson Dissenting .. III 508.

(132) CHEL X 362, W. H. Hutton.

(133) Parker Pt. II.

(134) Parker Pt. III quoting Gladstone Studies subsidiary to BUTLER /68

It has been argued that Butler's Analogy may be regarded as a fruit of Jones' tutorship (135). In so far as this is true, the brilliance of that work's general argument (136) in taking the fight against deism into the enemy's camp, by showing the incompleteness and paradoxicality of the world of Nature - which only the twentieth-century scientist is beginning to realise - was a far more profound achievement than anything else which came from Jones or from those tutors whom he trained - Jeremiah Jones (below), Robinson (Appendix C) and Vavasor Griffiths (of Wales).

(135) Colligan 22.

(136) Willey XVIII Cent Ch.V.

Nailsworth: Jeremiah Jones.

A pupil of Samuel Jones (and previously of Benion (3,5)) who achieved fame as an antideist writer was Samuel's nephew, Jeremiah Jones (1693-1724). He took over the Academy in 1719 and removed it to Nailsworth, near Nuneaton, but died soon afterwards. He was addicted to bowls. His Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, published posthumously in 1726, is

a work of original plan, and, for its day, exhaustive research, [which] was certainly the most valuable outcome of the tutorial work of the old Academies, or, indeed of English contemporary scholarship (137).

Doolittle's pupils.

Doolittle's (2,10) part in training Ker (3,3) and Samuel Jones (3,8) has already been noticed. Two other of his pupils - Rowe (3,10) and Ridgley (3,12) - also became tutors.

Newington Green: Rowe.

Thomas Rowe (1657-1705) was educated by Doolittle (138) and by Theophilus Gale (139) (2,19), and succeeded the latter at Newington Green in 1678, continuing as sole tutor until his death. Much of Rowe's fame comes from his having been tutor to Isaac Watts, eminent hymnographer, author and Congregational minister (4,3). From time to time a remark of Watts appears to refer back to his days as Rowe's pupil - as when he says

There are very few Tutors who are sufficiently furnished with such universal Learning, as to sustain all the Parts and Provinces of Instruction. ... it is best to enjoy the Instruction of two or three Tutors at least, in order to run through the whole Encyclopaedia, or circle of Sciences, where it may be obtained. ... But where this Advantage cannot be had with Convenience, one great Man must supply the Place of two or three common Instructors (140).

That Rowe at any rate came near being such a "great Man" in Watts' estimation is shown by a verse of the latter:

(138) Davis Watts 13.

(139) McLachlan 10.

(140) Improvement I 98-99.

I love they gentle influence, Rowe,
 Thy gentle influence like the sun,
 Only dissolves the frozen snow,
 Then bids our thoughts like rivers flow,
 And chuse the channels where they run (141).

Rowe's outstanding achievement, however, was his modernism and (its necessary concomitant) his broadmindedness.

among teachers of philosophy, Thomas Rowe, the London Independent, was the first to desert the traditional textbooks, introducing his pupils, about 1680, to what was known as "free philosophy". Rowe was a Cartesian at a time when the Aristotelic philosophy was dominant in the older schools of learning; and while in physics he adhered to Descartes against the rising influence of Newton, in mental science he became one of the earliest exponents of Locke (142).

Rowe had

a noble and generous mind, free from the shackles of a party, and utterly averse to all impositions in the concerns of religion. ... To his pupils he allowed the most enlarged freedom of enquiry, and it is well known that some of them

(141) quoted by Amory, Preface to Grove Works I xv.
 (142) Gordon Addresses 203-4.

followed a path in controversy very different to that of the tutor. (143).

From the notebooks of the student Watts in 1691-2 it is clear that Logic was taught from Burgersdicius' Institutions and the Commentaries of Heereboord - neither of them the most up-to-date texts. There is, however, also a summary of Lewis de la Forge on the Human Mind (144), a recent work attempting an exposition of Cartesianism consistent (unlike the works of such influential Cartesians as Regius) with complete freedom of the conscious human will. Samuel Johnson wrote:

Watts' Academy notebooks show a degree of knowledge, both philosophical and theological, such as very few attain by a much longer course of study (145).

It is stated that the curriculum included algebra, geometry, conics and French (146). Watts stated that he had in his youth studied Descartes, who prepared the way for Newton, from whom he "learned the experimental approach to philosophy" (147). And from Locke, Watts learned (as well he might with Rowe as tutor) tolerance (147). His complaint (148) that he had not read Berkeley's works during his youth because they were considered too "whimsicall and chimerick" may be just, but the works were not published until after he had left Rowe's care.

(143) Wilson Dissenting III 171.

(144) Gibbons Watts 59.

(145) Lives II 293.

(146) CHEL IX 393, J. W. Adamson.

(147) Davis Watts 148 quoting Preface to Watts Philosophical Essays.

(148) Davis Watts 262 quoting unpublished letter c/o the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Evidently a good deal of work under Rowe was conducted in Latin: the notebooks referred to above are in Latin and twenty-two of the twenty-four theses compiled by Watts are in Latin, the other two being in English (149).

These theses make no attempt to work out a syllogistic form. Gibbons prints the Latin ones and two of the English. The former are

(i) An deus sit verax? Affirmatur. About 750 words, with a few Biblical and no other quotations. The argument is by experience and common sense.

(ii) An mens humana sit immaterialis? Affirmatur. About 700 words, with no quotations, but a reference to the disagreement of Epicurus, Tertullian, Hobbes, and others, "some, though but a few, professors of the true religion".

(iii) Whether the Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone tends to Licentiousness? Watts proves the negative in over two thousand words with a host of biblical quotations (including only one from the Old Testament) and quotations from Dr. Goodwin's Triumph of Faith and Dr. Owen's Treatise of Temptations, both of which may very well have been standard books, particularly in a Congregationalist Academy.

(iv) Whether self-denial in Things in themselves indifferent be not in some Cases necessary? Affirmed. Two thousand words with several New Testament quotations and an emphasis on practical examples. (150).

(149) Gibbons Watts 21-58.

(150) Watts 21-58.

Treated as Watts treated it, presumably with Rowe's approval and guidance, this kind of thing would be a valuable part of the Academy's activities. In the hands of a less competent tutor or with a less able pupil its value might not be so great. Watts was afraid that it tended to produce "a carping Critick rather than a judicious man" (151) and would like the pupil to have on occasion to defend a proposition believed to be untrue (152), or, better (153), to replace the whole exercise by properly conducted debates, on subjects to be voted on by fellow pupils or to be adjudicated by an impartial judge: it is implied that this idea was unknown in the Academies then. Watts recommends the written thesis as a way of convincing a person of an error - get him to compose a written answer to a written exposure of the error (154). Was this, perhaps, Rowe's method?

It was a peculiarity of the Cartesians, which, however, did not at all need to disappear when Newtonianism became the ruling philosophy, to cast all subjects as far as possible into a mathematical form. Rowe no doubt shared this tendency, and we find Watts inveighing against it (155).

How did it come about that Rowe so early adopted an attitude so advanced philosophically

(151) Improvement I 136.

(152) ibid 191.

(153) ibid Chap XII.

(154) Improvement II 96-99.

(155) Improvement I 203-4.

and so tolerant? There is no reason to suppose that he found anything of it in his one tutor, Doolittle, who tended perhaps to a not too keenly intellectual orthodoxy (2,10). But Gale, Rowe's other tutor, had enjoyed and made good use of his contacts with more than one source of post-Calvinistic elasticity, including in particular that of French Protestantism (2,19; 3,2). Rowe's eclecticism and tolerance are a continuation of Gale's, whilst his Cartesianism is ⁶not a surprising result of Gale's comparative philosophy, which involved, as shown above (2,19) a study alongside other systems of the Cartesianism which Gale himself opposed.

The importance of Rowe as a transmitter of Gale's influence lies in his tutorship of Grove and Watts. The former became a notable tutor at Taunton (3,13); whilst Watts was amongst the most influential sculptors of the later academies (4,3).

Trowbridge: Davisson.

Before considering the other Academy - Moorfields - which owes something to Doolittle it is necessary to mention a Baptist tutor who probably trained one of the Moorfields men. The former was John Davidson or Davisson (died 1721), whose special interest was ordination (156): he dealt with it from the Congregationalist angle as the Owens had, a few years earlier, from the Presbyterian (3,4; 3,5). He was a particular baptist (157) with strictly congregational views of church order (158). We can reconstruct something of the kind of course he aimed at giving his ministerial pupils (there is no suggestion that he had any others) (159).

His ordination interests would lead him to lay stress on ecclesiastical history: he refers to Echard's book (160). A breadth of view is shown in his approval (161) of two moderate low church bishops, Stillingfleet and the Bishop of Bangor, and his quotation with agreement of a comment (162) of Whiston, the eccentric ex-anglican baptist with Arian leanings, and another of Dr. Whitby (163).

Davisson's list (164) of six necessities for the minister begins "study to understand the

(156) De ordinatione dissertatio historica 1704
(Whitley Bibliography 10.704.)

(157) Sermon 61.

(158) ibid. 16.

(159) Murch 72.

(160) Sermon 64.

(161) Defence 143.

(162) ibid. 20.

(163) Sermon 63.

(164) ibid. 79.

Word of God" and goes on to deprecate the use of commentaries. When desiring to prove any point he stresses that his proof depends throughout upon Reason (165), but also shows that he is a long way from the all-sufficient rationalism of the deists:

May not a thing be rational in itself, and yet need Revelation to make it clearer? May not, nay does not Revelation strengthen our natural Notions of things, by adding more Light? ... Is it not rational to serve God, to pray to him, and praise him; but do not the Gentiles need a clearer Light to be able to discharge these Duties right? May not a thing, when 'tis reveal'd, appear rational in itself, tho 'tis reveal'd? (166).

But the most interesting thing about Havisson is his view (though qualified) of the importance of elocution to the minister; with a Congregation compos'd of Persons of better Education ... for a Minister of the Gospel to neglect his Talent for fine Speaking, is to neglect what will recommend him and his Ministry to the Affections of his Auditors ... Tho I must confess, Truth, valuable Truth, appears most beautiful in its own native Plainness, and less suspicious, than when she appears in the Dress of a Harlot, painted and varnish'd ...

(165) Sermon 16-18.

(166) Defence 15.

but we ought in our Ministry to endeavour to render Truth pleasing and acceptable to all ... (167).

Davisson's successors at Trowbridge continued the academy (4,24), and his (probable) pupil, Ridgley, became co-tutor with Eames of the Congregational Fund Academy in London (3,12) in succession to Chauncy.

Moorfields: Chauncy, Ridgley, Eames, Densham:Isaac Chauncy:

The Crispian controversy of the closing years of the seventeenth century ended the Happy Union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Most of the former adopted the modified calvinism of Dr. Williams, which seemed to the Congregationalists a serious step on the path to Romish Salvation-by-works. Isaac Chauncy AM MD, educated in the old ways at Harvard (3,2), was one of the Congregational leaders, publishing in 1693 his answer to Williams, Neonomianism Unmasked (168). Chauncy was thus an obvious choice for the tutorship of a new Congregational Fund Academy, established in 1701 in Tenter Alley, Moorfields (169). Chauncy's resignation from his pastorate was a relief to his congregation, who had found him unduly keen on lecturing them on the order and discipline of a congregational church. (170). His congregationalism was (171) of the unadulterated independent type which some modern writers have held to be a product of English circumstances and not found in America (172). In theology he adhered wholeheartedly to the Westminster Assembly's Catechisms (173) and claimed to follow Ames and (except in church order) Richerson (174).

(168) Bogue & Bennett I 404.

(169) CHEL X chap. XVI Appendix.

(170) Bogue & Bennett II 34-5.

(171) Doctrine 271, 306-310, 330, 350.

(172) e.g. Price 17, 36.

(173) Doctrine 300.

(174) ibid, Epis. To Reader.

The extent to which modern ideas had nonetheless taken hold of Chauncy's mind may be exemplified by his epistemological outlook, which resembles that of his partners in the anti-Williams fight, Cole and Traill (2,13; 2,14):

From whence doth such Assurance arise? From some visible immediate Object presented to our selves, by sense or natural Reason, and so it's called our own knowledge; or else it arises immediately upon the Authority of another, and is called Faith, in distinction from his own knowledg. Heb.11.1. (175).

In proving his points in his work on Doctrine and Church Order Chauncy only once uses the scholastic syllogistic form of proof - that is in proving the rightness of infant baptism for the offspring of church members (176): evidently his teaching of logic would not be bound down to pure medievalism. In the matter of the basis of ethics he has moved little, if at all, from the traditional view of the inadequacy of human reason:

Is this Light of Nature able to save any Man? It is so far from that, it is Impossible it should, For ...

2. This Light hath no more in it than to give the knowledge of Sin, it gives nor shews any way of Salvation to a Sinner, Rom 3.20 & 7.7.8. .. 5. This Light being so small and imperfect, it cannot discover all Sin, or shew all Duty (177).

Here we are well away from the tide of 18-century rationalism.
(175) Chauncy Doctrine 252.

(176) ibid. 323-4.

(177) ibid. 284.

Ridgley:

On Chauncy's death in 1712 the Academy was taken over by Thomas Ridgley, as divinity tutor, assisted by John Bames, for languages, mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy.

Ridgley (1667?-1734) is stated to have been a pupil of Doolittle (2,10), and of Davisson at Trowbridge (3,11) (178). Ridgley wrote a Body of Divinity, in English, which was used by his pupils. His aims were the restricted one of showing that the orthodox scheme, although difficult, is no more so than any alternative (179); and that orthodox calvinism does not necessarily involve antinomianism (180). Unfortunately he found it necessary to depart to an appreciable extent from the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity in order to be sufficiently far from Arianism (181).

Ridgley followed Davisson (3,11) ~~and~~ in standing like his predecessor Chauncy for a pure congregational church order (182) and in the rôle which he assigned to Reason; the latter seems, in Ridgley's scheme as in Davisson's, to occupy the whole field of view with the exception of some vital but very small areas. Thus Ridgley speaks of

The use of reason in proving or defending the doctrine of the Trinity, or any other doctrines of pure revelation. They could not, indeed, have been at first discovered by reason, nor can every thing that is

(178) Wilson Dissenting II 72; Bogue & Bennett III 282, 284;

DWL MS 3; McLachlan 118.

(179) Colligan 42.

(180) Body I iii, iv. (182) Body I 575.

(181) Body I iv; Bogue & Bennett III 283.

revealed be comprehended by it, yet ... revelation discovers what doctrines we are to believe, demands our assent to them, and reason offers a convincing proof, that we are under an indispensable obligation to give it: it proves the doctrine to be true ... what is false cannot be the object of faith in general (183).

If we had not a surer rule of faith, than the methods of human reasoning, religion would be a matter of great uncertainty, and we should be in danger of being tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine. But our best security against this, will be our having hearts established with Grace (184).

Surprising, perhaps, in view of this, is the passage in which Ridgley produced arguments to prove the Scriptures to be the word of God; the first argument was from "majesty of the stile" (185).

Ridgley's standpoint on ethics was that Natural Law was and is written on the heart of natural man, but that Adam freely chose to disobey it (186); since when, increased knowledge is not a sufficient guarantee of enhanced morality (187).

Scholastic terms come in for derogatory reference (188). But on the subject of the use of commentaries, whilst maintaining that the

(183) Body I 110.

(184) ibid. vi.

(185) ibid. 30.

(186) ibid. 291.

(187) ibid. 71.

(188) ibid. iv, 2.

"knowledge of divine truth must be derived from the holy scriptures", Ridgley parted company with both Doolittle and Davisson in saying:

though systems of divinity, Confessions of faith and Catechisms, are treated with contempt ... by many ... yet we are bound to conclude that the labour of those who have been happy in the sense they have given of scripture, and the method in which they have explained the doctrines thereof, ... is a great blessing to us ... (189).

Perhaps it was the influence of his co-tutor Eames which caused Ridgley to give a leading place to anatomy in his exhortation to admiration of "the wisdom and goodness of God" in creation; with reference to the works of Ray and Derham (190). This was a department which he seems to have left to his more famous colleague.

(189) Body I 1, 2.

(190) Body I 289.

John Eames, F.R.S.

This was John Eames (died 1744), who earned fame as a scientist. He was intimately acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, and, it is said, assisted him on some occasions. By that wonderful man, he was introduced to the Royal Society, and was so highly esteemed by that learned body, as to be employed by them, with another gentleman, to draw up an abridgement of their transactions (191).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Moorfields became the Academy recognized for its science. (3,8 - Secker; 3,13 - Grove and Amory). Eames accumulated a stock of apparatus, which he bequeathed to the Academy (192). Notes of his Applied Mathematics lectures cover a course of Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics and Optics; these and his notes on Ethics, on Surveyor's Trigonometry, and on the Pure Geometry of three dimensions were still in use, for lecturing purposes, by his successor Rees (4,16) in 1763-4 (193). All are in Latin. Presumably, therefore, Eames used that language in his lectures. His introduction of anatomy into the curriculum was not, as has been stated (194), the first case of that subject in a dissenting academy. It had found a place at Sheriffhales

(191) Bogue & Bennett III 284; DNB.

(192) McLachlan 124.

(193) McLachlan 293-295.

(194) Gordon Addresses 207, McLachlan 119.

twenty years or more earlier, and had been recommended by Milton (195), by Oldfield (3,23) (196), and by Newton in his proposals for studies at Trinity College, Cambridge (197). Possibly Eames was influenced by the last-named in this respect.

Eames' pupils (some, but not all, of whom, also came under Ridgley) included several who were afterwards tutors. On Ridgley's death in 1734 Eames took over the lectures on Divinity and Oriental Learning, and acquired an assistant tutor (198).

- (195) Tractate, Prose Works III 470.
(196) Improvement III ch. XXVI s. 8.
(197) in Math. Gaz. XXXIII 89.
(198) DWL MS 3, McLachlan 118.

James Densham.

Eames' assistant was James Densham, former pupil here. He is stated to have taken over mathematics, classics and theology (199), and during his final year said that he had lectured on

Logic, Geography, Algebra, Trigonometry, Physics and Conic Sections (200).

On the death of Eames in 1744 Densham retired from his tutorship and from the ministry, and the Academy passed to David Jennings and S. M. Savage (4,16).

(199) McLachlan 119.

(200) TCHS III 272 quoting MS in New College, London.

Taunton: James, Darch, and Grove.

Warren's Taunton Academy (2,24) was carried on after his death in 1706 by a group of former pupils of the same Academy, who had, however, in some cases received part of their education elsewhere.

Stephen James and Robert Darch.

Three ministers were appointed "by the unanimous vote of a great number of ministers assembled for the purpose" to take over Warren's work. They were Stephen James as divinity tutor, Henry Grove for ethics and pneumatology, and Robert Darch (?1672-1737/8) for mathematics and philosophy (201).

Of these, James had been educated by Warren from 1692 to 1696 and had for a time acted as assistant tutor (202), but there seems to be little information about Darch (203).

- (201) Amory, Preface to Grove, Posthumous Works I xxii.
(202) Bogue & Bennett II 23.
(203) McLachlan 72-73; DNB S.V. Ashworth.

Henry Grove.

Grove ?1683-1737/8, had received his higher education under not only Warren (2,24) but also Rowe (3,10) and Eames (3,12) (204). Rowe's Cartesianism did not satisfy Grove, who, however, felt the debt of the Western World to Descartes for overthrowing Aristotelianism (205). but became himself a convinced Newtonian. In accordance with his upbringing by Warren and Rowe, Grove

was for free Philosophy, as well as for a Scripture Creed. As much as he admired Locke and Newton, he implicitly submitted his understanding to neither, but was solely determined by the evidence they offered (206).

Thus the eclectic philosophy of Gale (2,19) continued to flower in the third generation. And now it was extended to the "Scripture Creed" as well as the Philosophy proper - an extension Gale would have deplored. Grove's pupils included a number from the Church of England, as well as from the various dissenting denominations (206).

His aim was

to inspire and cherish in them a prevailing love of truth, virtue, liberty and genuine religion, without violent attachments or prejudices in favour of any party of christians (206).

(204) Amory Preface: to Grove Posth. Works I, ix, xiv, xx &

(205) ibid. xvii. li-lii.

(206) ibid. lxviii, lxix.

The older I grow, [said Grove (207)]
 the less inclined I am to quarrel with
 men for different opinions ... where
 there's an honest heart, God will over-
 look a thousand mistakes of the head.
 This extreme breadth of outlook was bound up
 with a high regard for "the incomparable Mr."
 Locke, who

stated the true Principles of Liberty,
 both civil and religious, with ...
 Clearness, and defended them with
 Strength of Argument ... (208).

Grove was typical of the coming age
 in holding a high view of human reason, which
 is sufficient to reach some but not all truth,
 a more perfect knowledge of those things,
 which reason gives but obscure notices of,
 with the knowledge of other things entirely
new, is the immediate end of revelation ...
 (209).

He thus found "revelation intirely consonant with
 reason" (210), and "Reason ... the best friend
 of the gospel" (211), and

thought it the peculiar glory of the
 christian revelation that the doctrines
 of it were plain; the precepts such as
 wanted only to be seriously considered,
 in order to be understood and approved
 by every honest mind... (212).

(207) Strong Funeral Sermon 26.

(208) Grove Defence of the Presbyterians in
Miscellanies (posth.) 32.

(209) Thoughts concerning .. Future State 195.

(210) Amory loc.cit.xxiii.

(211) ibid.xlvii.

(212) ibid.xxv.

Reason leads, inter alia, to a belief in a future life (213), which Grove adds to or at any rate emphasises in the utilitarian ethical scheme which he had learnt from Cumberland (1,4) under Warren; Grove says that only belief in a future life with rewards and punishments is sufficient to induce human beings to behave virtuously (214). His argument here is that God must therefore have ensured that such a belief would arise in the mind of natural man even without the intervention of revelation. Grove is rather fond of this game of deciding what reasons God might give for acting as he did (215), and displays an emphasis on God's Wisdom at the expense of His Will which is typically Platonist (216). He had gone the whole hog in rejecting Calvinistic determinism, and had developed arguments for human freewill (217), "which is the foundation of all moral worth" (218).

It has been said that Grove was the first to separate ethics from theology (219). But this statement must be qualified by observing, first, that the separation was more formal than fundamental; God is the Creator who has, for Grove, arranged things so clearly that we can draw up a scheme of moral science without consulting Him about every detail. This is an entirely different class of separateness from that which

(213) Thoughts concerning ... Future state, passim.

(214) ibid. 51-52, 70-72.

(215) Wisdom is the Spring, passim.

(216) Griffiths 67.

(217) Defence of the Liberty of the Will in Miscellanies (posth.) 63 ff.

(218) Amory Loc.cit. lxiii.

(219) McLachlan 73, citing Drummond and Upton.

puts ethics and theology in two parallel and unconnected compartments. It is true, however, that Grove's position enables him to expect a substantial agreement on ethical matters with those who differ widely from him in theology. But he was by no means the first follower of Calvin to propose such a measure of independence for ethics, a similar point having been reached over half a century earlier by two influential men of diverse theological standpoints, Ames (220), and Grotius (221).

In political theory, Grove did not go all the way with the contract-theorists, but emphasized that civil power is a trust (not so much from subjects as) from God (222).

In the realm of biblical studies - which he took over on the death of James in 1725 (223) - Grove advanced from the "scripture without comment" views of Warren (2,24) to a consideration of all sides of each controverted topic:

He confined himself to no System in Divinity, directing his pupils to the best writers on the great principles and evidences of religion, natural and revealed; and with regard to the chief controversies which had divided the christian world, recommending an impartial examination of the most valued treatises on each side (223).

(220) Mosheim V 363.

(221) Griffiths 70.

(222) Origin ... Civil Power in Miscellanies (posth.) 42 ff.

(223) Amory Loc.cit.xli.

Grove disagreed slightly (but only slightly) with the heretical Clarke's views on the deity (224) and appreciated the same author's

excellent use .. of the Newtonian Philosophy particularly the Law of Gravitation, to demonstrate the continual Providence and Energy of the Almighty (225).

It is a measure of the distance already moved from Calvinism by the Presbyterian Fund managers in 1725 that Taunton was then named as one of their three chosen academies (3,7).

Darch had resigned in 1716, and

Mr. Grove was obliged to renew and increase his acquaintance with Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in which he made as great proficiency as could be expected; the vast extent of those subjects, and his other engagements being considered (226).

As indicated by the reference above to his appreciation of Clarke, Grove's interest in natural science was in it as aid to appreciation of God. In this connection he esteemed Clarke, and yet more, .. the further improvements made by Baxter* in this argument, in that master-piece of metaphysical reasoning, his Enquiry into the Nature of the Soul (227).

It is said that Grove "was very fond of Latin and Greek classics, as spare-time entertainment", especially Horace,

(224) Amory loc.cit.xxviii.

(225) ibid.xix.

(226) ibid.xxx.

(227) ibid.xix.

* Andrew, not Richard, Baxter.

for the delicacy of his sentiment and expression, his knowledge of human life, and nice discernment of the decorum of characters, and the ridicule of vice, appearing peculiarly in his Satires and Epistles. He was much conversant with Cicero's philosophical works, esteeming his Treatise of Laws to contain the solid principles on which the unalterable excellence and obligation of morality is founded, though not with the order and exactness in which they have since been ranged; his Offices he thought a fine delineation of the beautiful form of virtue; and his discourses on the Nature of the Gods, and the Immortality of the Soul an unanswerable demonstration of the great necessity and advantage of the christian revelation, against those who would pretend, that when Christ appeared to enlighten and reform the world, he was not wanted, and that unassisted reason was sufficient for this end ... Among the Latin historians, Mr. Grove chiefly admired Sallust and Tacitus; Sallust for the strength and justness of his characters, and the judicious arrangement of his materials, and the solidity of his reflections; and Tacitus for his strong sense, penetration and consiseness, which he much prefer'd to the diffuse,

though rich and beautiful narration of Livy. Among the Greek writers he was greatly pleased with the easy and clear reasonings and fine morality of Xenophon and the sublime of Plato; the plain, but strong reasoning and virtue of Epictetus; and the unaffected nobleness of thought and substantial worth of the Emperor Antonine (228).

Of Homer, Grove considered the style satisfactory, but the matter selected for treatment, disgusting.

For beauty, variety and grandeur of descriptions, as well as true sublime in sentiments, he thought our countryman Milton infinitely preferable; and tho' he allow'd Homer the praise of a very great genius, he thought the Iliad would no more bear a comparison with Paradise Lost, than the Pagen scheme of Theology with the Christian (229).

In this passage it is noticeable first that the classical writers are no longer the necessary objects of Renaissance eulogy, but have become the subjects of self-satisfied eighteenth-century criticism; second that English literature is brought in as naturally to be compared with, and found superior to, the classical (elsewhere (230) we learn that Grove was fond of Cowley); and third that the prime motive for approaching the classics is "spare-time entertainment". On the

(228) Amory loc.cit.xi-xiii.

(229) ibid.xi-xiii.

(230) ibid.xxxvi.

second head Grove's position is the same as that of his fellow contributors to the Spectator (231). On the third head it is necessary to add that Grove seems to have impressed on his pupils a considerably wider view of the classics than as a source of spare-time entertainment. The standpoint of the Cambridge Platonists (2,17) is more than suggested in the following lines on Grove by a pupil:

Give it [the tender mind] to search the
philosophic thought
That Socrates exprest, or Plato wrote;
Give it attentive to each sacred line,
To learn the dictates of the voice divine;
Point where celestial knowledge may be found,
And pour a blaze of christian glory round;
Lost in the sight, see human science fade,
Forgot what Socrates or Plato said;
Well did ye gild the dark and trembling
ray,

Vanish to air! behold the lamp of day (232).
To what extent these viewpoints were really those of Grove, and to what extent they were those of his biographer and successor, Amory, is difficult to decide. In either case, however, we have insight into the outlook of a dissenting tutor.

(231) op. E.D. Jones, especially on Spectator 285;
D. N. Smith.

(232) N. Munckley On the Death of Mr. Grove.
in Grove Posth. Works I lxxviii.

Taunton: Amory.

If Grove had added to the Taunton modernism the results of his training by Rowe, and had brought in the influence of a scientific course under Eames, then Grove's successor and nephew may be regarded as having repeated the process. Amory's education under Grove at Taunton was from 1717 to 1722 preceded by instruction in French - and no doubt in French types of advanced thought (3,2) - from a refugee pastor, Majendie of Exeter, and was followed by a course under Eames (3,12) (233). He almost immediately began tutorial work as assistant to his uncle, taking the classics and philosophy (234). On Grove's death in 1738 Amory took over the whole tutorship single-handed. As remarked above, it is impossible to decide to what extent Amory's views differ from those of Grove, since our knowledge of Amory is derived from his biography of Grove. From the latter it is evident that the nephew believed wholeheartedly in his uncle, and it may therefore be presumed that he did not differ markedly from him in his educational aims or methods. Amory believed in free enquiry (as taught by Rowe) as the most likely road to truth (235). He evidently approved of Grove's idea of the relationship between reason and revelation, but perhaps relied even more than Grove would have done upon reason as the guide for daily morality:

The Scripture prescribes general rules,
but leaves us to apply them; it names

(233) Wilson Dissenting II 385-6.

(234) Bogue & Bennett III 276.

(235) Amory Loc.cit. xvi, xvii.

and demands the several virtues, and points out some of the principal instances in which we are to practise them; but leaves us for exact and thorough knowledge of them to the exercise of our own reason, and a careful observation of our own tempers, and of human life. (236).

The rôle of revelation is indeed reduced, so far as ethics is concerned: reason can reveal to us much of the general framework, and reason alone can give us instruction as to detail.

Amory's views on the teleological justification for the study of natural science align themselves with Grove's. Of Baxter's book, approved by Grove (3,13), Amory writes:

a book which makes the attentive mind clearly discern the presence of the Deity every where, and demonstrates that we cannot account for a single motion without his constant influence executing those laws of nature, which his infinite wisdom had established (237).

Thus Amory had the customary use for natural science. But he was unusual amongst tutors in being willing to engage in certain types of intellectual activity - "history, books of travels, poetry, and other entertaining species of composition" for the purpose of amusing himself (238). In this respect Amory is in contrast to most tutors before and after him, who were on the whole anxious to find some utilitarian justification - either on strictly occupational

(236) Amory loc.cit.xxiv.

(237) ibid.xix.

(238) Wilson Dissenting II 392.

lines, or on such grounds as mental training, or the bearing of a subject on theology - for every intellectual activity.

Amory continued his Academy until 1759 (239) and had for some time before that provided his students with preaching engagements in local villages (240). It would appear that his one-man Academy went a long way towards meeting the educational requirements of the time, and it was well esteemed by a later tutor (241). It is interesting as the end-product of several modernistic streams - Warren's self-interpreting scriptures and utilitarian ethics textbooks, Gale's eclecticism leading to Rowe's free enquiry, Eames' Royal Society science, with perhaps a double dash (via [^]Gale and via [^]Majendie) of Huguenotism.

(239) Bogue & Bennett III 276.

(240) Murch 320.

(241) Kippis, quoted by McLachlan 74.

Exeter: The Halletts.

A rival institution to that of Warren and his successors existed at Exeter from about 1690 until 1720. Its tutor was the middle one of three presbyterian ministers named Joseph Hallett. Hallett senior (1628?-1689?) was ejected and kept a conventicle at Exeter. His son (1656-1722) was probably educated by his father (242), and wrote against deism, maintaining a point of view which belittled the role of human reason in arriving at truth in general, and at belief in immortality in particular. This brought him into collision with Grove (3,13) (243). The theological textbook at the Academy was the orthodox Pictet.

A disruptive influence appeared, however, in the person of the youngest Hallett (1691?-1744). He clandestinely introduced to his fellow pupils the books of the unitarian ex-Anglican Baptist, Whiston, and the less eccentric but no less unorthodox Anglican Clarke (244). Thus the spark was set to the inflammable material which had been gathering within the dissenting denominations since the beginning of the Crispian controversy. Amongst other effects of the resulting conflagration was the closing of the Academy in 1720. Joseph Hallett junior, who had been assistant tutor for ten years, went on to make a name for himself

(242) DNB, Murch 402, 416.

(243) Grove Some Thoughts.. Future State, 5, Preface, Title-page; Bogue & Bennett III 259.

(244) Murch 388.

as Biblical commentator, using a profound knowledge of oriental languages as a basis for a series of conjectural emendations of the massoretic text of the Old Testament of which many have since found documentary support (245). His influence was transmitted not through his part in his father's academy but through his critical writings.

(245)Letter by T. Kenrick, 28/10/1785, in TUHS III 389;
McLachlan Unitarian Movement 26-27.

The influence of Frankland and of Scotland.

Turning now to the North of England we find a succession of tutors in lineal succession to Frankland (2,⁵4) and with repeated doses of Scottish influence (3,2). They are the subject of the next three sections (3,17; 3,18; 3,19), after which another line of descent from Frankland is traced.

Manchester and Penrith: Chorlton and Coningham.

John Chorlton (1666-1705) was a pupil of Frankland (2,4) who had been assistant pastor to Newcome at Manchester (2,8) from 1687, and succeeded him at his death in 1695. In 1698 Chorlton declined an invitation to take over Frankland's Academy but started tutorial work himself at Manchester and had as his first pupils some who had commenced their course with Frankland. From 1699 Chorlton's Academy received financial and other support from the Lancashire Provincial Meeting of Dissenting Ministers (246).

It was said that Chorlton had a "wonderfully clear head", and he resembled his predecessor in his outstanding elocutionary abilities (246):

his Judgment /said his assistant and successor, Coningham (247)/ comprehensive and clear, his Elocution admirable and flowing; .. his Stile was instructive and just, and his Images very vivid and shining .. He was well furnish'd with useful Learning..

With all these virtues Chorlton combined a streak of rational latitudism; he was "of moderate, healing Principles", (248), evinced

in publick ministrations, where sound, well-guided Reason ran, as a constant stream, through every of his Performances; Where Light and Warmth were justly attemper'd (249).

- (246) Bogue & Bennett II 39-40; Toulmin 246;
 Clegg Diaries 22-23; DWL MS 9; DNB;
 Gordon Freedom 236; Heywood Diaries II 16.
 (247) Funeral Sermon on Chorlton iv.
 (248) ibid. 28. (249) ibid. 30.

The lectures were in latin and use was made of Chetham's Library (250) - where the consultation of heretical books helped the students to appreciate their tutor's breadth of view. An early pupil writes that Chorlton

was admirably qualified for a Tutor as well as a Preacher. He read Lectures to us in the forenoon in Philosophy and Divinity and in the afternoon some of us read in ye Publick Library. It was there I first met with the works of Episcopius, Socinus, Crellius &c. The writings of Socinus and his followers made little impression on me, only I could never after be entirely reconciled to the common doctrine of the Trinity, but then began to incline to that scheme which long after Dr. Clark espoused and published, but I admired the clear and strong reasoning of Episcopius [Dutch Arminian leader], and after that could never well relish ye doctrines of rigid Calvinism (251).

Episcopius, the Dutch Arminian leader, was sufficiently respectable to be a textbook at both the English universities in 1685 (252), but Socinus was a more radical influence. There is, however, no suggestion that Chorlton was

(250) McLachlan 116.

(251) Clegg (Kirke) 23.

(252) Halleam IV ch.II s.25.

responsible for the choice of authors. Afterwards, whilst boarding with "Jos. Dawson, ye pious Dissenting Minister in Rochdale", the same pupil "read over most of the works of St. Cyprian" (251); presumably this implies that these, at any rate, of the patristic works had not been read under Chorlton.

Under Frankland, Chorlton had met Ramus and learned to take no one system for perpetual guide (2,4). At Manchester he seems to have continued in the same direction.

John Coningham.

Chorlton's assistant from 1700 to 1705, and successor for several years thereafter, was John Coningham, 1670-1716, M A Edinburgh, and who had already (253, 254) maintained at Penrith, since 1696

a seminary for training up young men in their academical studies, a work for which he was well qualified on account of his extensive learning, and affable disposition (254).

During his time at Penrith Coningham had depended upon the orthodox Doolittle (2,10) for supply of books (255); but he seems to have appreciated the latitude of Chorlton's views, as well as his elocutionary abilities (256).

(253) Bogue & Bennett II 40; TCHS III 213; DNB.

(254) Wilson Dissenting III 133-5.

(255) Doolittle's Letter to Coningham, 14/12/1699, MS.

(256) Coningham, Funeral sermon for Chorlton, iv, 28-30.

Whitehaven and Bolton: Dixon and Barclay.

A pupil of Chorlton and Coningham (3,17) kept an academy at Whitehaven from about 1708 until 1719 or later, when he and it removed to Bolton and continued there until 1729. The tutor was Thomas Dixon (1650?-1729), who was assisted from 1709 to 1714 by John Barclay, probably MA Edinburgh 1705. Barclay's particular province was mathematics. Dixon was a remarkable man who gave information on nonconformist history to two of its historians, Calamy and Evans, and at Bolton combined the offices not only of minister and one-man tutor but also of medical practitioner. He had received honorary M A from Edinburgh in 1709, MD in 1718, and had published Therapeutica Sacra. Lecture notes (using shorthand) by a pupil cover arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, logarithms, Globes and astronomy, those for the last subject at least being in Latin, which may therefore be supposed to have been the teaching medium. The writer of these notes also made others, but perhaps after leaving the academy, which show a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and quote from the fathers as well as from Bacon and Newton amongst scientific philosophers, Chillingworth and Bishop Burnet among moderate low churchmen, Owen, Locke, and the Dutch Arminian Limborch (257).

Kendal: Rotheram.

The next in the succession from Frankland (with Scottish influence) through Chorlton and Dixon was Caleb Rotheram (1694-1752), whose academy at Kendal continued from 1733 until 1751 (258). Rotheram had been educated under Dixon (3,18) (259) and had later earned his Edinburgh D D with a dissertation opposing a view found in Locke and in the deist Tindal, "that the probability of facts depending on human testimony, must gradually lessen in proportion to the distance of time when they happened, and at last become entirely evanescent" (260). Although thus ranged against the ultra-modernists, Rotheram, in the words of one pupil,

was an impartial lover of truth, /and/
incouraged the most free and unbounded
inquiry after it, in every branch of
science (261).

In the words of another, he had as his aim for his pupils

that they might be inspired with the love of liberty and clearly understand the genuine principles of Christianity, and in order to this permitted, encouraged and assisted them to think freely upon every subject of natural and revealed religion (262).

(258) Mounfield 104-5; DNB.

(259) Parker Appendix I.

(260) Nicholson & Axon 306, quoting Monthly Rep. 1810, 219.

(261) Nicholson & Axon 325, quoting James Daye, Funeral Sermon on Rotheram.

(262) Nicholson & Axon 315, quoting Lowthion, Sermon at the Ordination of C. Rotheram [junior] 1756.

Thus he earned the disapproval of the not entirely orthodox John Barker, who wrote

Rotheram, in my opinion, is no proper tutor ... his principles ... I do not like (263).

The Presbyterian Fund approved of Rotheram and departed in his favour from their previous restriction of aid to Carmarthen, Ffindern and Taunton (3,7). Their assistance to Rotheram included grants for apparatus, which was described as "extensive, and, for that time, well-constructed" (264). Rotheram was

(263) Letter to Doddridge 5/6/1750, Humphreys V 158.

(264) McLachlan 190, quoting Monthly Rep. V 218;
Nicholson & Axon 320.

a considerable scholar in many branches of literature. But he chiefly excelled in mathematics and natural philosophy ... He taught other branches of philosophy and divinity with great success (265).

Thus he was an example of, and a contributor to, eighteenth-century supremacy of the North in matters scientific and mathematical (266). Nevertheless, higher mathematics was an extra to the curriculum, with an additional charge. This was an interesting early example of the tendency to regard the academical curriculum as an assemblage of independent parts, any of which might be hooked on to the rest. Rotheram was dealing with students the majority of whom were not designed for the ministry, and a number of whom subsequently completed their education at Scottish universities (267). Rotheram himself was practically orthodox on the Trinity. His free enquiry methods paved the way for the conversion of several of his pupils in later life to arianism, and under his son (who was a pupil of the heterodox George Benson (Appendix C) as well as of Rotheram senior) the Kendal congregation became unitarian (268).

Rotheram's influence was exerted not only through those of his pupils who became tutors

(265) McLachlan 190 quoting Benson Memoirs of Winder 33.

(266) Dobbs 77.

(267) McLachlan 188-190.

(268) TCHS III 213, 227 (art. by Colligan);
Nicholson & Axon 315.

but also through his general contribution to dissenting life in the North of England. He was a noted man, giving scientific lectures in Manchester (269) and enjoying almost a monopoly of ministerial training in Northwest England.

Rotheram was assisted for some time by Richard Simpson, a pupil of Doddridge and a Calvinist, who continued the Academy for a few months after Rotheram's retirement and death (270).

(269)Nicholson & Axon 307.

(270)Nicholson & Axon 330; DNB.

Attercliffe: Jollie.

Having followed one line of descent from Frankland through Chorlton and Dixon to Rotheram (3,17; 3,18; 3,19) we return to consider another of Frankland's pupils, Timothy Jollie (1659?-1714), whose academy, "Christ's College", at Attercliffe (Sheffield) continued from about 1690 until after his death in 1714 (271). Jollie had been a pupil of Frankland from 1673 (272), was ordained in 1681 (273) and seems to have founded his academy as a continuation of Frankland's work at Attercliffe when the latter tutor took his academy thence to Rathmell (274). Although trained by Frankland, Jollie was of an independent mind in educational matters, and his activities had several unusual - and on the whole not very attractive - features. He

forbad his pupils the Mathematicks, as tending to scepticism & infidelity, though many of them by stealth made a considerable progress in that branch of Literature (274).

Among the latter was probably Nicholas Saunderson, whose

stay at Attercliffe was not of long duration, as the full bent of his mind was by no means a leading subject of study at Jollie's College. Saunderson ... finally became Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge (275).

(271) Parker Appendix I; DNB 272.

(272) DWL MS 6.

(273) Bogue & Bennett II 20.

(274) DWL MS 31-33.

(275) Hester 31.

- a position held despite his blindness. It is tempting to speculate on the effect of Jollie's mathematicophobia on Saunderson's career. Would he have progressed so far in the subject if he had not had the satisfaction of feeling, in some of his earlier studies, that he was exploring forbidden ground?

But it was not only in mathematics that Jollie's course showed deficiencies. Secker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) is stated (276) to have forgotten his Greek and Latin under Jollie, and have relearned them (together with much else) at Gloucester (3,8). Of Secker's time at Attercliffe it is further said that there was no logic (277), and that

only the old philosophy of the schools was taught there, and that neither ably nor diligently (278).

We may add to these defects the impecuniosity of the pupils, who had therefore to earn whilst under Jollie's care:

Richd Woolhouse: Son to mr Anthony Woolhouse of Dublin, who has greatly Suffered in the late troubles, has a numerous family the youth is euery way hopefull, these young men are wth mr Jollie, is forced to teach a few petties to Supply him in his Studies wch hinders his proficiency (279).

(276) Turberville XXII.

(277) Gibbons Watts 348.

(278) CHEL IX 393.

(279) Gordon Freedom 133.

So far the picture of this academy is unusually gloomy. Evidently there existed some at the time who had a higher opinion of Jollie's suitability to oversee their sons' education.

A nineteenth century comment says

Timothy Jollie was a very superior man both for learning and for goodness ... his voice was music, and his elocution fascinating to the audience. His natural talents were extraordinary, and his acquirements in theology and the branches of knowledge connected with it, such as might be expected from a course of ardent and persevering study. He shone also as a tutor in the communication of knowledge, and in the government of his scholars (280).

A commentator nearer his own time says that he was a man of excellent spirit, of great spirituality & sweetness of temper, the order of his house was strict and regular ... But the defects in his Institution, as to Classical learning, free Philosophy, & the catholic Divinity were made amends for, to those who were designed for the Pulpit, by something those Pupils who had any taste, took from him in his public performances ... (281).

And a former pupil (Grosvenor) wrote

There have been tutors of greater learning, who have been capable of laying out a greater compass of education; but, at

(280) Bogue & Bennett II 20.

(281) DWL MS 31.

(282) quoted Hester 34-5.

the same time, it must be acknowledged that the relish for practical religion, that devotional spirit which was so improved by his example, that sweetness of temper and benevolent turn of mind which a soul of anything the same make, insensibly catches from such an example, are things not everywhere to be met with, and yet have such influence towards our usefulness and acceptance as ministers as cannot easily be supplied by any other qualities (282).

Jollie has been mentioned at some length because his pupils included John Jennings, a tutor whose activities have not been found nearly so vulnerable (3,21).

Jollie's successors at Attercliffe.

After Jollie's death in 1714 his tutorial work was continued to some extent by his successors in the pastorate, John de la Rose (who had assisted Jollie) and J. Wadsworth, in turn. Under the latter, the academy became extinct in or before 1744 (283).

(283)CHEL X, chap XVI Appendix; Parker Appendix I; DNB.

Kibworth: John Jennings.

A short-lived academy which achieved fame as the alma mater of Philip Doddridge (4,2) was that kept at Kibworth and Hinckley from 1715 until his death in 1723 by John Jennings, himself a pupil of Jollie (3,20). A detailed account of the four-years' course is preserved (284), and may be summarised as follows:

(number of lectures per week)

First year:

Geometry & Algebra	3	Barrow's Euclid II V (algebraic proofs) with reference to other commentators, then Jennings' own course on fundamental operations of arithmetic and algebra, and reduction of equations. "Demonstration as well as practical rules".
Hebrew	2	Bythner's Grammar.
Geography	1	Gordon, read in private, and "the lecture was only an examination of the account we could give of the most remarkable passages".
French	1	"learnt Boyer's Grammar, and read the familiar phrases and dialogues from French into English, without regarding the pronunciation, with which Mr. Jennings was not acquainted".
Latin	1	"Select passages from Seutonius, Tacitus, Seneca, Caesar, &c, and especially Cicero", read and rendered "into as elegant English as we could".
Classical Exercises	1	Latin-English and English-Latin, passages from <u>Spectator</u> and <u>Tatler</u> , serious and humorous.

(284) Quotations in this summary of the course are, unless otherwise noted, from Doddridge Letter to Thomas Saunders, Nov. 1728, in Humphreys II 463 ff.

Drama

- 1 Scenes, plots and summaries, with Tatler references (285); not mentioned by Doddridge as part of curriculum, but he reported in 1722 (286) "all the pupils are doing Tamerlane ...I was advising our heroes to borrow tin pudding-pans for helmets; but they chose tinsel crowns as less odariferous and more ornamental".

Catechism

- "Mr. Jennings examined the first class in the Assembly's Larger Catechism, in which he gave us a historical account of the belief of other parties of Christians relating to the several articles which are matters of controversy".

Scripture reading)
& translating)

- "The two first years of our course, we read the Scriptures in the family, from Hebrew, Greek, or French into English", according to a lectionary compiled by Jennings, and which covered "the New Testament and the most useful parts of the Old". "He expounded about ten lessons in a week. These expositions were all extempore, but very edifying".

Second year:

Geometry & Algebra

2 Euclid III IV VI.

Logic

2 "skimmed over Burgersdicius in about six lectures" then followed Jennings' own course, which had as basis a Latin rendering of Locke (287), "with large references to him and other celebrated authors".

(285) McLachlan 140, quoting New College (London) MS.(286) Letter to Whittingham, 17/4/1722, Humphreys I 113-4.(287) Gordon Addresses 207.

- Civil History 1 Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe with Crull's continuation and his History of Asia, Africa and America. History of England. Dupin's Compendium. Spanheim's Elenchus. King's Constitution. Treated as Geography in First Year.
- French 2 Telemachus, selection from Bourdaleau's sermons. In another letter (288) Doddridge enables us to get a fuller idea of the French studies: he considers Racine the supreme dramatic poet, recommends the Abp. of Cambray's Reflections upon Eloquence, and expresses a low opinion of French sermons, including those of Bourdaleau but not of Cheminai and Superville.
- Latin Poets 1 Virgil, Horace, Terence - as above; Lucretius, Juvenal, Plautus, Lucan, &c, using a translation.
- Hebrew 1 Bythner's Lyra.
- English exercises 1 "We were often set to translate Tillotson into Sprat's style, and vice versa. At other times we used to reduce arguments, which were delivered in a loose, and perhaps a confused, manner, into a kind of algebraic form, by which the weakness of many plausible harangues would very evidently appear at the first glance".
- Exercises of) 1 Oral exercises; Bacon's essays, reading & delivery) and pupils' comments on them. "Reading the Bible, sermons, or poems, purely to form ourselves to a just accent and pronunciation".
- Drama 1 see above.
- Scripture reading) see above.
& translating)

(288) to Hughes, in Humphreys I 84, dated 1721, and in Stedman, Letter X, dated 8/1/1722/3.

Third ½ year:

- Mechanics 2 "lever, screw, wedge, pulley, &c. .. drawn up by Mr. Jennings".
- Hydrostatics 2 Abridgement of Bames' lectures.
- Physics. 2 LeClerc (omitting astronomy and anatomy); "For illustrations, we consulted Harris's Lexicon Technicum, Neiuwentyt's Religious Philosopher, Derham's Physico & Astro-theology, Roholt, Varenius, &c ... many defects and mistakes in Le Clerc".
- Greek Poets 1 Theocritus, Homer, Pindar (but not Sophocles, nor "any Greek history, oratory, or philosophy"). Treated as the Latin in the first ½ year.
- History of) 1 Browne's two volumes.
England)
- Anatomy 1 English and modified version of Bames, with "the collateral assistance of Neiuwentyt, Keil, Cheselden, and Brake".
- Use of Globes 1 Jones' course (3,8).
- Astronomy 1) Jennings' system, printed among
Chronology 1) his Miscellanies.
- Disputations 1 "Our logical disputations were in English, our thesis in Latin, and neither .. in syllogistic form..." Orations in English (usually) or Latin, as the pupil preferred.
- Miscellanies 1 The first volume as published by Jennings, including: (289) I. Psalm-singer's Guide (with music), II. Oratory, III. Euclid II (I-X) & V, IV. Dialecti Petri Rami, V. Romances, VI. Ars Inventira Raymundi Lullii, VII. Heraldry, VIII. Metaphysics - contraction of De Vries, IX. Mechanica, X. Hydrostatica (Bames), XI. Physiognomia,

XII. Fortifications, XIII. Architecture, XIV. Herbs, XV. Hypotheses Malebranchia: omnia in Deo videnda, XVI. Astronomia. XVII. Chronology.

Fourth $\frac{1}{2}$ years:

- Pneumatology 2 "drawn up by Mr. Jennings, pretty much in the same method as our logic. It contained an inquiry into the existence and nature of God, and into the nature, operations, and immortality of the human soul, on the principles of natural reason. There was a fine collection of readings in the references on almost every head."
- Physics 1) completing the courses of the
Miscellanies 1) previous half year.
- Jewish Antiquities 2 "an abridgement of Mr. Jones's notes on Godwyn, with some very curious and important additions".
- Drama 1)
Scripture reading etc) see first $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Fifth $\frac{1}{2}$ year:

- Ethics 2 or 3 "interwoven with pneumatology" (290). References principally to Grotius and Puffendorf; the course seemed to Doddridge to follow the lines of Wollaston's Religion of Nature Delineated.
- Critics 1 "general observations relating to the most noted versions and editions of the Bible". An abridgement of Jones, on (290) "such subjects as the antiquity of the Hebrew language, its points, the Massora, Talmud, and Cabbala, the Septuagint, and other versions". References to Prideaux, Buxtorf, &c.
- Pneumatological) 1 see under third $\frac{1}{2}$ year.
Disputation)

(290) Letters from Doddridge at Kibworth, to Clark 13/12/1721, and to John Nettleton 1721, in Humphreys I 41 & 43-44.

Classics (not mentioned by Doddridge to Saunders (290)
"lately read Horace and Terence,
with Dacier's notes"; Greek:-
Zenophon, Epictetus, Isocrates
and Lucian.

Drama

1 see first $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Sixth year:

Divinity

3 "Mr. Jennings (291) encourages the
greatest freedom of enquiry, and
always inculcates it as a law,
that the scriptures are the only
genuine standard of faith".
"in our written lectures an
admirable collection of texts upon
almost every head" (284)
"He furnishes us with all kinds of
authors upon every subject, without
advising us to skip over heretical
passages for fear of infection"(292).
The references did not, however,
lead the pupils to acquaintance
with the standard orthodox Medulla
Marckii, which Doddridge said
later (293) he knew to be in good
repute, but had not seen.

Christian)
Antiquities)

1. Sir Peter King's Constitution
of the Primitive Church with the
Original Draught in answer;
Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticae
and Suicer's Thesaurus for
reference, and "those few fathers
that we have" (294).

Miscellanies

1 Completing volume I, see Third
 $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Critics

1 Continuing Fifth $\frac{1}{2}$ year's course.

Drama

1 As in previous $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Homily

1 "confined to subjects of natural
religion ... most of our citations
being taken from the ancient poets
and philosophers".

(284) loc. cit., first $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

(291) Letter Doddridge to Clark /9/1722, in Humphreys I 155.

(292) to his "brother" 27/2/1723, Humphreys I 198.

(293) to Mason, 11/5/1724, Humphreys I 379.

(294) to Clark 1721, Humphreys I 67-69.

Seventh 1/2 year:

Divinity

- 3 Continued from Sixth 1/2 year.
"Since Whitsuntide .. the pre-existence and divinity of Christ; the Trinity; the nature of Angels; the Adamic covenant; the imputation of the sin of our first parents; the satisfaction made by Christ; and the abolition of the Mosaic Law" (291).

Ecclesiastical)
History & Anc't.)
Phil.)

- 1 Dupin's Compendium; consult Spenheim, Le Clerk, and Dupin's Bibliothèque (295). Philosophy principally from Stanly and Bacon (296).

Theological
Disputation
Sermons

- 1) Doddridge prepared two theses and four sermons in four months (296).

Eighth 1/2 year:

Divinity

- 1 Completing the course of a year and a half.

History of)
Controversies)

- 1 Second volume: "a brief historical account of the ancient philosophy, the art of preaching, and pastoral care, on which heads Mr. Jennings gave us very excellent advice, with some valuable hints on the head of nonconformity". Elsewhere (297) Doddridge referred to this lecture as "morals".

Theological)
Disputation)

Preaching practice:

- 1 ~~Preaching practice~~: this and the previous 1/2 year (298), "either at home or abroad", with an examination at the beginning by a committee of neighbouring ministers.

(295) to his sister 30/7/1722, Humphreys I 141-2.

(296) to Clark 1/12/1722, Humphreys I 173-4.

(297) Letter to Clark 27/2/1723, Humphreys I 213-4.

(298) another, /9/1722, Humphreys I 154.

Doddridge also refers to other books read under Jennings: with general approval, to Patrick on the Old Testament, Lowth on Isaiah and Jeremiah, Burnet's Pastoral Care, Tillotson, Barrow and Scott for practical divinity, the works of Witsius, Piggott's Sermons, Locke's Conduct and Essay, and Langius' Medicina Mentis; and with reservations to Burnet's Theory, Shaftesbury, and the "too mysterious" practical divinity of Goodwin and Owen (299). These and the works mentioned in the syllabus amply justify Doddridge's statement of the catholicity of Jennings's references.

An outstandingly unusual item in Jennings's course is Raymond Lull (in the third half-year, above). Lull has been described as "an outstanding active-contemplative, a typical Franciscan" (300). His Tree of Science 1296 includes a collection of preaching illustrations, many of them bordering on the fantastic (301). Jennings' use of Lull represents an excursion far beyond the usual field of curriculum of the academies, and it would be interesting to know what directed his attention to this thirteenth century Catalan.

(299) Doddridge's Letters: to Clark, 3/1/1721 (Humphreys I 35), 13/12/1721 (I 41), 1721 (I 67); to Nettleton 1721 (I 44); to Hughes 1722 (I 122); and to Saunders /11/1728 (II 464).

(300) Peers 114.

(301) Peers 75.

Latin was relegated to second place in some respects - for instance in the Third $\frac{1}{2}$ year, where it appears as the less popular alternative for Orations, and the Disputations are entirely in English. Nevertheless Jennings was nota tutor who abolished Latin. The notes of Eames and Jones which he used were certainly in Latin, and he took the trouble to compile a logic course in Latin based on the English of Locke. His lecture notes on Arithmetic and most of his Miscellanies textbook are in Latin (302). The textbooks listed include many in Latin. The entrance examination which Jennings conducted (303) was on the prospective pupils' school-learning, which would involve a major slice of Latin. The pupils when admitted "were obliged to talk Latin within some certain bounds of time and place" (303). Thus although it has been remarked that "There is no evidence .. that Latin was adopted as the common speech of the Academy" (304), it is nevertheless emply evident that it still occupied an important position in the academical system.

The presence of music in the form of psalm-singing in the Third $\frac{1}{2}$ year, and as a "constant part of our morning and evening worship" (303) is notable.

One cannot help being struck by the fact that here we have a tutor, Frankland's

(302) McLachlan 293, 309.

(303) Doddridge's Letter to Saunders, /11/1728, .
Humphreys II 471-3.

(304) McLachlan 144.

pupil's pupil, who shows in his method of giving his pupils both sides of a question, and perhaps in one or two details of his list of textbooks, a very understandable development of Frankland's educational outlook (2,4⁵). Perhaps there may also be seen in Jennings's interest in English literature (shown in the choice of passages for the First $\frac{1}{2}$ year's classical exercises as well as in the Drama) an effect of the influence of Frankland's daughters. Moreover, Jennings' addiction to mathematical forms of statement is in accordance with the standard practice of Cartesians, and he summarizes the Cartesian Malebranche in his *Miscellanies*; Descartes and his followers were prominent in Frankland's course. These apparent connections are, however, quite discordant with Jollie's reputed traditionalism (3,20). Is the answer that Jollie's Academy was in actuality far less behind the times than its reporters have represented; or, alternatively, did Jennings derive his methods and outlook from Jones (3,8) and Eames (3,12) - with whom he was in sufficiently close contact to use their lecture notes - and, perhaps, from his own father, an ejected minister who has been named (305) as originator of the educational idea which was actualized at Kibworth?

(305)G. Brownen, in TCHS I 288, 296.

Dudley and Newbury - Southwell.

An academy which may be regarded as the lineal successor of the unconventional one at Sheriffhales (2,30) was that kept at Newbury from c 1691 to 1695 by John Southwell (1662-95); he had acted as assistant to Woodhouse at Sheriffhales and had "continued to teach a few pupils" after his death (306). By the time of his ministerial removal from Kidderminster to Dudley in 1689 he had an academy with him, which went on to Newbury about two years later. In a letter to Baxter dated 24/6/1691, Southwell says

I do not keep many pupils, not above twelve or fifteen of all sorts /presumably i.e. ministerial and lay/, and find it a great work to take care of them as they ought to be, for I do not love to send any from me before they are considerable scholars.

Southwell's curriculum included Hebrew and French as well as philosophy and divinity, and was presumably modelled upon that of Woodhouse (307).

(306) DWL MS 2.

(307) TUHS IX 110-112 art. by McLachlan, referring to Minutes of Presbyterian Fund and to Calamy Life I 350.

Coventry and Hoxton Square: Oldfield, Tong,
Spademen, Lorimer and Cappel.

Joshua Oldfield (1656-1729), who succeeded in about 1693 to the Coventry Academy (Appendix C), had an exceptionally varied preparation for his educational work. It has been stated that he was at Lincoln College, Oxford, but this is apparently an error due to his having "studied philosophy" in the city of Lincoln under one of the Reyners (2,12). He was possibly also a pupil of Shuttlewood (Appendix C) at Sulby (308). Being unwilling to subscribe (which he would have had to do on matriculation at Oxford) he was able to matriculate and to study at Cambridge (Christ's College) but not to graduate. Here he came under the influence of More and Cudworth (2,17) (309). Later as dissenting pastor at Oxford, or perhaps in London, Oldfield became acquainted with Locke at a time when the latter was working on his Pauline commentaries (310).

The population of Coventry at the end of the seventeenth century included numerous mutually amiable dissenters (311). Oldfield's co-pastor and assistant tutor was William Tong (1662-1726/7), "Frankland's most distinguished student" (2,5) (312), and also former pupil of the educational pioneer Woodhouse at Sheriffhales (313). He had declined an invitation to succeed to

(308) Gordon Freedom 322; McLachlan 9,14; DNB; Whiting 462; Wilson Dissenting IV 160-1; Jeremy 34; Toulmin 591.

(309) DNB; Toulmin 591.

(310) Wilson Dissenting IV 160-1; DNB; Jeremy 103.

(311) Piennes 113.

(312) Gordon in DNB.

(313) TCHS III 394; Bogue & Bennett III 441-4.

Frankland's tutorship (314) and had been co-pastor and probably co-tutor with Shewell at Coventry (Appendix C) after the deaths of Grew and Bryan in 1689. Before this he had been a neighbour and friend of Philip Henry (2,6) (312) Thus Tong was, like Oldfield, a carrier of several different strains of influence. It is said that his forte was preaching (312), and he was particularly interested in history, national and dissenting, and its usual concomitant in the nonconformist mind, the British Constitution (315). Thus the Coventry Academy was in the hands of two men capable of bringing to their tutorial work a considerable range of experience and interests.

In 1699 the Academy and its tutors removed from Coventry to Southwark and then to Hoxton Square. Here the cosmopolitan character of the institution was enhanced by the addition of two tutors, John Spademan and William Lorimer. Spademan was not only MA Cantab (Magdalene College) but also had been fortunate to be able to spend the period of difficulty for English dissenters in exile in Holland, where he was pastor of the English Church at Amsterdam, and also pursued "a course of studies on the subjects belonging to the character and pursuits of a divine" (316). At Hoxton Square he taught oriental languages and their application to Biblical questions.

He was well skilled in philosophy and history; thoroughly versed in controversial

(314) Clegg Diary 22.

(315) Jeremy 33.

(316) Bogue & Bennett II 31-2.

theology; and for an accurate knowledge of the learned languages, especially the originals of the sacred scriptures, he had few equals ... His moderation as to other denominations of Christians was exemplary (316).

Spademan knew French, Dutch, Italian and some Spanish - and unusual variety of modern languages at that date (317).

Lorimer was also an outstanding man, educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, episcopally ordained in 1664 but later joining the nonconformists. He, like Tong, declined an invitation to succeed Frankland (2,5). In 1695 he refrained from taking up the Professorship of Theology at the University of St. Andrews because of plague there (318). He was proud of his orthodoxy and translated from French and compiled original works designed to prove the divine authorship of the Pentateuch. Nevertheless in the Crispian controversy of the last years of the seventeenth century he was active on the side of Dr. Williams and lower calvinism (319).

On the death of Spademan in 1708 his place was taken - again with the introduction of a notable influence not previously represented at Hoxton Square - by James Cappel, refugee from France, where he had held until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the chair of Hebrew at

(316) Bogue & Bennett II 31-2.

(317) Jeremy 103.

(318) Bogue & Bennett III 280; Calamy Continuation 965-8; Clegg Diary 22; Jeremy 97.

(319) Bogue & Bennett I 406; Jeremy 95.

the Protestant Academy at Saumur. At Hoxton Square he

long continued to teach the Oriental Languages and their critical application to the study of the Scriptures. Many of the ablest ministers of the next generation, churchmen as well as dissenters, studied under Mr. Capell (320).

The teaching of Hebrew by foreigners (or sometimes foreign trained Englishmen) was almost a tradition in England during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (321). Saumur (3,2) was noted as a centre of liberal protestant thought, which would fit Cappel for partnership with Lorimer. Oldfield had imbibed a tolerant outlook from the Cambridge Platonists (2,17), and some of the "sweet reasonableness" of John Locke (322), and encouraged "free enquiry" by his pupils (323). With the addition of the remark that Tong "was an utter enemy of all real persecution" and in favour of "full liberty of conscience" (324) we obtain a picture of an academy in which a freedom of the atmosphere combined with a diversity of background of the tutors to produce an institution which must have been the reverse of narrow in every respect.

(320) Watson Refugees 32; quotation from Smiles Huguenots.

(321) Wordsworth Scholae 165-6; Watson Refugees 20-26.

(322) Colligan 39.

(323) Jeremy 104.

(324) Nicholson & Axon 556.

From the above investigation of the five tutors it may also be deduced that the Academy included in its curriculum a considerable breadth of linguistic and scriptural studies. We have no account of these studies as such, but we have a remarkable work by Oldfield himself, published in 1707 whilst he was at Hoxton Square, and entitled "An Essay towards the Improvement of Reason". In it he outlined a complete scheme of education, first defining his aims thus:

This New Essay is .. for the farther Improvement of Logic, and of our Reason by it, that they may better answer the various Purposes they ought to serve, whether in respect of Learning, or for the conduct of Life. In order to which, I shall here endeavour to open, fix, and sharpen the Mind by a fit Engagement and proper Exercise of Tho't, whilst I am labouring to furnish it with a competent Stock of the more comprehensive leading Notices, and to put it in a sure and nearer way of pursuing what is requisite, and of using what we have, in a prudent Manner, and to the best Advantage (325).

This statement of the general aim and plan of the work, in which Learning is regarded as the means of "improving Reason" as well as the material on which Reason has to work, is notably reminiscent of the outlook of the Reyners (2,12). John Reyner in fact did describe Learning as "the improvement and accomplishment of Reason" (326).

(325) Improvement, Introduction s.2.

(326) Humane Learning, Epistle.

It seems that Oldfield was suggesting a scheme which might be used privately by persons or groups of persons; but he revealed his educational philosophy as well as giving reasons for the study of various subjects. On the former head, he classified the subjects of knowledge into Things, Words and Notions, and said (as becomes an acquaintance of Locke who could also cite "Comenius" with approval (2,20) (327)) "Nature seems commonly to lead Men to begin at the first of these (328). But there was a touch of Cartesianism in the remark that

We were not Conscious that our Minds began to Work, till they were excited, whether by Supernatural Touches upon them; or by the inward feeling we had of Pain or Pleasure, springing within; or the Notices drawn by sensible Perception from without (329);

and more than a touch in "The first thing of which we are aware is our own awareness"(330). He modified his acceptance of the absence of innate ideas thus:

yet it must be granted, that we were born with the Natural Faculty, whereby we actually discern the agreement or disagreement of some Notions, so soon as we have the Notions themselves (331).

He hoped that his methods would "produce the ..

(327) Improvement, Introduction s.13.

(328) ibid. s.11.

(329) op. cit. I i s.2.

(330) ibid. s.3.

(331) ibid. s.13.

Habit of using our Reason in a better way, and to better purpose", even more successfully than this was done by "the Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Law, or even the common Logicks, which yet may all be of Service to render the Mind more Attentive, Accurate, and Acute" (332). In the field of Ethics Oldfield, as a disciple of More and of the Reyens (2,17; 2,12), gave conscience rather than any biblical or other external authority the decisive part in determining the relative importance of matters which may compete for the attention of the intellect (333). On the other hand, he defined the motive of virtue, in accordance with his rejection of high calvinism, as the seeking of God's favour (334). This must have made Edward Reyner turn in his grave (335).

The curriculum of Oldfield's book exhibits a thoroughly broad course with several outstanding features. He provided a full textbook of logic (336) and emphasized that a proof may be sound although "not agreeable to the Rules allow'd in the Schools ... (or) to the Measures commonly prescrib'd in Logic" (337). He included modern geography, history, chronology, laws (including international and commercial), and current affairs, some astronomy and navigation, and mathematics

(332) op.cit. Introduction s.18.

(333) op.cit. II ix.

(334) op.cit. I iv, II ix.

(335) cp. Whether Grace 305.

(336) Improvement III.

(337) ibid. s.1.

covering approximately the syllabus of the Ordinary standard of the General Certificate in Education, except for the omission of graphs (338). Together with these subjects, Oldfield's course included - again following Locke (339) - a thorough study of English (340). The principles of religion should be taught young (341). Detailed advice was provided on the construction of discourses, (342), and a warning given against meddling with astrology (343).

Under the head of vocational education, Oldfield advised the study of Civil Law (presumably Roman) "to prepare the way for our own"; Hebrew, New Testament Greek and Ethics he mentioned for divinity students (344).

Like the Reyners Oldfield did not mention the study of the Classics. In Oldfield's case, however, his aim of providing for the plain man may well have been the reason. A much more notable omission is that of any systematic natural science. This is all the more remarkable in that it is stated that Oldfield's

skill in mathematical learning enabled him to project several things for the public benefit, which met with the approbation of the great Sir Isaac Newton (345).

(338) op.cit. I iv, v; III xiii s.20; III xxvi s.4.

(339) Thoughts s.189.

(340) Improvement II ii; I iv, xv.

(341) op.cit. III xxvi 4.

(342) op.cit. III xxix, xxxi.

(343) op.cit. III xxvi s.23.

(344) III xxvi s.8.

(345) Wilson Dissenting .. IV 164.

He did recommend "Mathematical Natural Philosophy with Experiments" for medicos (346).

This on the whole very up to date scheme of education is no doubt that which Oldfield and his colleagues attempted to actualize at Coventry and Hoxton Square. The influence of Oldfield's book was considerable (4,2).

(346) Improvement III xxvi s.8.

3:24

Concluding remarks.

The academies of this chapter exhibit in many cases some development of the curriculum from those of chapter 2; cases of more radical recasting of the curriculum are reserved for Chapter 4. Amongst the more notable features of Chapter 3 academies may be mentioned the following.

The dominant philosophy moved rapidly - partly under foreign influence - away from the Aristotelianism of Jollie (3,20) through the eclectic book-list of Ker (3,3) and the Cartesianism of such tutors as Rowe (3,10) to the Newtonianism of Grove (3,13) and others. Simultaneously the ethical standpoint shifted from the transcendentalism of Chauncy (3,12) to the rationalism of Latham (3,7), Amory (3,14) and Jennings (3,21) or the intermediate position of Oldfield (3,23). Such exaltation of human reason continued to have its antagonists in tutors like Davisson (3,11). Another side to the philosophical development was the attitude to the scriptures; some tutors (Benion, 3,5; Latham, 3,7; Jones, 3,8; Davisson 3,11) continued to decry the use of commentaries, but others tried to provide a view of both sides of every interpretational point (Grove, 3,13; Chorlton, 3,17), and there was widespread stress on freedom of enquiry in general (Ker, 3,3; Rowe 3,10; Chorlton and Coningham 3,17; Owen, 3,4; Jennings 3,11; Amory 3,14). All this was in line with developments elsewhere. Newtonianism steadily

increased at Cambridge from 1707 (347) and rationalistic theology was well developed amongst the Cambridge Platonists during the seventeenth century (2,17).

Some of the academies made a considerable feature of Hebrew and oriental studies. The tutors in the front rank in this respect (Owen, 3,5; Jones, 3,8; Alexander 3,8; Jennings, 3,21) do not seem to have taken their cue from any obvious common source.

Similarly the study of French appears at several academies (Latham, 3,7; Jennings, 3,21; Southwell, 3,22) with no clue to any possible common motivation.

Music continued to be of rare occurrence, but was taken seriously in two places (under Hill, 3,7; Jennings, 3,21).

The disintegration of the curriculum, which had commenced to only a very small extent in the first generation academies (Chapter 2), began to gather momentum. Rotheram regarded higher mathematics as an optional extra to the curriculum (3,19), and it became necessary to justify the study of natural science by reference to its teleological applications (Grove, 3,13; Owen, 3,4). This beginning of specialization was paralleled and perhaps influenced by the foundation of a diversity of chairs, particularly in the Scots Universities (3,2), in the early years of the eighteenth century (348).

(347) Wordsworth Scholae 68.

(348) Kerr 229-231.

In the field of method some tutors seem to have been pioneers in the discarding of the single textbook as the basis of a course of lectures and in the construction of their own syllabus (Benion, 3,5; Jennings, 3,21; and in Chapter 2, Frankland 2,5; Cradock, 2,18; and Tallents 2,29).

It is difficult to determine the exact extent to which Latin continued to be the medium of instruction. It is clear that it was so under Owen and Chorlton (3,17), and to a substantial extent under Ker (3,3), Owen (3,4), Rowe (3,10), Bames (3,12), Fleming (3,8), Dixon (3,18), and Jennings (3,21) - a sufficiently formidable list to rule out any generalization as to its disappearance at this stage. On the other hand, English was certainly used for instruction by Ridgley (3,12) and probably by Owen (3,4), its literature was studied under Grove (3,13) and Jennings (3,21), and some attention was paid to English elocution by Benion (3,5), Latham (3,7), Davisson (3,11), Jennings (3,21) and Oldfield (3,23). The pupils of Amory (3,14) and Jennings (3,21) had preaching practice during their course. Thus it would perhaps be safe to say that the transition from Latin to English was in progress. It may have owed a little to Scottish influence (3,2), and perhaps to the pleas of educational theorists such as Comenius (2,20) or John Webster (349).

(349) Academiarum Examen ... 1654 (Mullinger III 457-9).

These features of the academies were the base from which some of the tutors of the next chapter started their excursions into the realm of curriculum reconstruction.