

**A HISTORY
OF
MANCHESTER
COLLEGE**

V.D.Davis

A HISTORY OF
MANCHESTER COLLEGE

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN MANCHESTER
TO ITS
ESTABLISHMENT IN OXFORD

by
V. D. DAVIS, B.A.



MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD
Entrance under the Tower

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
MUSEUM STREET

PREFACE

THIS record of the history of Manchester College has been prepared at the instance of the College Committee, and is published on their responsibility and at their sole cost. It is based upon ample material provided by the long series of annual reports and the seventeen large folio volumes of the minutes of the Committee, and further volumes of collected College documents, together with two volumes of the minutes of the Warrington Academy. Much information of historical value has been gathered from the published addresses of Principals and other members of the Teaching Staff, and the Visitors. The record is also greatly indebted to Dr. Drummond's *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, and other memoirs of College teachers and distinguished students, to which reference will be found in the notes.

It has been a great privilege to an old student of the College, whose father also was a student both at York and Manchester, to be allowed to undertake this work, in which he received encouragement and invaluable help from two other elder friends and old students, Dr. Edwin Odgers and Alexander Gordon. To their memory, as to that of his own revered and beloved teachers in the College, Martineau, Drummond, Upton, Carpenter, he would have desired, had it been worthy, humbly and gratefully to dedicate his work.

V. D. D.

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
UNWIN BROTHERS LTD., WOKING

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	7
PART I	
EARLIER ACADEMIES	
I. THE FORE-RUNNERS	15
II. THE FIRST ACADEMY	21
III. FROM RATHMEL TO WARRINGTON	27
IV. WARRINGTON ACADEMY	31
THE PROSPEROUS YEARS	40
THE CLOSING YEARS	47
PART II	
MANCHESTER COLLEGE	
V. THE FIRST MANCHESTER PERIOD	53
VI. MANCHESTER COLLEGE, YORK	71
VII. THE SECOND MANCHESTER PERIOD	105
VIII. MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, LONDON	136
IX. MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD	168
APPENDIX NOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE	203
LISTS OF OFFICERS OF MANCHESTER COLLEGE	207
INDEX	211

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE		
I.	MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD ENTRANCE UNDER THE TOWER	<i>Frontispiece</i>
II.	THE MARTINEAU STATUE IN THE COLLEGE LIBRARY	FACING PAGE 152
III.	MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. THE CHAPEL IN THE FOREGROUND	168
IV.	MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD FROM THE NORTH-EAST. THE LIBRARY IN THE FOREGROUND	192

*The three illustrations of the College Buildings are from photographs by
Mr. Norman Taylor, 107, High Street, Oxford.*

PART I
EARLIER ACADEMIES

CHAPTER I

THE FORE-RUNNERS

OVER the entrance to the buildings of Manchester College at Oxford the inscription stands: "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion." The buildings were opened in October, 1893, four years after the College had been brought from London to Oxford, to the temporary shelter of No. 90 High Street. Other migrations had marked its history, for it was then more than a hundred years old, and it had been moved from place to place as circumstance required, intent always on securing the fullest opportunity for the service to which it was devoted. The words of dedication, now inscribed in stone at Oxford, were used at the foundation of the College in Manchester in 1786, by Dr. Thomas Barnes, the first Divinity tutor, in his opening address; and for more than another hundred years, from the earliest days of the ejected Nonconformists of 1662, the ideal of service in the cause of religion and learning, for which the Barnes inscription stands as watchword, had been maintained.

Manchester College, or the Manchester Academy, as it was first called, was indeed a new foundation, but it stands in the line of a brave succession. Rightly to appreciate its history, and the part it has played in the life of the nation, we must remember also the fore-runners, who first kindled and handed on the torch of religious freedom and loyalty to truth, in face of the persecuting Acts of the Restoration period.

1670 is the year from which we may definitely date the beginning of the undertaking, as an act of determined faith, out of which in due course Manchester College had its birth. It was the year of the second Conventicle Act, which aimed at completing the work of the ill-omened Act of

Uniformity of 1662, and the calculated cruelty of the subsequent Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts; but it was the year also of another event of very different character and far happier promise for the future of religion and the welfare of the people. This was noted by Alexander Gordon, in his masterly historical address at the Centenary meeting of Manchester College in February, 1886. It was a striking coincidence that at the very time when Parliament was moving for a stricter enforcement of the laws and for a new law of greater severity against Dissenters, Richard Frankland, one of the ejected clergy, opened an Academy at Rathmel, in the Craven district of Yorkshire, and thus established the first of a line of Nonconformist schools of "University learning," in which Manchester College stands sixth in the succession. The significance of this quiet but very effectual protest against the persecuting laws was marked by Gordon in a pointed sentence: "The powers that were in Church and State said, 'Nonconformity shall die.' Richard Frankland took a step which meant, 'Nonconformity shall live.'"

The leaders of the dominant party, triumphant and embittered by memories of what they had suffered at the hands of Presbyterians and Independents under the Commonwealth, were determined to crush out their opponents and all sectaries, enforcing episcopal rule in the Church, and a universal adoption of the Prayer Book liturgy. To that end, it was not only the clergy as preachers who were attacked, but all university and school teachers, on whom the same demand of conformity, under heavy penalties, was made. The calculation was that if the supply of heresy could be cut off at the source, the pernicious growth would very soon be destroyed. But the policy so framed had not reckoned with the force of conscience and readiness for sacrifice in the men who were to be coerced. More than the traditional Two Thousand of the clergy, it

is now estimated, were deprived by the Act which came into force on that "one rigorous day" of St. Bartholomew, 1662, of whom Wordsworth wrote in his sonnet on "Clerical Integrity,"

"As men the dictate of whose inward sense
Outweighs the world."

No compromise of self-interest could tempt them. Driven from church and school and college, homeless many of them and in dire poverty, they refused to be silenced, and they could not be destroyed. The claim of religion with them was paramount. No authority of the world could stand between them and the sacred obligation to maintain a faithful ministry. In spite of harrying and imprisonment they continued to preach as they could, and minister to the people who looked to them for the bread of life. It is a striking testimony to the spirit of undaunted courage and consecration which animated them, that so many of the sons of ejected ministers were ready to devote themselves to a service in which their fathers had suffered, and were suffering, such grievous things.

The protest was decisive, not only in the matter of an unshackled ministry, but no less for the liberty of teaching. Shut out from Grammar School and University by the enforcement of a yoke to which they could not submit, they determined nevertheless that their children should be fitly taught, and that for the maintenance of an adequate succession in the ministry their young men should not be deprived of the learning rightly regarded as essential to a thorough equipment for their calling. Out of that necessity arose the Nonconformist Academy. Many of the ejected ministers, in those first years of suffering, in defiance of the law, undertook the task of teaching. In the houses of friends who gave them shelter, or, if they were men of means, in their own houses, as in Frankland's case, they

received pupils and began to establish schools. Some of the earliest Academies may not have been more than Grammar Schools in the standard of the education given, but others, from which young men went out into the professions of law and medicine, and to the ministry of religion, were distinctly of a higher grade, not unworthy to rank, in the quality of their teaching, with the national Universities. Such, undoubtedly, was the character of Frankland's Academy at Rathmel, and of its successors down the line to Manchester College. It was, as Gordon said in his centenary address, not merely academy after academy, but "academy out of academy." Each in turn produced the man who was to carry on the work after his teacher had laid it down—not indeed in the same place, but to the same end and in the light of the same ideal. Of the first four links in the chain that is literally true, from Frankland of Rathmel to Chorlton of the first Manchester Academy and his assistant and successor Coningham, to Dixon of Whitehaven and Bolton, and Rotherham of Kendal. Each of these carried on his academy, single-handed or with assistants, on his own individual responsibility, taking up his former teacher's work. Then, in the middle of the eighteenth century, came an enlargement of scope, with the grouping together of a number of teachers in a more public institution, the Warrington Academy, with an old pupil of Dixon at its head; and finally, following immediately on Warrington, with two men, who had been trained there, as its first tutors, the Manchester Academy of 1786, now Manchester College, Oxford.

Many other Nonconformist Academies were established throughout the country, some of them closely akin to these, others of a different type.¹ They fall broadly into two classes,

¹ A History of these Nonconformist Academies (1662-1820) has recently been published in his volume, *English Education under the Test Acts*, by Dr. H. McLachlan (Manchester University Press, 1931). It is full of valuable information, to which some reference will be found in subsequent notes.

of which those in our line of succession belong to what came to be known as the Presbyterian body, as distinguished from the Congregational. The difference was not in the matter of Church polity, as the two names would seem to imply, for the English Presbyterians since the Restoration had not retained anything approaching to their distinctive organization under the Commonwealth. As "United Brethren" after the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689, Presbyterian and Congregational had made common cause, and though the union was not of long duration, and the Congregationalists subsequently established a separate Fund of their own for denominational support, both bodies remained practically Independent in their Church order. The separation came through change of attitude towards matters of belief. As the eighteenth century advanced, those ministers and congregations who held to the ideal of tolerance and liberty in Church fellowship, deriving support from the older Fund, carried on the use of the Presbyterian name, while the Congregationalists, under their own banner, insisted on a stricter doctrinal uniformity. Thus it came about that in the later eighteenth century usage the name "Presbyterian" simply denoted the men and the Churches of the broader outlook, through their faith in freedom open to the influence of new conceptions of truth, in the spirit of a genuine catholicity. It is significant of that change of meaning in the name that of the two great Nonconformists of the early heroic days, Milton and Richard Baxter, from whom the later English Presbyterians derived a large measure of their inspiration, neither was a Presbyterian in the proper meaning of the term. They were elder contemporaries of Richard Frankland, who received Presbyterian ordination, but Milton was unmistakably an Independent, and Baxter, ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, had his own special theory of right order in the Church. Yet in those two men the later "Pres-

byterians" recognized the noblest embodiment of their own ideal.

Of the principle of freedom as bearing on the progress of religious truth, Milton wrote prophetically in his *Areopagitica*, while Frankland, a boy of fourteen, was still at school:—

"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."

And Baxter, seven years younger than Milton, Frankland's senior by fifteen years, through the tried experience of his strenuous life, became a genuine apostle of catholicity of spirit. He had been in earlier life a vehement controversialist, but through the mellowing influence of later years found that "judgment and charity" abated his militant zeal. He became, as he himself records,¹ "much more inclinable to reconciling principles," and was "not for narrowing the Church more than Christ himself alloweth it." Longing for a true Christian concord, he was "for Catholicism against parties." Thus he became, as Gordon has said, "in a real sense, a founder of the liberal traditions of Nonconformity."² To him the English Presbyterians looked as their typical leader, and in the line of those traditions our Academies stand.

¹ *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), pp. 130-133 and 146. *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*. Abridged by J. M. Lloyd Thomas, 1925, p. 116.

² *Heads of Unitarian History*. Lecture on Baxter, p. 59.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ACADEMY¹

RATHMEL, the birthplace of Richard Frankland, where his Academy was also first established, is a little hamlet in Ribblesdale in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Some three miles to the south of Giggleswick and Settle, its northward view is bounded by the heights of Ingleborough and Penyghent, and two miles to the south-east, across the valley, is Long Preston. The modern railway junction of Hellifield is a little farther to the south, and beyond that, Pendle Hill. Even a hundred years after Frankland's time the Craven district was somewhat inaccessible, for Mrs. Newcome Cappe, of York, the friend of Theophilus Lindsey, in her *Memoirs*, telling of her childhood in the Long Preston vicarage, speaks of almost impassable roads, which no wheel-carriage could face, and of carriers bringing their goods over the hills on pack-horses. In that country of hill and dale Frankland was born in 1630, and except for his college years at Cambridge, his whole life was spent in the North. The vigour of its splendid air and the open moorlands was in his blood, and he had the determined character of the Yorkshire yeoman. There were several Franklands in the district, and another branch of the family farther north, having prospered in the cloth trade, was advanced to a baronetcy. Richard Frankland inherited from his father, a well-to-do yeoman, the estate to which after

¹ An elaborate account of Richard Frankland and his Academy, with an annotated list of his more than three hundred students, will be found in the valuable historical work of a former member of the Manchester College Committee, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, by Francis Nicholson, President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and Ernest Axon, 1915. Cf. also McLachlan, and Gordon's article, "Richard Frankland," in *D.N.B.*

the Ejection he retired, and there in 1670 he established his Academy.

He had been educated at Giggleswick Grammar School, and Christ's College, Cambridge (Milton's College), where he graduated B.A. in January, 1651-52, M.A. in 1655, and in the interval was ordained a Presbyterian minister. He held various ministerial appointments in the North, chiefly in the county of Durham, and it is said that in Cromwell's scheme for a University at Durham he was to have held a teaching post, had not the Protector's death made an end of the project. In 1662 he was ejected from the cure he held at Auckland St. Andrew, near Durham, and the next few years appear to have been spent in retirement at Rathmel, until the launching of his new undertaking.

The old house has long since disappeared, but there is a little row of cottages still to be seen, standing at right-angles to the road which passes through the village, over one of the back windows of which is a carved oblong stone bearing his initials and the date 1686. The buildings are known in the village as "College Row" or "College Fold," and early in last century the tradition was still definitely current of a college on that site. There had been an extensive range of buildings, with a bell over the yard gate, and in the large kitchen an oven big enough to serve as a convenient refuge in a game of hide-and-seek. If the date on the stone is correct, it marks a probable enlargement of the old house three years before the Academy was brought back there after a series of migrations. After the first four years it was moved to Natland, in the Kendal neighbourhood, where Frankland also found opportunity for ministerial service. Thence, owing to trouble under the Five-Mile Act, it returned in 1683 to Yorkshire, to Calton Hall, the Lamberts' house at Kirkby Malham, and then from year to year was moved successively to Dawson Fold, near Kendal again, to Hart Barrow, by Windermere, and in

1686 to Attercliffe, close by Sheffield. Frankland may have thought of going back to Rathmel in that year, when he enlarged his house, but then decided on Attercliffe, and it was only after the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689 that he returned to his own and the Academy's first home. There in 1698 he died, and his work passed into other hands.

For twenty-eight years he was active in that service and the roll of his students numbered over three hundred, some of them destined for the Law and Medicine, but the greater number for the ministry. The first student entered at Rathmel was the son of an Episcopalian baronet, a relative of Mrs. Frankland; the first Divinity students were Independents; it was only after the Indulgence of 1672 that the Presbyterians began to come in. Frankland, himself a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, was, like Baxter, uncompromising in his opposition to Socinian heresy, and his one publication, a small quarto of 1697, with a preface by his friend Oliver Heywood, dealt with that matter. But for the rest he was "a man of great moderation," and "an admirable temper." The portrait in Dr. Williams' Library, conventional and expressionless, does not tell much of the manner of man he was, but the testimony of old pupils and other friends is of greater worth. "I never knew a tutor so entirely beloved," wrote Dr. James Clegg, a student at Rathmel, who was with Frankland when he died. Calamy's record speaks of him as "an eminent Divine and acute Metaphysician, a solid interpreter of Scripture; very sagacious in discovering errors and able in defending Truth: witness his invaluable piece in print against Socinianism. He was one of great humility and affability. Not very taking, but a substantial preacher." Of his influence as a minister it was said that he was generally beloved and exceeding useful. "He had a thriving congregation, whom he kept in peace by his candour and humility, gravity and piety, notwith-

standing their different principles."¹ Gordon in his Manchester College Centenary Address spoke of Frankland as "a free man, holding strong views, and bringing up a generation of free men as strong thinkers." "He claimed for all who went to him the liberty of a broad platform." And in his address on "Early Nonconformity and Education," with its account of Frankland's academy,² the family motto is cited as characteristic of the teacher's method: "*Libera terra, liberque animus*," which Gordon interprets, "'Tis no free country till the mind be free."

Thus we may gather the nature of the influence Frankland exercised upon the students who went out from his Academy into the ministry; and looking forward to the progress of the principles of freedom in the service of truth and a broad catholicity in religious fellowship, there are two names on the roll of his students which form links of special interest in the course of our history. Peter Finch was entered as a student at Natland, 1678, the son of a clergyman ejected from Walton-on-the-Hill, by Liverpool, and subsequently minister of Platt Chapel, Manchester. He was for more than fifty years one of the ministers at Norwich, and was there associated with Dr. John Taylor, afterwards the first Divinity Tutor of the Warrington Academy. Finch died in 1754, on his ninety-third birthday, two years before the opening of the present Octagon chapel. So far as is known he was quite orthodox, but "of a peaceable spirit, which loved concord in the Church beyond controversy." Edward Kenrick, entered as a student at Rathmel, 1693, ministered to congregations in Wales, and was associated with Dr. Williams, founder of the Library which bears his name. Edward was brother of the Rev. John Kenrick of Wrexham, from whom descended the Rev. Timothy Kenrick of the short-lived Exeter Academy

¹ *Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial*, Vol. I. p. 490.

² *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, p. 87.

(1799-1804) and his son John, a name illustrious in the history of Manchester College, at York. From another branch of the family, engaged in business in the Birmingham district, came two later Presidents of the College, Timothy (1807-85) and his nephew the Hon. William Kenrick (1831-1919).

The order of the students' day at Rathmel is described by Dr. James Clegg in his account of John Ashe, who was entered as a student under Frankland at Attercliffe in 1688 and returned with him to Rathmel in the following year. Ashe was for many years a minister in Derbyshire and died in 1735. The account is appended to Clegg's funeral sermon for his friend.

"The method observed in the Academy was this,—The whole family was called to prayer exactly at seven in the morning, summer and winter. About an hour after breakfast, the several classes, according to their seniority, were called into the lecture-room, and the Tutor, and his assistant, continued reading lectures to them till noon. After dinner, the students that minded their business retired to their closets till six at night, and were then called to prayers. After supper, the most diligent and studious met, eight or ten in a chamber, to confer about their reading, and any difficulties they had met with in it, and one of them prayed before they parted. On Thursdays the students exhibited Theses, on such subjects as were given them, and disputed in public on such questions as the Tutors appointed. On that night, after supper, they had often disputations in their chambers, on such questions as they agreed to debate. On Saturdays, before the evening prayers, one read in public what was called an Analysis, or methodical and critical dissertation on some verses of a Psalm or some chapter of the New Testament; but this was not expected from any in their first years. After supper, on that night, they met in their chambers to confer on some practical subject, and concluded with prayer, which each performed in his turn, but only one of a night."

Of the subjects and methods of study we have a hint in this further statement of Clegg that Ashe continued at

the Academy "till he had gone through the usual course of Logick, Metaphysicks, Somatology, Pneumatology,¹ Natural Philosophy, Divinity and Chronology; during which he writ over the accurate Tables his Tutor had drawn up for instructing his pupils in those Sciences, which cost him no little time and pains."²

In contemplating that programme of studies, it is to be remembered that in those days, in the Nonconformist Academies, as in the Universities, the lectures were all in Latin, which was also the language used by tutors and students alike during working hours. Doddridge was the first Academy Tutor to abandon Latin for English in his lectures,³ an example followed, we presume, by Caleb Rotherham at Kendal, and certainly the custom from Warrington onwards.

¹ Pneumatology denotes the doctrine of the nature and operations of the Spirit, as distinguished from Somatology, concerned with things of bodily or material existence. It was one of the subjects assigned also to Dr. Barnes, the first Divinity tutor of the Manchester Academy. In the elaborate scheme of Doddridge's Divinity lectures, as published in his collected works, the term seems to cover, broadly speaking, the subjects included in Martineau's college course on the Grounds and Truths of Religion. For various instances of the use of the term, cf. Appendix to McLachlan's *English Education under the Test Acts*, pp. 276-77.

² Quoted in Nicholson's *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, p. 131.

³ Gordon's *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, "Early Nonconformists and Education," p. 76.

CHAPTER III

FROM RATHMEL TO WARRINGTON

CONCERNING the men who carried on Frankland's work in our succession of Academies only a few brief notes can be added here, until we come to Warrington.

Dr. James Clegg, in his Diary, tells how on Frankland's death, October 1, 1698, he was sent to Manchester to ask John Chorlton, an old student of the Academy, to come over and preach the funeral sermon. "In that journey," he says, "I was in great danger by the rivers which were raised by the heavy rains." Chorlton, born at Salford, 1666, was entered a student at Natland when he was sixteen, and five years later became colleague to the venerable Henry Newcome¹ in Manchester, and thus saw the building of Cross Street Chapel, opened in 1694. He preached Frankland's funeral sermon, but declined the further request, that he would remain at Rathmel and carry on the Academy. Other attempts to secure a successor to Frankland also failed, but Chorlton's refusal was not absolute. He would not come to Rathmel, but the light so effectually kindled there he determined should not be extinguished, and the record is that he "set up teaching university learning in a great house in Manchester." Eleven of Frankland's students from Rathmel completed their course with him,² James Clegg being one of these, who noted the great advantage to the students of being within reach of the Chetham Library.³

¹ Of Newcome also it is recorded that he "united with the character of the pastor, that of the teacher of academical literature."

² Others went to the Academy established by another old student, Timothy Jollie, at Attercliffe, after Frankland had returned to Rathmel.

³ Clegg, like many others at that time, was only "moderately orthodox," and as an instance of the advantage to students of an open mind of such access to books, remarks in his Diary: "The writings of Socinus and his followers made little impression on me; only I could never after be entirely

Among the other students of this earlier Manchester Academy was Thomas Dixon, who stands next in the line of tutors, after Chorlton and his assistant and successor Coningham. Chorlton was not left undisturbed by the ecclesiastical authorities, but a threatened prosecution at the Assizes was averted by some powerful friendly influence, and after his death in 1705 his colleague, James Coningham, an Edinburgh graduate, still maintained the work of the Academy, in conjunction with his ministry at Cross Street Chapel, until in 1712 he removed to London. By that time Dr. Thomas Dixon, distinguished both as theologian and physician, was established at Whitehaven, and his Academy took up the succession after Manchester. Little is known of him beyond the fact that during his ministry he practised both as a doctor and an academic teacher, and that the University of Edinburgh recognized his worth. John Taylor, Caleb Rotheram and Henry Winder were among his students, who afterwards attained to eminence, each in his own way, in the service of scholarship and progressive religious thought. Dixon's last years were spent at Bolton, where he died in 1729, "*Facile medicorum et theologorum princeps*," as the record stands on the memorial tablet in Bank Street Chapel.

There followed an interval of four years before his old pupil, Caleb Rotheram, took up the work at Kendal;¹ but in the year of Dixon's death Doddridge had entered on the notable undertaking of his academy at Northampton²

reconciled to the common doctrine of the Trinity. . . . I admired the clear and strong reasoning of Episcopius; and, after that, could never well relish the doctrines of rigid Calvinism." Cf. Gordon, *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, p. 81.

¹ As with Frankland and Rathmel, Nicholson and Axon give a full account of Rotheram and the Kendal Academy, with an annotated list of students. Cf. also McLachlan and Gordon in *D.N.B.*

² Doddridge was an Independent, but widely influential also, among the "Presbyterians" of the old liberal Dissent. Cf. Gordon, *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, p. 217.

and Dr. Latham, of Findern in Derbyshire, had already for some years been devoted to the same service. Rotheram, a Cumberland man, was of the same age as John Taylor, born 1694 (the year of the opening of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester), and they were together under Dixon at Whitehaven. After a brief ministry in his native county, Rotheram settled in 1716 at Kendal, where the rest of his life was spent. He died at the house of his son, Dr. John Rotheram at Hexham, June 8, 1752. It was in 1733 that his Academy, in succession to Dixon's, was opened, so that he completed just the same term of nineteen years as Dixon in that service. More than fifty men he educated for the ministry, and considerably more than twice that number for other professions and business life. He was known as a lecturer on scientific subjects as well as on theology, a union of gifts which reminds one of Joseph Priestley, who was born in the year in which his Academy was opened. "A great and useful philosopher" was the description a young surgeon gave of him after a visit to Kendal in 1742. In the following year he obtained his doctorate in Divinity at Edinburgh, the subject of his inaugural dissertation being "The Evidence of the Christian Religion." As an academic teacher Rotheram was typical of the "moderation," the catholicity of spirit and devotion to the principle of freedom characteristic of the English Presbyterians of that time. He stands in the line of those who were turning from the strict Calvinism of their predecessors to broader views of Christian truth. An old pupil of his, James Daye of Lancaster, who preached Rotheram's funeral sermon, spoke of his gifts both of mind and of utterance, which, "together with great moderation, impartiality and a calm judgment," made him not only a popular preacher but "equally applauded by the most judicious." And in the Academy, aiming at "enlarging useful knowledge and propagating rational and religious light among men," his lectures were

"rather the open informations of a friend than the dictates of a master. As he was an impartial lover of truth, he encouraged the most free and unbounded inquiry after it in every branch of science." In the Abbey Church at Hexham a monument to Rotheram's memory speaks of his devotion to the cause of "Religion, Truth and Liberty." This recalls the subsequent dedication of Manchester College "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion," while the Warrington Academy, which is the link between Kendal and Manchester, was devoted in the same spirit to "Religion, Liberty and Learning."

CHAPTER IV

THE WARRINGTON ACADEMY

THE story of the Warrington Academy falls naturally into three parts: first the preparation and foundation, on more public, broader lines than the Academies which preceded it, with the first years, 1757-61, under Dr. John Taylor as Divinity tutor; then the prosperous years, under Dr. Aikin, 1761-80, and lastly three years of increasing difficulties, ending with suspension of the work in 1783 and the final dissolution of the society in 1786.

The project was launched in a circular, dated from Manchester in July 1754, first among the stated reasons for the appeal being the "total deficiency of Academies in this part of the country." The Findern Academy came to an end with Dr. Latham's death in that year, and it was two years since Rotheram's death. To meet the need both for an adequate supply of ministers for Nonconformist churches and for the education under suitable conditions of men preparing for other learned professions and for commercial life, it was now proposed to form a body of Trustees, who should be responsible for the establishment of a new academy and be the ultimate authority for direction and supervision of the work. The plan was described as aiming "to unite in the best manner the advantages of the public and more private methods of education," providing at the same time "for the extensive learning of our youth and the security of their morals." Students preparing for commercial life or the learned professions would not only gain "some knowledge of the more useful branches of literature," they would be led "to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true principles of religion and liberty, of which great interests they must in future life be the supporters"; while

for those to be employed in the ministerial office "it will be an invaluable advantage to have them educated where they may freely follow the dictates of their own judgments in their inquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understanding." So the foundation principle of the Academy was laid down, and appeal was made to the generosity "of all friends of Religion, Liberty and Learning."

The moving spirit in the launching of the project was John Seddon¹ of Warrington, minister of the Nonconformist congregation of the Sankey Street (now Cairo Street) Chapel. Born at Hereford, 1725, he had been a pupil of Rotheram's at Kendal, and since 1747 settled at Warrington. There,² after much debate as to the rival claims of Manchester and Ormskirk (the latter favoured by Liverpool supporters), the Academy was ultimately established.³ Seddon had carried on an extensive correspondence with leading Nonconformists in various parts of the country, and it was announced in the first circular that promises of subscriptions had been received from Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Warrington, and by April, 1755, the total promised was close upon £300. Nant-

¹ To be distinguished from John Seddon, son of Peter Seddon of Cockey Moor, born 1719, also one of Rotheram's pupils, and minister of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, 1759-69; after 1761 an avowed Socinian. John of Warrington was also son of a Peter Seddon, probably a second cousin of the other, and minister successively at Ormskirk and Hereford. Cf. D.N.B. for both Seddons.

² Warrington at that time was already a trade centre of some note. During the Academy period it is said to have produced half the sail cloth required by the Navy. It lay on the chief road to the North-West, with the only bridge across the Mersey until far up towards Manchester. It was because that bridge was broken down that in the rebellion of 1745 the Pretender took the road through Manchester. Cf. Dr. Aikin's *Description of the Country round Manchester*, 1805.

³ Cf. *A Historical Sketch of Warrington Academy*, by Henry Arthur Bright, M.A., Liverpool, 1859. Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. XI. Read November 11, 1858. McLachlan also gives a full account of the Academy, and reproduces old pictures of the buildings.

wich, Bristol, Exeter were ready to help; only from Leeds came the adverse suggestion that all they required in the way of education could be secured at Glasgow University. On June 30, 1757, the first general meeting of subscribers was held at Warrington, and the rule was adopted, as it was afterwards for the Manchester Academy, that annual subscribers of two guineas and donors of twenty should constitute the body of Trustees. Lord Willoughby of Parham was appointed president, John Lees of Manchester, vice-president, Arthur Heywood of Liverpool, treasurer, and John Seddon, secretary. The promises of annual subscriptions amounted then to £469 5s., and benefactions £148 11s. Houses were to be secured for the tutors, who would receive students as boarders. The terms for this were fixed at £15 for those who had two months' vacation, or for those who had no vacation £18, with further payment for "tea, washing, fire and candles." The tutors were to receive £100 a year for salary. The Academy paid their "leys and taxes." In December, 1758, salaries were raised to £120 and ultimately to £135; but Priestley in his *Memoirs* said he had only £100, and his house.

The Academy was opened in October, 1757, in the house which is still standing at "Bridge Foot" close to the river. It is now preserved as a public institution, the home, since 1899, of the Warrington Society. The old house, happily renovated, with its collection of books, manuscripts and other treasures, is full of historical interest; but situated as it is in an unquiet corner of the modern town, it requires an effort of imagination to picture it as it was in Academy days and as Mrs. Barbauld (Anna Laetitia Aikin) celebrated it, in the lines of her "Invitation":—

"Mark where its simple front yon mansion rears,
The nursery of men for future years!
Here callow chiefs and embryo statesmen lie,
And unfledg'd poets short excursions try:

While Mersey's gentle current, which too long
By fame neglected, and unknown to song,
Between his rushy banks, (no poet's theme)
Had crept inglorious, like a vulgar stream,
Reflects th' ascending steps with conscious pride,
And dares to emulate a classic tide.

"Beneath his willows rove th' inquiring youth,
And court the fair majestic form of truth.
Here nature opens all her secret springs,
And heav'n born science plumes her eagle wings.

"Ye Generous youth who love this studious shade,
How rich a field is to your hopes display'd!
Knowledge to you unlocks the classic page,
And virtue blossoms for a future age."

The poetess was a girl of fifteen when she came with her father to Warrington and she grew up in the Academy circle of which she furnishes so charming an ideal picture.¹ There she found among the students

"Friendship, ardent as a summer's noon;
And generous scorn of vice's venial tribe;
And proud disdain of interest's sordid bribe;
And conscious honour's quick instinctive sense;
And smiles unforc'd; and easy confidence;
And vivid fancy and clear simple truth;
And all the mental bloom of vernal youth."

Into the world they were destined to go, to various careers, and would gain the treasures of many lands:—

¹ Miss Aikin married in 1774 Rochemont Barbauld, who had been a student in the Academy, five years her senior. They were settled at Palgrave in Suffolk, where he was minister of the Nonconformist congregation and carried on a successful school, until their removal to Hampstead in 1786. Her husband died in 1808 at Newington Green. There Mrs. Barbauld spent her remaining years, and in the summer of 1824, less than a year before her death, James Martineau, then a student at Manchester College, York, called upon her. Long afterwards he recalled the memory and told of her enduring charm.

"But tell each land (where every toil they share,
Firm to sustain, and resolute to dare),
MAN is the nobler growth our realms supply,
And SOULS are ripen'd in our northern sky."

The first working plan of the Academy included the appointment of three tutors, for Divinity and Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and Languages and Polite Literature.¹ For this last an invitation was given to George Dyer, but declined, and the Academy opened for its first session with only two tutors, Dr. John Taylor in Divinity and John Holt of Kirkdale, Liverpool, in Mathematics. Subsequently, John Aikin of Kibworth was appointed to the third post and came to Warrington in time for the opening of the second session.

The number of students was at first very small, but in the course of the twenty-six years during which the work was carried on just over four hundred students were enrolled. By far the larger part of these were lay students, destined for the Law, Medicine, the Army or Trade, but fifty-five at least were Divinity students, twenty of whom received aid from the Presbyterian Fund, which marked their denominational interest as on the side of the broader type of Nonconformists. Thirteen of the students entered the Established Church, and one of them became an Irish bishop, Nathaniel Alexander of Clonfert. Among the Divinity students who afterwards made their mark among liberal dissenters were Philip Taylor, Ralph Harrison, Thomas Barnes, John Prior Estlin, Pendlebury Houghton and William Turner; among the lay students, Thomas Percival, John Aikin (the tutor's son), Thomas Potter, Philip Meadows Martineau, Samuel Heywood, Samuel Shore, Samuel Gaskell and Richard Enfield.

¹ A Report of 1770 on the state of the Academy notes the following subjects included in the five years' course for students for the ministry: Logic, Ontology, Pneumatology, Ethics, Jurisprudence, the Evidences of Revelation and its peculiar doctrines, Jewish Antiquities, Church History and the Pastoral Office.

The appointment of Dr. John Taylor as Divinity tutor marked the importance of the undertaking and the high hope with which it was contemplated. He was recognized as one of the most eminent scholars of his day, and in the maturity of his powers he gave up a position of happy security as minister of an influential Nonconformist congregation at Norwich to embark on this new venture. Born at Scotforth in the parish of Lancaster in 1694, he had been a pupil of Dixon at the Whitehaven Academy, and after eighteen years as minister at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, settled in 1733 at Norwich. Thus during the whole period of the Kendal Academy under his old fellow-student Rotherham he was engaged in the work of his ministry and by the publication of a succession of theological works establishing his reputation as a scholar. His *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin* appeared in 1740, and the first volume of his *magnum opus*, the *Hebrew Concordance adapted to the English Bible; Disposed after the Manner of Buxtorf*, in 1754. Two years later he received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow, and the second and concluding volume of the *Concordance* was published in the year of his removal to Warrington.¹

¹ Among other of Dr. Taylor's publications were the *Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans*, 1745, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement*, 1751, and *The Lord's Supper explained on Scripture Principles*, 1754. The two doctrinal treatises were in Schleiermacher's library, as was a German translation of the work on Original Sin. To this both John Wesley and Isaac Watts published replies, and Jonathan Edwards spoke of it with reprobation. Taylor's grandson, Philip, for many years minister in Dublin, is responsible for the report of a protest by a Calvinistic minister in the North of Ireland, who warned his hearers against the book, lest they should become perverts from "their good old faith." "I desire that none of you will read it; for it is a bad book and a dangerous book, and a heretical book; and, what is worse than all, the book is unanswerable." Burns, in his "Epistle to John Goudie of Kilmarnock," is another witness to the far-reaching influence of the book:—

"'Tis you and Taylor are the chief
Wha are to blame for this mischief."

The *Hebrew Concordance*, which had as frontispiece the well-known portrait of the author by Heins, engraved by Houbraken, was dedicated to the

In these and other works we may see the method of Dr. Taylor's teaching, and the ideal of open-mindedness which he upheld in the service of truth. The Bible was the ultimate authority; that was taken for granted. As the unique vehicle of Divine revelation, "the most perfect and invariable standard of truth," it must be throughout self-consistent, seeing that it is the product not of human wisdom, but "of one Spirit, the Spirit of God." The part of the teacher, therefore, is to study in the light of that conviction, to study and rightly interpret the sacred Scriptures, and so declare the actual content of the Divine revelation. At the same time it is to be recognized that the truth there revealed must be consistent with the laws of Natural Religion, "with the known perfections of God and the notions of right and wrong, good and evil, which are discovered in the works of Creation and in the present constitution of things." For the language of Nature is "most certainly the language of God, the sole author of Nature." Christianity, therefore, "calls us to the noblest exercise of our understanding, and we lose the benefit of it, if we do not think seriously and judge freely."

That is the position maintained in the "Scheme of Scripture Divinity" which Dr. Taylor drew up for the use of his students and made the basis of his teaching during the short period of his work at Warrington. After his death, it was published by his son, Richard Taylor, and the high estimation in which the work was held is marked by the fact that Bishop Watson of Llandaff, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, included it in the first volume of

Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, and in the list of more than three hundred subscribers are the names of a large number of high ecclesiastics and heads of colleges, together with university, college and cathedral libraries. Among the Nonconformist subscribers were Nathaniel Lardner, Hugh Farmer, Job Orton, Michael Pope, William Turner, Hugh Worthington, Joseph Priestley, John Seddon (Warrington), Caleb Rotherham (deceased), Jonathan Mayhew (Boston, Mass.). Also Theophilus Lindsey, later to become a Nonconformist.

his *Collection of Theological Tracts*, in which it was twice reprinted, in 1785 and 1791.

In earlier works Dr. Taylor had repeatedly avowed the same principles, and notably in 1745, in the letter of dedication to his Norwich congregation of his *Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans*. The right attitude towards the Scriptures and religious truth, as he understood it, is there clearly set forth in the following passages:—

"We may not indulge our own conceits in matters of Revelation. Every point, advanced as Christian doctrine, ought to be found in Scripture and explained by Scripture, strictly regarding the principles there taught and the established sense of phrases there used. And it is the design of this Essay, setting aside all human schemes, and my own imagination, to give you the true scheme of Christianity, collected immediately from that pure Fountain, carefully comparing one part with another; that your faith, hope and joy may stand, not upon the wisdom of man, but upon the firm and immovable foundation of the Word of God.

"You allow your ministers to read the Bible, and to speak what they find there. You profess universal charity and good will to all your brethren in Christ and to all mankind. These are noble principles; and I hope you will never relinquish them. Give your Catholicism its proper worth, by improving in sound knowledge; and guard it with resolution. Reject all slavish, narrow principles with disdain. Neither list yourselves nor be prest into the service of any sect or party whatsoever. Be only Christians; and follow only God and Truth."¹

¹ Eleven years later, in his sermon at the opening of the new Octagon Chapel, Dr. Taylor made a similar declaration: "Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Calvinists, Arminians, Arians, Trinitarians, and others, are names of religious distinctions. But, however we may commonly be ranked under any of these divisions, we reject them all. We disown all connection, excepting that of love and good will, with any sect or party whatsoever. We are a society built and established, not upon any human foundation, but only upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, of which Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone. We are Christians, and only Christians; and we consider all our fellow-Protestants of every denomination in the same light,—only as Christians,—and cordially embrace them all in affection and charity as such." But the Roman Catholic of the "apostasy" on the one side and the Deist on the other, with his denial of the Divine authority of Scripture, were not included within this circle of good will.

As thus to his people at Norwich, so afterwards to his students at Warrington he gave the charge of a faithful servant of the truth. The words have been often quoted, with which Dr. Taylor was wont to begin the course of his college lectures. They were printed by his son, in his preface to the *Scheme of Scripture Divinity*:—

"I. I do solemnly charge you, in the name of the God of Truth, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and before whose judgment seat you must in no long time appear, that in all your studies and inquiries of a religious nature, present or future, you do constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously attend to evidence as it lies in the Holy Scriptures, or in the nature of things, and the dictates of reason; cautiously guarding against the sallies of imagination and the fallacy of ill-grounded conjecture.

"II. That you admit, embrace, or assent to no principle, or sentiment, by me taught or advanced, but only so far as it shall appear to you to be supported and justified by proper evidence from Revelation, or the reason of things.

"III. That if, at any time hereafter, any principle or sentiment, by me taught or advanced, or by you admitted and embraced, shall, upon impartial and faithful examination, appear to you to be dubious or false, you either suspect or totally reject such principle or sentiment.

"IV. That you keep your mind always open to evidence.—That you labour to banish from your breast all prejudice, prepossession, and party-zeal.—That you study to live in peace and love with all your fellow-Christians; and that you steadily assert for yourselves, and freely allow to others, the unalienable rights of judgment and conscience."

Such was the teacher's ideal, and those memorable words remain a witness to the good intent with which he gave himself to his task. But the brief period of Dr. Taylor's service at Warrington (he died in the course of his fourth session) was unhappily clouded by disappointment and growing ill-health, embittered by personal misunderstandings. He was sixty-three when he went to Warrington, and it was perhaps too late for such an uprooting and new

adventure. "There had been an unhappy difference between Dr. Taylor and the trustees," Priestley reported in his *Memoirs*, and while his relations with the two other tutors, Holt and Aikin, seem to have been of the pleasantest, there was evidently a growing clash of temperament between him and Seddon, who was thirty years his junior. They had exchanged cordial letters and been on very friendly terms during the years of preparation for the establishment of the Academy, but later causes of acute difference arose. They belonged to different schools of Moral Philosophy, Seddon having been a favourite pupil of Hutcheson at Glasgow, of whose *Scheme of Morality* Taylor published a critical Examination; and while that was no ground for any personal quarrel, Taylor is said to have resented a lack of deference, which he felt to be his due. The two men were brought into still more definite antagonism over the question of liturgical services, which had become a subject of controversy through Seddon's part in the preparation and advocacy of the Liverpool Liturgy, afterwards adopted (1763) by the congregation of the Octagon Chapel in that city. Taylor's *Scripture Account of Prayer*, of which Gordon in the *D.N.B.* speaks as "by far the most impressive of his writings," was published after his death. The preface is dated February 25, 1761, and in the night of March 5 he died in his sleep. A tablet to his memory in the Chapel at Chowbent, where he was buried, bears these words: "Enquire among the friends of Learning, Liberty and Truth. These will do him justice."

THE PROSPEROUS YEARS

The appointment of Aikin to succeed Dr. Taylor as Divinity tutor marks the beginning of the happier period in the history of the Academy. He and Holt the Mathematical tutor, whom Aikin's granddaughter Lucy, familiar

with the traditions of the place, described as "a man whose whole soul was absorbed in his science," were joined in that same year by Joseph Priestley, and these three, with Seddon, who acted as librarian, formed the little group of teachers, of whom Priestley in his *Memoirs* gives this pleasant glimpse:—

"In the whole time of my being at Warrington, I was singularly happy in the society of my fellow-tutors, and of Mr. Seddon, the minister of the place. We drank tea together every Saturday, and our conversation was equally instructive and pleasing. I often thought it not a little extraordinary that four persons, who had no previous knowledge of each other, should have been brought to unite in conducting such a scheme as this, and all be zealous Necessarians, as we were. We were likewise all Arians, and the only subject of much consequence on which we differed, was respecting the doctrine of atonement, concerning which Dr. Aikin held some obscure notions. Accordingly, this was frequently the topic of our friendly conversations. The only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Mr. Seddon, of Manchester, and we all wondered at him. But then we never entered into any particular examination of the subject."¹

Lucy Aikin also, in a letter quoted in Bright's *Historical Sketch*, adds a welcome touch to our picture of this modest academic circle, having in mind not only the four men of Priestley's time, but others who came later:—

"I have often thought with envy of that Society. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge could boast of brighter names in literature or science than several of those dissenting tutors—humbly content in an obscure town, and on a scanty pittance, to cultivate in themselves, and communicate to a rising generation, those mental requirements and moral habits which are their own

¹ It was not long before Priestley ceased to wonder at his Cross Street colleague in Manchester. On his removal in 1767 to Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, he notes in his *Memoirs*: "In this situation I naturally resumed my application to speculative Theology, which had occupied me at Needham, and which had been interrupted by the business of teaching at Nantwich and Warrington. By reading with care Dr. Lardner's *Letter on the Logic* I became what is called a Socinian."

exceeding great reward. They and theirs lived together like one large family, and in the facility of their intercourse they found large compensation for its deficiency in luxury and splendour."

The name of John Aikin stands pre-eminent in the record of the Academy, for length of service and far-reaching influence, through the men he trained for the ministry, and for civil life. Unlike his younger colleague, Priestley, he made no contribution to theological or scientific literature, but for more than twenty years he gave himself with single-hearted devotion to the work of teaching. Gilbert Wakefield, who came to Warrington as classical tutor towards the close of his long term of service, wrote in his Memoirs: "Our Divinity tutor, Dr. Aikin, was a gentleman, whose endowments, as a man, and as a scholar, according to my sincere judgment of him, it is not easy to exaggerate by panegyric." His son, the younger Dr. John Aikin, and his daughter, Mrs. Barbauld, may be cited as further witnesses to the fine qualities of intellectual and moral worth, and religious influence, which contributed so much to the distinction attained by Warrington in the academic world of the eighteenth century. The University of Aberdeen recognized Aikin's distinguished service by the grant in 1774 of an honorary doctorate in Divinity.

Born in 1713, the son of a Scottish linen draper settled in London, John Aikin had some business training in his youth, but finding such a career uncongenial, he became a student for the ministry under Dr. Doddridge at Northampton. Thence he proceeded to Aberdeen, returning for a short time, as assistant to Doddridge in his Academy. From 1739 onward he kept a school at Kibworth in Leicestershire, until his call to Warrington. There the rest of his life was spent, and in December, 1780, he died, not quite sixty-seven years of age.

Joseph Priestley, who was born in 1733, in a farmhouse in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was thus twenty years

his junior when they became colleagues at Warrington. Priestley had been trained for the ministry under Caleb Ashworth at the Daventry Academy, but even before his college days had realized that he no longer held to the strict Calvinism of his upbringing. Three years' ministry at Needham Market in Suffolk, and three at Nantwich, where he also kept a school, preceded his settlement at Warrington, to which he came in his twenty-eighth year. He was appointed to take up Aikin's former work as tutor in "Languages and Polite Learning," but his eager, versatile mind quickly led him into further fields. He lectured also on "History and General Policy," on the "Laws and Constitutions of England," and published a "Chart of Biography." Other activities are noted in his Memoirs:—

"Finding no public exercises at Warrington, I introduced them there, so that afterwards, every Saturday, the tutors, all the students, and often strangers, were assembled to hear English and Latin compositions, and sometimes to hear the delivery of speeches and the exhibition of scenes in plays. It was my province to teach elocution, and also logic and Hebrew. The first of these I retained, but, after a year or two, I exchanged the two last articles with Dr. Aikin for civil law, and one year I gave a course of lectures in anatomy."

While at Warrington, Priestley made acquaintance, during visits to London, with Richard Price and Benjamin Franklin, and was thus led, following a natural bent, to devote much of his free time to scientific observation and experiment. On Franklin's suggestion he wrote his *History of Electricity*, published while he was still at Warrington, and it was these pursuits which gained for him his LL.D. from Edinburgh (1764), and membership in the Royal Society. Priestley spent only six years at Warrington, removing in 1767 to Leeds as minister of Mill Hill Chapel, and the major part of his scientific work, including the discovery of oxygen, was accomplished later; but it was in those early years that he

received the strong impulse which carried him, through much patient labour, to a foremost place among the scientific men of his day.¹

The year 1767 was marked by other changes at Warrington besides the departure of Priestley for Leeds. Five years earlier the Academy had been moved into new and more commodious quarters in what came to be known as Academy Place, a quiet court opening out of Butter Market Street, not far from the original site; and in that year a further range of buildings was added (at a cost of £1,700) for the accommodation of the students, who had previously been boarded in the tutors' houses or elsewhere.² There had been complaints of lack of discipline, and under the new arrangement it was hoped, by the appointment of Seddon as Rector *Academiae*, with responsible oversight of the student community, to obviate further difficulties in that respect. Seddon held the office, however, for only three years, during which he also lectured on Oratory and Grammar.³ After his sudden death in 1770, the task fell to the gentle hands of William Enfield, and was to him a cause of much trouble and heart-searching, ended only by the closing of the Academy.

Those last three years of Seddon's life covered also the term of service in the Academy of Priestley's successor, the German naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-98). He had recently come to this country from Danzig, and undertook to teach both Natural History and Modern Languages;

¹ See note on p. 46.

² Two of the tutors' houses were in Academy Place, and a third, Dr. Aikin's, close at hand in Butter Market Street. The reprint of Bright's *Historical Sketch* reproduces illustrations from Kendrick's *Warrington Worthies*, showing the two Academies and tutors' houses. It was of the second Academy, "a substantial brick building with stone copings and a clock and bell turret in the centre," that Mrs. Barbauld wrote, in her *Epistle to Dr. Enfield* (1789),

"Lo! there the seat where science loved to dwell,
Where liberty her ardent spirit breathed."

³ Four volumes of his lectures carefully written in long hand are preserved in the Manchester College Library.

but the experiment seems not to have been a happy one, as he proved by temperament and habits little suited for harmonious co-operation in the quiet ordered life of the Academy. He left Warrington in 1770 and two years later went with Captain Cook on his second voyage round the world.

Holt, the mathematician, was also nearing the end of his labours, for two years later he died, to be succeeded for a brief period by George Walker, subsequently Divinity tutor in Manchester College. More will be said of him in that connection. He came to Warrington from Great Yarmouth, but left again in 1774 to enter on his long ministry at the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham. He was a distinguished mathematician, and while at Warrington published his treatise on *The Doctrine of the Sphere*.

When he was gone, the whole burden of the Academy fell for some years on the two remaining tutors, Aikin and Enfield.

The latter remained to the end, after his senior's death, and is to be remembered with him as chief among those who gave devoted service to the Academy.

William Enfield was born in 1741 at Sudbury in Suffolk, of humble parentage. He was educated for the ministry under Dr. Ashworth at the Daventry Academy, and had been minister of the Benn's Garden congregation, Liverpool, for seven years before he came to Warrington. He succeeded Seddon both in the Warrington pulpit and as Rector *Academiae*. As tutor his subjects were Language, History and Commerce, and, when Walker left, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy as well. Two years after his settlement at Warrington he brought out an interesting little volume of *Hymns for Public Worship: Selected from Various Authors and Intended as a Supplement to Dr. Watts's Psalms*.

Among other of his publications while at Warrington were *The Preacher's Directory*, 1771; *The English Preacher: A*

Collection of Sermons, which he edited in nine volumes, 1773; *The Speaker*, 1774; and the *Institutes of Natural Philosophy*, 1785, a large quarto volume, which embodied in an elaborate series of propositions the substance of his teaching in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, Magnetism and Electricity. Enfield's *Speaker*, published in the year in which he received his LL.D. from Edinburgh, remained for several generations a popular book. It was dedicated to John Carrill Worsley, late President of the Academy, as having been "undertaken principally with the design of assisting the students at Warrington in acquiring a just and graceful elocution."

Thus Warrington led the way in furnishing means for due attention to a matter of the utmost consequence in training for a successful ministry.

When in the summer of 1783 the work of the Academy came to an end, the use of the library and the "philosophical (scientific) apparatus" was granted to Dr. Enfield, while he remained at Warrington. He continued his ministry there and engaged in private tuition until his removal two years later to Norwich, as minister of the Octagon Chapel, Dr. Taylor's old pulpit. He died in November, 1797, only fifty-six years of age.

NOTE ON JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

(See p. 44.)

Although Priestley had no direct personal connection with Manchester College, his sympathies undoubtedly would be with its early efforts, as they were with the short-lived Hackney College founded in the same year. He gave more than one of his old Warrington courses of lectures there, shortly before his emigration to America, when, after the Birmingham riots of 1791, he succeeded Dr. Price as minister at Hackney. To that time belongs Coleridge's ardent admiration of Priestley, which found expression in his poem "Religious Musings, written on the Christmas Eve of 1794." Coleridge was then twenty-two, three years before the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*. Invoking the

great ones of the past, who would share in the triumphant advent of the "Despised Galilaean," having named in that great host Milton and Newton, the poet adds:—

"Lo! Priestley there, patriot, and saint, and sage,
Him, full of years, from his loved native land
Statesmen blood-stained and priests idolatrous
By dark lies maddening the blind multitude
Drove with vain hate. Calm, pitying he retired,
And mused expectant on these promised years."

In view of the subsequent establishment of Manchester College at Oxford, it is of interest to remember that the statue of Priestley (by E. B. Stephens) in the University Museum was presented in 1860, during the famous Oxford meeting of the British Association, when Huxley had his great encounter with Bishop Wilberforce, on the subject of the Descent of Man. A public breakfast was held on July 3rd, to celebrate the gift of the statue, when Dr. Brodie, University Professor of Chemistry, who was in the chair, spoke of Priestley as the true founder of pneumatic chemistry. Dr. Davy, who was among the guests, read a letter from Priestley, dated from Northumberland, U.S., October 31, 1801, to his brother Sir Humphry Davy, welcoming him into the field of experimental chemistry. Among others present were James Yates (in the vice-chair), Mary Carpenter, James Heywood, William Hincks and John Kenrick. (Cf. *Christian Reformer*, August, 1860, p. 309.) The gift of Opie's portrait of Priestley was received by Manchester College in 1821, and subsequently one of the hundred prints of Fuseli's portrait (of 1783) issued in 1836.

THE CLOSING YEARS

After Dr. Aikin's death there remained less than three years during which the work of the Academy was carried on. To relieve him from part of the burden of teaching, when his strength had proved no longer equal to the strain, a senior student, Pendlebury Houghton,¹ who entered the

¹ Pendlebury Houghton (1758-1824) after leaving Warrington was for a short time minister at Shrewsbury and then joined his old tutor Dr. Enfield at the Octagon Chapel, Norwich. His last ministerial charge was at Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool, as colleague of John Yates, a fellow-student of his at Warrington.

Academy in 1773, undertook his classical work for the session 1778-79, after which Gilbert Wakefield was appointed Classical tutor, and on Aikin's death, in December 1780, Nicholas Clayton succeeded him as Divinity tutor. These two, with Enfield, were the last of the Warrington tutors.

Dr. Nicholas Clayton (1733?-1797) came to Warrington, as Enfield had done, from the Benn's Garden Chapel, Liverpool, having been previously minister of the short-lived Octagon congregation there, for which the liturgy of 1763 was prepared (the liturgy in the production of which Seddon had taken part). Clayton was afterwards for ten years minister of the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, as colleague of George Walker, with whom he had been a fellow-student at Glasgow University. In 1795 he returned to Liverpool, where the last years of his life were spent. It was while at Warrington that he obtained his D.D. from Edinburgh University.¹

Gilbert Wakefield (1756-1801) also came to Warrington from Liverpool. Born at Nottingham, son of the rector of St. Nicholas, he graduated as second wrangler at Cambridge and remained at the University for two more years as Fellow of Jesus College. He then served for a short time as curate, first at Stockport, then at Liverpool, until for conscientious reasons he resigned and severed his connection with the Church. While at Warrington he published in 1781 a new translation of 1 Thessalonians and in the following year of the Gospel of Matthew, with copious notes; also an *Essay on Inspiration*. His Biblical studies culminated in a translation of the whole New Testament, issued in three volumes, with notes, in 1791. As a classical scholar he rendered even more distinguished service, notably in his

¹ The Academy, it seems, made a payment of £12 7s. 6d. for Dr. Clayton's Edinburgh diploma; and when his appointment at Warrington came to an untimely end, a special grant of £105 was made to him, "as a consideration for the peculiar circumstances attending his case as late tutor."

splendid edition of Lucretius, 1796-99. In private life said to have been the mildest of men, Wakefield's unrestrained eagerness and vehemence in controversy, both political and theological, brought him into trouble, and finally, through a clash with the Government of the day, for the last two years of his life, into Dorchester jail. Before that catastrophe he had been resident for some time at Hackney, where he lectured for one session, 1790-91, as classical tutor in the recently established college. On his release from prison in the summer of 1801 he returned to Hackney, but only to die a few weeks later of typhus fever.

If eminent gifts of character and scholarship could have saved the Warrington Academy, these three men, Clayton, Enfield and Wakefield, must surely have been equal to the task; but an accumulation of difficulties, a heavy burden of debt on the buildings, internal troubles through the failure of discipline, and consequent discouragement on the part of responsible managers and supporters proved only too soon that the position had become hopeless. At a general meeting of Trustees in January, 1783, it was decided that at the end of that session the doors must be closed.

Dr. Enfield, as Rector *Academiae*, had been the chief sufferer from the insubordination of an unruly type of lay student inadvisedly admitted to the Academy. His view of the situation was expressed, a month before the decisive meeting of Trustees, in a letter to a friend. Confessing to much reason for despondency, he wrote:—

"Our number of students is only seventeen; of these only eight are expected to return next session. After the experience of many years, I find myself confirmed in the opinion that it is unpracticable to carry on the Academy in such a place as ours, where youths from 14 to 18 years of age are placed in college apartments, without any superior resident amongst them, and free from all domestic restraints. Irregularities have from time to time unavoidably arisen, which have at last, I am afraid, led the public to form a decided judgment against the Academy."

After the closing of the Academy in June 1783 a period of indecision followed. A suggestion to carry on the work under new conditions was accepted at one meeting of Trustees but abandoned at the next, and finally at the annual meeting on June 29, 1786, it was resolved by twenty-five votes of those present, and twenty-nine proxies, "that this Academy be now dissolved"; and further, that the surplus, after the sale of the buildings and payment of all debts, be equally divided between the intended academies in or near London and Manchester. The Warrington library was given to the Manchester Academy, the philosophical apparatus to Hackney.

The end was indeed disastrous, and ten years later similar ill fortune, for much the same reasons, befell the Hackney College (1786-96), honourably associated with the names of Dr. Richard Price, Kippis, Rees and Belsham.¹

But in spite of that ill-fortune, Warrington through twenty-six years of active work had accomplished much. Among its students were many who as ministers of religion and as citizens made their mark in after-life, and the Academy left to the community of Liberal Dissent a fine tradition of public service, and a signal demonstration of the efficacy of its foundation principle of undogmatic freedom in the concerns of religion and of learning. Though as an institution it suffered untimely dissolution, its spirit lived on and found new embodiment in the Manchester Academy, destined through its various migrations for happier fortune and a greater permanence. The Warrington window in the library of the College at Oxford remains a visible memorial of the historical connection and of the distinguished men associated with the earlier Academy.

¹ Cf. an article by Dr. H. McLachlan on the Hackney College, in the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, October, 1925.

PART II

MANCHESTER COLLEGE

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST MANCHESTER PERIOD

1786-1803

Up to this point in our history we have followed the course of one hundred and thirteen years, during which the succession of Academies, from Rathmel to Warrington, carried on the work, to which now for more than a hundred and forty years, since its foundation in 1786, Manchester College has been devoted. Five Academies went before, handing on from one to the other the torch of Truth and Freedom, for the better service of Religion; and in what follows there are five stages in the progress of the new College,¹ moving from place to place, where at each crisis in its history it was judged that the work could best be done. First came seventeen years in Manchester, then thirty-seven at York, followed by another thirteen years in Manchester and thirty-six in London; finally, since 1889, the Oxford period, already covering more years than any of the others. Thus the hope of greater permanence has been fulfilled; and how worthily the tradition has been maintained, the names of some of the chief among the

¹ "The Manchester Academy" was the name first adopted, in succession to Warrington. In a circular of 1797, it is called the "Academical Institution or New College at Manchester," and George Walker, on the title-page of a volume of his *Essays* in 1809, is designated "late Professor of Theology in the New College and President of the Philosophical and Literary Society, Manchester." A College document of 1805 bears the title "The New College, Removed to York"; others of 1807, 1810, etc., "Manchester New College, Removed to York." Letters of John James Tayler, in 1816 and 1818, are dated as from "Manchester New College, York"; but during the York period the prevailing use was simply "Manchester College, York." On the return to Manchester in 1840 the regular use of "Manchester New College" began, and continued throughout the London period. It was after the opening of the College buildings at Oxford, in October, 1893, in the near neighbourhood of the ancient University foundation of New College, that the "New" was eliminated from the name of Manchester College.

teachers in the College, Barnes, Wellbeloved, Kenrick, Tayler, Martineau, Drummond, Carpenter, stand as witness.

The final resolution of the Warrington Trustees on June 29, 1786, referred to the "intended" Academy in Manchester, but there was then no doubt as to the fact of the new foundation. The decision had already been made at a meeting in the Cross Street Chapel Room in Manchester, on Wednesday, February 22nd, of that year, when the appointment of the two ministers of the chapel, Dr. Thomas Barnes and Ralph Harrison, as tutors, was also announced. The new committee had met on March 1st, and on Sunday, March 26th, Harrison had preached a sermon, afterwards published, "on the occasion of the establishment" of the Academy. It was in fact a group of the same men, prominent in the North of England in support of Liberal Dissent, by whom both decisions were made. Of the fifty-four Warrington Trustees who voted dissolution seventeen had been among those who signed the invitation to Barnes and Harrison to undertake the new work, and twelve of them were members of the new committee.

Chief among them the Chairman, Dr. Thomas Percival, F.R.S., a leading physician in Manchester and a member of the Cross Street congregation, must be accounted, with the two minister-tutors, the most potent influence in securing the foundation and shaping the policy of the Academy. These three had already been closely associated in other efforts to promote the higher interests of the community. They were at that time all in the prime of life, Percival a few years older than the other two. He was born in 1740, Barnes in 1747, Harrison in 1748. They had all been students at Warrington, and Percival and Barnes were natives of the town. Harrison was also of a Lancashire family. His great-grandfather, Cuthbert Harrison, was one of the Ejected in 1662, his father, William Harrison, an Edinburgh graduate, had been for some years minister at

Stand, but was at Chinley, in Derbyshire, when his son was born. Percival's name stands first on the roll of Warrington students, a pupil therefore of Dr. John Taylor. Harrison and Barnes, who entered in successive years, 1763 and 1764, were fellow-students under Aikin and Priestley, and remained close friends to the last. They died in the same year, 1810, Percival six years earlier, in 1804, a year after the removal of the College to York. Of the two ministers, Harrison came first to Cross Street, as a young man of twenty-five, succeeding Joseph Mottershead in 1771, two years after the death of the "Socinian" John Seddon. Before accepting the Academy tutorship he had for some years carried on a successful school in addition to his ministerial work. Barnes, who had first ministered for twelve years with conspicuous success at Cockey Moor (Ainsworth), joined his friend at Cross Street in 1780, and at once made his mark as an eloquent and fervent preacher and as a lecturer on philosophical and literary subjects.

Thomas Percival, after his student years at Warrington, proceeded to Edinburgh and thence to Leiden, where he graduated in Medicine. His father had been in business in Warrington, but others of the family, his grandfather and an uncle, whose name he bore, were doctors in the town. He himself also began his practice in Warrington, but in 1767 settled in Manchester, where the rest of his life was spent. Two years previously he had been elected a member of the Royal Society. He is remembered as a pioneer in town sanitation and as the earliest advocate of factory legislation.¹ He drafted the first petition sent up from the

¹ It was a time of momentous growth in the history of Manchester and the surrounding district. The Industrial Revolution had begun. In Manchester the introduction of steam power was giving a tremendous impetus to the cotton industry, and the opening of the Bridgewater Canal had brought new facilities of transport. The population of the town, which in 1786 was about 50,000, by the end of the century was 75,000, and with Salford added, not far from 90,000 and destined to still further rapid increase. In 1783 the first cotton mill had been built in Miller Street and by 1804 there were said to be

country in support of Wilberforce's anti-slavery endeavours. At his house, in 1781, the first meeting of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was held and he was president to the end of his life. Barnes was for some years secretary with Thomas Henry, F.R.S., the chemist, also a member at Cross Street. It was after a paper by Barnes on "A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester," read before the Society in 1783, that the short-lived College of Arts and Sciences was established. Of this Percival was also president. Barnes lectured for the College on Commercial Law and Ethics, and on Moral Philosophy, courses which were afterwards available for the Academy.

So these men were prepared for their new task, which was to be undertaken not only for the benefit of Manchester, but in the interest of Liberal Dissent throughout the country. The opening statement in the printed record of the first meeting is historic. It remains the fundamental declaration of the trust of the College.

"A very respectable meeting of gentlemen was held this 22nd day of February, 1786, when it was unanimously agreed, after due deliberation, that an Academy should be established in Manchester, on a plan affording a full and systematic course of education for divines, and preparatory instruction for the other learned professions, as well as for civil and commercial life. This institution will be open to young men of every religious

ninety-three spinning factories in the town, "which receive their motion from that valuable discovery the steam engine." "Those powerful auxiliaries to human industry" appealed also to the poet's imagination, as witness Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, I, vi.:

"Press'd by the pond'rous air, the piston falls
Resistless, striding through its iron walls;
Quick moves the balanc'd beam of giant birth,
Wields his large limbs, and nodding shakes the earth."

Engines "consume a vast quantity of coal and have rendered that useful article very dear." The average price was 17s. 6d. a ton, as noted in Aston's *Manchester Guide* for 1804, from which the above particulars are taken.

denomination, from whom no test, or confession of faith, will be required."

That last sentence went to the root of the matter, marking the essential principle on which the Academy was to be established. Its dedication was "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion," as Dr. Barnes declared in his opening public address, at the beginning of the first session.

Harrison's inaugural sermon had been no less emphatic in its vindication of the Nonconformists' right to spiritual freedom in pulpit and college. Their conviction, he declared, was "that Christ is the only king in his Church and permits no one to share in his authority. That no profession, rank or number of men has dominion over the conscience."

Barnes, in his address, pressed the argument home:—

"It is of unspeakable importance to the interests of religion that those who are to be the assertors of its truth, the guardians of its purity, and, under God, the instruments of its power, shall feel its noblest influence upon themselves, that they shall study its doctrines free from the control of human decision and authority, and that they shall with all simplicity follow wherever truth and reason point the way."

Having reminded the supporters of the Academy of what their fathers had achieved in the cause of freedom, he went on:—

"Educated in the principles of liberty, civil and religious, and deeming those principles essential to every higher interest of man, you have wished to form a seminary of Education, which shall breathe the same spirit, and which shall thus serve, in the most effectual manner, the cause of truth and goodness. Hence you have formed your institution upon the most liberal and generous basis, guarded by no jealous subscriptions, and open without suspicion or fear to all who wish to enjoy the advantages of science unfettered and free. You regard it as your duty, you demand it as your birthright, you glory in it as your privilege, to judge for yourselves on every subject of science, and above all of Religion, and to act according to your own con-

victions; you consider the Great Head of the Christian Church as the sole lawgiver and judge of men; you appeal to his word, as the only infallible standard of divine truth; and you worship the Father of spirits according to the dictates of your own conscience. . . . Yours is not the cause of any party. You rank yourselves under no distinguishing name. The liberty which you claim for yourselves you extend with equal latitude to others. The burden to which you will not submit you will never impose. You plead for the equal, universal dominion of reason, of conscience, and of truth. To these great interests alone you consecrate this seminary. If these be promoted, your first, your highest hope will be accomplished."

And this was his final word:—

"You are erecting a Temple, on the front of which you will inscribe no name of any distinguished human leader, either in science or theology. You will dedicate it 'to TRUTH! to LIBERTY! to RELIGION!' When you turn your eyes towards it, you will breathe forth the dying Patriot's fervent aspiration (*Esto Perpetua!*). You will pray that it may flourish, with increasing honour, to many future generations. Nor will you confine your good wishes to this Seminary: you will also pray that the sacred cause to which it is devoted may extend its influence abroad with glorious success; and that the holy light of truth, of reason, and of righteousness, may shine over all the nations of the earth with growing lustre, even to meridian day."

The Address was given in the Cross Street Chapel Room,¹ on the morning of Thursday, September 14th, and subsequently published, together with Harrison's sermon and an appendix, reproducing the first printed record of the foundation meeting in February (of which two thousand

¹ The tradition certainly is that the Chapel Room was the place of meeting, and it was so ordered by the Committee at their meeting on September 6th; but an advertisement of the opening of the Academy in the *Manchester Mercury* of September 12th, announced the "Public Oration," "at Eleven o'clock in the Chapel." It also requested subscribers and friends to "Dine together at the Hotel in Exchange Street, on the same day at Three o'clock" (Thomas Potter and John Birch, Stewards). In the Chapel Room the work of the Academy began, while its own buildings in Mosley Street were in course of erection.

copies had been issued), a later circular with further particulars as to proposed courses of study and Academy regulations, and a first list of benefactions and annual subscriptions.¹

To the opening declaration of February 22nd, a statement is added of reasons for the new foundation and a number of resolutions settling the constitution under which the Academy is to be governed. As reasons for the "expediency, and even necessity," of the new foundation it was urged that there was "no place of education for youth, on the liberal and extensive plan proposed" within more than a hundred miles of Manchester, and that "the great populousness of this vicinage, the opulence of its inhabitants, the number and respectability of the Dissenters and the increasing taste for learning, insure both adequate support and a constant succession of pupils"; and further, "that the town is remarkable for a well-regulated police, and for a serious attention to the duties of public worship; and that the industry, ingenuity and enterprising spirit which characterize the people cannot fail to influence by example, and may catch the minds of youth by a secret and powerful sympathy."

As regards constitution: the body of Trustees, as at Warrington, was to consist of benefactors of twenty guineas and upwards and annual subscribers of two guineas and upwards. An Executive Committee, chairman and twenty other members, including treasurer and secretary, was to be elected from year to year from among their number, at the annual meeting of Trustees. The internal government of the Academy was to be vested in Barnes and

¹ The greater number of donors and subscribers in this first list belonged naturally to Manchester, but there were others from all parts of the country, from London, Bristol, Norwich, Birmingham, Leicester, Derby, Duffield, Sheffield, Wakefield, Doncaster, Chester, Stockport, Altrincham, Warrington, Liverpool, Bolton, Bury, Gorton, Chowbent, Rochdale and Chorley; among the rest Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria. The donations amounted to £801, the promised annual subscriptions to £243 12s.

Harrison, the two appointed tutors. The final resolution in the matter of "constitutions and regulations" provided that these "shall not be altered but by a majority of votes, taken by ballot at an annual meeting of Trustees, and that after the experience of three years they shall undergo a due revisal and then be established in a Code of Laws not alterable but by the votes of three-fourths of the Trustees, present at their annual meeting."

There is, however, no record of any such revisal having taken place, and there is no original trust deed. The trusts on which the buildings and permanent fund of the College are held are therefore primarily to be inferred from the intention of the original founders, recorded in the statement of February 22, 1786.

The final resolution on that occasion embodied a pious aspiration:—

"That this assembly highly approves of the proposed establishment of an Academy in the neighbourhood of London.¹ They earnestly wish, in the spirit of true catholicism, that a rational zeal for civil and religious liberty may be kindled, and the sacred light of knowledge and truth diffused over the face of the whole earth."

The second circular announced the programme of studies to be pursued in a five years' course for Divinity students and shorter courses for others. The subjects assigned to Dr. Barnes were Hebrew, Logic, Ontology and Pneumatology, Ethics and the elements of Jurisprudence; the Evidences, Doctrines and Precepts of Christianity, Ecclesiastical History, Jewish Antiquities and the duties of the Pastoral Charge.

"Through the greatest part of this course particular attention will be paid to Scripture Criticism, and to the composition and delivery of sermons. For this purpose the students will be employed, every week, in analysing the best printed sermons, in

¹ Cf. p. 50.

preparing schemes of their own upon subjects proposed by their Tutor, and in Elocution. Whilst thus engaged, they will enjoy opportunities of attendance on the other Professors, for the acquisition of the several branches of science essential to a Liberal Education."

Harrison, as "Professor of the Classics and Polite Literature," would teach Latin and Greek, and "illustrate his lectures with observations on the History, Mythology, Manners and Philosophy of the Ancients." In the matter of Polite Literature a course of lectures each session would deal with various subjects, "namely, the Theory of Language, particularly the English, Oratory, Criticism, Composition, History and Geography." A third professor was to be appointed for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and students would have further opportunities in courses in connection with the College of Arts and Sciences, on Chemistry, Anatomy and Physiology.

As regards discipline in the Academy, the following rules were announced:—

"No student shall be allowed to be out of his lodgings, without leave from the Conductors of the Academy, after ten o'clock.

"No student shall be permitted to ride out of town, or to be in a Tavern or Inn, without leave from Dr. Barnes or Mr. Harrison.

"All games of chance shall be strictly prohibited.

"It shall be earnestly recommended to the students, to use great plainness in dress, and economy in expenses. And it is hoped that Parents and Guardians will second so important an advice by their allowances and influence.

"Every student, except where an exemption is particularly requested by their friends, shall, when the public buildings are completed, regularly attend morning and evening prayers at the Academy."

The Academy buildings, erected during the first year, have long since disappeared, and the scene can only be pictured in imagination. The necessary land was obtained from the

Trustees of the Cross Street Chapel, on a plot between what is now Cooper Street, at the back of the Town Hall and Mosley Street,¹ "the most elegant and retired street of the place," as John Dalton described it a few years later. It was near to that open space on the outskirts of the town where St. Peter's Church was then about to be built and which in 1819 was the scene of the tragedy of Peterloo.² The buildings consisted of a central block, in which was the Common Hall, with library and lecture rooms, and on either side a house for tutors and students. One of these was occupied by Dr. Barnes during his years of service in the Academy, after which he moved into Faulkner Street. The annual meeting of Trustees in 1787 was still held in the Cross Street Chapel Room, but next year in the Academy.

The record of this first Manchester period is not so complete or clear as one would wish. The beginning was full of hope, and during the first eleven years under Dr. Barnes there were altogether one hundred and thirty-five students enrolled, of whom twenty were destined for the ministry, and four of these definitely for the Church. A prospectus of 1798 repeats the essential principle of the Academy:—

"This Seminary is open to young men of every religious denomination and exempt from political distinctions or doctrinal subscriptions. Parents and guardians may be assured that a scrupulous regard will be paid to their direction respecting the

¹ Mosley Street at that time had "many fine houses, residences of the rich," and there also in 1789 a new Unitarian Chapel was built, representing a different type of thought from the Arianism of Dr. Barnes. A second Independent Chapel had been built in 1788, the year of a further enlargement of Cross Street Chapel. Oxford Street at that time did not exist. De Quincey's father, who died in 1792, when the boy was only seven, had taken his family to "Greenhay," a country house a mile out of town, among the fields which afterwards became Greenheys. Percival was De Quincey's doctor.

² Commemorating the Centenary of Peterloo, the *Manchester Guardian* of August 22, 1919, reproduced an old print of the scene of the "massacre." St. Peter's Church was to the left out of the picture.

places of public worship to be attended by the students. Seats will be provided for the purpose both in the Established Church and in the Dissenting Chapels."

Of the eighty-eight students destined for "commerce" a considerable number were resident in Manchester. There were twelve students of Law and eleven of Medicine. Of the Divinity Students, Edward Higginson, entered in 1795, and John Grundy, in 1797, were among those who attained distinction in after-life. It was in Higginson's house, then minister at Derby, that James Martineau was living, when in 1822 his decision was made to abandon his chosen profession as engineer and devote his life to the ministry.

For the first year Barnes and Harrison undertook the whole work of the Academy. A third tutor for Mathematics was added in 1787, in the person of Thomas Davies (1756-1811), a student of the Carmarthen Presbyterian College, who remained for two years and then went as minister to Walmsley. He was succeeded at the Academy by T. Nicholls until 1793, when John Dalton was appointed. In the prospectus of August, 1798, of the "Academical Institution or New College at Manchester" Dalton's subjects are set down as including, with Mathematics and Geography, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, theoretical and experimental. It is a memory to be recalled with peculiar satisfaction that for seven years the College had the services of this eminent man of science. A native of Cumberland, a member of the Society of Friends, born in 1766, Dalton had been teaching for some years in a school at Kendal when he received the Manchester appointment. That was the year, 1793, of his first publication, *Meteorological Observations and Essays*, and a year after resigning his tutorship he published papers on *The Constitution of Mixed Gases* and *The Expansion of Gases by Heat*. His greatest achievement in the formulation of the Atomic Theory came later, as did

the honours of his F.R.S. and Oxford D.C.L. Manchester was his home to the end, and for many years after serving as secretary he was president of the Literary and Philosophical Society. He lived to be nearly seventy-eight and died in July, 1844.

We are fortunate in having a letter of Dalton's, written during his first session at the Academy, to his cousin Elihu Robinson of Eaglesfield, near Cockermouth (his own native place). The letter dated from Manchester in February, 1794, furnishes a welcome picture of the Academy and the conditions under which Dalton's work was done:—

"Our Academy is a large and elegant building in the most elegant and retired street of the place; it consists of a front and two wings; the first floor of the front is the hall where most of the business is done; over it is a Library with about eight thousand volumes; over this are two rooms, one of which is mine; it is about eight yards by six, and above three high, has two windows and a fireplace, is handsomely papered, light, airy and retired; whether it is that philosophers like to approach as near to the Stars as they can, or that they choose to soar above the vulgar into a purer region of the atmosphere, I know not; but my apartment is full ten yards above the surface of the earth. One of the wings is occupied by Dr. Barnes's family, he is one of the tutors, and superintendent of the Seminary; the other is occupied by a family who manage the boarding and seventeen In-students with two tutors, each individual having a separate room, etc. Our Out-students from the town and neighbourhood at present amount to nine, which is as great a number as has been since the institution; they are of all religious professions; one friend's son from the town has entered since I came. The tutors are all Dissenters. Terms for In-students forty guineas per session (ten months): Out-students twelve guineas. Two tutors and the In-students all dine, etc., together in a room on purpose: we breakfast on tea at 8½, dine at 1½, drink tea at 5 and sup at 8½; we fare as well as it is possible for anyone to do. At a small extra expense we can have any friend to dine, etc., with us in our respective rooms. My official department of tutor only requires my attendance upon the students twenty-one hours in the week; but I find it often expedient to prepare my

lectures previously. There is in this town a large library,¹ furnished with the best books in every art, science and language, which is open to all, gratis; when thou art apprised of this and such-like circumstances, when thou considerest me in my private apartment, undisturbed, having a good fire and a philosophical apparatus around me, thou wilt be able to form an opinion of whether I spend my time in slothful inactivity of body and mind. The watchword for my retiring to rest is—'past twelve o'clock, cloudy morning.'"

When Dalton came to Manchester, Harrison had already relinquished his work as Classical tutor, having resigned in 1789 on grounds of health. His interest in the Academy, however, remained unabated, and his name appears more than once in the following years as a member of the Committee. The new arrangement was that Dr. Barnes should be responsible for the teaching of Harrison's subjects in addition to his own, but engage an assistant Classical tutor. So it was that in 1790 Lewis Loyd (1767-1858) undertook the work, being at the same time minister at Dob Lane. He had come up from Wales in the previous year as a Divinity student, after completing his course at the Presbyterian College, then at Swansea. For two years he taught in the Academy; then in 1792 he married the sister of Samuel and William Jones, was taken into partnership in their Manchester bank, and settled as their representative in London. His only son, a well-known authority on banking and finance, became Lord Overstone.

As Classical tutor at the Academy Loyd was succeeded by William Stevenson (1772-1829), a native of Berwick-on-Tweed, who remained for four years and under the influence of Dr. Barnes became an Arian. In later life he was Keeper of the Records of the Treasury in London, and his daughter Elizabeth (of *Cranford* fame), born at Chelsea in 1810, was

¹ The Chetham Library, the value of which had already been recognized by James Clegg, one of Frankland's students at Rathmel and afterwards of Chorlton's in Manchester. Cf. p. 27.

also destined to be closely associated with the College, in the second Manchester period, as the wife of William Gaskell.

When Stevenson left in 1796 the whole burden of the teaching, with the exception of Dalton's subjects, fell on Dr. Barnes, and in May, 1797, he sent in his resignation, but with the intimation that he would be willing to carry on the work until June, 1798—which in fact he did. There are indications that some years earlier he had felt the responsibility and difficulties of the situation so great that he was anxious to withdraw; but now, in resigning, he addressed the following letter to the Trustees:—

"I should do violence to the feelings which rise at this moment if I did not offer, in the strongest language I could find, my warmest and most grateful acknowledgments for all the kindness and support which I have experienced since the first establishment of this Academy. I shall retire, if Providence spare my life to that time, with a sense of your goodness, which nothing, I trust, will ever be able to efface. With every sentiment of ardent gratitude and of affectionate esteem, I remain, Gentlemen, your most obliged and most obedient servant, THO. BARNES."

To find a successor willing as Divinity tutor to undertake the responsibility of the Academy was a task for the Committee of no little difficulty. The confidence and hope of the first years would seem to have been waning, and the trouble was no doubt aggravated by the failure of Hackney College, which was closed in 1796. At an adjourned meeting of Trustees, July 12, 1797, it was, however, decided that the Academy should be carried on, and Dalton, as Mathematical tutor, was informed of the decision "with the assurance of the respectful attachment of the Trustees and of their perfect satisfaction in his services."

The invitation to succeed Barnes as Divinity tutor was sent successively to William Turner of Newcastle, Thomas Belsham of Hackney, Charles Wellbeloved of York,

Timothy Kenrick of Exeter and Joseph Bretland, also of Exeter, and in each case declined.

Finally George Walker, F.R.S., minister of the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, accepted, and on his recommendation Charles Sanders, a young Church of England clergyman, was appointed Classical tutor.¹ Walker's experience in this new undertaking was in some respects unhappily parallel to that of Dr. Taylor at Warrington: a man of high character and assured reputation, already advanced in years, moved by a strong sense of duty to give up a position of great influence in the ministry to devote himself to a task judged to be of paramount importance—but then, too soon, finding insuperable difficulties, which brought upon him bitter disappointment and sense of failure. Death came to Taylor with merciful, sudden release; Walker, after five years of devoted effort, retired in failing health, which left him only a short remaining span of life before the end.

¹ In connection with this appointment a resolution was passed at a special meeting of the Committee on June 18, 1798, which is of interest for its emphasis on the foundation principle of the College, and is significant of the temper of the times:—

"It is the opinion of the Committee that as this Institution is founded on the most liberal and catholic principles and designed to furnish tuition to all young men who will conform to its regulations and discipline, without distinction of political party or religious persuasion, the Trustees can have no objection to the appointment of a clergyman educated in the Church of England to the Classical professorship, provided he engage to regard it as his duty not to oppose or to interfere with the instructions of the professor of Theology. But in conformity with the liberal constitution of the New College, the Committee are deeply solicitous that no avenue should be opened, especially in these critical and turbulent times, to incite students to controversies in religion or disputes in politics. In the choice therefore of a classical tutor, they are anxious to pay scrupulous regard, not only to his talents, taste and erudition, but to the moderation of his mind, to the discretion of his conduct, and to his exemption from polemic zeal, either as it relates to government or to theology. The Committee trusting that they have received from Mr. Walker the fullest information on these points in which his future interest and happiness, as well as the good of this Seminary, are involved, acquiesce in his proposal to ask Rev. Charles Sanders, B.A. (late of Queens' College, Cambridge), to come down for an interview as a candidate."

George Walker was born about 1735 at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was thus a contemporary of Priestley, his junior by hardly two years, and more than ten years older than Barnes and Harrison. His boyhood, from his tenth year, was spent at Durham, under the care of his uncle, Thomas Walker, who in 1748 moved to Leeds, as minister of Mill Hill Chapel. After a college course, first under Caleb Rotheram at Kendal and then successively at Edinburgh and Glasgow, George Walker began his ministry in 1757 in his uncle's old pupil at Durham, removing in 1761 to Yarmouth. Two years as Mathematical tutor at Warrington followed, as already noted,¹ and he had been for twenty-four years minister at Nottingham when he accepted the call to Manchester. He was widely known throughout the country as a leading Nonconformist, an ardent advocate of civil and religious liberty. He had taken prominent part in the agitation for repeal of the Test Acts, and his "Dissenters' Plea" was recognized by Charles James Fox as the ablest statement of the case that had yet appeared. In 1790 he published two volumes of *Sermons on Various Occasions*.² Several of these were on National occasions, in the troubled time of the French Revolution and the War with America, and he spoke out boldly as an advocate of peace, whose patriotism could not be allowed to warp his sense of justice. In 1791 it was he who drew up the Address of the ministers of Nottingham and Derby of all denominations to Priestley, after the Birmingham riots. Gilbert Wakefield,

¹ Cf. p. 45.

² On a second edition of these *Sermons*, with two more volumes added, he was engaged at the time of his death in 1807. Two further volumes of *Essays on Various Subjects* appeared in 1809, with a memoir of the Author by his son. The fourth volume of the *Sermons* contains the sermon "On the Right of Individual Judgment in Religion," preached at Chowbent in 1800, "At the Annual Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion." It is the utterance of a clear-sighted, earnest moral teacher, of rational piety, convinced of the simplicity of the Christian Gospel. Theologically Walker had not followed Priestley in his acceptance of the Socinian scheme, but held with satisfied conviction to "a tempered Arianism."

who had known Walker at Nottingham after the short term of his Warrington tutorship, wrote of him in his *Memoirs*: "This gentleman, take him for all in all, possessed the greatest variety of knowledge, with the most masculine understanding, of any men I ever knew. He is, in particular, a mathematician of singular accomplishment." Such was the man who came to Manchester in his sixty-third year to undertake the responsible charge of the Academy. The Prospectus of 1798 thus announced Walker's subjects, as Professor of Theology:—

"Logic and Metaphysics, Ethics or Moral Philosophy, including the principles, character and history of Civil Society, to which will be annexed a view of the laws and constitution of Great Britain. Natural and Revealed Religion; comprehending their history and evidences. Critical Lectures on the New Testament. Composition. Superintendent of Academical Disputations and of exercises in Elocution."

With him at first were Sanders and Dalton in their respective subjects, and a note is added that "Provision will also be made for tuition in French, Italian, German, and also for subordinate accomplishments of music, drawing, etc." How far the scheme of work was put into practice we cannot tell, for the record is too scanty and just in those years even the roll of students fails as a source of information, beginning again only after the removal to York.

Sanders remained only for the one session, and was succeeded as Classical tutor by William Johns (1771-1845), but he also for only one year. Johns was the son of a Pembrokeshire farmer and had been minister at Gloucester and Totnes before coming North. Subsequently he carried on a school in Manchester, preaching also to small congregations in the neighbourhood. From 1804 to 1830 Dalton, who was unmarried, lived in his house, and for some years they were joint secretaries of the Literary and Philosophical Society, until Dalton became president. Johns

wrote much on theological subjects, and from 1832 to 1839 was joint-editor with John Relly Beard of the *Christian Teacher*.

In June, 1800, Dalton and Johns both retired from the Academy and from that time the whole burden of the work fell upon the Divinity tutor. Having received the two resignations the Trustees decided before the end of the session, at a special meeting on May 15th, that "better to curtail for the present the scope of the institution" no more appointments should be made, and Walker should remain sole tutor to the Divinity students, "with permission to take a few lay students, if it does not interfere with the care for the others." For two years he bore the burden and then resigned, for the end of the session in June, 1803. The resignation was accepted with great regret, but it was determined in October, 1802, and confirmed at the Annual Meeting of Trustees in March, 1803, that the funds of the institution should still be used "for the education of young men for the sacred ministry among Protestant Dissenters." Then the question arose, *Where* this could best be done? And the result was the removal of the College to York. Walker continued for some time after his retirement to live in Manchester and on Dr. Percival's death in 1804 became president of the Literary and Philosophical Society; but in the following year he moved to Wavertree, near Liverpool, and on a visit to London in connection with the publication of his sermons died at the house of a former pupil, on April 21, 1807. Barnes and Harrison were then still the ministers at Cross Street until their death three years later.

CHAPTER VI

MANCHESTER COLLEGE, YORK

1803-1840

FOR thirty-seven years the work of the College was carried on at York under the direction of Charles Wellbeloved, minister of the St. Saviourgate Chapel, who was Divinity tutor for the whole of that time. He was thirty-four when he took up the work and seventy-one when he laid it down—a longer term of service than that of any teacher in our line of Academies up to that time, and since exceeded only by Kenrick, Martineau and Carpenter. It was a notable period in the history of the College, which carried it through some anxious years to a position of assured stability, not only in the matter of finance, but even more in the confidence and loyal support of the religious community of Liberal Dissent, to the service of which it was primarily devoted.

One strong reason which had led Wellbeloved to decline the invitation of 1797 to succeed Barnes at Manchester was the absence of any permanent fund which would give some security of outlook to the work; but very soon after the removal to York a beginning was made towards the remedying of that defect. The College property in Manchester remained a modest source of income. The land and buildings were valued in 1803 at £4,000, to which the process of time brought such increment that in 1861 the property was sold for £14,025. In 1808 Samuel Jones, the generous benefactor of the Trust which bears his name, gave £100 for the beginning of a permanent fund, to which other friends immediately made additions, and two years later the York property was acquired for the housing of the College. It was not long before the needed sum of

£3,140 had been raised by special donations from a number of friends. Then in 1824 a substantial property near Kirkby Moorside, between Helmsley and Pickering, was bought for £9,000.¹ So the foundations were laid of that ample endowment now enjoyed by the College at Oxford.

At the same time confidence in the future of the College was as surely established by the personal service and influence, not only of its teachers, but of the group of men most closely engaged in the management of its affairs. Wellbeloved's letter accepting the office of tutor was addressed to Ottiwell Wood, treasurer at that time and one of the original trustees of the College, whose son Samuel was later a student for the ministry. With him on the Committee, as Chairman and also sometime treasurer, was Thomas Robinson, another original Trustee, whose son Thomas Henry was the first to be enrolled as a lay student at York and afterwards served as secretary until his death in 1821, while another son, Samuel,² a school friend of John James Tayler, also a York student, was president 1867-71.

Another influential friend was William Wood, of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, Priestley's successor in that pulpit, whose son George William Wood, M.P. for South Lancashire and afterwards for Kendal, was treasurer from 1808 till his death in 1843, a man to whom for his business capacity, high principle and personal influence the College was immeasurably indebted.³ As treasurer he was succeeded by his son William Rayner Wood, a York student, while in the

¹ This property, the Lingmoor Estate and Oxclose Farm, in the face of falling values, was sold in 1901 for £7,000, and the College buildings in York had to go for £1,800 in 1840; but these losses were far less than the gain on the sale of the original Manchester property.

² Samuel Robinson, a business man of great benevolence, had also some literary distinction as author of the first translation into English of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* and a student of Persian poetry, translations from which are included in his *Essays on the subject*.

³ It was while on a visit to the Woods at Platt, Manchester, in the summer of 1826 that Wellbeloved sat for his portrait by Lonsdale, a much finer representation of the man of fifty-seven than the well-known print of it suggests.

fourth generation George William Rayner Wood carried on the family tradition of loyal service to the College until his death in 1926. William Wood had been a friend of Wellbeloved since the beginning of his ministry at York and was intimately concerned in his appointment to the College. As himself the first appointed Visitor he was in close touch with the work, and as an elder friend of Wellbeloved one of his chief encouragers, until his death in 1808. From that year until 1840, the end of the York period, and for years after that, William Turner, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, held the office of Visitor. Born in 1761, the son¹ of an earlier William Turner for many years minister at Wakefield, a friend of Theophilus Lindsey, he had been a Warrington student, and his son, the third of that name, was first a student and then tutor at York. His own life extended beyond that of his son, covering indeed the whole of the second period of the College in Manchester, where he died in 1859, in the home of his daughter, the wife of John Gooch Robberds, another York student, minister of Cross Street Chapel. It is with the College at York, as with his long ministry at Newcastle, that his memory is chiefly and most gratefully associated.

Supported by the sympathy and counsel of such men as these, Charles Wellbeloved entered upon his new work as College tutor. It was eleven years since his settlement at York, as assistant to Newcome Cappe, and three years since he had been in sole charge of the St. Saviourgate congregation.² Soon after his marriage to Ann Kinder, in 1793, he

¹ His grandfather John Turner (1689-1737) had been a student of James Coningham's in the first Manchester Academy. The elder William Turner (1714-1794) was a pupil of Latham's at Findern.

² As a matter of fact the whole responsibility for the pulpit had from the first fallen on him, as Cappe had suffered an attack of paralysis before he came, and never preached again. From 1756 to 1858 the ministry of these two at St. Saviourgate covered a span of more than a century. The salary when Wellbeloved settled at York was £180, of which only £60 fell to his share. Hence the necessity of taking pupils as an additional source of income.

began to take pupils, and established his reputation as a teacher. In 1799 he bought the house, 38 Monkgate, beyond the Bar, which remained his home to the end. It was there that the work of the College in the first instance was carried on. He had built a schoolroom for his pupils out at the back of the house, which in due course became the College library, while a further lecture-room was added. It was only in 1811 that separate College premises were acquired, in a range of buildings across the road. A substantial house, which became the residence of one of the tutors, stood back from the road, flanked on either side by a row of smaller houses, in which the students had their rooms. The modest quadrangle thus formed was railed off from Monkgate on the fourth side, and at the back of the tutor's house a lecture hall¹ with class-rooms was built, leaving still some open ground for the recreations of the men.² Thus further scope was provided for extension of the College work, and while responsibility for the whole establishment remained with Wellbeloved as "Director," greater quiet was secured for him in his own house, and for concentration on his own special work as Divinity tutor.

A native of London, where he was born, April 6, 1769, Charles Wellbeloved was brought up, from the age of four, by his grandfather, whose name he bore, a Churchman in close sympathy with John Wesley and the Methodism of that period. It was a cherished memory of Wellbeloved's,

Mrs. Cappe, after her husband's death in 1800, remained the devoted friend of the Wellbeloveds, with a benevolent motherly interest in the students of the College, until her death in 1821. Cf. *The Memoirs of the Life of the late Mrs. Catharine Cappe, written by herself*, 1822; and *A Biographical Memoir of the late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved*, by John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A., 1860.

¹ This was added in 1819. Now St. Maurice's Parish Hall.

² The buildings are still to be seen on the left-hand side of Monkgate as one comes out from the city through Monk Bar to the north-east, making for the road to Castle Howard, Malton and Scarborough. Nearly facing the Wellbeloved's house across the road, they are within a quarter of a mile from the east end of the Minster, the St. Saviourgate Chapel, within the city walls, being at about the same distance to the south-east.

that as a child he had sat on Wesley's knee and received the old man's blessing. His grandfather died while the boy was still at school, and when he was sixteen he had a short business experience, similar to that of John Aikin, and as thoroughly uncongenial, in a draper's shop on Holborn Hill. The mistake was quickly realized, and he was entered as a student for the ministry at the Homerton Academy. His guardian at that time was a Calvinistic Methodist, but Wellbeloved's independence of mind had clearly already led him away from the traditional beliefs of his upbringing, though not from its earnest piety. After two years at Homerton, he moved in 1787 to the Hackney College, where Rees, Kippis and Belsham were his teachers, and for his last year he had the advantage of the classical tuition of Gilbert Wakefield. He left College a convinced Unitarian and in February, 1792, entered on his ministry at York. Before he took up the College work he was already known as an author, his volume of *Devotional Exercises for Young Persons* having first appeared in 1801, destined for a wide circulation both in this country and America. Ten years later a fifth enlarged edition appeared, and an eighth in 1832. He was also one of the contributors to the *Annual Review*, edited by his friend Arthur Aikin, a grandson of the Warrington tutor.¹ Thus his hands were already full when the additional work of the College was laid upon him, and those first years were a time of great strain, which threatened more than once to be beyond his strength.

The plan at the outset was that Wellbeloved should find

¹ The purpose of the *Review* was to give an account of the literature published during the year, and Wellbeloved as "a man of moderation and learning" had charge of the department of Theology and Metaphysics. His friend William Wood of Leeds undertook Natural History and William Taylor of Norwich Politics, History and German Literature. Mrs. Barbauld and Robert Southey were also contributors. They were paid by the publishers, Messrs. Longman & Rees, at the rate of seven and a half guineas a sheet. The *Review*, of which seven volumes were issued, was a large, closely printed octavo, and the charge of a department was no light task.

a second tutor, to undertake the departments of classics and mathematics, and during the summer of 1803 he went to Liverpool in the hope of securing Lant Carpenter¹ for that purpose. In this he failed, and the College opened in September with Wellbeloved as sole teacher of the eight students who were then enrolled, four for Divinity, and four lay students. It was only in the following February that he was joined by Hugh Kerr, M.A.,² a young Glasgow graduate, who remained as Classical and Mathematical tutor until 1807, and was then succeeded for the next two years by Theophilus Browne.³ But even with this help the burden of work was so severe as to threaten Wellbeloved with a complete breakdown of health, and the need for a third tutor was urgently pressed upon the supporters of the College.

¹ Carpenter was then a young man of twenty-three, who had recently graduated at Glasgow and was engaged as librarian of the Liverpool Athenaeum. Subsequently, as a minister of wide influence, at Lewin's Mead, Bristol, he served with Turner as Visitor of the College for the Session 1822-23. Two of his sons, Russell and Philip, were Divinity students in the College. His untimely death occurred in the last year of the York period, four years before the birth of his grandson, Estlin, who, as student, professor, Principal and President, was to give so large a part of his life to the College.

² Kerr was a member of the Church of Scotland, and before accepting the invitation to York had asked how he would stand, as assistant tutor, in the matter of religious convictions. Wellbeloved wrote in reply to Professor Young, who had recommended him: "Respecting his religious opinions neither the Trustees nor myself make any enquiry. You are informed, no doubt, that I am, in the strictest sense of the word, a Unitarian and all that I should expect from a colleague who is engaged as Classical tutor is what his own good sense would point out as proper; that if he should have occasion to illustrate philologically any passage in the Scriptures, he would carefully avoid dogmatic theology." In his own department of Divinity, Wellbeloved consistently refrained from pressing his doctrinal views on his students. His aim was to teach them to study and interpret the Scriptures, and impartially considering every point of view to arrive at their own convictions of truth.

³ Theophilus Browne (1763-1835) had been at Cambridge, a Fellow of Peterhouse, and Vicar of Cherry Hinton, but resigned his living on becoming a Unitarian of the Priestley type. In 1800 he became minister at Warminster, and on leaving York was for a short time at the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, and subsequently at Congleton and Gloucester. Cf. *Christian Reformer*, 1835, pp. 507 and 806.

The scheme of studies which he held to be essential to the adequate fulfilment of the purpose of the College Wellbeloved communicated to the Committee in a letter of May 7, 1807, addressed to their Chairman, Thomas Robinson. The five years' course for Divinity students was so arranged that the subjects for the first three years would meet the needs of the lay students also. The subjects were thus enumerated:—

"During the first three years all the students are expected to read—The Higher Greek and Roman Classics. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the whole of the course pursued at Cambridge, beginning with Euclid and the elements of Algebra, including Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, ending with Sir Isaac Newton's Principia. Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry, etc. A course of History, ancient and modern. Natural History. The Philosophy of the Human Mind, including Logic. Universal Grammar, Oratory and Criticism, and other branches of the Belles Lettres. Moral Philosophy and Jurisprudence. View of the English Government. *Divinity Students: Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. Hebrew. Hebrew Poetry from Lowth's Praelections. Chaldee. Fourth Year, for Divinity Students only: Old Testament, critically. The Septuagint. Josephus' Antiquities, Syriac. Analysis of Sermons. Fifth Year: New Testament, critically. Josephus' Jewish Wars. Ecclesiastical History. Lectures on Pastoral Duties. Composition of Sermons. . . .*"¹

Such was the plan of study, as Wellbeloved had laid it down, and to which he had hitherto adhered, though, as he confessed, "in a very imperfect manner." He had done what he could,

¹ In a subsequent printed appeal, in the matter of lay students (1814), the third-year course on Evidences of Religion is included among the subjects to be taken by them, Hebrew alone being excepted. The initial statement in this appeal, which was drafted by Kenrick, is of historical interest: "The Trustees, in pursuing their primary object, the education of Dissenting Ministers, have endeavoured to render their Institution at the same time subservient to the liberal education of youth in general, without distinction of party or religious denomination, and exempt from every political test and doctrinal subscription."

"But no one is fully equal to what has fallen to my share. Mr. Kerr has confined himself (and he has been fully employed) to the mathematics and classics: upon every other subject I have attempted to lecture. I have, therefore, seldom delivered less than four, generally five lectures a day, each lecture occupying an hour. It is to be recollected that the preparation of most of the lectures cannot be made in so short a time as is occupied in their delivery. The labour, therefore, which I have undergone, since the Academy was removed to York, has been greater than is consistent with other duties incumbent upon me as a minister and as the father of a numerous family, and also with a regard to my health. The enclosed course of study must be considerably curtailed, or another tutor must be provided, who shall take those branches which are not particularly connected with theology; to which I wish almost exclusively to devote myself."¹

This plea was not without effect. Mrs. Cappe, feeling deeply the urgency of the need, both for the sake of the College and for the health of her friend, appealed to William Turner of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who fully shared her anxiety and her desire to help, and his influence was so successfully exerted that sufficient funds were raised to secure the appointment of a third tutor.

Browne having left the College in 1809, two new appointments were made. Turner's own son William, who had been a student in the College and had completed a further year of study at Edinburgh, was appointed tutor in Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and John Kenrick, in Classics, Ancient and Modern History and Literature. Kenrick, who was studying at Glasgow, remained there for another year, when he took his degree and only came to York in the autumn of 1810. Meanwhile, the classical work in the College, for Wellbeloved's relief, was undertaken by James Yates, a senior Divinity student.

For the session 1811-12 the newly acquired College buildings were ready for occupation, and the two new tutors, both of them young men of twenty-three, went into

¹ *Memoir of Wellbeloved*, p. 91.

residence with the students, who numbered that year twelve Divinity and ten lay students. Among the former were William Hincks, who sixteen years later succeeded Turner as tutor in Mathematics and Philosophy, Robert Wallace, who was Divinity tutor in the second Manchester period, and George Kenrick, the Classical tutor's younger brother; among the latter, Samuel Robinson and Robert Philips (of Heybridge), both afterwards Presidents of the College, and two of the Strutt of Derby and Belper.

Of the new quarters Kenrick wrote, in his *Memoir of Wellbeloved*:—

"The buildings were old and made no pretensions to a collegiate character, but they answered their purpose well. . . . Humble as the College was, I believe many will bear testimony that within its walls they gathered the best fruits of academical education—sound knowledge, the free intercourse of mind with mind, recollections of innocent pleasures and manly recreations, virtuous and life-long friendships."

For the first few years the responsibility for the domestic arrangements of the College community remained with the Wellbeloveds, who lived across the road; but after Turner's marriage he and his wife occupied the central house and from 1819 onward undertook the management, while Kenrick, to his great relief, moved out into a house of his own; then, when the Turners left in 1827, William Hincks and his wife took over their responsible charge in the College. Such were the conditions under which the work was carried on for the remainder of the York period.

Of this Charles Beard spoke in his Visitor's Address at the close of the session in 1886, the centenary year of the College:—

"I fancy that the College at York must have had something of the half-monastic character which gives so peculiar a charm, even in these days of railways and telegraphs, to life at Oxford

¹ P. 98.

and Cambridge. The students, never very numerous, were a little community apart, of which every member was known to every other; bound together by common faith and purpose; somewhat isolated in the midst of an old and aristocratic Cathedral city, the life of which touched them, while they formed no part of it. They were not disturbed by much intercourse with the busy world at a distance. For nine months in the year, the Yorkshire wolds, the broad-flowing Ouse, the ancient walls and gateways, and, above all, the solemn Minster, were the visible scenery of their lives. At their head, at once winning all hearts by his gentleness, and commanding universal respect by his solid learning and sterling integrity, was one who, to me, is unhappily only a figure standing dimly out in the half-light of tradition, yet not without a subtle charm in its self-effacement. Mr. Wellbeloved came to York in 1792; he died there in 1858; and the whole intervening period of sixty-six years was filled to the brim with labour, which, if it asked and received little return of fame, was its own sufficient reward. I almost shrink from speaking in the presence of some who knew and loved him, of this shy, tongue-tied student, who, nevertheless, always found a clear courageous voice whenever truth was to be vindicated, or wrong rebuked; of this Nonconformist who successfully defended the Minster, under whose shadow he lived, from the iconoclastic hammers of its own Chapter;¹ of this scholar, unrecognized by any University, who made 'Eburacum' and all its antiquities, Roman and Christian, his own; of this theological teacher, who hugged his own pet heresies so closely to his heart, that not one of his pupils ever caught their infection; of this Biblical critic who boldly addressed himself to the task—too gigantic for any single life—of re-translating the whole Bible. It seems to me, that in his learning, his impartiality, his desire to make all theological knowledge his province, his quiet piety, his content with an obscure position, which nevertheless opened to him the most abundant opportunities of usefulness, I can best describe him as the last of those great theological teachers who, beginning with Richard Frankland, have handed down to the nineteenth century the torch of free and sacred erudition which, for English Presbyterians, was first kindled at the Restoration."

¹ After the disastrous fire of February 2, 1829, which burnt out the choir of the Minster, when it was proposed, in connection with the restoration, to move the organ screen to another position.

Martineau's tribute, in his College address at the opening of the new session in the year of Wellbeloved's death,¹ is no less emphatic in admiration of his old teacher, with the added touch of grateful personal memories:—

"Well do I remember the respectful wonder with which we saw, as our course advanced, vein after vein of various learning modestly opened out: the pride with which we felt that we had a Lightfoot, a Jeremiah Jones, and an Eichhorn all in one, yet no mere theologian after all, but scarcely less a naturalist and an archaeologist as well; . . . a master of the true Lardner type, candid and catholic, simple and thorough, humanly fond indeed of the counsels of peace, but piously serving every bidding of sacred truth. Whatever might become of the particular conclusions which he favoured, he never justified a prejudice, he never misdirected our admiration; he never hurt an innocent feeling or overbore a serious judgment; and he set up within us a standard of Christian scholarship to which it must ever exalt us to aspire."

Martineau's student years at York, 1822-27, came in the middle period of Wellbeloved's term of service, and were marked by some of its most notable events, the controversy with Archdeacon Wrangham, the completion of the first volume of his *Family Bible*, and the petition of the students to be allowed to go out as missionary preachers to the villages of the district.

In the winter of 1822, the great sorrow of his wife's death delayed the publication of Wellbeloved's reply to Wrangham, in vindication of the truth of Unitarianism and of the character and scholarship of its adherents. Nothing could have been farther from the disposition and desire of the devout and quiet scholar than militant theological dispute, but when his friend, Captain Thrush, a Naval officer resident in the North Riding, appealed to him for help in maintaining his position, as a convinced Unitarian,

¹ Cf. Martineau's *Essays and Addresses*, Vol. IV. p. 54. The Address, "Plea for Biblical Studies and Something More."

in controversy with the Archdeacon of his province, Wellbeloved could not refuse the challenge. Captain Thrush, in his zeal for newly found convictions, had published his reasons for withdrawing from the Established Church, and the Archdeacon, in two Visitation Addresses, published with appendix and notes, had dealt contemptuously with this "school of sciolism and schism," men guilty in their use of the sacred Scriptures, of "garbling" and "mistranslation," who "from the rags and tatters, the miserable remnants of former frays, vamp up new dresses of heretical patchwork." Wellbeloved replied, in a very different tone, in a series of three letters published in 1823, and a second series, after a further onslaught of Wrangham, in the following year. On this controversy, Sydney Smith, at that time vicar of Foston, not far from York, remarked that if he had a cause to gain, he would fee Wellbeloved to plead for him, and double-fee Wrangham to plead against him; and Lord Brougham, a few years later, in the course of pleadings in the Lady Hewley case, paid a high tribute to Wellbeloved's learning, as "signally and triumphantly" successful in the controversy, adding, "what in my view is a far higher praise, that the controversy was carried on without the least deviation from the rules of humanity, piety and charity, exhibiting to the controversial world an example of which their whole history shows polemics stand so greatly in need—that learning, sincerity and zeal may well be united with the most entire forbearance and meekness."¹

Kenrick, in his *Memoir*, notes that Wellbeloved's letters in the Wrangham controversy gained for him "a foremost place among the defenders of the Unitarian cause, his zeal for which had been called in question by some, in consequence of his rarely introducing controversial subjects into his preaching; his determination, as a teacher of theology,

¹ Quoted in the *Memoir of Wellbeloved*, p. 154.

not to make himself the advocate of any system of dogma; and his reluctance to countenance among his pupils the premature display of their doctrinal opinions.¹

Much more congenial to Wellbeloved was his work on a revised translation of the Bible, with commentary for home use: "The Holy Bible, a new Translation, with Introductory Remarks and Notes Explanatory and Critical, and practical Reflections, designed principally for the use of families." This, of which Kenrick speaks as the chief literary labour of his life, he had long had in mind, and a prospectus of the work, which was to be in three quarto volumes, was issued in 1814, after consultation with Kentish of Birmingham and Lant Carpenter. Wellbeloved devoted himself with patient thoroughness to the task, but it was really too great an undertaking for one whose time and strength were already so fully pledged to the duties of ministry and college teaching. It was only in 1825 that the first volume, containing the Pentateuch, was completed, and the second, with the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon, appeared in 1838. With this, what Wellbeloved referred to as his "ill-fated work" came to an end, for the rest was never completed; but the two volumes remain a monument of the scholar's conscientious care and mastery of his subject, and the devout Christian's earnest piety.

¹ *Memoir*, p. 151. To this passage is added the following note: "In reference to the coldness with which some zealous Unitarians viewed the College, he wrote in 1809, 'I was told in London that some persons would not subscribe to us, because they thought the Academy was not strictly Unitarian, they feared I would not teach Unitarianism. I said I considered their censure the highest praise. I do not, and I will not, teach Unitarianism, nor any -ism but Christianity. I will endeavour to show the students how to study the Scriptures, and if they find Unitarianism there, well; if Arianism, well; if Trinitarianism, well: only let them find something for themselves; let it not be found for them by their tutor.' 'Wisdom is justified of her children.' When the Hewley case was brought forward Mr. Wellbeloved was able truly to allege that his chapel was not a Unitarian chapel, nor the College a Unitarian College."

The village preaching episode throws an interesting light on the life of the College at that time. The quarto sheet of letter paper on which the students' petition was written, endorsed on the back by Kenrick "Missionary Project," is still to be seen in the College library. It is undated, but belongs in all probability to the autumn of 1822. The writing seems to be J. R. Beard's, whose signature follows that of J. H. Ryland, the senior student, and is followed by those of W. S. Brown, Edward Tagart, J. H. Worthington, F. Howorth, George Lee, Edward Talbot and James Martineau. The petition opens with an acknowledgment of the students' sense of the importance of good elocution and readiness in extempore speaking, which they feel cannot be sufficiently acquired by college teaching and practice in private. They beg therefore to be allowed to go out as missionary preachers to the villages within reach of York, many of which "are very inadequately instructed in things which relate to their eternal peace, certainly the majority utterly ignorant of the truths of genuine and unadulterated Christianity." To such work they are eager to devote themselves. They instance the success of Methodist village and field preaching, and while critical of certain aspects of it, feel that "under due regulations a similar plan might be useful in propagating those principles which are considered to be pre-eminently honourable to the Deity, and advantageous to man."¹

The petition was not refused, for though the tutors were

¹ The Minute Book of the Missionary Society is also preserved in the College library. It begins in 1823, when Tagart was secretary, and the last entries are by G. V. Smith in 1840. It appears from a note in September, 1825, that the Society had then been established for three years. On Sunday, April 3, 1824, Martineau and Worthington went to Welburn and began a Sunday School there. In the session 1825-26 Martineau was treasurer of the Society, and in his last session, secretary. He records a meeting on September 28, 1826, when Wellbeloved informed the members of regulations to be observed, including one that no student should preach before his fourth year. The more friendly attitude of the tutor towards their work, than at the beginning, is noted.

very doubtful of any advantage to be gained by what they regarded as premature efforts of public ministry on the part of the students, the College Committee was clearly sympathetic and encouraged the effort. The Annual Report of 1824 speaks with great satisfaction of the preaching of the students at various neighbouring chapels of Unitarian Baptists, of the Sunday School work at Welburn, and the need of a chapel there; and in the following January, on the application of Edward Tagart, a grant of £10 was made to the College Missionary Society.

Martineau, looking back over a period of seventy years, spoke of the gain to his own religious life of those "early exercises of pulpit duty, which were rather reluctantly permitted by our College tutors,"² and in his own administration of the College in after years he habitually encouraged the students to undertake such work. His Biographical Memoranda of 1877 furnish fuller reminiscences of what he and his fellow-students did at York.

"They ["the most assiduous" students, impelled "to escape, at least on Sundays, into a higher region of activity and affection"] allied themselves with a venerable man of remarkable force of intellect and character, who for half his life had toiled as an artisan and preached as an apostle and now, in his old age, needed help in sustaining the village congregations which he had formed. A College Missionary Society supplied John Mason with a band of youthful coadjutors, and expended our pent-up zeal in labours which transported us from books to life. In the village of Welburn, almost at the gates of Castle Howard, the society to which we preached so increased that no room was large enough to hold it; and the students managed, during one of their vacations, to collect the means of building a small chapel. Fancying that my engineering experience would enable me to construct anything, they insisted on my acting as architect, and it devolved upon me to draw the plans, and ride over periodically to superintend the work. On one of these visits I met Sydney Smith on the ground, looking at the rising

² In a letter to G. B. Dalby, quoted in Carpenter's *James Martineau*, p. 40.

walls. He was incumbent of the parish, and could not regard a new conventicle with favour. On my saying, in the endeavour to parry his good-natured grumbling, that without the chapel the people for whom it was meant would go nowhere, he replied: "Well, well, it is a pity they won't all come to me; but so long as you only gather and tame my refractory parishioners, I shall look upon you as my curates, to get the people ready for me."¹

A similar good-natured protest Sydney Smith made in a note to Wellbeloved, with whom he was on terms of friendly intercourse:—

"Your Unitarian preachers have stolen away four of my congregation, who had withstood Ranters and Methodists. I shall make reprisals, and open a chapel near the College; but it shall be a generous and polite warfare—such as is the duty, not the disgrace of a Christian divine."²

It was not only the College Committee that encouraged the students in these missionary efforts. They had the warm sympathy of the elder William Turner, who in his annual addresses as Visitor repeatedly urged upon them the need for greater care and constant exercise in the matter of elocution, for distinct, simple, direct and forcible speaking, while at the same time dwelling upon the essential nature of their work as ministers of the Gospel. He made a great point of the use in preaching of Scriptural language, and of a preference for words of Saxon rather than of Greek or Latin origin, and pleaded with them for an unaffected simplicity of manner and such preaching as simple folk would understand.

¹ *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. I. p. 35. Cf. also T. H. Gill's *Memoirs of Franklin Howorth*, p. 13, a letter of Howorth's telling how he and Martineau walked to Selby and back, thirty miles, on Sunday, May 31, 1824, to take services there, he in the afternoon, Martineau in the evening, getting back to College at half-past eleven. Also Russell Carpenter's *Memoir* of his brother Philip, the chapter on their College life. They were both at York towards the end of the period there, and took eager part in the missionary preaching.

² *Memoir of Wellbeloved*, p. 156.

Wellbeloved and Kenrick were by no means unaware of the importance of good elocution for an efficient ministry, and more than once arrangements were made for special teaching in the College. Thus in the summer term of 1822 George Bartley spent a month with the students, teaching elocution, and only a theatrical engagement in London prevented him from repeating it in the following year. Already in April, 1813, Kenrick had written to the treasurer with reference to some complaint as to the students' defective elocution:—

"I am far from pretending that everything is done here that might be done. Unfortunately your three tutors, from somewhat different causes, could teach anything better than practical oratory. Were either of us qualified to instruct them in elocution, to preside in their debating societies and give them an example of extempore speaking in opening or summing up the debate, to pray extempore, etc., the effect would be highly beneficial to the students. I should certainly feel it a duty to make room for anyone, who should join this talent with other qualifications necessary for his office—but where is he to be found? In the hope of introducing a better style of composing and manner of reading prayers we have lately begun to take our turn once a week in the public prayers with the students. A society too has been formed for the cultivation of elocution, which meets once a week—Mr. Turner [the Mathematical tutor] presides in it, and I hope it will be of service."

"Yorkists" had the reputation in after years, and rightly so, of solid learning. Charles Beard, in his Centenary Address, quoted a traditional reply of Kenrick to some question of the students: "The object of this institution, gentlemen, is not to make preachers, but scholars." "And certainly," Beard added,

"If any genuine preacher, like Thomas Madge, sprang from York, he owed his persuasive eloquence, as perhaps most preachers do, rather to his own innate fire, than to any academical training. At the same time, it should not be forgotten how many

faithful and zealous ministers of the Gospel found, in those quiet years at York, the inspiration of a self-devotion which was their life-long strength: men who, while they could favourably compare with other religious teachers in the width and solidity of their theological preparation for their work, were certainly not behind them in the practical labours which build up and strengthen a congregation. If they did not learn these things at York, York at least sent them out willing and apt to learn them."

John Kenrick's name stands in the record, with Well-beloved's, pre-eminent as that of an ideal scholar. The two men were closely linked together, not only through the long years of their devotion to the College, but more intimately through Kenrick's marriage, eleven years after his coming to York, to Wellbeloved's eldest daughter Lactitia. Their sharing in the common sorrow of Mrs. Wellbeloved's death in the following year, 1822, brought them yet more closely together.

When he first came to York, Kenrick had no thought of remaining there, as in fact he did, for the rest of his life. He had been destined from boyhood for the ministry. Born at Exeter in 1788, the eldest son of Timothy Kenrick, minister of the George's Meeting, he was entered very early as a student in the Academy for the training of ministers, which his father conducted, with his colleague, Joseph Bretland, from 1799 until 1804.¹ Timothy Kenrick's sudden death in the latter year, at the early age of forty-five, brought the Academy also to an end, and the boy was then placed under the care of John Kentish, minister of the New Meeting, Birmingham, until in 1807 he went with a Dr. Williams exhibition to Glasgow. After graduation there,

¹ Thus reviving the tradition of the earlier Exeter Academy of 1760-71. Its library, which had inherited that of Grove's Taunton Academy, was subsequently lent to Hackney, and being returned to Exeter in 1799, remained, after Kenrick's death, derelict in that city, until 1814, when, following a visit of Wellbeloved and John Kenrick to Exeter in the previous summer, it was shipped to Hull and so came to Manchester College at York.

he came, as already stated, in 1810 to York. Long afterwards, at a gathering of old York students in Manchester, he told how he had first approached the city, and from the top of the "Highflier" coach saw in the distance the towers of the Minster, beautiful in the afternoon sun; but for him at the moment that beauty had no appeal, because of the sinking of heart with which he drew near to the place "where the great trial of his life must be undertaken."¹ And on an earlier occasion, in a speech at the Jubilee meeting of the College in 1836, he confessed what had led him to abandon his first intention of remaining only a short time at York and then seeking a post of active ministry. In the College he had very soon recognized, through the growing support and confidence of the public, and the plans wisely laid by the Committee and liberally followed out according to their means, that it offered him an opportunity of accomplishing a useful work. "The Church of England," he said, "has first of all injured Dissenters, and then insulted them for the inferiority in learning which is the consequence of her own injustice." Shut out from the great resources of the old universities, he recognized it as an attainable end,

"to give to those who are educated for the ministry among us such a portion of sound and accurate knowledge as should prevent their being exposed to the imputation that their faith was the result of their ignorance; and I hoped that by remaining at York, by gradually enlarging the plan of education, and above all by sticking to the point, I might be instrumental in accomplishing this object."

The final decision to devote himself to that work was made early in 1819, when Kenrick obtained leave of absence for a year, to pursue his classical and historical studies abroad. The winter semester was spent at Göttingen, the summer semester of 1820 at Berlin. For the session 1819-20 at York, John James Tayler, who had been for two years at

¹ *Christian Reformer*, 1833, p. 382.

the College, and then for two years at Glasgow, where he had just taken his degree, undertook Kenrick's classical work, while completing his own studies for the ministry.

Of the eminent success with which Kenrick achieved his purpose, and the great distinction as a scholar, which he himself attained, Martineau's *In Memoriam* affords ample evidence¹; and the tribute of the College, in the Annual Report, following his death in 1877 puts it all in one brief, but pregnant, sentence:—

"Mr. Kenrick's great and exact learning, his sagacious judgment, his entire devotion to the work of the College, and his strong attachment to the principles on which it is founded and the objects which it aims to promote, not only enabled him to render it quite unexampled services, but made him its best and most complete representative."

Charles Beard was at that time the clerical secretary responsible for the drafting of the College Report, and eight years later, in his Centenary Address, as Visitor, he spoke further of Kenrick in a passage following his tribute to Wellbeloved already quoted:—

"Scholar is the word that alone describes him; and in his great stores of erudition, his unfailing accuracy, his singular balance of mind, his clear apprehension of the general relations and larger issues of learning, he approached the ideal of scholarship more nearly than any other teacher whom Manchester College has seen, or is likely to see. . . . He was as far as possible from being a mere classical grammarian, to whom grace and precision

¹ *Theological Review*, July, 1877. Martineau's *Essays and Addresses*, Vol. I. p. 407. Kenrick's publications cover a long course of years, from his translation of Zumpt's Latin Grammar (5th Edition) in 1823, and his editing of the new edition of Bishop Blomfield's translation of Matthiae's Greek Grammar, 2 volumes, "thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged from the last German edition," 1832, to his volume of *Biblical Essays*, 1864, and the *Memorials of St. Saviourgate, York*, 1869. His chief historical works are the *Essay on Primæval History*, 1846; *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 2 volumes, 1850; *Phœnicia*, 1855; *Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions*, 1858, and a volume of collected *Papers on Archaeology and History*, 1864.

of words are valuable, apart from the thoughts which they are designed to express. To classical philology, in its broad as well as its narrow sense, he added all history,—not excluding the history of literature,—as his province; and in his later years enlisted his trained judgment, his acute good sense, in the service of Biblical criticism. . . . Nor is it easy to say how great a thing it was for the students of the College to have their minds formed, and their intellectual aims directed by a scholar, who would not only have been at home in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge, but who could well have held his own with such giants of continental erudition as Bernays and Colet, as Boeckh and Lachman, and Mommsen. He was dry, men said; sometimes hard and sarcastic; not indulgent to inaccuracy; apt to run a sharp, decisive pen through loose and swelling words. Perhaps it needed something of a scholar's spirit to understand so great a scholar; but if only you had it, it was easy to be grateful for an unfailing justness of thought, the happiest accuracy of expression, a courtesy that bent to every real intellectual need, a sympathy that went half-way to meet every genuine intellectual aspiration."

Nor must Martineau's final word of tribute be omitted here:—

"That such a man as we have described should be faithful to his convictions, and cheerfully accept the scale of duty which might be compatible with them, is so much a matter of course, that we will not dishonour him by suggesting how much greater a place he might have filled in the world had that place been determined by his powers alone without his conscience. He was above ambition, incapable of pretence, eager to see things as they are, and assured that, through the darkness that sometimes enfolds them, the only guide is the unswerving love of truth; and, accepting life for service, not for sway, he never measured his sphere to see whether it was small or great, but deemed it enough to bear his witness where he stood, and help, as he might, the companions of his way."

Kenrick's service to the College extended far beyond the York period. He was Professor of History for ten years during the great experiment of the second Manchester

period, though his home remained in York. He was also Principal, first of the Literary and Scientific Department, as separate from the Theological, and, from 1846, of the College as a whole. Then from 1851 to 1867 he served as Visitor, and after that, though no longer active, retained the office, in association with William Gaskell and John Hamilton Thom, to the end. Repeatedly, at various crises of College administration, his "sagacious judgment" and the weight of his personal influence were of inestimable value, in giving wise direction to policy and maintaining the high ideal of the College.

The two other tutors of the York period served successively for shorter terms, resident with their families in the College, and charged with the difficult task of household management and discipline of the student community.

William Turner (1788-1853), as a Glasgow graduate and old student of the College, came back to York after a further year at Edinburgh, to serve for eighteen years as tutor in "Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy." A letter of one of the lay students (William Holt, of Liverpool) to his father, in November, 1822, gives a glimpse of the work going on in the College at that time. He puts in a study-plan of the session, which was also Martineau's first. There were lectures (usually two in each hour for juniors and seniors) from nine to one, and five to six, on each of the six working days of the week. Turner, it appears, lectured on Logic and Metaphysics as well as Natural Philosophy. These last lectures the lad (he was only fifteen) liked best of all, "they are this year chiefly experiments; they began with the magnet, and are now on electricity." Prayers in the morning, at a quarter to eight, he attended in College, but not in the evening, as he was a boarder in Kenrick's house, "for we have them at home, when Mr. Kenrick reads his father's exposition of the New Testament and a prayer." Kenrick,

in addition to his regular work in Classics and History, had a German lecture from one to two every Tuesday, and was also reading French with him privately.

Turner's philosophy, as that of his successor, to the end of the York period, was necessarian and utilitarian, based on the doctrine of Hartley's "Observations on Man," as enforced by Priestley and Belsham, though Turner confessed that he was not able "wholly to satisfy" his mind on the subject of liberty and necessity. As a teacher of mathematics he was highly esteemed. Long after he had left the College,¹ and shortly before his death, at the close of the session at York, a number of his old students made a presentation to him of a microscope, "in acknowledgment of early obligation and in testimony of mature regard."

William Hincks (1794-1871) had also been a Divinity student at York, entering in the year of his predecessor's return to the College as tutor, but in his case eleven years of ministry intervened before he came back to take up the work of teaching. He was born at Cork, where his father, Thomas Dix Hincks (1767-1857) was at that time minister and lecturer at the Royal Cork Institution. On leaving College he was invited to his father's pulpit and two years later succeeded Lant Carpenter at Exeter. When in 1827 he accepted the invitation to follow Turner at York he had been for five years at Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool. The abandonment of the ministry, we are told, was a great trial to him, and his sensitive nature suffered much from the annoyances of his office as resident tutor. "Mathematics, Natural, Mental and Moral Philosophy" were his stated subjects, the bent of his mind being towards philosophy rather than Mathematics. He is described as a philosophical

¹ After his resignation in 1827 Turner settled as minister of the North Gate End Chapel, at Halifax, and remained there until his death in December, 1853. His two volumes of *Lives of Eminent Unitarians* were published in 1840 and 1843. Cf. Kenrick's *Memoir in the Christian Reformer*, March, 1854.

radical and ardent politician who took active part in elections at York. He served there for twelve years, leaving at the close of the session in 1839.¹

By that time it had become clear that some radical new departure in College arrangements would soon have to be made. Wellbeloved had passed his seventieth year, and Kenrick had resigned, a year before Hincks. During the last three years of the York period he was for the most part absent, through ill health, and his work was put into commission. In the session 1837-38, Walter Coupland Perry, who, after completing his course at the College, had just taken his Ph.D. at Göttingen, acted as assistant Classical tutor, and in the following session Frederic Hornblower, a senior Divinity student, took up the work, while John Howard Ryland, a fellow-student of Martineau's, came back to the College, and read Kenrick's History and Literature lectures. Next year, after Hincks had gone, George Vance Smith, a senior student, was appointed to teach Mathematics and Ryland undertook, not only the Classical work, but, with his sister's help, the duties of resident tutor. In the autumn of 1840 he moved with the College to Manchester.

The Jubilee of the foundation of the College had been celebrated in Manchester in 1836 with some *éclat*. Services were held in Cross Street Chapel on Sunday, January 24th, Kenrick and Martineau being the preachers; and on the following Wednesday there was a dinner at Hayward's

¹ On leaving York Hincks settled in London, taking pupils and the charge of Stamford Street Chapel. He was the first editor of the *Inquirer*, 1842-47. After some years as Professor of Natural History at Queen's College, Cork, he went in 1853 to Toronto, where also he was Professor of Natural History. Botany was his chief subject, but he lectured also on zoology. The memorial notice of his life in the *Inquirer*, September 30, 1871, was written by his son, Thomas Hincks (1818-99), at one time minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, the author of well-known hymns and a Fellow of the Royal Society, who made his mark as a zoologist. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hotel, at which more than two hundred friends of the College were present. Mark Philips, M.P., was in the chair, having on his right Wellbeloved, his father, Robert Philips (of the Park), who was President, and Martineau; on his left Dr. Shepherd, of Gateacre, George William Wood and Kenrick. Among other ministers present were John James Tayler, John Hamilton Thom, Charles Wicksteed, John Relly Beard, Edward Tagart, William Hincks, Samuel Bache and Robert Wallace. Thankfulness for the past and confidence in the future marked the whole proceedings. The Jubilee sermons, Kenrick's on "The Respect due to Christian Liberty in Religious Education," and Martineau's on "The Demand of the Present Age for an Enlightened Christian Ministry," were subsequently published together. It was the year of Martineau's publication of his first volume, the six lectures on "The Rationale of Religious Enquiry: or the Question stated of Reason, the Bible and the Church." He was then minister of Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. His feeling towards his old College was beautifully expressed in the closing words of the Jubilee sermon:—

"The hours spent in that much-loved retirement, I muse on with delight: the ideas with which they furnished me are among my choicest treasures; and those who imparted these ideas, or enabled me to find them, live and grow in my most affectionate veneration. Would that all could enter life through such a vestibule of well-directed years! and life would be to them a temple of duty, consecrated by cheerful memories, and kindling with inextinguishable hopes."

It was two years after this happy celebration that the question of the future of the College was brought to an issue by Kenrick's resignation. Martineau was appointed with John James Tayler to make inquiries of a number of

¹ Cf. Martineau's *Essays and Addresses*, Vol. IV. p. 368. The title in the reprint is *Need of Culture for the Christian Ministry*.

influential supporters of the College, and to report to the Committee on the course to be adopted. Tayler, who was Martineau's senior by eight years, had then completed seventeen years of his ministry in Manchester, and since 1822, with an interval of one year, 1835-36, had been Clerical Secretary of the College.

The circumstances to be considered had been materially altered since the College had been brought to York, by the foundation in 1828 of the London University, and the Royal Charter of 1836, which secured to the University the right to grant degrees in Medicine, Arts and Law, untrammelled by any doctrinal subscription. Many of those chiefly concerned in the welfare of the College held the view that the wisest course would be to take it to one of the Universities, where the most efficient teaching could be obtained in the subjects required for graduation, and the actual work of the College might be confined to the special training of Divinity students. Thus, as early as 1834, when George William Wood brought a Bill into Parliament for the abolition of subscription in the national Universities, Kenrick, whom he had consulted on the drafting of the Bill, wrote to him: "If your Bill is carried, we may perhaps remove to Cambridge, and establish a theological Seminary there, availing ourselves of the University resources for science and literature." And thirty years later, when the College was already established in London, Tayler wrote to Martineau: "I hold it to be nearly inevitable in the course of future events, that our dear old College, with its accumulated memories of Warrington, York, Manchester and London, will become ultimately an independent foundation in one of our ancient seats of learning."¹ But the time for that consummation was not yet. 1871 was the year of the actual opening of the old Universities to Noncon-

¹ *Letters embracing his Life of John James Tayler*. Edited by John Hamilton Thom. Vol. II. p. 238.

formists, and in 1838 the alternatives to be considered were the taking of the College to one of the Scottish Universities, as one or two of the friends consulted had suggested, or to go to London, in connection with University College, or return to the original seat of the College in Manchester. With hardly an exception, the judgment was unanimous against remaining at York. The real issue was between London and Manchester.

In February, 1839, Martineau presented to the Committee a scheme for removal to Manchester, and Tayler was asked to present a similar scheme for London, in connection with University College, a plan to which his own opinion strongly inclined.

In October a circular was issued, signed by the two secretaries, and by Isaac Harrop, Chairman of the Committee, in which the position was impartially stated and the alternative, London or Manchester, put before the Trustees for their decision. A preliminary meeting was held in the Cross Street Chapel Room on December 19th, under the chairmanship of James Heywood, to consider the report and hear various letters received from Trustees unable to be present. The case for London was stated by Tayler and for Manchester by Martineau; and on the following day, December 20th, the duly summoned meeting of Trustees was held, for the final decision. The chair was taken by Offley Shore, who had been a fellow student of Tayler and Mark Philips in the College. After a full discussion, the result of the vote was for Manchester, by 17 to 15, with letters of approval from other Trustees, 22 to 12. Edgar Taylor, Secretary of the Presbyterian Association, representing the body of Liberal Dissent, had written with cordial assurance that the College would be welcomed in London, and urging the need for its presence there. On the other hand, James Heywood had offered a donation of £500 towards the cost, and the use of his house

in Manchester for the first year, if the vote went that way.¹ Among those who expressed their views by letter, Wellbeloved, Kenrick, Turner, Kentish, Lant Carpenter, Bache, J. B. and J. A. Yates, A. Lupton, R. H. Greg and Samuel Sharpe were for Manchester; Daniel Gaskell of Wakefield, T. W. Tottie of Leeds, James Yates, Charles Berry, Thomas Eyre Lee, Hincks and two Strutts, among others, for London.

In the Committee's statement of the relative advantages of the two schemes, the promise of greater teaching power in University College and the value to the students of the metropolitan libraries and museums were noted, while on the other side it was urged that Manchester would keep the students preparing for the ministry in closer touch with the vigorous life of Nonconformity in the North. The annual cost of maintenance under the two schemes was estimated as about the same, and, reckoning for ten Divinity students, was put down at £1,750. The necessary additional expense in salaries for the larger number of teachers required in Manchester was balanced by the amount of the fees for the students at University College and the greater expense of residence in London.

Under either scheme the relation of the College to the London University would be the same, for in March, 1840, the Royal Warrant was received, dated February 28th, by which the right was conferred on Manchester New College to send up its students for the degree examinations, thus putting Manchester, as a teaching body, on an equal footing with University, King's and other Colleges incorporated in the University. On the College, therefore, about to be established once more in Manchester, under these new conditions, the obligation was laid to provide sufficient teaching power to meet the requirements of the University.

¹ The donation was received, but the house, so generously offered, was not required, as the event showed, for College use.

It was a venture, bravely undertaken, to provide at that great industrial centre a school of University learning, such as in after years, with so much ampler equipment, Owens College became. The decision having been made, the urgent appeal for a largely increased annual income inevitably followed.

In this connection one other matter should be mentioned before completing the record of the York period.

In the original plan of the College, the fees to be paid by lay students were reckoned upon to provide a considerable part of the necessary income, while it was realized that the Divinity students would, for the most part, require assistance, as not having sufficient means of their own to meet the expense of their College years. The College therefore, in its early years, with a very limited income, looked to various funds connected with the body of Liberal Dissent to provide the further necessary means of support. The number of the Divinity students had to be strictly limited in accordance with resources thus available, in grants from the Presbyterian Board, the Dr. Williams Trust and other similar funds. During the York period the chief source of such grants had been the Hewley Trust, which provided also a large proportion of Wellbeloved's salary as minister of the St. Saviourgate Chapel. These grants, which had hitherto brought an annual amount of £20 each to a number of Divinity students, ceased in 1830,¹ when the suit against the Hewley Trustees, on the ground of their heterodoxy,

¹ The Hewley Trust was founded in 1705, by Dame Sarah Hewley of York, a member of the St. Saviourgate congregation, for the benefit of "poor and godly ministers of Christ's Holy Gospel," without specification of any special form of doctrine. The issue of the suit brought against the Trustees, who in the process of time had all become Unitarians, was long delayed, being carried from court to court, until in 1842 final judgment was given in the House of Lords against the Trustees. This and the Wolverhampton Chapel case, which had dragged on from 1817 until also finally decided in the same year, brought into peril all the religious foundations of the old Dissent, where the congregations in the exercise of their inherited freedom

was instituted, and the loss of this support was an added motive towards securing a large independent income for the College. Welcome, in view of this failure of supplies, was the first £1,000 benefaction, which came to the College in 1831 from the estate of Richard Godman Temple, of Rochampton, who in 1812 had been one of the donors towards the cost of purchase of the College buildings at York. It remained a solitary gift on that scale, until legacies of £1,000 each were received, in 1867, from James Silver, of the Isle of Wight, and, in 1873, from William James Lamport, of Liverpool, and the still greater benefaction of £9,000 from Miss Humble, of Chester, the last survivor of an old Nonconformist family, in 1877. Then in the new century came other thousands, and greatest of all the Arlosh and Upton benefactions.

The close of the period of the thirty-seven years of the College at York was marked by an unusually large gathering of Trustees and old students, for the proceedings at the end of the session. The annual dinner, which as in many previous years was held at Etridge's Hotel, on June 25, 1840, was made the occasion of a farewell presentation to Wellbeloved. It was an occasion notable for the number and character of those who took part in it, and many others, who joined in the gift to their old tutor, though unable to be present. It was proof, not only of the reverence and affection in which Wellbeloved was held, but of the high value also, for the community at large, of what had been

had abandoned orthodox belief and become Unitarian, since such doctrine until the passing of William Smith's Act in 1813 was contrary to law. It was held in the courts that, whatever claim to the right of progressive thought they might make, Unitarian Trustees could not legally hold or administer property under any trust founded by Trinitarians. This, from the moral point of view, in the light of the history of the old foundations of Liberal Dissent, designated in the pleadings as "Presbyterian," was a manifest injustice, which the Government of the day recognized, and remedied by the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844. It secured the unorthodox holders of the old foundations in their right of possession, and the privilege of the Open Trust.

achieved by the College at York. The roll of its students during the period numbered 235, of whom 122 had been for the ministry and 113 lay students. Among the latter were many who in after years became leaders in the higher ranges of commerce and industry, and in public life "men who, not ashamed of their nonconformity, held the outposts of conscientious conviction stoutly, yet in all charity and courtesy; to whom the principles of civil and religious liberty were as the very breath of their nostrils; who were the ardent advocates of every social and political reform; and full of a fine public spirit, showed themselves the salt of the communities in which they lived."¹

The names of several of these have been already mentioned. Robert Philips, of Heybridge, who presided at the dinner, and was later to serve as president of the College, was a nephew of Robert Philips, of the Park, president at the time of the Jubilee Celebration, whose son Mark, M.P. for Manchester, was to serve twice as president, 1842-46 and 1871-73, and whose younger son, Robert Needham, M.P. for Bury, was treasurer, 1854-60. Offley Shore, who occupied the vice-chair at the dinner, was son and grandson of the two Samuel Shores of Meresbrook and Norton Hall, Sheffield, both of whom served as president early in the York period. (The younger Samuel was a Warrington student.) Of the Strutts of Derby and Belper, several of whom were at York, Edward, afterwards Lord Belper, was M.P. for Derby and in 1853-54 Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Other lay students were William and Edward Enfield, grandsons of the Warrington tutor, Archibald Kenrick, first-cousin of John, Samuel Fielden of Todmorden, John Pemberton Heywood, the Wakefield banker, who was president, 1858-60, and several other Heywoods, Cromptons, Potters, Busks and Pagets. The name of John Paget is of special interest through his subsequent settlement in

¹ Charles Beard, Centenary Address.

Transylvania, which brought the College in the London period into touch with the ancient Unitarian Church of that country, and led to the coming of a welcome succession of Transylvanian students to the College.¹

Of the Divinity students several of the most distinguished have been already mentioned. One of the earliest was Thomas Madge, who to his great regret was unable to be at the farewell dinner. He had come on to the College from Exeter, after Timothy Kenrick's death. There were also Joseph Hutton (father of Richard of the *Spectator*), John Gooch Robberds and Robert Wallace (to be further noticed in connection with the coming move to Manchester), Edmund Kell (commemorated with Joanna Dunkin in the College Trust which bears her name), Robert Brook Aspland, who was secretary 1846-57, and for many years, following his father, editor of the *Christian Reformer*, William Gaskell, who came into the interesting group of Martineau's fellow-students two years before he left, John Harrison, grandson of Ralph, the Cross Street minister and tutor, and the last of the York students, who were at the farewell dinner, and moved with the College back to Manchester, Philip Carpenter, William Herford, George Heap and David Davis.

Subscriptions to the Wellbeloved presentation fund had been limited to £5 for laymen and £2 for ministers. The total was £300, a hundred of which was put into a handsome silver salver, the rest being given in a purse with the plate.² The presentation was made by Mark Philips and John Robberds, on behalf of the lay and Divinity students

¹ Cf. *Theological Review*, January, 1869. J. J. Tayler's Narrative of a visit to the Unitarian Church of Transylvania on the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of the first proclamation of Religious Freedom at Torda in 1568.

² Three years later, Wellbeloved received a further gift of £1,000 from friends of the College, at the hands of George William Wood, one of the last acts of that generous and faithful friend, who died suddenly, in the midst of his labours in the interest of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, in 1843.

respectively. The Latin inscription³ on the salver, written by John James Tayler, recorded Wellbeloved's thirty-seven years of service as a teacher in the College, his lectures on the Scriptures, given "with many-sided knowledge, in no party spirit," and spoke of him as one who "mingled gravity with kindness in shaping and controlling the conduct of the students, holy, simple, kindly, zealous in the entire conduct of his life." "Now that he is about to lay down the teaching office, which he has exercised with surpassing loyalty, devotion and diligence," his students make their gift, "with affection, thanks and veneration." The speeches were eloquent of the sentiments thus expressed, and Wellbeloved replied with characteristic modesty and deep feeling. The loyal toasts had been given before the presentation; also "Civil and Religious Liberty," and "Manchester College, York," for which William Rayner Wood responded, in the absence of his father, who was prevented by Parliamentary duty from being present. There was a special toast for the three old students, who were the first to take advantage, in that year, of the new opportunity of graduation in the London University, John Robberds, Thomas Hincks and Russell Lant Carpenter. In view of the coming new departure, the toast of Manchester New College was coupled with the sentiment "Education without subscription to articles of faith," to which Martineau responded.

So farewell was taken of the College years at York. Wellbeloved remained for another eighteen years, with the help of assistants, minister at St. Saviourgate, his interests un-

³ "Viro Reverendo Carolo Wellbeloved Coll. Mancun. apud Eboracenses Præfecto ibidem Theologiae Professore per XXXVII annos Literarum Sacrarum disciplinas multiplici doctrina sine partium studio tradenti in discipulorum conformandis regendisque moribus gravitatem comitate temperanti in omni vitae ratione sancto simplici benevolæ strenuæ præceptoris manus eximia fide religione diligentia administratum jamjam deposituro ex aere conlato donum dederunt pii grati venerabundi Coll. Mancun. Alumni. VII Kal. Jul. Anno MDCCCXXXX.

abated in archaeology¹ and Bible study. He was associated with Turner as Visitor in his old College, but only once gave the Annual Address in Manchester at the close of the session in June, 1841. Kenrick succeeded him as Visitor in 1851, and was with him, sharing the old home in Monk-gate, companioning his declining years, until the end, in March, 1858. Then, when nine years later Kenrick's own time came, there was another Charles Wellbeloved in York, who had succeeded to his grandfather's pulpit, to fulfil for him, in May, 1877, the last offices of family affection.

¹ Wellbeloved's *Eboracum, or York under the Romans* appeared in 1842, and ten years later his *Descriptive Account of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*. He was curator of the Museum, which is in the grounds of the Abbey of St. Mary. A replica of his portrait by Lonsdale in the museum recalls his connection with it. Even in the last year of his life he and Kenrick were engaged together in a revision of the text for a new edition of his translation of the Pentateuch.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND MANCHESTER PERIOD

1840-53

THE second period of the College in Manchester was the shortest in the whole record, lasting only thirteen years, a period of determined effort and eager hope, only too soon disappointed. It was a time of very stirring life in the great industrial community. In the fifty-four years since the founding of the College the population of Manchester had increased enormously. From 75,000 at the beginning of the century, it had grown in 1832, the year of the Reform Bill, when Mark Philips was elected one of the first members for the newly enfranchised borough, to 181,768, and in 1851 to 303,382, with Salford added, 405,831. Two years later, at the end of the period, Manchester was advanced to the dignity of a city. The diocese of Manchester, with a bishop of its own, dated from 1847. It was a time of much social unrest, of vehement Chartist agitation; it saw the foundation of the Anti-Corn Law League, the establishment of the Manchester Free Library and much earnest endeavour after social betterment. In 1846 John Owens died and his great benefaction was announced, for the founding of a College, free from all religious tests. The work of Owens College began in 1851, but was still in a very rudimentary state when Manchester College was moved to London. The condition of the industrial population at that time was vividly pictured by Mrs. Gaskell in her *Mary Barton*, which first appeared anonymously in 1848, while her husband, William Gaskell, one of the ministers of Cross Street Chapel, was Professor of English Literature in the College. *Ruth* and *Cranford* were both published in the last year of the College in Manchester. Something of what the students

attempted in work among the poor may be gathered from Brooke Herford's *Memoir* of Travers Madge, who was at College 1841-45, and in later years also a worker in connection with the Lower Mosley Street Schools. Travers (1823-66) was the son of Thomas Madge (1786-1870), one of the first York students.

The re-establishment of the College in Manchester revived the hope of its original foundation, with larger resources both of money and of teaching power, and the further advantage of the new connection with the London University. For the fulfilment of its primary purpose, the training of ministers of religion, the scope of the teaching on the theological side was enlarged by the appointment of three professors, where at York the one Divinity tutor had endeavoured to cover the ground; and for literature and science, to meet the requirements of the University, in place of the two York tutors, five appointments were made, announced as professorships, to mark the ideal of academic efficiency it was hoped to attain. The five years' course of study for the Divinity students remained as before, with the work of the first three years designed to meet the need of lay students and the matter of the teaching so arranged as to prepare in the first year for matriculation and in the two following years for graduation in the University.

The following were the first appointments made with the subjects assigned to each:—

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

THE REV. ROBERT WALLACE.—Critical and Exegetical Theology, Biblical Archaeology, and the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.

THE REV. JOHN GOOCH ROBERDS.—Pastoral Theology, and the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac Languages.

THE REV. JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B.A.—Ecclesiastical History.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT.

FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, B.A. (late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford).—The Greek and Latin Languages, Lectures on the Grammatical Structure of the English Language, with Exercises in English Composition.

ROBERT FINLAY, B.A. (Trinity College, Dublin).—Mathematics.

MONTAGUE L. PHILLIPS.—Physical Science and Natural History.

THE REV. JOHN KENRICK, M.A.—Ancient and Modern History, and the History of Literature.

THE REV. JAMES MARTINEAU.—Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy.

To these appointments lectureships were added in the French Language and Literature and in German; and for one year there was a professor of Civil Engineering, but the experiment was not continued, and in 1843 the Physical Science professorship was given up, as not required for the London Arts Course.

It had been hoped that Kenrick would allow himself to be announced as Principal of the College, but he declined. In 1843, however, he became Principal of the Literary and Scientific Department with Newman as Vice-Principal, and Wallace Principal of the Theological Department.

The added cost of the greatly enlarged staff of teachers was guaranteed for five years, not without serious hesitation on the Treasurer's part; and the event proved that it was too great a strain on the resources of the College. The number of lay students fell far below the expectation of the promoters of the scheme, and was not sufficient to secure success. It remained for Owens College, in after years, with its much ampler endowment, to achieve what Manchester New College had attempted, and to go on to the yet more splendid triumph of the Manchester University.

The new undertaking of the College was inaugurated in October, 1840, by a series of public lectures by the eight professors, three in the Theological Department, five in

the Literary and Scientific, introductory to their several courses, and the lectures were subsequently issued in a volume. The lectures in the two departments were clearly separated, with a preface to each, explaining the purpose of the foundation, and emphasis was laid on the separation, to give assurance to the public that no taint of sectarian influence would trouble the students on the literary and scientific side.

In this Manchester period there was no arrangement of common residence for students. With the exception of those whose homes were in the town, they lived in lodgings approved by the Committee, in various streets of the Greenheys district, within easy reach of the College. Philip Carpenter, one of those who came from York to Manchester, writing to his friend, George Buckton of Leeds, in the course of the first term, lamented the loss of "the fun" they used to have in the College life at York.

"We are now a disconnected body, only meeting at lectures, and obliged to turn our thoughts to the melancholy task of thinking how to provide eating and drinking in the cheapest possible way. I guess that if I were to tell you what my living costs me per week, you would be a little astonished. . . . They are working us most uncommonly hard."¹

The building secured for the work of the College² was considerably farther out from the centre of the town than the original College of 1786, but not so far out as the new Owens College buildings of 1873 in Oxford Street. It was a roomy old house in Grosvenor Square, formerly the residence of the Marsland family, latterly used as a Lyceum. In the centre of the square was All Saints' Church, and the College house stood at the south-west corner, where the Stretford New Road enters the square, facing Oxford Street. On the ground floor there were good rooms on

¹ *Memoirs of Philip Pearcell Carpenter*, p. 28.

² At an annual rental of £150, reduced after the first five years to £120.

either side of the entrance, which were assigned to the library, the Exeter library being still kept separate from the rest of the books, in the room on the right, while on the first floor was a large reception-room, which became the Common Hall. For the first three years, J. H. Ryland, who had been assistant Classical tutor at York, acted as librarian and registrar, until his removal as minister to Bradford.

Of the teaching staff two were not permanently resident in Manchester. Kenrick still had his home at York, but came to Manchester for the necessary time in each session, while Martineau came over every Wednesday from Liverpool for his lectures. His opening lecture is included in the fourth volume of his *Essays and Addresses*, under the title "Scope of Mental and Moral Philosophy."

Cross Street Chapel, as in the first period, was closely connected with the College. Not only was the senior minister, John Gooch Robberds, Professor of Hebrew and Pastoral Theology, but his junior, William Gaskell, was clerical secretary for the first six years, serving with the lay secretary, Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire, until his appointment as Professor of English Literature. Thus from the first the students of this period had the privilege of friendly association, not only with him, but with Mrs. Gaskell.³ Henry William Crosskey, who was a student from 1843 to 1848, recalling, at the end of his life of active service, those College days, told of "frequent personal friendly intercourse with Mrs. Gaskell" and "charming memories of country walks with her, and frequent evenings in her company." There is a tradition that he once spent an evening at the Gaskells' with Carlyle, and that after some conversation with him Carlyle said, "the lad has *ideas*." Crosskey also gratefully remembered another benefit, which the students owed to Robberds, apart from his College teach-

³ It will be remembered that Mrs. Gaskell's father, William Stevenson, was for a short time Classical tutor, in the first Manchester period. Cf. p. 65.

ing and ministry, through his passionate love of Shakespeare. "We met regularly at his house for Shakespeare readings, and became as familiar with Shakespeare as with the Bible, to our great advantage as 'Divinity' students then, and subsequently as preachers."¹

While Robberds and Gaskell were at Cross Street, and John James Tayler at Upper Brook Street Chapel, the third and chief professor in the Theological Department alone had no ministerial charge during the six years of his connection with the College.

Robert Wallace, who was appointed to take up the main part of Wellbeloved's work as Divinity tutor, was two years younger than Robberds, who undertook Hebrew and Pastoral Theology. They had both been students at York, but just missed being fellow-students, as Wallace only entered in October, 1810, after Robberds had left in June. Born in 1791 at Dudley, where his father, a man of Scottish descent and sterling character, was in business, he had two younger brothers also in the Unitarian Ministry. On leaving College in 1815, he was appointed minister of the Elder Yard congregation at Chesterfield, where for many years he also carried on a successful private school. He was a frequent and valued contributor on theological subjects to

¹ Cf. *Memoir of Henry William Crosskey, LL.D., F.G.S.*, by Richard Acland Armstrong, 1895. A further glimpse into the social life of the College is furnished by a reminiscence of Sarah, the daughter of Dr. J. R. Beard (1800-76) and widow of John Dendy (1828-94), who was a fellow-student of Crosskey and Charles Beard. Looking back over an interval of nearly seventy years Mrs. Dendy recalled the happy memory of occasional parties given by the students at the College, in return for much kindly hospitality received from friends in the town. There was tea in the library and the company then went upstairs to the Common Hall, where the rest of the entertainment was carried on, including the reading of papers from the *Pog*, the College magazine. "Those were delightful evenings. The eager hospitality of the young men, the unfamiliar surroundings and the unconventional entertainment made them memorable occasions." Mrs. Dendy added an amusing picture of the College porter, Joshua Williamson, "a most eccentric character, who certainly considered himself a most important part of the establishment. He treated the students with the utmost familiarity, calling them by their Christian names and freely criticizing all their ways and doings."

the *Monthly Repository* and *Christian Reformer* magazines. It was from Chesterfield that he went to Manchester. As theological teacher and Biblical critic he followed closely in the footsteps of his predecessor. As Wellbeloved, in speaking of his own method of teaching, acknowledged the encouragement he found in the example of Dr. John Taylor, so Wallace, in his inaugural lecture, pledged his allegiance to the same ideal, and quoted in full Dr. Taylor's solemn charge to his Warrington students.¹

In a passage of grateful acknowledgment of what he owed to Wellbeloved as his own teacher at York, Wallace said: "I shall regard it as my sacred duty, in the capacity of his successor, not to inculcate any formal scheme of doctrine; but simply to conduct my classes through a critical investigation of the Bible, and to supply them with the means of ascertaining for themselves what it teaches."² Gordon, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says of Wallace: "His theological position was conservative, but he was the first in his own denomination to bring to his class-room the processes and results of German critical research." Wallace had no sympathy with what he spoke of as "anti-supernatural tendencies," which would "divest Christianity of its miraculous character." Emerson's Divinity School Address had been given at Harvard two years before he came to Manchester, and Parker's *Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion* appeared in 1842, and was reviewed by Martineau in the *Prospective* of 1846; but even Martineau, at that time, had not come to the clear vision of his later years on the subject of "Miracle." Wallace's health was not robust, and he found the climate of Manchester very trying. It may be that he was discouraged also by a growing uncertainty as to the future of the College, for before the guarantee of the first five years came to an end the financial position was seen to be so serious that the Committee

¹ Cf. p. 39.

² *Inaugural Lecture*, p. 21.

felt obliged to safeguard it by a general reduction of salaries. The doubt was already being expressed whether the College, on the scale then attempted, could be maintained in Manchester. Whatever the motive, Wallace resigned, and in 1846 removed to Bath, as minister of Trim Street Chapel. There he completed the work by which he will be longest remembered, the three volumes of his *Anti-Trinitarian Biography*. It was the fruit of many years of patient labour, and was published in March, 1850. In the following May he died. "I know that I shall suffer for all this, but I must go on," he had said, in his eagerness to finish the work while strength remained. When he left Manchester the Trustees had received his resignation with deep regret, and an expression of "warmest gratitude for his valued services to the institution, which have been characterized by great judgment, varied learning and scrupulous fidelity."

When Wallace left, other changes were imminent. Robberds had also resigned in the previous year, and gave up the teaching of Hebrew, but retained Pastoral Theology almost to the last. His long service as minister of Cross Street Chapel was nearing the end. A native of Norwich, born in 1789, he was for one year after leaving College minister at the Octagon Chapel in that city, but then from 1811 onwards, for the rest of his life, at Cross Street. From 1814 to 1822 he had been clerical secretary of the College and was succeeded in that office by John James Tayler, in the year of Martineau's coming as a student to York. He was only sixty-five when in 1854 he died. Like Martineau he was of Puritan and Huguenot descent, a man richly gifted and well read, of a truly catholic spirit. Crosskey's reference to his love of Shakespeare has been already mentioned. He had a delightful humour, and as a preacher was admirable—"the best that he heard in this country" Henry Ware of Harvard is reported to have said.

Another resignation in 1846 was that of Francis William

Newman, who went to London as Latin Professor at University College and served there for twenty-three years before he became *Emeritus*. His six years' connection with Manchester College brought him into close friendship with Martineau.¹ They were of the same age, they and William Gaskell, all three born in 1805, and Newman, while at Oxford, had also gained the friendship of Blanco White. He had early entered upon a path of spiritual development in marked divergence from his elder brother John Henry, the future Cardinal. Before coming to Manchester he had been for six years Classical tutor in a college at Bristol and had there joined the Baptist Church. His translation of Hubert's *English Universities* was published while he was at Manchester, his *Hebrew Monarchy* a year after he left. His most vital book of constructive religious teaching, *The Soul, its Sorrows and Aspirations*, appeared in 1849, and in 1850 his *Phases of Faith*. Of the former, Martineau wrote to Newman (February 1, 1850): "Now I have read *The Soul*, and shall bless you for it, with thanks I cannot speak, so long as I have a soul that lives. Nothing that I have ever read—unless some scattered thoughts of Pascal's—has come so close to me and so strengthened a deep, but too shrinking faith." Their friendship was unbroken by any later divergencies of thought, each living to extreme age. To Newman the end came first, in October, 1897.

Their contemporary, William Gaskell, had not lived so long. The whole of his ministerial life, a longer span than even that of his senior colleague at Cross Street, had been spent in the service of the one congregation, and ended with his death in 1884. The year of change, 1846, had taken him from the secretaryship to the teaching staff of the

¹ "His departure withdrew, not only from our classrooms their most brilliant light, but from us his colleagues—especially from Mr. Tayler and myself—a personal friend for whom we had contracted a deep and even venerated affection." Quoted from the Biographical Memoranda, in the *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, I. p. 201.

College, as Professor of English History and Literature, a post which he held until the removal of the College to London. He then became Chairman of the Committee and in 1859 also Visitor, and held both offices to the end. In the early days of Owens College he had taken some part in the teaching there also, of Logic and Literature. He was associated from the first with Dr. J. R. Beard in the work of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, founded (as a "Board") in 1854, and was Principal for the last ten years of his life.¹ Two lectures of his on the "Lancashire Dialect" were appended to the fifth edition of his wife's *Mary Barton*.

Two other appointments of 1846 remain to be noted. Eddowes Bowman (1810-69) succeeded Newman as Classical professor for the rest of the Manchester period. A native of Nantwich, of an old Nonconformist family, he had been for some years with George S. Kenrick, the resident partner, as sub-manager of the Varteg Iron Works, Pontypool; and when the works were given up in 1840, he went to Glasgow to study Classics, and there took his M.A. After his seven years at the College, he still found occupation in Manchester as a teacher, and was a devoted worker at the Lower Mosley Street Schools and at Upper Brook Street Chapel. He was prominent in the controversy of 1857, presently to be described, as one "sincerely attached to a revealed and supernatural Christianity," unable to follow Tayler and Martineau in their interpretation of the things of the Spirit.

George Vance Smith (1816-1902), at the age of thirty, was appointed to succeed Wallace as Professor of Theology

¹ Dr. McLachlan, in his history of the Home Missionary College, 1915 (now the "Unitarian College, Manchester"), quotes the tribute of Ward, the Master of Peterhouse, formerly professor at Owens, to Gaskell as "a trained English scholar and accomplished writer. He also possessed a marked poetic gift, which he chiefly exercised in the composition and translation from the German of hymns and other sacred verse."

and Hebrew. He had been a student in the College, 1836-41 and in the last year at York, before moving to Manchester, assistant tutor in Mathematics. He had since held ministerial appointments at Bradford and Macclesfield. His father, George Smith, was a working joiner, and he had been prepared for College by Charles Wicksteed, then minister at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, who recommended him very warmly as a student to the Committee, as one who had been a faithful teacher in his Sunday school, and in four months had learnt as much Greek as an ordinary boy at a public school in as many years. The appointment of so young a man as Professor of Theology and Vice-Principal was not made without some hesitation. His distinguished work as a New Testament scholar was accomplished later. His connection with the College ended in 1857, when he went abroad for further study, and next year became Well-beloved's assistant and successor as minister at York. When Kenrick declined in 1870 to serve, at Dean Stanley's instance, on the New Testament Revision Committee, Smith was appointed as the Unitarian member, and in 1871 he published his *Bible and Popular Theology*, a work which went through several editions, and in 1881 another useful little book, *Texts and Margins of the Revised New Testament affecting Theological Doctrine*.¹ In earlier years he had done substantial work on a revised translation of the Old Testament, in continuation of the undertaking of Wellbeloved's Family Bible. From 1876 to 1888 he was Principal of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen. His later years of retirement were spent at Bath and Bowdon, where he died, in February, 1902. The years of his connection as professor with Manchester College were not altogether happy. It may have been a matter largely of temperament, for his scholarly gifts were undoubted; but he evidently failed to win the con-

¹ For a complete list of Dr. Vance Smith's publications see Gordon's *Dictionary of National Biography* article. Supplement, Vol. III.

fidence of his students. Dr. Drummond, in his *Life of Martineau*, refers as follows to his resignation, in the spring of 1856, which took effect in June of the following year: "This step was due to strongly expressed dissatisfaction on the part of some of the students, with which Mr. Smith's gentle and diffident nature did not qualify him to cope. The Committee, after anxious inquiry, decided that the interests of the College required them to accept the resignation."¹ That was the final step in London, but in Manchester also there had been trouble and heart-burning. When Kenrick finally resigned in 1850, Smith was appointed Principal, apparently against his own wish and judgment, and in July, 1852, he resigned from that office, and obtained leave of absence for the rest of the year, to be spent in Germany.

"You are aware" (he wrote to the Committee) "that from the first I have held this office with reluctance, occasioned chiefly by the fact that there are gentlemen, my seniors in the College, who would fill it with greater influence and authority than I can hope to confer on it. There may perhaps be some practical advantage in connecting the duties of principal with my particular professorship, but these are not so great in my own judgment as to outweigh the considerations on the other side."

This resignation was concurrent with the crisis which led to the removal of the College to London and the appointment of Tayler as Principal. When Smith left the College a presentation of three hundred guineas was made to him by a number of friends.² In that year he obtained his Ph.D. at Tübingen and in 1873 received the D.D. from Jena.

Manchester in October, 1840, is marked in the College

¹ *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. I. p. 297.

² The Annual Report of the Committee in January, 1857, recording Smith's resignation, added: "He will retire from his very arduous duties as a professor with the high respect of his colleagues, and with the most friendly wishes of every member of the Committee for his future ministerial and literary success and for his personal welfare and happiness."

record, not only by the return from York, with the prestige of Kenrick's influence and active participation in the work of teaching, to be continued for the next ten years, but by a fact of even greater significance, both for the College and for the Churches, which looked to it for the training of their ministers. Tayler and Martineau had already been closely associated in the administrative work of the College, especially in the matter of the return from York to Manchester, but now began that yet more intimate association of these two as teachers on the staff, which continued for the remaining twenty-nine years of Tayler's life, and left Martineau, as Principal in succession to his elder friend, to complete another sixteen years of College work. These two, with John Hamilton Thom, stand out as leaders of a movement of progressive thought which had a profoundly formative influence, for enlightenment and inspiration, issuing in a richer spiritual life in the religious community to which they belonged, and reaching far beyond their own borders, through the eloquent and searching appeal of their writings.

1839, the year before their College work began, was notable in this connection. Thom had then taken over from John Rely Beard the editorship of the *Christian Teacher*, and carried it on as a quarterly review until in 1845 it became the *Prospective Review*, under the joint editorship of the three friends, with Charles Wicksteed as a fourth.³ What they accomplished in these reviews and the *National*, which ten years later followed the *Prospective*, went far to establish their leadership in the religious thought of the time. The measure of Martineau's contribution to that work of public enlightenment, which went on concurrently with his and Tayler's College teaching, may be gathered from the volumes of his collected Essays, Reviews and Addresses.

³ Cf. Martineau's Memorial preface to the volume of Thom's Sermons, *A Spiritual Faith*, 1895.

1839 was the year also of the famous Liverpool Unitarian Controversy, when Martineau and Thom and Henry Giles were called upon to defend their faith against the onslaught of thirteen clergymen of the Church of England, and proved themselves more than equal to the task.¹ It was of Martineau's part in that controversy that Channing wrote, in June, 1840, to his sister Harriet:—

"You speak of your brother James. Since writing to you, I have read his lectures; and they seem to me among the noblest efforts of our times. They have quickened and instructed me. Indeed, his lectures and Mr. Thom's give me new hope for the cause of truth in England. Not that I expect any great immediate effects; but noble spiritual action in a few is an augury of good which cannot fail."²

To Martineau himself Channing wrote with special appreciation of the lecture on "The Christian View of Moral Evil," rejoicing over his protest against the doctrine of philosophical necessity:—

"Nothing for a long time has given me so much pleasure. I have felt that this doctrine, with its natural connexions, was a millstone round the neck of Unitarianism in England. . . . I have always lamented that Dr. Priestley's authority has fastened this doctrine on his followers."³

From that time onward Martineau's emancipation was complete from the cramping of the system of philosophy which he had hitherto accepted and taught. It was, as he described it, "an inward deliverance from artificial system into natural speech; . . . an escape from a logical cage into the open air."⁴ Confirmed in his new conviction, as

¹ Cf. an article on the Controversy by Charles Wicksteed in the *Theological Review* of January, 1877.

² *Life of William Ellery Channing*. One volume. Ed. 1880, p. 435.

³ *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. II. p. 272.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 273, and Preface to the *Types of Ethical Theory*.

Taylor and Thom had also been, by the quickening and liberating influence of Channing,⁵ he and his friends were now entirely at one in the broad lines of their religious faith, recognizing its foundations in the moral and spiritual nature of man, not resting on any external authority, whether of Scripture or Church, but on the inward witness of the Spirit and acknowledging the supreme revelation of God in Jesus, as "Head of a divine humanity."⁶ What these three friends were at that time and essentially remained to the end of the rich fruition of their lives, may be seen in the volumes of their sermons, Taylor's *Christian Aspects of Faith and Duty*, first published in 1851, and a second posthumous volume in 1877, Martineau's *Endeavours After the Christian Life*, 1843 and 1847, and the later *Hours of Thought on Sacred Things*, and Thom's *Laws of Life After the Mind of Christ*, published after his retirement from active ministry. At first they were regarded with grave suspicion by a large number of their brethren, as mystical dreamers and sub-

⁵ "I speak of myself, as among the first on this side of the ocean to receive the impact of his mind, only to illustrate what he was to so many; the opener of a new religious life, not as the founder of a school, but as the destroyer of all schools except the School of the Spirit." J. H. Thom, at the Liverpool celebration of the Channing Centenary, 1880. Cf. the Memoir of Thom in the volume of selections from his occasional Sermons and Addresses, *A Minister of God*, 1901.

⁶ Cf. Martineau's *Loss and Gain in Recent Theology; Essays and Addresses*, Vol. IV. p. 351; *John James Taylor's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 29. "I cannot but think that a true religious philosophy, based on a sound and comprehensive psychology, is a work yet to be accomplished; and that, whenever it is, it must take up, and assume as its basis, the universal truths, the indestructible religious instincts, of the soul of man. In the meantime, my own reliance is firm on the voice within, confirmed by the still distincter and more authoritative voice of Christ, and the wonderfully profound impression left in some mysterious way on the minds of his immediate followers, that he was risen from the dead." This letter of intimate confidence was written to his friend Thom in 1855 at a time when his nature had been stirred to its depths by the death of his only son. In an earlier passage, referring to the Unitarianism in which he had been brought up, Taylor said that in his view its philosophy had been disastrous to its religious influence, "and had not Dr. Channing and the American School come to the rescue, must have ultimately led to its extinction as a form of religion altogether."

verters of the sure foundations of faith, according to the received view of a special supernatural revelation in authoritative Scriptures, as represented in "the Unitarianism of Priestley and Belsham," and it was only by slow degrees that prejudice was overcome and the deeper insight came to be more general. Then, as venerated and beloved leaders, they were recognized for what they were, prophets of the new era of a more universal spiritual faith.

Speaking of his experience as a student in those days of the second Manchester period Crosskey bore this witness: "The religious influence of Martineau was profound, and has been life-long upon all students in his classes, especially upon those entering the ministry. The modern spiritual development of Unitarianism began with him, and has been promoted by his students." And of Tayler he added that the broad-minded and liberal spirit in which he taught Ecclesiastical History was "most notable in the deliverance it brought from the somewhat narrow dogmatism of the old-fashioned textual type of Unitarianism. The spiritual meaning of many creeds was unfolded, and we were taught to look on many diverse forms of faith as representing distinct human wants, and forwarding the growth of truth."¹

Of John James Tayler we are happy to have Martineau's beautiful "In Memoriam" tribute, in the first volume of his collected *Essays and Addresses*, and the privilege also of intimate knowledge through the two volumes of *Letters*,² edited by his other closest friend. The impression which Martineau records, of "a most winning presence, persuasive alike by purity of thought, sweetness of affection and tenderness of reverence," was deeply felt in the wide circle of his friends. It was expressed by Charles Beard, who

¹ *Armstrong's Life of Henry William Crosskey*, p. 21.

² *Letters embracing his Life of John James Tayler*, edited by John Hamilton Thom. Reissued in one volume, 1873.

was one of his students in the Manchester days, in his College Centenary sermon of 1886:—

"Who that knew him could help loving John James Tayler, who to the learning and piety of an old Benedictine joined the sweet geniality of spirit, which only a lifelong and kindly intercourse with men could have moulded into its perfect unselfishness?"

And Alexander Gordon, who was also one of his students, in the later London days, in a memorial sermon, spoke of the tender brightness of his presence, "the worth, and power and influence of that pure, transparent life," his "utter guilelessness and single-hearted greatness of sincerity," his "rare simplicity of character, which was on all occasions his shield, his strength and armament."

Martineau acclaims him "the English Schleiermacher," if with less dialectical and speculative skill, with critical judgment less fanciful, and historical feeling both sounder in itself and directed by more thorough archaeological and literary knowledge.

"Within the comparatively small range to which the conditions of English Society restrict Mr. Tayler's influence, his life will be traced in just such effects as Schleiermacher's in Germany; a recovery of theology and Church history from the contempt into which they were fast sinking; a returning reverence for the characteristics of Christian civilization; a gentle separation of the religion of Christ from the traditions of Christendom; and a recognition of the Divine communion with the human soul in the religious history of our race. . . . There was a rare blending in Mr. Tayler of the historical intellect with the prophet's soul. His religion was *present and intuitive*,—a consciousness abiding and intense; an inward walk with heaven; an ideal light upon the earth; a revelation of the Spirit, which would speak even in silence and loneliness. He loved the meditations of the Christian mystics. He found the ultimate truth in the teachings of George Fox and Barclay; and owned with them the *Living God* in a *living humanity*. . . . No one could look at him and say that the power of Christianity is spent; or that,

where it yet lives, it is at the expense of the large mind and the deep poetic heart, and cannot blend the philosophic and saintly spirit."¹

The outward story of Tayler's life is very simple. He was born, August 15, 1797, in South London, where at that time his father, James Tayler (1765-1831), was minister of an old Nonconformist congregation in the Borough. His mother was a Venning and on the father's side there was a strain of Huguenot blood. From 1802, when his father became minister of the High Pavement Chapel, his home was at Nottingham, until in 1820 his ministry in Manchester began. His schooldays were at home under his father's care. In 1814 he went as a Divinity student to York, two years later to Glasgow, where he graduated in 1818, and then had another year at York, as Classical tutor during Kenrick's absence abroad. For thirty-three years he ministered in Manchester, first at the Mosley Street Chapel and from 1839 in the new Upper Brook Street Chapel, at the dedication of which Martineau preached the sermon "The Outer and the Inner Temple."²

Before that happy enlargement of his sphere of service, which was followed by his appointment to the College professorship, he spent a year in Germany, chiefly at Göttingen (1834-35), for the restoration of health and for further study. It was a year as significant for him as Martineau's year in Germany (1848-49), the bearing of which on his philosophical equipment is noted in the preface to the *Types of Ethical Theory*. The quality of Tayler's teaching of Church history is happily represented in his *Retrospect of the Religious Life of England*, first published in 1845. It came to a second edition in the last year of this Manchester period, and was reissued in 1876 with an Introductory Chapter on recent developments, by Martineau.

¹ Martineau, *Essays and Addresses*, Vol. I. pp. 392-4-5.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. p. 371.

When the decision was made that the College must be moved to London, it was for Tayler a grievous trial, through the severance of the close personal ties of his long years of ministry with a people deeply devoted to him, and the giving up of pastoral work in which he delighted; but his judgment was in complete accord with the decision, and he felt it a paramount duty to continue his College work and accept the added responsibility of the principalship. In London he lived for the first seven years in Woburn Square, within easy reach of the College in Gordon Square, and after Edward Tagart's death in 1858, was for two years associated with Martineau in the ministry at Little Portland Street Chapel. But the added duty proved too great a tax upon his strength, and at Christmas, 1860, he withdrew from the ministry, and moved out to Hampstead. His one published work of Biblical criticism, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel*, appeared in 1867. He was then seventy years of age, happy in the quiet of his home, "The Limes," Rosslyn Hill, and there on May 28, 1869, he died.

At the time of the discussion in 1840, which resulted in the return of the College to Manchester, it will be remembered that opinion was far from unanimous, and there were already many of the best friends of the College who regarded London as the most fitting place for its establishment. The experience of the second Manchester period led very soon to a strengthening of that conviction, which was still further enforced by the foundation of University Hall¹ in Gordon Square, in the immediate neighbourhood of University College. The Hall was established to commemorate the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844,² "the

¹ Now Dr. Williams's Library.

² The first suggestion of such a permanent memorial was made immediately after the passing of the Act at a meeting of the General Committee of the Presbyterian Union, a Union which had been formed to defend the rights of the body of Liberal Dissenters, now prevaillingly Unitarian, and in parti-

first legislative recognition of the great principle of unlimited religious liberty and of the right of private judgment as paramount to the profession of any peculiar theological tenets." Its purpose was declared to be twofold, as an academic residence for students in the neighbourhood of University College, under a resident principal, and at the same time a centre of teaching, to provide for the students "instruction in theology, mental and moral philosophy and other branches of knowledge not at all or not fully taught at University College." It was to be a memorial, "calculated to advance the progress of liberal education and to promote the free exercise of individual judgment in matters of religion." It was thus apparent, and was doubtless from the first in the mind of some at least of the founders, that if Manchester College were brought to London, the Hall could provide the necessary accommodation and would be its most fitting home.

When therefore the question of the future of the College came again to be seriously considered, as it did already in 1846, this new fact had an important bearing on the argument. There was at first strong opposition to the reopening

cular to secure them in the possession of their old chapels and other trust property (cf. p. 99, note). The actual foundation meeting of the Society of University Hall was held, July 28, 1846, at Dr. Williams's Library, James Heywood in the chair; and two years later the first stone of the building in Gordon Square was laid by Mark Phillips, and an inaugural address was given in the theatre of University College, by F. W. Newman, the Principal-elect. Newman, however, resigned before the building was completed, and when it was opened in October, 1849, Arthur Hugh Clough was Principal. He was succeeded by Richard Holt Hutton, and when illness compelled Hutton's withdrawal in 1852, by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, and he in 1859 by E. S. Beesly. For the foundation of the Hall a capital sum of £10,000 was raised in donations of £50 and upwards, from 147 original members of the Society, with a few minor donations and five of £50 from congregations. It was provided in the constitution that in the event of the dissolution of the Society the governing Council of the Hall should have full discretion in dealing with any remaining funds after the disposal of the building, either to hand them over to the treasurer of University College, or to apply them "for such other purposes as the Council shall consider most in accordance with the declared objects of this Society."

of the question, and a motion at the Trustees' meeting in June, 1846, asking for consultation as to the advisability of remaining in Manchester, was countered by a vote for the previous question; and in December, 1847, the Committee declined to discuss a resolution of the Council of University Hall, suggesting removal to London and co-operation with the Hall, which had yet to be built. But in March, 1848, at a largely attended Trustees' meeting, an amendment to the Report was carried, though only just carried by 31 votes to 30, to leave out all the words with reference to the continuance of the College in Manchester. This was followed by the appointment of a special Committee to consider the plans of University Hall, University College and Owens College, with reference to the interests of Manchester New College.

It was generally recognized by this time that the College could only be maintained as a School of Theology, which must look to some other institution for the required teaching in Arts and Science; and the actual issue was between connection with University College in London or with the new Owens College, then preparing to begin its work in Manchester. At a special meeting of Trustees in December, 1851, it was reported that Owens College had only just entered on its first session of work, and it was too soon to form any judgment as to the likelihood of its meeting the needs of Manchester New College. On the other hand, counsel's opinion had been obtained from Richard Bethel and Roundell Palmer, in which the solicitors on the College Committee, Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire and Robert Worthington, concurred, that removal from Manchester could only be effected by means of an Act of Parliament. A year later, however, the decisive step was taken, and happily without the need of resort to Parliament.

The decision was made at a meeting of the Trustees on December 8, 1852. It was then proposed by John Kenrick,

and seconded by Mark Philips, that the College should be moved to London, as a theological institution, in connection, for literary and scientific purposes, with University College. An amendment, moved by James Yates and seconded by Samuel Bache, to the effect that Owens College could supply the required literary and scientific teaching was defeated by 33 votes to 17, and the original resolution was then passed by 36 votes to 4. A further resolution, moved by Thomas Ainsworth, and seconded by James Heywood, appointed John Kenrick, Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire, J. Aspinall Turner, Brook Aspland, Robert Worthington, John Hamilton Thom, Charles Wicksteed and John Pemberton Heywood, a special Committee, to consider the best way of establishing the College in London, with full powers to negotiate with the Council of University Hall, "with a view especially to providing for lay and Divinity students the means of a common religious and ethical culture"; and after completing such negotiation and constructing a scheme for the future working of the College, to report to the Trustees.

At this meeting a letter was read from William Rayner Wood, who had resigned his office as Treasurer at the beginning of the year in protest against the suggestion of removal, stating that if the proposed step were taken, it would be a manifest breach of trust, which he should consider it his duty to resist by process of law. And he did in fact take what was the first step towards a suit in Chancery, by applying for leave to file an information against the special committee deputed to arrange for the removal of the College to London. To this, objection was successfully argued before the Attorney-General on the part of the College authorities, who secured a speedier and less costly settlement of the question at issue.

The College, represented by a number of Trustees, obtained leave to proceed by way of petition to the Master

of the Rolls,¹ who heard the case on February 25 and 26, 1853, and on April 13th gave his judgment. It was a complete vindication of the right of the Trustees to remove the College to any place held to be best fitted for the fulfilment of its essential purpose.

What he had to decide, the Master of the Rolls declared, was not whether the Trustees were wise in their decision to move the College, although a very large majority² had approved the step, but whether under the trust they were entitled to do so. His judgment was based on what he described as "the only instrument of foundation," the printed report of the meeting of February 22, 1786, with the regulations for the establishment of the College, then known as the Manchester Academy.³ From this it was clear that the fundamental purpose was the establishment of an Academy, primarily to afford a systematic course of education for Divines, and secondarily to afford preparatory instruction for the other learned professions, as well as for civil and commercial life; the whole institution to afford these advantages "to the class or denomination of persons commonly called English Presbyterian Protestant Dissenters." At the same time, the essential regulation was cited: "This institution will be open to young men of every religious denomination, from whom no test, or confession of faith, will be required." Thus the open principle of the College was established, and at the same time the special interest in it of the body of Protestant Dissenters known at that time as "English Presbyterians,"

¹ Sir John Romilly (1802-74), after 1865, Lord Romilly. It was under his father, Sir Samuel Romilly's Act, providing a summary remedy in cases of Charitable Trusts, that the College was allowed to proceed. A full report of the proceedings appeared in the *Christian Reformer* for 1853.

² When it was decided to go to the Court, a circular was sent to all the Trustees, at that time 199, asking whether they approved or not. From 55 no reply was received. Of the remaining 144, all but three approved. Of the three objectors, W. R. Wood, of course, was one.

³ Cf. p. 56.

—that is to say, the body of Nonconformists in this country, "Nonsubscribing Dissenters," who from the seventeenth century onwards, with more or less clear apprehension, have held to the open principle in their religious fellowship.¹ It had been pleaded on the other side that the College was founded in Manchester definitely for the benefit of the locality and that to move it elsewhere was a breach of trust. The Solicitor-General,² who appeared as Counsel for the College, had formerly held that opinion, when he and Roundell Palmer were appealed to in 1848; but in the course of his pleading he acknowledged that on that occasion they had been imperfectly instructed and their opinion, he now saw, was quite erroneous. This was definitely confirmed in the judgment, which declared that the location of the College was a matter subsidiary to its essential purpose. It was a question simply of expediency, where the work of the College could best be done. It had been founded in Manchester, as the required teachers were there on the spot; and the same reason led to the removal in 1803 to York. No objection had then been raised, and there could be no valid objection to such a move then or now.

The judgment was in these terms:—

"This Court doth declare that it is consistent with the original scope and intent of the Institution in the Petition mentioned and called Manchester New College, that the same should be transferred to London, or to such other place as, in the opinion of the majority of the Trustees for the time being of the said Institution, shall be best calculated to advance the object and design of the said Institution. And that it is in the power of the majority of the Trustees for the time being of the said Institution to transfer the same accordingly, and that, notwithstanding such transfer, the rents, interest and income of the property held in trust for the said Institution, ought to be applied according to

¹ Cf. pp. 19 and 99.—The body now represented for the most part by the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.

² See note, pp. 133-5.

the direction of the Committee for the time being of the said Trustees."

Thus the action of the Trustees was justified and the way opened for the establishment of the College in London, with freedom for any further move in the future, which should be judged to be wise, in furtherance of its chosen work.

Both counsel and judge had spoken with considerate respect of the dissident Trustee and recognized that he, equally with the petitioners, had acted from genuine conscientious motive, in the interest of the Trust; and the Master of the Rolls, holding that the question at issue had been rightly submitted to the decision of the Court, ordered that the costs on both sides should be paid out of the funds of the charity. As a matter of fact, the whole amount, £1,129 2s. 1d., was provided by special donations from friends of the College, and no such call had to be made on its regular income.

Looking back upon the second Manchester period, one sees the natural disappointment in failure to achieve the fine work for education which had been attempted; but those thirteen years of service were by no means barren of admirable result. The roll of students for the period numbered only sixty, though probably a good many other lay students, not so enrolled, attended single courses of lectures. Twenty-eight lay students on the roll stayed for various periods of from one to four years of study, and there were four others, T. L. Marshall, Charles Beard, H. W. Crosskey and John Dendy, who entered as lay students, but, after the first year, completed their course as Divinity students. Among the thirty-two Divinity students were also John Wright, T. Elford Poynting, Alfred W. Worthington, Brooke Herford, S. Alfred Steinthal and Robert Crompton Jones, all of whom, in their several ways, rendered signal service to the Churches of Liberal Nonconformity. The

name of Travers Madge has been already mentioned. Richard Holt Hutton was a Divinity student for one year, but did not settle in the ministry. His service was rendered as a man of letters and editor of the *Spectator*. Two other Divinity students, who did not enter the ministry, also made their mark in journalism, Henry Morell Acton, in the service of the *Manchester Guardian*, and Frank Harrison Hill, as editor of the *Daily News*. Among the lay students, specially notable names are those of John Ashton Nicholls (1823-59), one of the founders, and first lay secretary of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, of whom, as a devoted social worker, there are memorials in Ancoats and in the Nicholls Hospital, in Hyde Road, Manchester; Russell Scott Taylor (1825-48), editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, in succession to his father, John Edward Taylor (1791-1844); and Robert Dukinfield Darbishire (1826-1908), the son of Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire (1799-1870), two men than whom no more devoted servants of the College could be named. The father, a close friend of John James Tayler, served with him as secretary of the College for many years during the York period, and from 1852 to 1854 was treasurer, after Wood's resignation, and later also president, 1863-67. A native of Bolton, he had established himself in Manchester as a successful solicitor. He was early associated with the case of Reform and among the first members of the Anti-Corn Law League. When, in 1838, Manchester was incorporated, he was elected, with Cobden, John Edward Taylor, and Thomas Potter, one of the first members of the Council. A man of deeply religious nature and a fine culture, it was of him Martineau spoke as one "whose Grecian calm, like a lake sleeping on a volcanic bed, covered the *ignes suppositos* of a noble enthusiasm."¹ His was a life of devotion to public interests and the service

¹ In a speech of reminiscence at the Old Students' dinner, on the occasion of Martineau's retirement in June, 1885.

of others, "with little skill in speech and a great dislike of personal prominence," but quietly ardent in deeds of beneficence and steadfast loyalty to the cause of truth and freedom in religion, all of which as traits of character were equally marked in his son.

Robert Darbishire was for four years a lay student, before entering on his father's profession of the Law, and in 1845 he graduated in the University of London. Ten years later he began, as lay secretary, that work for the College, which was nearest of all to his heart. Thirty-seven years he gave to it, and from 1857 onwards, for twenty-two of those years, with Charles Beard as clerical secretary. That was a notable companionship, in close brotherly sympathy and devotion to the high ideal of the College. It began at the moment of crisis, when it was decided that Martineau's services should be retained for the College, and he was brought from Liverpool to London, and continued up to the first critical debate of the question, whether the College should finally be taken to Oxford, ten years before it was actually accomplished. That such was the right destiny of the College these two friends were very clearly and earnestly convinced, and they gave years of patient work and strenuous advocacy to the cause. In the debate of 1879 Beard regarded the attempt to press on the Oxford scheme as premature, and he then resigned the secretaryship under circumstances very painful to himself and his friend and colleague. He did not live to see the fulfilment of the hope, which he undoubtedly shared; but it may be regarded as the crowning moment of Robert Darbishire's long devotion to the College, when he was called upon to give the chief address at the laying of the foundation-stone of the College buildings in Oxford, dedicated "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion." The College library, through many years, was repeatedly enriched by gifts of books from him, with characteristic modesty

recorded as from "an old student"; and a further memorial of his devotion it possesses in the symbolic window in the central bay of the library, which was his gift. He lived to an honoured old age, signally marked nine years before its peaceful end, by the conferring upon him of the freedom of his native city. No such honour, however, can be taken as an adequate measure of the value of what he had done for the community and in a more intimate way for the religious fellowship to which he belonged; but it was a happy recognition of the unique service he had rendered as one of the three trustees, the active administrator, with generous and far-seeing wisdom, of the great Whitworth Trust.

Charles Beard (1827-88) was unquestionably the most brilliant and notable of the students of the second Manchester period, one who could speak with matchless eloquence for the College, as he did on the occasion of its Centenary celebration. Like Robert Darbishire, he was a native of Manchester, where his father, John Rely Beard, was in the ministry. After his College course and the taking of his London degree in 1847, he had a further year of study in Germany, 1848-49, and was thus in Berlin at the same time as Martineau. There followed sixteen years of ministry at Gee Cross, Hyde, before his settlement in Liverpool, in 1867, as successor in the Renshaw Street pulpit, to John Hamilton Thom. In Liverpool the rest of his life was spent. His published writings¹ remain as witness both to the power of his ministry, and the high value of his

¹ *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, 1859; *Port Royal: a Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France*, 2 vols., 1861; *Christianity in Common Life: Addresses to Working People*, 1872; *The Soul's Way to God and other Sermons Preached in Liverpool*, 1875; *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge*; Hibbert Lectures, 1885; *The Universal Christ, and other Sermons Preached in Liverpool*, 1888; *Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany, until the close of the Diet of Worms*, the first volume of a greater work on the Reformation, unhappily not completed. Edited by his friend, J. Frederick Smith. 1889.

scholarship, as historian. A further service he rendered as editor of the *Theological Review*, 1864-79, which carried on the work of the earlier *Prospective* and *National* reviews. In the year of his Hibbert Lectures he became one of the College Visitors, four years after he had resigned the secretaryship, and held that office up to the time of his death. When the College was moved from Manchester to London, he had been for three years at work in the ministry; when he died in April, 1888, the final decision had still to be made, which carried it to Oxford. Thus the whole of his active service, as Secretary and Visitor, belonged to the London period. In earlier passages of this record quotation has been made from his Visitor's address, in the Centenary year, 1886. The record of the second Manchester period may be fitly closed with a further quotation from that address:—

"Manchester College, in its first inception, was a bold and prescient attempt to give to a not very important town in the North all the advantages of an ancient seat of erudition, accompanied by a liberty of teaching and learning which hardly any ancient seat of erudition possesses. The same attempt was renewed on a larger scale, though with no more permanent result, in 1840. But the time was not ripe for such an undertaking, though, as the splendid success of Owens College has shown, almost at hand. Indeed, these two periods of College life—the first Manchester epoch and the second—are almost painfully similar: a scheme of education laid out on broad and noble lines, and then, high hopes gradually fading away into disappointment, but still a disappointment tempered by an inexpugnable faith in the principles of freedom."

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL'S PLEADING AND THE OPEN PRINCIPLE OF THE COLLEGE

(Note from p. 128.)

The Solicitor-General was Richard Bethell (1800-73), Q.C., 1840, afterwards Lord Chancellor (1861), Baron Westbury. He heard the Appeal (with others) in the "Essays and Reviews"

case, 1864. In his pleading for the College there was one point on which he seems hardly to have grasped the true position or fairly represented the mind of the Trustees. There had been considerable discussion in 1850 on a proposal to introduce religious instruction into the curriculum of Owens College, then about to be established. The trust of the College laid it down that there must be "no religious test, and in the teaching nothing in reference to any religious or theological subject reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student or his guardian, relatives or friends"; and when the trustees avowed their intention that there should be religious instruction offered for those students who desired to avail themselves of it, serious objection was raised, on the ground of the danger of sectarian influence coming in, contrary to the distinct provision of the trust. This doubt was shared by the Manchester College Committee, and was noted in their report of 1851 on Owens College. But when the Solicitor-General in his pleading referred to this, as though the College authorities were afraid that the influence of such teaching at Owens might lead their students "away from the particular form of belief in which it was the duty of the Trustees of Manchester College to keep them," he was clearly wide of the mark as a representative of the College and its fundamental principle of free teaching. The question of possible religious teaching at Owens had really very little, if anything, to do with the issue, as regards Manchester College. John James Tayler had taken part in the public discussion as to Owens and the controversy over unsectarian education in the schools, which was going on at the same time. A letter from him appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 30, 1850, in which he offered a most interesting suggestion as a better alternative to the proposed religious teaching in Owens College itself. "How then is religious instruction, which the course of scientific teaching provided for all inevitably excluded, to be collaterally supplied? No plan so obviously just and practicable suggests itself, as that different religious bodies should supply out of their resources, in halls specially opened for the purpose, courses of lectures on the chief topics of theology and ecclesiastical history and religious philosophy, in which the subject should be distinctly presented from their own point of view and set forth earnestly in accordance with their peculiar principles. The clustering of many such schools of religious learning around a common

scientific centre, growing out of the deep heart and nourished by the spontaneous energy and zeal of different churches, would be a far nobler homage to religion, and tend far more to diffuse its power and blessing, than a formal provision void of all character and earnestness, which could not meet the wants of all and might infringe on the consciences of some; and though such an arrangement has, at first view, a sectarian aspect, it would contribute in the final result more than any other method to remove the causes of sectarianism and to encourage a genuine catholicity of spirit?" It is of interest to recall this letter, in view of the later development of the Theological Faculty, established in the University of Manchester in 1904, in the benefit of which the various denominational colleges grouped about the University are now enabled to have their share.

CHAPTER VIII

MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, LONDON

1853-89

UNIVERSITY HALL, as a residence for students attending University College, had been open for four years when Manchester College was moved to London, and in the Hall it had its quarters for the thirty-six years of the London period—only one year less than the time at York. The Hall, which is now Dr. Williams's Library, is a substantial building, with a sufficient touch of academic dignity, in Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, near the south-west corner, adjoining the Catholic Apostolic Church. It has a pleasant outlook upon the garden of the Square, and at the back, in College days, there was a way through to University College, in Gower Street.

Manchester College, for an annual rental of £100, increased after the first three years to £150, had the use of a large upper room for library and lectures, and a corresponding room on the same floor, the Council Room of the Society, also for lectures, while the large dining-hall, with its frescoed walls,¹ on the ground floor, was available for public functions and the students' exercises in preaching and elocution. There, during the first years, Sunday services at stated times were conducted by the Principal, John James Tayler. He, as already noted, lived close by, at 22 Woburn Square, and there was from the first the closest friendly co-operation between him and the resident Principal of the Hall, Dr. W. B. Carpenter. When Martineau came to London, he lived first at 10 Gordon Street (renumbered as 5, in 1874), until in 1880 he moved across to 35 Gordon

¹ The fresco, by Armytage, was added in 1869. Cf. *Letters of John James Tayler*, Vol. II. p. 320.

Square (with the front door in Taviton Street), which remained his London home to the end.

When the move to London was made, Martineau's future was still undetermined. There were then only two members of the staff appointed: the Principal, who was Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Doctrinal and Practical Theology, and Vance Smith, Professor of Critical and Exegetical Theology, the Evidences of Religion and the Hebrew and Syriac Languages. There had been an effort, at the instance of John Hamilton Thom, Thomas Ainsworth, Darbishire and others, to add a third full professorship in Philosophy; but there was division of opinion, not only on the subject of available financial resources, but also of personnel, and all that was decided by the beginning of the session was that there should be a lectureship in Philosophy.¹ But before the end of the year the friends who were determined that Martineau's services must be retained for the College succeeded in raising a special fund and securing his appointment to the lectureship. This he held for the next four years, coming up from Liverpool on the Monday for two days' lecturing once a fortnight. His opening lecture in London, delivered on Tuesday, February 7, 1854, "A Plea for Philosophical Studies," is included in the fourth volume of his collected *Essays and Addresses*.

The session had opened, October 14, 1853, with an inaugural address by the Principal, in which he told of the circumstances which had brought the College to London, as a "School of Theology and Religious Philosophy," in touch with "a national seat of secular learning," and then went on to speak of the purpose which, under the new conditions, it was hoped to achieve. After describing the course of study to be pursued in the College, he laid

¹ The circumstances are fully related in the *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. I. pp. 250-59.

stress on the hope of an increasing religious influence over the life of the whole community of students in the Hall, and of the benefit to be gained by close friendship between the Divinity and lay students. It was a hope only partially realized, owing, among other reasons, to the difficulty of the greater cost of residence in the Hall. The Divinity students, for the most part, lived in scattered lodgings at a considerable distance from the Hall. But for more than one group of students during the period happier conditions prevailed, and valuable friendships were formed.

During the first years of the new settlement Tayler never abandoned the hope that, before long, circumstances would arise that would bring Martineau also permanently to London and full participation with himself in the life and work of the College; and in 1856, when Smith resigned,¹ the way opened, though not without a grave crisis in College affairs.² The resignation having been accepted in July of that year, a special Committee, consisting of James Heywood, John Kenrick, J. A. Turner, S. D. Darbishire, R. B. Aspland, William Gaskell and Eddowes Bowman, was appointed to consider future arrangements and report. The Committee, however, proved so divided in opinion that it failed to produce the required report, and at the annual meeting of Trustees, in Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, on January 22, 1857, the first definite proposal was made, on the motion of Mark Philips, seconded by Dr. Joseph Hutton, that the General Committee should consider the distribution of the College teaching between Tayler and Martineau. Opposition to this proposal, due to distrust of the two teachers, and especially of Martineau, as an innovator and (from the old Unitarian point of view) an unsound mystical teacher, found expression in an amendment moved

¹ Cf. p. 115.

² For a full account of the controversy and its happy issue, cf. the *Life and Letters of Martineau*, Vol. I. pp. 296-325, and the *Christian Reformer* of 1857, pp. 312 and 379.

by Edmund Kell, that the special Committee which had failed to report should be reappointed. A long discussion ensued, but without definite result, for in the supposed interest of peace, both resolution and amendment were withdrawn, and the Committee was thus left without further direction, to take the necessary action. The meeting of Trustees, at which there had been a large and representative attendance, had been prevailing in favour of the two heretics, and John Hamilton Thom had pleaded eloquently for Martineau, as an inspiring religious teacher, worthy of the completest confidence—"a beautiful and masterly speech, which was recognized as decisive."³ Thom himself wrote of this afterwards to Martineau: "My impression is that the result of the meeting, though formally thrown away for want of tact and firmness, must be altogether satisfactory to you as showing that among our laymen, and among a large number of our ministers, there is no distrust whatever either of your opinions or of your influence."

Such being the issue of the Trustees' meeting, the Committee met on January 30th to take further action. At this meeting a letter was read from Tayler, addressed to William Gaskell, as Chairman, embodying proposals, for which he had already received the approval of Kenrick, as Visitor. To facilitate the rearrangement of the College teaching, he offered to undertake the criticism and exegesis of the New Testament, and if necessary Old Testament also, leaving Ecclesiastical History to Martineau; and then he went on, as he said, under a strong sense of necessity, which overcame his natural diffidence, to make the following urgent plea:—

"I say deliberately, and with as firm a conviction as I can entertain on any subject, that the retention of Mr. Martineau's services in connection with the College is indispensable to its

³ Drummond, in the *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. I. p. 298.

continued success and undiminished reputation. I believe that the feeling which was evinced, I learn on all hands, by such unmistakable signs, at the late meeting of Trustees, was a faithful reflection of the deep interest felt in this subject by a very influential portion of our laity, and by a large and increasing majority of the most earnest of the young and rising minds amongst us. We cannot afford to lose the zealous sympathy of such minds; it is the life-blood of our future churches: but we certainly shall lose it, and lose it perhaps irreparably, if we allow the man, whose writings are more widely read by the thoughtful and inquiring of all parties than those of any other man of our body—whose *moral* influence on the minds of our best young men (I could specify names, if it were not invidious) has been so purifying and elevating—to be displaced from the position in our College to which his talents and attainments so pre-eminently entitle him, to make room for any stranger whatever. . . . So strongly do I feel the necessity of the *one* arrangement with a view to which all these changes have been suggested, that I am quite willing to resign a situation which I did not seek, if by so doing I can facilitate the completion of plans, which I am sure *ought* to be made, and which, if *not* made under some form or other, will leave our College stripped of its honour and its strength."

The Committee was clearly of the same mind as the Principal. A resolution was moved by Robert Darbishire, and seconded by Dr. Joseph Hutton: "That it is expedient to entrust the theological and philosophical instruction of the College to two professors, instruction in Hebrew being provided for by the Committee." This, after two amendments by dissentient members had been decisively negatived, was carried by 14 votes against 5, and then it was further agreed, on the motion of Dr. Hutton, seconded by Edward Enfield, that Tayler and Martineau should be appointed.

Their acceptance was received on February 20th, when Aspland resigned the secretaryship and Charles Beard took his place. At the same meeting, Tayler's offer to relinquish £100 of his salary, for the provision of the

necessary teaching of Hebrew in the College, was received and gratefully accepted.

The two professors had been requested to prepare a new scheme for their proposed teaching in the College, which was embodied in a special report to the Trustees, and it remains of permanent historical interest. Leaving Hebrew to be provided for by a special teacher, they divided the rest of the field of study, on the principle that Tayler would take the historical and Martineau the philosophical side, the one dealing with the "facts and materials of historical revelation," the other with the "laws of thought, the principles of belief and sentiments of conscience, which lay us open to this divine teaching."

Their scheme of study was accompanied by an explanatory letter, with these concluding words:—

"We will only add that in carrying it out, should it meet the approval of the Committee, our earnest desire will be to preserve and transmit unimpaired, the high examples set by our honoured predecessors, of candour and justice to human beliefs and of simple trust in God's eternal Truth. To give faithful and judicial report of the thoughts of wiser and better men, yet never shrink from guileless expression of our own, we understand to be our traditional duty as appointed teachers of Manchester New College."

Such was the mind of these two, as they contemplated the responsible task to which they had been called; but further trouble arose, and before the way was quite clear for the new departure, another public expression of distrust and dissent had to be faced. The five dissentient members of the Committee, with sixty-four others, including well-known ministers and laymen, published an elaborate protest "against the recent proceedings of the Committee" in the appointment of Tayler and Martineau. The objections were stated under five heads, the really crucial points being that under the proposed arrangement, in the matter of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, "there are

reasons for fearing that the instruction likely to be given by the two professors will not secure general confidence, nor adequately meet the requirements of students for the Christian ministry"; and further, that it was "neither wise nor liberal" to entrust the whole teaching of Theology to these two, however high their character and eminent their services in their past teaching of Ecclesiastical History and Philosophy, since they were known to belong to one school of religious thought, "and, in consequence, a considerable portion of our religious body will feel that views deemed by them essential to Christian truth—views, however, to which they have never asked for an exclusive attention—are shut out from a fair representation in the Professorial instruction."

It was on this last point that Thom, in the ensuing discussion, remarked, after dealing with the first four points of objection: "I am sorry to say that the sting of the thing is in its tail"—the objection that views deemed by the objectors essential to Christian truth would be shut out from fair representation. "This comes in at the end, but I suppose that I shall not be wrong in assuming that the protesters regard it as the head and front of the offence." He refused to believe that it was really intended to set up a Unitarian Orthodoxy, but the alternative was that the two professors were held to be so prejudiced or so incapable, that they could not fairly represent, in their teaching, different forms of doctrinal belief—a groundless suggestion, to be indignantly set aside.

Several of those who signed the protest acknowledged afterwards that they had done so under a misapprehension, and asked that their names should be withdrawn; others signed only for one or other of the specified reasons; but the general purpose was unmistakable, to make a public declaration of mistrust. At first the prevalent feeling among the supporters of the Committee and professors was that the

protest should be passed over in silence, and allow the event to prove its futility; but when Martineau found that it had been formally received by the Committee and entered on the College minutes, he insisted that it must be dealt with by a special meeting of Trustees; otherwise, if it were not repudiated by a decisive vote, he should feel obliged to resign.

The Committee, therefore, sent out their special Report on the situation, with the professors' new scheme of study and explanatory letter, and called a meeting of Trustees to deal with it. The Report, the draft of which was the first in which the hand of Charles Beard appears in his capacity as secretary, concluded with the following passage:—

"Believing that the course which they have taken is in accordance with the principles and usages of the College, and therefore best adapted eventually to unite the suffrages of its friends, they appeal, without fear, to the liberality of the non-subscribing churches to enable them to carry into complete effect arrangements which have been dictated solely by the desire to maintain the ancient reputation of our excellent Academical Institution. In thus sanctioning the redistribution of the whole course of Theological instruction between the Principal and the present Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, your committee have steadily kept out of view any differences of religious opinion which are supposed to exist among non-subscribing dissenters. It is the peculiar glory of Manchester New College that, under every change of place and administration, it has steadfastly and consistently adhered to its single object of educating young men for a free Christian ministry, by professors on whom no test of theological belief, explicit or implied, has ever been imposed. Its Teachers have always been chosen as men of learning, candour and integrity, who should impartially inform their pupils of the results of theological research, and, without seeking to instil their private opinions into the minds of those under their charge, should furnish them with the means of forming independent opinions of their own. Its students have been taught to put their faith, not in any system of doctrine of human exposition, but in God's truth alone; and to believe that the full development of the Christian character can be

attained only in conjunction with entire theological fearlessness. And it is in accordance with these venerable principles that the committee, at the sacrifice, on the part of some of its members, of their particular views and feelings, have deliberately made choice of those whom they considered the fittest instruments within their reach, to perform the great work of cherishing a reverent love of truth, and promoting a rational piety, in the future ministers of the Church of Christ."

The meeting, which was held in Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, on April 16th, brought Trustees from all parts of the country to the number of 141. In the absence of the President, James Heywood, the chair was taken by Richard Meade King of Taunton. The first resolution, adopting the special Report and thus confirming the teaching arrangement, with an expression of unabated confidence in the Committee, was moved by Mark Philips and seconded by John Hamilton Thom. His speech, which contained the above-quoted sentence, was again, as at the recent annual meeting, recognized as of commanding eloquence and effective power. An amendment, in the sense of the protest, moved by George Long of London and seconded by Eddowes Bowman, having been negatived by a large majority, the resolution of confidence was passed by 113 votes to 17. A further resolution was also passed, on the motion of Edwin Wilkins Field, reaffirming the foundation principle of the College:—

"That this Institution is founded for the sole purpose of giving University learning to students for the Christian Ministry among Nonsubscribing Dissenters, without test or confession of faith, and not for the purpose of instruction in the peculiar doctrines of any sect; And that in appointing professors it would be a violation of this fundamental principle to attempt to secure the representation of the views of any particular school of religious thought."

The result of the meeting was entirely salutary, clearing the air of much misunderstanding, and it brought most

welcome relief and encouragement to the two professors.

An address of sympathy and confidence, in view of the crisis, and of warm and grateful affection, had been sent to Martineau by a number of old students, and in a letter of acknowledgment (April 24th) he wrote:—¹

"Time alone can show whether I delude myself with the hope of better realizing my own conception under the new conditions of daily devotion to the academic work, and the constant counsel and sympathy of my accomplished senior colleague. But, thus far, the only credit I can take to myself as a Teacher is, for an honest desire to be always just to the sentiments of others, and ingenuous in the statement of my own; to respect the independent working of the student's mind, and never transgress the limit that separates guidance from dictation; to conceal no difficulty, to shelter no fiction, but encourage a simple reverential trust in whatever God has made real or has set forth as true and good. Hitherto it has not devolved upon me to conduct any portion of the special studies for the Christian ministry. Henceforth it will be otherwise. And no change could be more congenial to my deepest faith and affection than that which enables me to enter the sacred circle of Christian doctrine, and to share more directly in sending forth faithful men, well furnished as preachers of Christ's holy Gospel and pioneers of his heavenly kingdom. If I do not mistake the signs of the times, many threatening clouds are passing away from us; and with candid interpretation and hearty support of one another, we may hope for a blessing on the future not unworthy of the good examples of the past."

To the relief which the issue of the crisis brought to Tayler we have his testimony, in a letter to Martineau written from Kiel (August 10th) during the summer vacation of that year:—²

"I have got into still waters; the clouds of suspense and anxiety which the last months had gathered over me, are beginning to disperse; I seem to see my way more clearly into the future, and every day I feel more and more the quickening sunshine of

¹ *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. I. p. 318.

² *Letters of John James Tayler*, Vol. II. p. 72.

quiet steadfast thought and a hopeful spirit. . . . My dear friend, a difficult and responsible task lies before us. We possess, I believe, generally the confidence of the young and of the large-hearted, but we shall be watched with no friendly eyes in many quarters, and some really good men are distrustful of us. What have we to do but to throw ourselves on the support of the God of Truth and Holiness, and resolve to do the work to which he has called us with reverence and honesty! It is a joy to me that I have you for my colleague and helper in this work, because I am sure that you believe with me that pure and spiritual Christianity, cleansing and animating the whole inward life of man, is the only means of rescuing our actual civilization from the corruption of debasing selfishness and carnality,—and that *our* Churches, small and unimportant as they may now seem, from their historical antecedents, and their social position and free constitution, possess latent means and opportunities of spiritual influence which they have never yet developed, and which we, as directors of the education of their future ministers, must look forward to the prospect of calling into deep and steady operation. We must strive to be at once earnest and conciliatory; reverent and free; conservative of all that was good in the past, and welcoming all the new good that is coming to us with the future: and this spirit we must strive to put into our young men—making them modest, ingenuous, noble-minded and self-devoted. If I can live and work long enough to see only the commencement of such a state of things, I shall be fully rewarded for all my labours and anxieties.”

The new session, with Martineau and Tayler in full charge, was opened on October 5th, with a public address by the Principal.¹ By that time the teaching staff had been completed by the appointment of Martineau's elder son, Russell, as Lecturer in Hebrew Language and Literature,² an office

¹ Published in the *Christian Reformer* of November, 1857.

² This appointment, at the time, was made a further subject of ungenerous controversy, as may be seen from the *Life of Martineau*, Vol. I. pp. 322-25. The appointment was due to Tayler and Kenrick on the strong recommendation of Ewald, without any reference to Martineau himself. Russell Martineau (1831-98) was a distinguished Orientalist and a very admirable teacher. His chief life-work was at the British Museum, on the Library staff, from 1857 until his retirement in 1896, for the last twelve years as Assistant Keeper. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, Vol. III.

which he held for the next sixteen years, after 1866 with added recognition, as Professor.

Further help for the undergraduates was provided by the appointment of John Bridge, M.A., as Tutor in Mathematics, a service which he rendered with quiet faithfulness for thirty years.

Tayler at that time was sixty years of age, and Martineau fifty-two. For eleven more years they worked together, and in the twelfth year, the seventy-second of his age, Tayler died at his post. To Martineau, who succeeded him as Principal, it was given to complete a much longer span of years, and to bring his life-work to a very wonderful and beautiful completion.

Born in 1805, April 21st, at Norwich, educated for the ministry, as already recorded, in the College at York, his life covered practically all the rest of the century, for it was only on January 11, 1900, that he died. Forty-five years of active work as a teacher he gave to the College, the chief distinction of which, in the whole course of its history, has been that it nurtured him, and retained his devoted service and unchanging affection to the end. When he was eighty, in 1885, he completed the retirement from active duty as a teacher, from which he had been partially released since 1875; and then for two years he was President of the College, holding that office during its centenary celebrations. Fifty years earlier, in the brilliant promise of his early manhood, he had preached one of the sermons in connection with the College jubilee, which was followed four years later by its return from York to Manchester. Three years after the centenary, the momentous decision was made, to leave London and establish the College in Oxford. Of this move Martineau was one of the strongest opponents, but once the decision was made, he, with other devoted and generous friends, acquiesced, and he gave the benediction of his presence to the opening of the Oxford

buildings and the dedication of the College Chapel in 1893. By that time the fruits of his life-work as a teacher had been gathered up, in the volumes of his *Types of Ethical Theory*, published by the Oxford University Press in the year of his retirement, the *Study of Religion*, in 1887, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, in 1890, and then the four volumes of his collected *Essays, Reviews and Addresses*, and the volume of *Home Prayers*, in 1891.

The years of his teaching in London were marked by great movements of thought. In 1857, Stanley and Jowett's Pauline commentaries had already appeared, and soon there came the *Essays and Reviews* controversy (1860), and later Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible*. The doctrine of Evolution took firm hold with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871), and the writings of Herbert Spencer; and in 1883 the publication of T. H. Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* heralded the effective coming of the Idealist philosophers into the field of English thought. And all the time, in Gordon Square, Martineau was quietly teaching "a few youths in a corner," but making his influence felt with steadily growing power, through his writings, and the years of his preaching in Little Portland Street Chapel (1859-72). Among his College Addresses two were of special significance, "Why Dissent?" in 1871, a vindication of Nonconformity, its history and spirit, in face of Matthew Arnold's "habitual disparagement," and "Religion as Affected by Modern Materialism," in 1874, with reference to Tyndall's British Association address at Belfast. His membership in the Metaphysical Society brought him into personal touch with many other of the chief thinkers of the time, and how they regarded him was expressed in the birthday address of 1888,¹ which bore the signatures, among

¹ Cf. *Life and Letters*, Vol. II. p. 130, and Professor William Knight's *Inter Amicos*.

many others (over six hundred in all), of Tennyson, Browning, Jowett, Zeller, Caird, Max Müller, Lowell, Wendell Holmes, Seeley, Lecky, Newman, Kuenen, Renan and Stopford Brooke. This notable tribute, recognizing the great services he had rendered to the study of Philosophy and Religion, contained the following passage:—

"You have taught your generation that, both in politics and religion, there are truths above party, independent of contemporary opinion, and which cannot be overthrown, for their foundations are in the heart of man; you have shown that there may be an inward unity transcending the divisions of the Christian world, and that the charity and sympathy of Christians are not to be limited to those who bear the name of Christ: you have sought to harmonize the laws of the spiritual with those of the natural world, and to give to each their due place in human life; you have preached a Christianity of the spirit, and not of the letter, which is inseparable from morality; you have spoken to us of a hope beyond this world; you have given rest to the minds of many."

Professor Upton's contribution to the *Life and Letters*, which furnishes a full and most admirable account and estimate of Martineau's philosophical work, concludes very aptly with a quotation from Dr. A. Caldecott, of King's College, in his *Philosophy of Religion in England and America*, in which it is recognized that in Martineau "we have one of the great masters of the subject, one of the men who made contributions of permanent value to its literature in Great Britain," "the truest successor of Butler in the history of English Ethics." "Martineau," the passage concludes, "has secured one of the places of highest honour in the literature of our English Theism, and has given us many thoughts of the kind which raise the whole level of man's religious meditations."¹

To the special Martineau Memorial number of *The Inquirer*, January 20, 1900, several of his old pupils of

¹ *Life and Letters*, Vol. II. p. 482. Caldecott, p. 352.

successive generations contributed reminiscences, which picture him as he was in their student days. Thus James Drummond, who was a student in 1856-59, wrote:—

“What I most distinctly remember from my student days is the sense of that personal fascination which proceeds not from any single characteristic, but from the whole spirit of a man, that subtle power by which one soul lays hold upon another, and translates it into an ideal world. . . . Yet this power was combined with a certain aloofness, due no doubt in part to absorption in his work, but partly, I think, to humility and a natural shyness, which made him shrink from attempting to exert a direct personal pressure. It was accordingly in the fulfilment of College or public duties that his influence was most felt. The short morning services in the Library, when conducted by him, carried us into the Holy Presence, and left a consecration on our day. . . . His appearance in the classroom at once arrested our attention, and prepared us for an hour of intellectual delight; for an expression of power was stamped on every lineament of his face. . . . Then came the lecture, written in the most finished style, replete with subtle reasoning, brilliant metaphor, and searching insight, delivered somewhat slowly, so that good notes could be taken, and at the same time with all the expressiveness of his musical and varied tones. He always gave us of his best. . . . It was one of his most valuable and beautiful traits as a teacher, that he not only taught us to be candid and independent in our judgment, but always treated our immature opinions with a serious courtesy. He thus showed his sympathy with the heart of a learner.”

Estlin Carpenter, who was a student, 1860-66, added this further touch to the picture:—

“We knew that we were confronted by a great personality. His never-failing punctuality, his dignity of manner, the noble lines stamped clear upon his face, the deep tones of his voice, even the ‘sumptuous simplicity’ (as one of his hearers called it) of his little apparatus—the morocco portfolio, the large page of MS. unspoiled by correction or erasure, the ivory paper-knife and (in cold weather) the almost regal robe of fur-lined purple cloth—all these seemed but the external harmony of the inner greatness which gesture and words alike conveyed.”

Henry Gow, who was at College 1879-84, and thus one of the last of his students, wrote:—

“He moulded our thought, not by dogmatism, but by helping us to think; he raised and directed our ideals by the beauty of his character. . . . I remember his rich, deep, gentle voice, his wonderful humility, his exquisite graciousness and eager sympathy. He was so simple that it did not often strike us as a sacrifice that this man, recognized by all religious thinkers as a leader, should spend his time in training a dozen very ordinary youths; and yet underneath we did feel a little of the privilege, and we did, perhaps unconsciously, respond to the appeal which such a sacrifice must make. I remember the rather bare puritanic lecture-room, and the students, sometimes dull or frivolous at other lectures, but always touched by reverence with him; and best of all I remember that beautiful face, severe, tender, lined by thought and knowledge of suffering and knowledge of God. It was a benediction which sank into our lives.”

These three, who had been his students, came afterwards, each in turn, to be themselves teachers in the College, and they were all there, with many others, in the College library, on October 18, 1898, when the Martineau statue was unveiled. That is a great possession, the statue in white marble, the figure robed and seated, in the silence of a wonderfully lifelike grace and dignity. Drummond was then Principal, and after the unveiling and the acceptance of the statue by the President, David Ainsworth, on behalf of the College, he also spoke, in acknowledgment of “a very beautiful and precious gift.” After a word of warm congratulation to the sculptor, Hope-Pinker, he said:—

“There sits our revered teacher on his white throne, the familiar form rendered, through the art of the sculptor, ‘so express and admirable’ that we almost expect those marble lips to open, and allow us to hear once more the melodious voice, to whose sentences, so replete with thought and wisdom, we have so often listened entranced. Surely we may be proud, not of ourselves, but of our ancestors, when we remember that this man, with such varied and exact learning, with such profound thought,

with such literary grace and brilliant imagination, and, not least with such deep religious sensibility, such ardent and unquenchable faith, is altogether a genuine *alumnus* of this College. At the time when he was young, the great National Universities were closed against such men; and he was obliged to betake himself to a small and obscure Academy, but one which had University ideals, which cherished large aims, and succeeded in imparting a rich and noble culture to its sons. And throughout life his loyalty to this Institution has remained unabated."

Martineau himself was then in Scotland, for the last time in his summer home at Aviemore, and his long life was within fifteen months of its peaceful end; but the statue remains, a constant, benignant presence in the library, to remind all who come in there of his great work and abiding influence in the College.

The Watts portrait is also a valuable possession, though unfortunately it was painted at a time of stress and uncertain health (1873-74), after Martineau had been obliged to relinquish his ministry at Little Portland Street, and when the shadow of Mrs. Martineau's failing strength was already resting on his home. The portrait recalls Mrs. Tennyson's description of him, in her journal of November, 1869, when he had visited them at Farringford: "He struck us as having a subtle and wonderful mind: he is strong, mournful and tender-looking, 'a noble gentleman.'"

The thought of Martineau naturally dominates the whole of the London period of the College, but the eminent service rendered by his colleagues, who successively joined him in the work, claims also a full measure of grateful recognition. After Tayler's death in 1869, his place as Professor of Biblical and Historical Theology and the Truths and Evidences of Christianity was taken by James Drummond, and when in 1875 Martineau had obtained partial release from the burden of his College work, being then seventy years of age, Charles Barnes Upton, one of the earliest of the London students, came to take Logic and



THE MARTINEAU STATUE IN THE COLLEGE LIBRARY

Mental and Moral Philosophy (and after 1885 the full work of the professorship), while the staff was completed by the appointment of Joseph Estlin Carpenter as Professor of Old Testament, Ecclesiastical History and Comparative Theology. Since Russell Martineau's retirement, Philip Magnus had been teaching Hebrew in the College, and he continued for Carpenter's first year, after which Hebrew Language and Literature was added to his subjects. These three, after serving, Drummond for twenty years, Upton and Carpenter for fourteen, in London, moved with the College to Oxford. Their service in London was deeply appreciated, not only as teachers in the College, but as a distinct force in the religious life of the churches of their Communion, in the Domestic Missions and the work of the Sunday School Association. The students of the College while in London had the advantage of being in touch with such work, and Martineau had always encouraged them in it, especially at the schools connected with Little Portland Street Chapel, an advantage offered much more fully by London than has been possible at Oxford.

The achievement of the London period of the College, in its specific work of training men for the ministry of religion, was hardly less than that of the York period. In length of time it was shorter, but only by one year, and the roll of the Divinity students numbered 115, as compared with 122 at York. The great difference was in the absence of lay students on the College roll, the three Ainsworth brothers being practically the only ones corresponding to the considerable body of lay men from leading families of the Liberal Nonconformist community, who received part at least of their training at York. Among the first of the London Divinity students, Upton has been already named, and there were Charles Clement Coe, Robert and James Drummond, Enfield Dowson and Alexander Gordon; then the remarkable group knit together in close College friend-

ship, Edwin Odgers, Richard Armstrong, Estlin Carpenter and Philip Wicksteed. These in the sixties, as in the eighties the later group, L. P. Jacks, H. Gow, F. K. Freeston, E. I. Fripp, Travers Herford and W. H. Drummond (the Principal's son)—all of them in after years closely associated with the interests of the College, and, with a number of others, distinguished in the service of the churches. J. H. Muirhead was a student 1884-87, and in 1888, the last year in London, Dawes Hicks was entered, and moved with the College to Oxford. In the London period the line of students from the Unitarian Churches of Transylvania also began, among whom George Boros has attained the highest honour, in his own country, as Bishop since 1928.

Another point of interest in the London period was the coming into operative force of the Hibbert Trust, from which students for the ministry on the open principle of the College have received great benefit.¹

¹ Robert Hibbert (1770-1849) had been a private pupil of Gilbert Wakefield's at Nottingham, before going to Cambridge, where he graduated. For some years he was out in the West Indies, where he had property and business interests. In 1847 he executed a deed of trust, associating with himself as first trustees his cousins, Mark Phillips and Robert Phillips of Heybridge. It established a Fund, the income of which, after his own and his wife's death (which occurred in February, 1853), was to be administered by the Trustees "in such manner as they, in their uncontrolled discretion, shall from time to time deem most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of the right of private judgment in matters of religion." The Trustees, therefore, had the largest liberty of judgment, according to the circumstances of the time, with which to fulfil the purpose of the founder, and they were charged at stated intervals of twenty-five years to reconsider any plans they might adopt, in their administration of the trust. In accordance with the first scheme, suggested by the founder himself, the Trustees began by offering scholarships, which were gained by the most gifted of the students in Manchester College. They were held first in the College itself, and afterwards for further study abroad, a benefit subsequently extended to others also and continued to the present time. Another signal service rendered by the Trust has been the institution of the Hibbert Lectures, the first series of which began in 1878 with Max Müller's lectures on "The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India," given in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, and concluded in 1894 by Drummond's "Via, Veritas, Vita," lectures on "Christianity in its Simplest and most Intelligible Form,"

The close affinity of the principle and purpose of the Trust to that of Manchester College naturally led to co-operation between the two. The first suggestion of the kind came very soon after the abolition of tests at the old Universities, when it was proposed that a united effort should be made to establish unfettered theological teaching at Oxford or Cambridge. The Hibbert Trustees asked for a conference to that end with representatives of the College, and it was held at University Hall, in February, 1872. But when it was realized that the project, if it came to action, must involve the removal of the College from London to one or other of the Universities, it was felt that the difficulties at the moment were insuperable. The purpose, however, was not abandoned, and when the next serious inquisition was made into the work and prospects of the College, as it was, by resolution of the Trustees in June, 1875, the scheme for such removal took more definite form, with the prospect of substantial support from the Hibbert Trust.

There had been growing dissatisfaction with the results of the connection with University College, and in 1871 a system of external undergraduate exhibitions had been adopted, by which men were enabled to graduate at some other University than London, and so come to the College only for their theological course; and it was now suggested that the College might do better to abolish its undergraduate course altogether. The main question, however, was whether London still afforded the best situation for the College, or whether the time had not come for another move.

The Special Committee appointed in 1875, after exhaustive

given in Oxford and London. A second series, which began in 1911 with Farnell's lectures on "The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion," included Carpenter's volume of 1919 on *Theism in Medieval India*. The establishment of the *Hibbert Journal* in 1902, edited from the first by L. P. Jacks, was a further measure of far-reaching influence, making for the same end of unfettered thought and religious enlightenment and progress.

inquiry and long and careful deliberation, presented a report in 1879, which offered an impartial statement of three possible courses to be adopted: "1st, that the College should remain in London; 2nd, that it be removed to Oxford or Cambridge; 3rd, that it should be removed to Manchester, with or without a possible amalgamation with the Unitarian Home Missionary Board." In offering the first proposal, to remain in London, the Committee recognized that the connection with University College had largely ceased, and would be completely broken, if the undergraduate years at the College were entirely superseded by the system of external undergraduate exhibitions; and while stress was laid on the value of connection with religious work in London, the disadvantage to the students of living in scattered lodgings was pointed out. A suggestion was added that it would be well to gather them into a common residence. In connection with the second proposal, to go to Oxford or Cambridge, which would involve the erection at least of lecture-rooms and a chapel, and possibly also a Principal's house, the interest of the Hibbert Trustees in such a scheme was noted: "The Committee have reason to believe that substantial assistance would be given them by the Hibbert Trustees, probably to the extent of providing, for a term of years, the salary of an additional Professor." The strongest motive at the back of this proposal was expressed in the following passage of the report:—

"A further object, which the promoters of this scheme have in view, is to set in a more vivid light, and in a position of greater publicity, the characteristic principle of the College, namely, that theology, like other sciences, can be taught by teachers who are not fettered by previously imposed tests, to students whose sole object is the attainment of truth. This principle upon which the College was founded in 1786, has already been recognized by the older Universities in the case of every other science: but its application to theology is still a matter of the future. In London, with its numerous and overwhelming metropolitan

interests, the College is lost in the crowd: and its very existence is unknown, except to those who are personally concerned in it: whilst probably no means could be adopted, so sure to bring it under the notice of the educated classes, and to force its characteristic principle upon their attention, as to set it down at Oxford or Cambridge, at the centre of academical life. No doubt there would be some difficulty in preventing it from being looked upon as a denominational College. But that is quite as much the case now, with far less opportunity of demonstrating that it is not so. Whether this change of locality would lead to an increase in the number of students, it is impossible to predict. There is no reason to believe that it would lessen it."

The third proposal, that the College should return to Manchester, its original home, was included in the report, as it had been earnestly advocated by those who felt strongly the sentimental tie with Manchester and the great advantage of contact there with the vigorous life of Nonconformity, but in the subsequent discussion it was recognized that there was no likelihood of its being adopted, and the real issue was between London and Oxford.

The alternative proposals were keenly debated in the General Committee, and ultimately the supporters of the London proposal prevailed. The report was adopted for presentation to the Trustees, together with a resolution to be moved on behalf of the Committee, for remaining in London. On this, Robert Darbishire gave notice of an amendment, for the adoption of a scheme of removal to Oxford. It was this which led to Charles Beard's resignation as Secretary.¹

A special meeting for the consideration of the Report and the Committee's resolution was held in Manchester, at the Memorial Hall, on October 30, 1879, attended by sixty-eight Trustees, the President, Edward Enfield, in the chair. William Gaskell, as Chairman of the Committee, moved the resolution, "That the College be retained in London," but

¹ Cf. p. 131.

avowed his own preference for a return to Manchester, if it had been practicable. Charles Beard had been requested by the Committee to second the resolution and explain the London scheme, and he did so, painful as the duty was, since his own conviction, as he frankly stated, went with the Oxford proposal. It was his belief that "Those who wish the College to go to Oxford or Cambridge are the men who see farthest into the future, are the men who are most emancipated from the fears and prejudices of the past." He would certainly have supported the Oxford proposal, if he had not felt that to press it at the moment was premature and likely actually to delay the achievement of the end they had in view. As secretary he had been responsible for the drafting of the London scheme, and felt bound to abide by the decision of the majority.

The Committee's resolution having been so moved and seconded, Robert Darbishire moved, as an amendment:—

"That this meeting declares that in its opinion the establishment of the College at Oxford or at Cambridge, as one of the great seats of national University life, would eminently conduce to the more effective education of Ministers for Free Churches in this country; and in the characteristic devotion of this College to free teaching and free learning in Theology would, according to the opportunities of its supporters, assist in promoting generally, for Laymen as well as Ministers, scientific research after truth, and frank declaration of the progressive results of unfettered inquiry in such matters, and thereby help in preparing the way for enlightened and thorough culture, and for the worship of God in spirit and in truth in every Church."

In support of this amendment, he spoke with the earnestness of profound conviction, and was seconded by Henry Russell Greg. In the discussion which followed, John Hamilton Thom spoke strongly against the Oxford proposal, as did Harry Rawson, though he only agreed to London, because he could not hope for Manchester, and Henry William Crosskey, who, however, nine years later

avowed himself a convert and voted for Oxford. Among the supporters of the amendment were Thomas Ashton, E. M. Geldart, who as an Oxford man made an impassioned appeal, Richard Armstrong, S. A. Steinthal and Philip Wicksteed.

On a vote being taken, the amendment was lost, 17 votes being for it and 34 against. The resolution to remain in London was then carried by 31 votes to 15, and further consideration of the London scheme was adjourned to a subsequent meeting of the Trustees. So the matter for the moment was settled and the College remained for another ten years in London.

The crucial matter of debate, after this decision had been made, was concerned with the students' undergraduate years, and the conditions of their residence. It was decided at the adjourned meeting to abolish the undergraduate course, but at the following June meeting of Trustees, after the receipt of a report from the professors decidedly adverse to the change, the resolution was rescinded, and the whole course remained as it had been for the rest of the London period.

The question of residence became involved in another, which almost immediately arose, of the financial position of University Hall and its relation to the College. It led to a new experiment on the part of the College, which had a very definite part in determining the ultimate issue of 1889, in the removal to Oxford. Early in 1881 it appeared that the finances of the Hall were in an unsound condition, and the position with regard to the College had to be reconsidered. As an immediate measure of relief, the College made an extra payment of £250, on condition that ten rooms in the Hall should be available for its students in the coming session; and in June a further scheme was approved, under which the College accepted responsibility for the management and came practically into pos-

session of the Hall. The property was vested in a new body of Trustees, half from the College and half from the Society of University Hall, and under the new Trust the College was to have the use of the Hall for an experimental term of years, and longer, if it was desired, after which the property was to be disposed of and the Trust Fund resulting held for the benefit of the purposes of the College. It will be remembered¹ that when the Hall Society was established, it was provided that in the event of dissolution the remaining funds should be applied in furtherance of the declared objects of the foundation. These, with a Hall of Residence, included provision for instruction in Theology and Mental and Moral Philosophy, on the principle of "unlimited religious liberty and the right of private judgment as paramount to the profession of any peculiar theological tenets." Thus, when the crisis arose, the College naturally and very fitly came into the inheritance of the Trust.

For seven years, until June, 1889, the College maintained the Hall, under the devoted principalship of Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature at University College, with the help of his son, Dr. H. Forster Morley, as Dean. It was a time of prosperous and happy life for the community of students, under such wise and genial headship, and it largely met the wishes of the College for the advantage of common residence for its own students. But it was a costly experiment, which threatened much more serious loss financially, when Morley's tenure of the principalship should terminate as he had announced that it must in June, 1889. It was therefore clear that some radical change must be made; and to prepare for this, and at the same time take into consideration the whole future of the College, the Committee was instructed, at the annual meeting in January, 1888, to prepare a special report, for the considera-

¹ Cf. p. 124.

tion of the Trustees. It was this report which brought the issue between London and Oxford to its ultimate decision.

But before that date two events occurred, of the deepest interest to all friends of the College, Martineau's retirement from active service in 1885, after the celebration of his eightieth birthday, and the Centenary celebration of the College.

At the annual meeting of Trustees in January, 1885, Martineau's letter of resignation was received and the resolution of inevitable acceptance was moved by Robert Darbishire, in a speech of deep feeling and grateful reminiscence. It was seconded by John Hamilton Thom, his closest friend from the earliest days of their ministry together in Liverpool. In the course of his speech, after a reference to the trouble of 1857, the storm which fortunately "blew over peacefully," Thom added:—

"There are now no two parties amongst us. There are no two sections, looking jealously, suspiciously and distrustfully at one another. And I think Manchester New College has reason to be proud that mainly owing to the influence of its two latest Principals, of John James Tayler and his congenial successor, Dr. Martineau, our Church, in all essential matters, is now a Church of the Spirit."

At the June meeting of Trustees further acknowledgment was made, Martineau himself being present, when a resolution, moved by Dr. Thomas Sadler, seconded by Richard Hutton and supported by William Shaen and John Robberds, an old York student, was passed, recording his forty-five years of service to the College, sixteen of them as Principal, and "the faithfulness and dignity with which he has maintained its fundamental principle of free teaching and free learning, while, with surpassing ability, vindicating for a devout spiritual philosophy its high place among theological studies."

There was also a memorable dinner at the Freemasons'

Tavern, at which an Address from his old students was presented to Martineau, an expression of their "reverence and love," and two other Addresses, one from the Consistory of the Hungarian Unitarians, signed by the Bishop, the other from the seven Hungarian (Transylvanian) students, who had been successively at the College, who wrote in glowing terms of gratitude and veneration to their old teacher.

Martineau, in the course of his response at the students' dinner, with many happy reminiscences, spoke of the College, with confidence in its future:—

"The future, like the past, will show that, without ancient pedigree or splendid traditions, thorough Academic work may yet be done. Our *Alma Mater* is certainly no Queenly personage, whose sons are Princes and Judges of the earth. Still, though but a City Matron, she sends forth honest men, whom none can deny to be, in fair proportion, good citizens of the States of the Republic of letters, and of the Kingdom of God."

And his final word was:—

"I quit my post as teacher, to take my place among you as an old student;—so old that, as one of the milestones in the College history of which I spoke, it must appear to you quite away from the now frequented track, moss-grown and dim in the far perspective, mingled already with the hedgerow and the grassy road. There, however, let me stand and be counted with you. Accept me as your comrade; and let us join our vows of filial loyalty to Manchester New College."

Close upon Martineau's retirement came the College Centenary celebrations. At the annual meeting of Trustees in January, 1886, he was elected President and held the office for two years. On the actual hundredth anniversary of the founding of the College, February 22, 1886, there was a great gathering of friends for the celebration in Manchester. A service was held in Cross Street Chapel, in the conduct of which Drummond, the new Principal, Vance Smith, Principal for some time in the second Man-

chester period, and John Robberds took part, and an eloquent sermon of commemoration was preached by Charles Beard.

In the evening, on the invitation of the Mayor of Manchester, Alderman Goldschmidt, a reception was held in the Town Hall, attended by some five hundred guests, when a resolution of thankful commemoration and rededication to the high ideal of the College was passed. It was then that Alexander Gordon's historical address was given, in which he traced the line of descent of the College from the first Academy of Richard Frankland at Rathmel, and there were further addresses by the Principal and Charles Hargrove. Martineau was unable to be present, but sent a letter of regret, in which he looked forward with hope to the London meeting in June.

That further celebration included Beard's Visitor's Address to the students,¹ a Centenary soirée at Willis's Rooms, when Martineau delivered a further historical address, and the June meeting of Trustees, at which he and Thom and William Shaen spoke to the resolution of Commemoration:—

"As Trustees of this College, meeting for the first time since the completion of its hundredth year, we record our serious judgment, that its fundamental principle of free teaching and free learning has been amply vindicated by a century's experience; our gratitude for the release, at the old national universities, of all departments of study, save one, from the pressure of exclusive tests; and our conviction that, while this exception continues, the duty is still imposed of here securing to Theology—embracing the supreme subjects of human thought—an unrestricted application of enlarging knowledge, the perennial freshness of unbidden faith, and the varying inspirations of personal devotion."

¹ This and his sermon, and Gordon's address with other Centenary speeches by Martineau, Thom and Drummond, are reprinted in the volume *Theology and Piety: Alike Free*, edited by "An Old Student" (Robert Darbishire), in 1890.

In the course of his speech in seconding the resolution, Thom made this affirmation:—

“We meet here to-day as Trustees of this school of the prophets. Trustees for what? Guardians of what? Of freedom to grow in the knowledge of God. That simply is the talent entrusted to us; a talent capable of unlimited productiveness and reproducibility, and, therefore, not to be wrapped in any napkins of finality. Our Lord’s money with usury, the usury being more knowledge of God, with higher service, will not come from the mere assertion of our liberty, but from the practical application of it, ennobled and strengthened by such gains of truth and access of light, such increase of seeing power as may be accorded to us from generation to generation.”

With its principle and purpose thus reaffirmed, the first century of the life of the College was brought to a close; and it was not long after that celebration, as has been already noted, that the next step of progress, the most momentous, perhaps, in its whole history, was taken. As, after the Jubilee 1836, the College, within four years, was brought back from York to Manchester for an endeavour of larger enterprise, so after the Centenary, even more speedily, for the fulfilment of a high ideal and a long-cherished hope, its last migration was effected, from London to Oxford.

The debate, when the matter came to be decided, was again very keen, and the opposition weighty; but during the years since 1879 the conviction had grown stronger, and was more widely held, that Oxford was the true goal to be reached, to secure for the College opportunity for the most effective service. On the instruction received by the Committee in January, 1888, a special report was prepared by a sub-committee,¹ which made recommendations for the abolition of the internal undergraduate course, the

¹ The Sub-Committee consisted of the chairman, S. A. Steintal, the two secretaries, R. D. Darbishire and H. Enfield Dowson, R. A. Armstrong, C. C. Coe, J. Edwin Odgers, David Martineau and Harry Rawson, the last two representing the interests of London and Manchester respectively.

termination of the occupancy of University Hall and the removal of the College from London to Oxford. In full Committee, after two amendments had been rejected, the one to recommend remaining in London, the other a return to Manchester, the report was adopted for presentation to the Trustees. It was circulated, with notice that at the annual meeting in June resolutions would be proposed on behalf of the Committee, to carry it into effect.

The meeting was held at University Hall, on June 28th, Henry Russell Greg, who had succeeded Martineau as President, in the chair. It was he who seconded Robert Darbishire’s defeated amendment in 1879. The Committee’s resolution, “That the College be moved from London and established at Oxford,” was moved by Edwin Odgers and seconded by Philip Wicksteed. Chief among the speakers in opposition was Dr. Martineau, who read a letter from William Rathbone lamenting the decay of the Puritan spirit and vigour in the Churches, which he feared would only be accentuated if the College were taken to Oxford. With him in opposition were P. W. Clayden, W. Blake Odgers, I. S. Lister and Frederick Nettlefold; on the other side, Robert Darbishire, Enfield Dowson, R. A. Armstrong, P. W. Price, Charles Hargrove and Sir Roland Wilson. There were more than eighty Trustees present, and the resolution was carried by 42 votes to 36. A further resolution instructed the Committee to consider the best means of carrying out the decision and to report again to the Trustees.

This was done at the following annual meeting in Manchester, January 24, 1889, when sixty-nine Trustees were present. The adoption of the special Report, with a plan for the establishment of the College at Oxford, having been moved by the President and seconded by C. C. Coe, an amendment was moved by Frederick Nettlefold, seconded by David Martineau and supported by Dr. Martineau, “That

the Report be referred for consideration to a special meeting of the Trustees, to be summoned at not less than three weeks' notice, at Birmingham, or some other central place." The amendment was lost, by 26 votes to 41, and the resolution was then passed, by 34 votes to 7. On a subsequent appeal to the Committee from a number of the dissentient Trustees a poll of the whole body was taken.¹

There were at the time 376 Trustees, of whom, however, 101 were such only as Life Members of University Hall, and not as subscribers to the College. On the poll 256 votes were given, 138 in favour of the settlement, 109 adverse and 9 neutral. So by March 1st the matter was settled and the result loyally accepted, some of the strongest opponents being subsequently among the most generous donors to the Oxford Fund. The great window in the College Chapel over the Communion Table, with its central figure of the youthful Christ, was the gift of Frederick Nettlefold and his wife.

At the close of the session in June, 1889, farewell was taken of University Hall and of Henry Morley, with very grateful recognition of the service he had rendered during the seven years of his principalship. It was a bitter disappointment to him that the Hall was not secured as a continuing residence for students of University College, but the actual event, its purchase² by the Dr. Williams

¹ In the interval, during February, a statement was issued, strongly adverse to the Oxford settlement, signed by James Martineau, Thomas Sadler, Isaac S. Lister, David Martineau, Stephen S. Tayler, Russell Martineau, J. T. Whitehead, Frederick Nettlefold, T. Smith Osler, Lindsey M. Aspland, Henry Ierson, P. W. Clayden, W. Blake Odgers and W. Arthur Sharpe. On this, a counter statement followed, containing individual comments on the objections by S. Alfred Secinthal, H. Enfield Dowson, R. A. Armstrong, R. D. Darbishire and J. Edwin Odgers. There was also an urgent appeal in favour of the settlement, and for support of the action of the Committee, signed by fifty-eight Trustees.

² The purchase price of £11,500, with a further amount from the sale of furniture, restored to the College the £6,000 which had been invested in the Hall under the arrangement of 1881, and brought a further £6,000 to the College, held under the University Hall Trust.

Trustees for the Library, kept it more closely in the line of the tradition of liberal Nonconformity and the memorial purpose of its origin. On the Wednesday evening of the final week of the session a farewell soirée was held in the Hall, at which London supporters of the College entertained the professors, students, officers, committee and other friends. The last Visitor's Address in London was given by Edwin Odgers, and at the Valedictory Service in Little Portland Street Chapel, conducted by the Principal and the other two professors, the Welcome into the Ministry was given by Stopford Brooke.

CHAPTER IX

MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

THIS record, as a history of Manchester College, can, happily, not be completed. Through the fortunes of a hundred years, from the first foundation in Manchester, in succession to the line of earlier academies, its various migrations have been traced, and the valuable service rendered to the cause of learning and religion has been noted, up to the time of its final settlement at Oxford. That was not the end, but a beginning, and the aim of this last chapter is to tell of the settlement and the purpose which prompted it, and to show how far the after-experience of the next forty years has justified the undertaking, while the future remains open for yet more adequate service in the time to come.

With high hope the College was brought to Oxford, as the fittest place for its distinctive work, at one of the chief centres of national culture; and with an earnest conviction of duty, that witness ought there to be borne to the fundamental principle of its foundation. As a Free School of Theology, for post-graduate study, its service was offered, and as a place of training for the ministry of religion, on the open principle, with freedom from all dogmatic constraint. That was the original purpose of the College, which through every change of place and differing method, as experience determined, has remained constant, a trust to be faithfully fulfilled. In a recent statement issued by the College (December, 1928) its position was thus clearly defined:—

“The founders were liberal Nonconformists of the latter years of the eighteenth century and their determining motive was the need of ministers to be trained for service in their churches. The College was established as an independent academic institu-



MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD
From the South-East. The Chapel in the Foreground

tion 'open to young men of every denomination,' with that paramount purpose clearly in view, as it has been from that time to this. Hence the open principle of the College, as providing the right conditions for the education of men for the ministry of Free Churches, with the further hope, by demonstration of the efficacy of that principle, of serving the wider interests of progressive religious thought and life.

"It is important, therefore, that the independence of the College should be maintained, free from any suspicion of sectarian exclusiveness or denominational control; but no less definitely must the association of the College with the religious life of the Community of Churches from which it had its origin and which it was established to serve be guarded and faithfully maintained, in continuing loyalty to the fundamental principle of spiritual freedom to which Churches and College alike are pledged."

To this cause the founders pledged themselves, in their own words, "in the spirit of true catholicism," and Drummond, in his opening address as Principal, in October, 1885, in view of the Centenary celebration of the College, spoke of it as "this home of faith and freedom," established "to provide a large and liberal culture for all who might choose to come in." And again, when the College was brought to Oxford, speaking at the laying of the foundation-stone, he said:—

"We shall bring here that comprehensive spirit which has been the guide of our history, and attain at last, I do hope and believe, that wider intercourse and fellowship for which we have so long thirsted. . . . In proportion as men go honestly down into the depths of their own nature, and listen to the voice of God which speaks within, they will be drawn closer to one another, and feel the uniting effects of Divine communion. We will not, then, God helping us, devote our College to any such negative and transient purpose as protesting against the supposed errors of others, or twitting them with what may seem to us the fetters which bind them, but, according to its fundamental rule, we will consecrate it to promote the study of Religion, Theology and Philosophy; and we will seek ever for ourselves, and for

all whom we can influence, a higher learning, a deeper faith, and a more devoted love. Oh, that our people, who are the supporters of this College, may rise to the dignity of a noble and disinterested enterprise, and henceforward, in the spirit of their forefathers, may consecrate their College, not to the limited service of a sect, but to the interests of the nation."

It was on the same occasion that Robert Darbishire, in the course of his memorable address, declared:—

"It is with no love of change that we have come to Oxford. We have sought here a wider learning, a larger intercourse with studious and pious men in this national seat of Learning and Religion; coming back to claim our share, as Englishmen, in the traditions and honour of Oxford, conscious of our littleness and weakness, but conscious, also, of an equal earnestness and as true a faith. We come, and we are unfeignedly glad to think of this—we who have been ejected and persecuted, who have been refused the opportunities of learning here, and been prevented from teaching anywhere,—to seize our first opportunity once more to take our stand, humble as our effort is, with the Church of England itself—I may say with the Churches of England—amongst those who shall mould the highest life of our country."

The appeal for the Oxford settlement had been urged not simply on the ground of the greater educational efficiency to be so secured, but for this added reason, that since the benefits of the University were now open to all comers, laymen of liberal Nonconformist families were more and more resorting there, and for their sake as well as for the Divinity students, who as undergraduates were already holding external exhibitions at Oxford, the College also ought to be there, with the offer of friendly countenance and sympathy on the part of its teachers and the benefit of its chapel services. Oxford was preferred to Cambridge, because of its great historical significance and its stronger appeal to religious interests. "From the days of Wiclif to those of Wesley and of Newman," it was pleaded, "Oxford has been the cradle of those movements of thought which

have most stimulated and refreshed the religious life of England"; and contact with the atmosphere of the University could not fail both to widen and invigorate the mental outlook of the students.

One of the objections urged by Martineau and others was that the College at Oxford would be isolated and not really in touch with the life of the University, but actual experience has proved happier than that foreboding. From the first the students had the advantage of attending lectures by such distinguished University teachers as Tylor, Wallace, Driver, Cheyne, and the privilege has always been open, for the enrichment of the College curriculum. The welcome received from members of the University was also more ready and cordial than had been expected; and as time went on the recognition became more and more complete. This was largely due, undoubtedly, to the eminent gifts and character of the successive Principals and other members of the College staff. Drummond, as a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, on coming to Oxford was able at once to incorporate as a member of the University. Oxford had conferred a D.C.L. on Martineau in 1888, and in 1901 Carpenter received an honorary M.A. and was welcomed as a member of Corpus Christi College. In 1911 Jacks also received the M.A. and Gow in 1928. Martineau had expressed the fear that the presence of the College at Oxford would hinder rather than help the progress of the liberal movement in the University. He would have rejoiced when in 1920 degrees in Divinity were made open and three years later Carpenter took an Oxford D.D. In 1922 Carpenter had been appointed a member of the University Board of the Faculty of Theology, and Jacks a member of the Delegacy for the training of Teachers. A further step towards recognition has been the inclusion of College lectures on Philosophy and New Testament in the list of University lectures each term. Distinguished members of

the University have also been willing to accept office as Visitor to the College. In that capacity the names of Max Müller, Edward Caird, R. W. Macan and Gilbert Murray are on the roll. For twenty years Dr. David C. Simpson, latterly Canon of Rochester and Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, has been a greatly valued member of the Teaching Staff, in the department of Old Testament and Hebrew. At the President's luncheon, in celebration of the opening of the College, in October, 1893, Sir William Markby, of Balliol and All Souls, following the Warden of Merton in a speech of cordial welcome and good wishes, said: "We hope to see Manchester College among us as an integral part of our Oxford life." On that occasion repeated reference was made to the sorrowful loss just sustained by the death of Jowett, the great Master of Balliol, who had promised to be present and offer the welcome. "It was he," the President said, "who welcomed and encouraged us by his presence, when four years ago we first came to Oxford"; and the Principal, after grateful words of tribute to his memory, added: "While he is unable to offer, in spoken words, the welcome which we should have so deeply prized from him, we feel his welcome in our hearts, and I trust that something of his rare and beautiful spirit will remain amongst us." To which Martineau also added his word of heartfelt concurrence.

The work of the College at Oxford began very quietly in the autumn of 1889, in temporary quarters, which had been secured in the upper rooms of an interesting old house, 90 High Street. The rooms had been recently vacated by Mansfield College on moving into its own building, and there for the next four years Manchester College was housed. The Principal's opening Address, on Friday, October 25th, was on "Old Principles and New Hopes," and a regular Sunday morning service was also instituted.

The Teaching Staff consisted of the three who had moved with the College from London: The Principal, Rev. James Drummond, M.A., LL.D.—New Testament and Divinity. The Vice-Principal, Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A.—History of Religion. Rev. Charles Barnes Upton, B.A., B.Sc.—Philosophy. To whom was added the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A., Lecturer on Social Economy.¹

The question of a site for the College building had been anxiously considered. Years ago Thomas Ashton had bought a valuable plot of ground in St. Giles', at the Alfred Street corner, and held it at the disposal of the College, if required; more than one other suggestion was made, but ultimately the decision was for a site more extended than that in St. Giles', including the old houses in Holywell, which some years later became the College Residence, and the open ground at the back, on which the College now stands. Mansfield Road was only opened out into Holywell while the College was in course of erection. The land was purchased from Merton College for £8,000. The building, of which Thomas Worthington of Manchester was the Architect, was by the autumn of 1891 so far advanced that on Tuesday, October 25th, a public laying of the Memorial Stone over the main entrance took place.

It began with a simple ceremonial, when the President, Henry Russell Greg, and other officers of the College, with the Teaching Staff and students, walked in quiet procession from 90 High Street to the site, and after a brief service of devotion, in which Upton and Carpenter took part, Robert Darbishire gave the address to which reference has

¹ In the last year in London an anonymous friend had given £100, to secure Wicksteed's services as lecturer on that subject, and this was continued for the first years at Oxford. In 1890, a benefaction of £3,000 was received, under the will of Miss Joanna Dunkin of Southampton, sister-in-law of Edmund Kell, Unitarian minister in that town, and in their memory the Dunkin Lectureship on Social Economy was founded. This was held more than once by Wicksteed, and from year to year by a number of other distinguished economists.

more than once been made in this record.¹ The President then laid a stone and unveiled the stone of dedication, bearing the historic inscription: "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion." His address was followed by one from the Principal and the Benediction pronounced by Thomas Hincks, one of the surviving students of the York period.

A greater celebration followed in 1893, when the building was complete and a public opening took place at the beginning of the autumn session, October 18th and 19th. The response to the appeal for a building worthy of the high ideal of the College and of Oxford had shown how widespread and deep was the interest in the undertaking among the people of the Free Churches, who looked to the College for the training of their ministers. The work was on a scale never before contemplated in its history, and the whole amount required, for land and building, with £10,000 for chapel endowment, £55,000 in all, was given, not indeed before the opening, but by the end of the year. The building fund was begun with a donation of £5,000 from William Hollins of Pleasley, and another from Henry Tate, who afterwards added a second £5,000, thus securing the provision of the beautiful library, which bears his name as founder. In the list of donors to the building fund there are more than six hundred names, and there were many others who gave in united contributions from their congregations. This and the satisfying completeness of the building, with the beauty both of library and chapel, witness to the ample measure of faith and loyalty devoted to the work.

The entrance to the College is from Mansfield Road, under the tower, with the Chapel on the south side of the quad and the library on the north, over the lecture and dining rooms and the junior common-room. The rooms of the teaching staff are in the central block, fronting on Mansfield Road, and one of these, on the ground floor, is

¹ Cf. pp. 131 and 170.

now devoted to the Carpenter Library of Comparative Religion. On the further side of the quad are domestic buildings, and beyond these the College Garden. Such was the plan of the original building, as opened in 1893. Later, in 1899, two of the Holywell houses were reconstructed as a Residence for the students, who until then had been in scattered lodgings, and No. 27 became the Warden's house. In 1911 an extension of the property was secured, including two more houses, one of which, No. 29, is now occupied by the Principal. The cost of this extension, £12,500, was met by two gifts of £5,000, from the Arlosh Trustees¹ and Sir John Brunner, who was then President, and £2,000 from Mrs. George Holt, of Liverpool, and her daughter. Later still, the Arlosh Hall was built on the ground between the Chapel and the Holywell houses, and opened in October, 1919, Percy Worthington being the Architect, who with his father had shared in the original building of the College.

The opening celebration in 1893 brought together a great gathering of friends, close upon seven hundred, from all parts of the country, and from Oxford itself many prominent members of the University. On Wednesday afternoon, October 18th, the officials of the College with members of the Committee and various deputations, together with past and present students, met in the Holywell Music Room nearby and proceeded to the entrance in Mansfield Road. There a gold key, tendered by the Architect, was presented by the Treasurer, Charles W. Jones, to the President, who opened the door and led in the assembled company. At the door of the library another key was presented by Joseph Lupton, who had been President for the five years before Martineau, to the Chairman of Committee, Harry Rawson, who opened the library on behalf of Henry Tate in his regretted absence.

¹ See note on p. 177.

A service of dedication followed, in the Chapel,¹ in which the Principal, with Upton and Carpenter, took part, and the sermon was preached by Enfield Dowson, for more than twenty years the devoted secretary of the College, in succession to Charles Beard, and afterwards President, in succession to Sir John Brunner. The Benediction was pronounced by Dr. Martineau. A further benediction was received from him, when at the Communion Service next morning he gave a deeply moving address. The Communion plate, then used for the first time, the gift of over eighty old students of the College, bears this inscription, which he, the senior of them all, had written:—

"These memorials of the Last Supper were presented to Manchester College, Oxford, for the Communion Table of its Chapel, on its dedication, October 18, 1893, by past students of the College, in gratitude for its Free Teaching, and reverence for its Interpretation of the Christian Life."

The Principal's Opening Address was given at noon on that day, followed by the President's luncheon at the Randolph Hotel, at which over two hundred guests were entertained. The speeches on that occasion are recorded in the published volume of the Opening Proceedings, as are the greetings at the Evening Reception in the library of the various deputations, from Harvard University, the

¹ The oak stalls in the Chapel and panelling of the walls were there from the first, but the beautiful screen at the entrance was given later, by Arthur Greg, in memory of his brother, Henry Russell Greg (1832-94), to whose gracious influence and faithful service as President, and for many years before that as a member of the Committee, the College was deeply indebted. The oak benches in the body of the Chapel were also a later gift of Arthur Greg's. The Organ Screen now bears the following inscription: "This Organ was given to Manchester College Chapel, October 1893, by Mrs. George Buckton, in memory of her husband. It was rebuilt and enlarged October 1930, by their daughter Alice, in memory of her husband, Joseph Estlin Carpenter, whose love and worship found utterance here." Within five years of the opening all the windows in the Chapel were filled with coloured glass, the work of William Morris from designs by Burne-Jones, given as memorials by various friends. The last to be filled was one of the small windows, facing the organ, the gift of old students of the College.

Bishop and Consistory of the Unitarian Churches in Hungary, the Hibbert Trust, the Presbyterian Board, Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, and Cairo Street Chapel, Warrington. Among those who spoke at the luncheon were the Principal and Dr. Martineau, Professor C. C. Everett of Harvard Divinity School, Canon Fremantle, Dr. Vance Smith, Professor Dicey, and, as already noted, the Warden of Merton and Sir William Markby.

The ideal of service to which the Principal desired the College, in its new home, to be devoted, he pictured in the following passage of his opening Address:—

"The future must reveal its own secrets. Meanwhile we are here, restored by the providence of God to the inspiring associations of a noble inheritance, to bear a very humble, but, I trust, a faithful part, in shaping the young life of this great nation. We stand, I suppose in common with all colleges, for purity of character, for a manly sense of duty, for plain living and high thinking; but we stand also for freedom of conscience and of intellect, outward freedom from all human fetters, inward freedom wrought in the soul by the Spirit of God; for spirituality of worship, and closeness of communion between the Father and his child; for Christian fellowship unlimited by uniformity in ritual or belief. But to the lofty ideal of the Puritan we would add the grace and playfulness, the sweetness and tenderness, the richness and beauty of a wider humanity. And so we pass beyond our Puritan forefathers to a Son of Man to whom the whole Christian Church looks up, and in the divine completeness of whose manhood we rise to be sons of God."

THE ARLOSH BENEFACTION

(*Note from p. 175.*)

The great benefaction of James and Isabella Arlosh, who died within a few days of each other in 1904, came to the College through the tragic circumstance of the death of their only son, Godfrey, while an undergraduate at Oxford, in 1890. He was at Brasenose, and out riding one day in July of that year, fell from his horse. The parents in their desolate grief found great

support and comfort in the College services, first in the room at 90 High Street, and afterwards in the Chapel, and in the sympathy and friendship of the College teachers. The Burne-Jones windows of the Six Days of Creation in the Chapel were their gift, in memory of their son. James Arlosh was the last survivor in the male line of a Cumberland family of landed gentry, with a record reaching back for more than six hundred years. (Cf. Lonsdale's *Cumberland Worthies*.) It was their estate, Woodside, near Carlisle, that came from him to the College. For some generations the family had used an abbreviated form of their name, and there is an interesting historical link with the College at an earlier date in the fact that James Losh, the grandfather of James the benefactor, was for many years a member of the congregation of William Turner, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, closely associated as Visitor with the College at York. This elder James graduated at Cambridge in 1786 and studied for the Church, but having become a Unitarian, read for the Bar, and was ultimately Recorder of Newcastle. Turner preached his funeral sermon in 1833. James Arlosh was also educated for the Church, graduating at Durham, and for some years was vicar of Ponsonby in Cumberland; but later he also realized that he was a Unitarian, and resigned his living. His father, William Septimus Losh, had inherited the family estate late in life, after the death of six elder brothers without issue, and then within a year he also died. So James Arlosh, an only child, came into possession. After his death, the Arlosh legatees, having contributed £5,000 towards the purchase of the land and having built the Hall at a cost of over £10,000, were enabled to place an endowment of some £50,000 at the disposal of the College. At the public opening of the Hall, the chair was taken by the President, Enfield Dowson, and an inaugural address was given by H. A. L. Fisher, at that time President of the Board of Education. A vote of thanks was moved by Mrs. Humphry Ward and seconded by the Master of University. The proceedings are reported in the *Inquirer* of October 18, 1919.

THE COLLEGE TEACHERS

Of the teachers in the College who took part in the opening proceedings in 1893 not one now remains. Their lives,

each prolonged to the full measure of over eighty years, and the fine work they accomplished, went far to establish the reputation of the College at Oxford and left it enriched by many beautiful and precious memories.

James Drummond (1835-1918) was the younger son of Dr. W. Hamilton Drummond, of Dublin. He took a brilliant degree, as Senior Classic, at Trinity College, before his Divinity course in London, and was subsequently minister for ten years at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. He had already given twenty years of service to the College, before he came, as Principal, to Oxford. Two of his most valuable works of scholarship, embodying the material of elaborate courses of lectures, had been already published, *The Jewish Messiah*, in 1877, and *Philo Judaeus*, a study of Jewish Alexandrine Philosophy, in 1888. In 1894 his Hibbert Lectures, on the fundamental truths of Christianity, appeared, with the title *Via, Veritas, Vita*, and in 1899 his commentary on the Pauline Epistles, one of the volumes of Putnam's International Handbooks to the New Testament. Then came the *Life and Letters of James Martineau* and in 1903 his elaborate work on the Fourth Gospel. In 1906 he retired, but continued devoted to his chosen studies to the end, which came on June 13, 1918. Two years after his retirement he had published an invaluable work, *Studies of Christian Doctrine*, and finally four volumes of a more purely devotional and practical character, *Jobannine Meditations*, *The Way of Life* (two volumes on the Parables and other Teaching of Jesus) and *Pauline Meditations*. The proofs of this last were on his desk when he died, and it was issued with a Memorial Introduction consisting of Personal Memories by his daughter Edith, and a fuller study of his life and work as "Religious Teacher and Theologian" by one of his students, G. Dawes Hicks. *The Times* memorial notice was headed "A Great Theologian," and spoke of his long life of studious labour, "as scholar and

teacher, and of quiet but profound personal and religious influence, closely akin to that of the purest type of Christian saint."

"Dr. Drummond's work was done in quietness with the self-effacement of a true Christian humility; yet beneath that meek exterior there burnt fires of moral passion and spiritual fervour which on occasion would burst out with moving and even startling eloquence. He was always ardent in his advocacy of spiritual freedom and in the passion of his loyalty to truth, and some of his finest utterances were in exposition of the principles for which Manchester College stands. The College was happy, during the first years of its settlement at Oxford, to have as its head a man so eminent as a scholar, of such lofty character, and such clearness of vision, in perfect accord with the spirit of its dedication 'To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion.'"

The College tribute, at the June meeting of Trustees, spoke of him with gratitude and reverence, as "the devout interpreter of the mind of Christ," the fearless teacher of spiritual religion, who won the respect and esteem of members of other Churches.

"To successive generations of students he proved a constant friend whose counsel and sympathy were an unfailing support, and by graces of soul as well as by accuracy of learning he set before them a standard of ministerial service which has left upon the College history an influence which death cannot efface."

Charles Barnes Upton (1831-1920), a native of Portsmouth and a relative of Charles Beard's, came to the College from the Ancient Chapel of Toxteth in Liverpool, where he had ministered for eight years, and had become known as a discerning philosophical thinker and writer, in the columns of the *Inquirer* and the *Theological Review*. In the preface to his study of Martineau's philosophical work, contributed to the *Life and Letters*, Upton gives a charming account of his relation to the teacher, to whose chair in the College he succeeded, under whom he had himself been a student

in London and whom he regarded always with the deepest reverence and affection. How well fitted he was to carry on Martineau's work as a teacher of philosophy may be gathered from that study, as also from his Hibbert Lectures on "The Bases of Religious Belief," the aim of which was "to find a natural and rational ground for Theism in the normal self-consciousness of mankind." The lectures were given in 1893, in London and Oxford and published in the following year. The preface is dated from Littlemore, a reminder of the interesting fact that when he came with the College to Oxford he made his home in that village, at St. George's, the picturesque old house which was John Henry Newman's refuge, when he resigned St. Mary's Vicarage and was received into the Church of Rome. There Upton lived to extreme old age, having retired in 1903 from active service, when he was succeeded at College by L. P. Jacks. He lived in retirement, the more solitary because of his great deafness, but constantly sought out by grateful students and other friends, with whom he delighted to discuss the problems of religious philosophy, an unfailing source to him of vivid interest. He was a man of singular elevation of character, of the sweetest disposition and a great unselfishness, who bore with a wonderful patience the infirmities which so long held him captive. He had survived his wife and the two sisters who lived with him. He provided in his will for the founding of two lectureships, in philosophy and religion, in memory of his sisters, and bequeathed the residue of his estate also to the College.

Joseph Estlin Carpenter (1844-1927) was the son of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, the eminent physiologist. Brought up in London and a student in the College there, he also came back as a teacher from active ministry, first at Clifton and then for six years at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds. Drummond gave thirty-seven years of service as a teacher to the College, in this equalling Wellbeloved at York; Carpenter gave close

upon fifty, though not all of them so completely concentrated on College work, and for five years, up to his eightieth birthday, he was also President. He and Upton came to the College together, and when Drummond succeeded Martineau as Principal in 1885, he became Vice-Principal, and continued in full work at College for the first ten years at Oxford. In 1899 he resigned as Vice-Principal and gave up the greater part of his teaching, to concentrate more fully upon literary work and other religious interests in the country. At College he retained only the Case Lectureship in Comparative Religion, the establishment of which was due to the Hibbert Trustees. Then in 1906, when Drummond retired, he became Principal and held office until 1915. In 1914 he had been appointed in the University as Wilde Lecturer in Comparative Religion, and he continued to hold the College lectureship also on that subject until his final retirement in June, 1924. In the autumn of that year there was a happy celebration of his eightieth birthday, when at a festive dinner at College two letters of congratulation were presented, from the College itself and from one hundred and thirty-four old students of his period, from 1875 onward, with warm expressions of reverence, gratitude and affection. Diligent to the end, with an astonishing persistence of vitality and determined purpose, he published in his eighty-third year a mastery work on the Johannine Writings, a study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, and had been contemplating further work when on June 2nd of that year he died, in great peace, "a learned, gentle and most Christian soul."¹ His was a record unique in length of time and illustrious, among the most honourable in the College history. We are happy in the possession of the Memorial Volume, with an admirable and most satisfying

¹ So he was described by the Public Orator of the University: "Plorat Collegium Mancuniense, plorat theologia Josephum Estlin Carpenter, animam doctam, mitem, Christianissimam."

memoir by Dr. C. H. Herford, the beautiful and intimate *Recollections*, by one of his Oxford students, J. H. Weatherall (now Principal of the College), and contributions of great value from Professor A. S. Peake on his Old and New Testament work and by Dr. L. R. Farnell, on what was perhaps Carpenter's most distinctive work, in Comparative Religion.² When he came to Oxford, Max Müller was still engaged in his great work of editing the Sacred Books of the East, but in the teaching of the University the study of Comparative Religion was far from receiving the attention that was its due. Carpenter, as a lecturer on the subject, was something of a pioneer, and his work brought distinction to himself and to the College. He took a leading part in the work of the International Congress for the History of Religions (1908) and in various summer schools of Theology held in Oxford. The gift to the library of his valuable collection of books on Comparative Religion is not the least of the benefits the College owes to him.

With these three, as already noted, Philip Henry Wicksteed (1844-1927) was associated, as lecturer on Social Economy, for three of the first years at Oxford, and later he twice held the Dunkin lectureship on that subject, in 1898 and 1912. Although not on the permanent staff of the College, he was throughout the time of Carpenter's service intimately associated with the work. They were of the same age and died in the same year. From their student days together in London they were as brothers, and when Car-

² There is also an exhaustive Bibliography, which shows the great range of Carpenter's studies and the rich harvest of achievement. Only the most important of his books are noted here: *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, 1879; *The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations*, 1890, 1909; *The Hexateuch, with Introduction*, etc. (with Harford Battersby), 1900; *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, 1903; *James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher*, 1905; *The Digha Nikaya* (Pali Text Society), Vols. I and II, with Rhys Davids, 1890, 1905, Vol. III alone, 1911; *Comparative Religion*, Home University Library, 1911; *Phases of Early Christianity*, American Lectures, 1916; *Theism in Medieval India*, Hibbert Lectures, 1921; *Buddhism and Christianity, a Contrast and a Parallel*, Jowett Lectures, 1923; *The Johannine Writings*, 1927.

penyer joined the College again as teacher Wicksteed had succeeded Martineau in the pulpit of Little Portland Street Chapel. From 1904 to 1919 he served the College as Visitor, and although the breakdown of his health withdrew him then from active service, as a near neighbour at Childrey he remained a trusted counsellor to the end. The College honoured him as one of its most distinguished students and loyal friends: "A brilliant scholar, an inspiring teacher, who kindled his hearers to noble enthusiasms and devoted service of human needs. . . . No one has more cogently upheld before his students the ideal of sound scholarship and its bearing upon the vital truths of religion."

The College staff was strengthened in the year following the opening of 1893 by the appointment of James Edwin Odgers (1843-1925) as Hibbert Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, an appointment which he held for twelve years, adding another seven years as tutor in his chosen subject,¹ before his final retirement in 1913. He was another beloved veteran of this Oxford period. The close friend of Carpenter and Wicksteed, also from their College days in London, he died only two years before them. Before he came to Oxford he had been for ten years Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College in Manchester. He was one of the most ardent advocates of the move to Oxford and at the time of the settlement rendered invaluable service, both as Chairman of Committee and as Visitor. The College tribute, at the time of his death, spoke of his mastery of knowledge, which "commanded the admiration, while his unflinching insight and sympathy won the affection of his students." "He was of a rich and genial humanity, and in his ministry of rare wisdom and tenderness and spiritual power. He remained undaunted in the outward blindness of his old age.

¹ Odgers published in 1906 *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles for English Readers. A Translation, with Introduction and Notes*, and in 1923 a volume of *Sermons and Addresses, Memorials of a Ministry*.

In his last years he was an honoured Vice-President of the College."

When Carpenter resigned as Vice-Principal in 1899, relinquishing the greater part of his teaching work, his successor in the Chair of Old Testament and Hebrew was William Edward Addis (1843-1917), a distinguished Oxford scholar, an admirable teacher and a most winning personality. The son of a Presbyterian minister, he graduated from Balliol with first class honours, and not long afterwards, in 1866, joined the Church of Rome. For some ten years he was at the Brompton Oratory, and from 1879 for another ten years served as a priest at Sydenham.¹ Then, having claimed the liberty of a freer fellowship, he was for a short time in Australia associated in the ministry with Dr. Charles Strong at Melbourne. On his return to this country he became minister, in 1893, of the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, in succession to a line of eminent Unitarians. So he came to the College, but realized in the course of years that his true home was in the Church of England. In 1910 he resigned, having accepted a London living, as Rector of All Saints, Ennismore Gardens. The College Committee, putting on record their sorrow for his death in 1917, spoke of him as "an inspiring teacher and a most simple-hearted, noble gentleman. He was revered and beloved by all his students and colleagues."

The presence and work of Addis in the College, as of his successor Canon Simpson, has furnished a clear demonstration of the reality and sincerity of the claim of the College to be a Free School of Theology. The question has

¹ While in communion with the Church of Rome, Addis was associated with Thomas Arnold in the editing of the *Catholic Dictionary* (1884). Later he was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* and to Peake's one volume *Commentary on the Bible* ("Psalms"). He also published in two volumes *The Documents of the Hexateuch, translated and arranged in chronological order, with Introduction and Notes*, 1892-98, an admirable little hand-book on *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 1893, and in the Crown Theological Library, *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra*, 1906.

been repeatedly raised in the course of its history. Well-beloved consistently maintained the principle of freedom.² Tayler devoted a long passage of his opening address in October, 1857,³ to explaining the relation of the avowed Unitarianism of the teachers in the College to their theological teaching, and when Addis resigned, the Committee bore testimony with regard to him:—

"He has been entirely loyal to the principles of the College, while at the same time a convinced member of the Anglican Church. His presence in the College has been a striking example of the possibility of doing what Manchester College claims to do, viz.: 'freely imparting Theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular Theological opinions.' He has taught the Old Testament not in the interests of any church, but as a scholar seeking freely and without prejudice to know and to impart the truth."

There had been a previous occasion for questioning, when on the day of the stone-laying in 1891 the opening address to the students was given by a well-known Broad Churchman, known to many as a contributor to the *Theological Review*, John Owen⁴ (1836-96), Rector of East Anstey, North

² Cf. pp. 76 and 83.

³ Published in the *Christian Reformer* of that year and quoted in the College report of 1858. "Unitarianism in any form is not the condition, but the consequence of our teaching, flowing from the application of the principles on which it is based. In proportion to the strength of our conviction that Unitarianism is in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, will be our willingness to leave it to this issue. We are not pledged beforehand to any particular type of doctrine."

⁴ The address on "The Modification of Dogma regarded as a Condition of Human Progress" was afterwards published. It contained an eloquent vindication of the foundation principle of the College. Having pointed to the experience of history as witnessing to the decay of various forms of ancient dogmatism, he said: "Your Foundation—different from all those that have preceded it in this University—is based on other principles. Freedom and not Fixity; Reason, not arbitrary and extraneous Authority; Truth and not Dogma; Progress, not Stagnation, are your noble watchwords. You have learnt the lesson of History—a lesson, confirmed by the very nature of the human intellect and the conditions of its energies, that we can no more fetter Truth in her eternal forward march than we can stay the motion of

Devon. When the action of the Committee in inviting Owen was called in question by influential trustees, the reply was an emphatic vindication of its consistency with the aims and principles of the College.

"In adhering to its welcome offered to a Scholar trained in another School, the Committee desire simply to recognize a fellowship in that higher learning of Theology, which is the exclusive property of no single communion or party, and to make cordial acknowledgment of an enlightened sympathy with its own efforts, which it deeply values."

And the Principal, in offering cordial thanks for the address, paid tribute to Owen, as having come among them with frankness and courage:—

"He was liable to some misunderstanding in more than one direction; but this he has boldly faced, in order to express a sympathy which he has told us he had long felt with the freedom of our position, and to prove that it is possible for a member of the Church of England to enter cordially and sympathetically into the very principles for which a body of Nonconformists were driven out of the Church, and forced to occupy a separate position in English life, two hundred years ago. I hope that this friendly visit, though only a small beginning, may be a sign that the old enmities are to die completely away, and that the time is coming within sight when the various denominations will meet as brothers, and will help one another in seeking after learning and truth."

To appoint a clergyman in orders to a regular teaching post in the College went much farther than the simple invitation to a friendly visit, but it has been no less definitely vindicated, as consistent with the open principle of the College. Martineau had been anxious that Colenso should be ap-

sun or planet,—that we can no more arrest her growth, or limit it to one particular stage, than we can stem the incoming flow of the ocean, or render for ever motionless the eternal progression of time." Owen was the author of *Evenings with the Sceptic*, 2 vols., 1881; *The Sceptic of the French Renaissance*, 1893; *The Sceptic of the Italian Renaissance*, 1893; and *The Five Great Skeptical Dramas of History*, 1896.

pointed in 1874 to the Chair of Old Testament and Drummond was clearly in sympathy with the suggestion;¹ but on the College Committee opinion was divided, and the invitation was not given. Colenso, Martineau felt, had clearly proved himself a devout, fearless and independent religious thinker, who in his teaching would satisfy the requirement of the College for "the free exercise of a competent mind and the conscientious communication of its best light," and as regards his relation to the Church of his ordination, and subscription to its articles, that was a matter for his own judgment and conscience, and not for any inquisition on the part of the College. "I do not see," Martineau wrote, "that our own rule of abstinence from tests obliges us to set up a test against tests." In Colenso's case, as in that of other Broad Churchmen, such as Stanley and Jowett, with whom he stood in intimate relations, it was impossible for him to question their honour and sincerity, or their competence to teach, in the freedom of the spirit which they claimed. So also Darbishire wrote, in the matter of Owen, in 1891, that the principle of non-subscription to formulated creeds was fundamental to the College Committee, as to their critics, "but we neither pretend to constrain anyone to be a non-subscriber, nor refuse such service as he can give, because he conscientiously subscribes."

One of the reasons given for the establishment of the College at Oxford was that in the University "there has recently sprung up a school of theological teachers combining the broadest liberality with the most distinguished scholarship, and it would be of the utmost benefit to our students to attend the lectures of these eminent men." And surely, if such a teacher, from whom it was good for the students to learn in the University, was willing to come into the College, and could whole-heartedly accept its principle of free teaching and free learning, if he was judged

¹ Cf. *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, Vol. II. pp. 25-30.

to be the best teacher available on any required subject, there could be no valid reason against the acceptance of his services, but on the contrary he should be most cordially welcomed.

This matter of principle was brought into acute debate in connection with Addis's position in the College, and a further question, which arose at the same time, with regard to students holding College bursaries, who avowed the intention of entering the ministry of the Church. A considerable number of the supporters of the College had misgivings as to its position in Oxford and feared that its Non-conformist principles were being compromised. In September, 1904, a requisition, signed by forty-five Trustees, asked for a special meeting, with notice of a resolution, to declare:—

"That the historical principle of the College is that it is a non-subscribing Protestant Institution, that its essential purpose is the training of students for a Ministry of Religion in which no theological test is imposed; and that no portion of the funds of the College can properly be applied for any purpose inconsistent with the principles of Nonconformity and Nonsubscription."

On this, the Committee gave notice of an amendment to be moved at the meeting on their behalf, maintaining that the College adhered to its fundamental principle, "and the Trustees will do nothing to limit for themselves and their successors the freedom the College has inherited and has enjoyed for nearly a century and a quarter."

Documents appealing to the history of the College were issued on both sides, and there was much preliminary correspondence. Those who argued that the benefits of the College ought to be restricted to students destined for service in Non-subscribing Churches ignored the fact that it had been from the first declared "open to young men of

every religious denomination, from whom no test or confession of faith will be required" and that some of the first students enrolled were specifically marked for Divinity "in the Church"; and further, that in one of the circulars of the first Manchester period it was definitely stated, in view of the importance of the students' attendance at public worship, that "seats will be provided, both in the Established Church and in the Dissenting Chapels."† It is, of course, manifest, from the whole record of the College, that it is a "Nonsubscribing Protestant Institution," that it was founded by a body of broad-minded Nonconformists, with the definite purpose of providing for the education of their own ministers; but no less clear is the principle on which the College is founded, as a public institution, not confined to the interests of any one denomination, and for teachers and students alike free from the imposition of any dogmatic test. It was because the open principle of the College and its ideal of genuine catholicity were felt to be endangered that the issue between the resolution and the Committee's amendment was regarded as critical.

The meeting was held in the College on November 29th, the President, S. A. Steinthal, in the chair, and the names of one hundred and forty-five Trustees present were recorded. The resolution in question was moved by John Harrison, a great grandson of Ralph, the College tutor of the first Manchester period, secondly by W. G. Tarrant, and supported by C. J. Street and A. W. Fox. The amendment was moved by Russell Scott and seconded by Arthur H. Worthington, who in 1893 had succeeded Robert Darbishire as lay secretary of the College. In support of the amendment letters were read from Richard Armstrong and Stopford Brooke; other speakers in support were Drummond, Wicksteed, Carpenter and Lewis Beard. The amendment was accepted

† Cf. p. 62.

by a decisive vote of 113 to 29, and then passed as the substantive motion. A full report of the discussion appeared in the *Inquirer* of December 3rd.

From that time, Addis had still six years of service as a teacher in the College. His increasing attachment to the Church and desire for ministry in its communion had raised a difficulty for him in connection with the Sunday services in the College Chapel and the prevailing Unitarianism of the services and the congregation. He did not feel happy in preaching there and asked at the beginning of the year to be relieved from the duty, in which members of the staff took their turn. It was a request to which the Principal felt bound to accede, though it was contrary to his own feeling and desire. Addis, writing on the subject to the secretary, said that he took every opportunity to let his friends know that his withdrawal was entirely voluntary, on his own part, and he bore testimony to the perfect harmony of feeling between himself and the other members of the staff. Three years later he withdrew also from the charge of the Residence, of which since its establishment he had been the Head. His devoted work, as teacher, continued until his resignation in 1910, when Simpson was appointed his successor. So the open principle of the College, as a Free School of Theology, was again demonstrated, with fresh emphasis on the desire for that "comprehensive spirit," and the "wider intercourse and fellowship," of which Drummond had spoken, when the foundation-stone was laid.

The further appointments in the College of those who have since carried on the work remain to be briefly recorded. When Simpson succeeded Addis, Carpenter was Principal, and Lawrence Pearsall Jacks, as successor to Upton since 1903, in the Chair of Philosophy, was Dean, in charge of the Residence, and was to follow Carpenter as Principal in 1915. In that year, in the midst of the difficult time of the

War, Henry Gow also joined the teaching staff. He and Jacks, graduates of London University, had been fellow-students in the College in London, and they together reached the age-limit of seventy years in the service of the College, retiring in June, 1931. Since 1903, Gow had been clerical secretary of the College, in succession to Enfield Dowson, and when he first joined the teaching staff, taking up Carpenter's New Testament work, he still continued his ministry at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead. Then in 1922 he came for whole-time service to Oxford. He was appointed Warden of the Residence, and in 1926 Vice-Principal. Raymond V. Holt, an Oxford graduate, who was a student in the College during the first years of Carpenter's principalship, also joined the staff first for part-time service, being then minister at Banbury. He came in 1921, as Daniel Jones Fellow, for research and teaching of Church History, and three years later settled in Oxford for whole-time service.¹ In that year, 1924, J. Cyril Flower, also an old student, was appointed Upton Lecturer in the Psychology of Religion, being at the same time in the ministry at Cambridge. After a year's absence he has now come into residence for whole-time service at the College. These two and Canon Simpson remain as members of the teaching staff, who after the farewell to Jacks and Gow continue to serve the College with the new Principal, John Henry Weatherall. He, an Oxford graduate, of Exeter College, a Divinity student of the years 1893-96, with a record of teaching at Carmarthen College, of University Extension lecturing and of ministry, takes his place sixth in the notable succession of old students, who have come back to teach and serve as Principal—Tayler, Martineau, Drummond, Carpenter, Jacks, Weatherall.

¹ Holt is College librarian and also secretary of the Old Students' Association, which was established in 1919.



MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD
From the North-East. The Library in the Foreground

THE PAST AND THE OPEN FUTURE

Looking back over rather more than forty years of completed work since the College was brought to Oxford, and comparing this period with the thirty-seven years at York and thirty-six in London, it appears that the average number of students trained for the ministry, who have gone out from year to year—sometimes more, sometimes less and once or twice none at all—has remained very much the same through the three periods. The roll of Divinity students at York numbered 122, that of London 115, while at Oxford the number is now up to 135, reckoning men alone. The average therefore has not varied more than a fraction over three in the year for each period. But while that must seem an extraordinarily small result, considering the labour expended and the ample resources of the College, it must be remembered that this central and specific purpose of the training of ministers is really very far from representing all that is accomplished by the College—quite apart from the great value of the published writings of its teachers—in the service of learning and religion. That is emphatically the case in regard to Oxford, and here even in the matter of the training of ministers the average of attainment ought to be placed considerably higher.

The controversy over the admission of women to the College was settled in London, after a resolute little company headed by Frances Power Cobbe and Anna Swanwick had made their way into Martineau's lecture-room. The debate was prolonged over two years, ending with the vote for admission at an adjourned meeting of Trustees in February, 1876. That was the period in which the degrees of London University were also opened to women, and for several years, up to the time of his retirement, women, as occasional students, attended Martineau's lectures. The first woman to be admitted to the full course of training for the

ministry entered the College as a graduate from St. Andrews in 1901 and six others have since then completed the full course, while other women have come in for shorter periods of study, from this country and America.¹ These should be added to the Oxford roll of 135, and there are further additions to be made. The succession of Transylvanian students from the Unitarian Church of that country, which began in London, has been continued at Oxford, and to these have been added Indian students, destined for service in connection with the Brahma Samaj, also a number of Japanese students and welcome visitors from the United States. Nor has the teaching of the College been confined to this enlarged company of its own students. Its influence has reached a wider circle of students drawn from other Colleges in the University, who have come in to hear Carpenter on Comparative Religion and Jacks on Philosophy, and other distinguished men who have been invited to the College to give special courses or occasional lectures of public interest. It is one of the cherished memories of the College that for six years from 1906² onward Henry Jones of Glasgow University was Hibbert Lecturer in Metaphysics, and to the interest of the Hibbert Trust the College has also owed the lectures given by such eminent philosophers as William James, Royce, Boutroux, Bergson, Sorley, Burnet and Pringle-Pattison. When Dean Inge lectured for the College in 1920 the attendance on his course, in the Arlosh Hall, varied from three to four hundred. A similar far-reaching interest in the work of the College has been

¹ A special Report of the Committee on the admission of Women students (May, 1930) referred to certain difficulties that had been realized, through the presence of a small number of women in what was essentially a community of men, and announced fresh regulations which it was hoped would obviate any such difficulties and "open the way once more for the admission of suitable women students who may desire to come to the College."

² It was in 1905 that Henry Jones (1852-1922), who had already been Dunkin Lecturer, gave the Centenary Address in the College on "The Philosophy of Martineau in relation to the Idealism of the Present Day."

secured by those who, following Philip Wicksteed, have held the Dunkin Lectureship on Social Economy. Among these have been Graham Wallas, Muirhead, Bosanquet, A. L. Smith, M. E. Sadler, Clutton-Brock, Marriott and Hobhouse. To Carpenter's initiative and wide acquaintance with Continental scholars, especially in the field of Comparative Religion, were due the visits of Pfeleiderer, Jean Réville, Cumont, Wendt, Krüger, Paul Sabatier and others; his interest in the Religions of India brought Rabindranath Tagore in 1913, a visit happily repeated in 1930, when the Arlosh Hall at his lectures and the Chapel when he preached at a Sunday morning service, were crowded to the doors.

During the whole course of his work for the College Jacks had been at the same time exerting a far-reaching influence on religious, moral and social thought, through his editorship of the *Hibbert Journal*, and to him, as to Carpenter, has been largely due the increasing power of the College for wider service.³ Further opportunity, beyond the regular work of the sessions, the College has enjoyed through the part its teachers have taken in the summer meetings of University Extension students, through their lectures and the Chapel services.

The desire of Jacks, as Principal, that the resources of the College might be put to fuller use led him to suggest the introduction of Education as an additional subject of study,

³ During the sixteen years of his principalship, Jacks gained a constantly increasing reputation, which has reflected honour on the College, by his Hibbert lectures given in important centres throughout the country, and by visits as lecturer to the United States; and further by his published writings, the sum of which is by no means yet complete. In addition to the imaginative work of his *Mad Shepherds* and *Legends of Smokeover*, the volume of philosophical essays, *The Alchemy of Thought*, and his Lives of Stopford Brooke and Charles Hargrove, should be specially noted here. Many of his lectures and essays have been published in a series of smaller volumes, such as *The Challenge of Life*, *Religious Perplexities*, *The Faith of a Worker*, and *A Living Universe*. He is also the editor of a series of studies on "The Faiths: Varieties of Christian Expression," in which Henry Gow wrote the volume on *The Unitarians*.

to meet what he felt to be "the growing tendency among teachers to regard the work of education in close connection with the philosophy of life and their desire to study its first principles in a religious atmosphere." Special lecturers were invited to initiate the experiment, beginning with a course by R. H. Tawney, 1921, and three years later a scheme was adopted, in the hope of bringing in a new element of lay students into the College. The scheme included "Sunday School Teachers, Lay Preachers, Social Workers, Teachers, intending Teachers and accredited Students of three years' standing in the movement generally known as Adult Education, especially in the Workers' Educational Association." The only appreciable response, so far, to the inducements thus offered was from men associated with the Workers' Educational Association, who, with the help of "Adult Education Studentships," came to the College for periods of study of from one to three years. They greatly valued the opportunity for such study, and their presence added an interesting and welcome element to the College community. The last of the students so admitted completed his course in June, 1931. It will be a question for the future whether this or any similar effort can be usefully continued. Any such enlargement of the scope of work, within the compass of its resources, could hardly fail to be of advantage to the College, not merely in the matter of numbers, but by reason of the wider range of interests brought into its common life, with decided benefit to the students of Divinity, in their preparation for a special calling.

This record of the College ends at a point of new departure in its history. It should suffice to have made its position clear, as an old foundation, with an open future, an institution in one sense denominational, and yet fundamentally, on principle and avowedly, undenominational, open to all alike: denominational in the fact of its origin in connection

with a certain body of Liberal Nonconformists, from whom, in the present community of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, it derives its main support, and also in the fact that with few exceptions its Divinity students have entered with a view to ministry in those Churches; but always with this proviso—"denominational" in the Open Way, pledged to the service of Truth alone, as the Churches of its immediate connection also are, definitely on the foundation of Freedom, open to all reverent seekers of truth in religion and philosophy. The College has never assumed that this desire for a true freedom of mind and spirit is confined to one denomination alone, and the hope has not been abandoned that its appeal may yet reach a wider circle than that of its original community, that students contemplating ministry in other Churches may be glad to come in,¹ and yet ampler opportunities be found of service to the cause of learning and religion.

The College had its origin in the religion of the founders and their faith in spiritual freedom, the result of which the whole course of this record has served to illustrate. It is a fact to be recognized as matter of history, that in the College, as in the Churches, the conviction of truth has determined the position of its teachers, in the broad field of Christian experience, as from the first prevalingly Unitarian. So it has remained, through all the changing aspects of recent religious thought; and the worship of the College

¹ There have been such cases in the past, and as a matter of fact the principle of Freedom has so worked out during these forty years of the College at Oxford that several of its students have gone out to minister in other Churches. It is essential that the students' freedom should be genuine, to follow the clear convictions of truth, and finally, in self-dedication to the ministry, to make conscientious choice of the religious connection in which they desire to serve. So it has come about that, while the large majority of those who entered the College have fulfilled their purpose of ministry as Unitarians in the community of its immediate connection, there have been cases of men whom conviction led to the Church of England, to the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Congregational Church,—men who, in making such choice, were perfectly within their right.

Chapel has been inevitably of the same type. But this has not been a matter of dogmatic presupposition and insistence. The dedication of the College "to Truth, to Liberty, to Religion" is not a mere pretence or idle profession; its teachers are pledged only to reverent service in that Open Way.¹

The greater prevalence in the present day of the desire for liberty of faith and utterance, with a more genuine catholicity of religious communion, completer mutual understanding and co-operation among members of different religious bodies furnishes the more reason for gladness, on the part of all supporters of the College, in their devotion to its high ideal. It is an added reason for confidence in the future. It does not mean that the task of the College is accomplished and its service no longer required, but rather that the work may now be carried on with happier

¹ A timely illustration and justification of the foundation principle of the College Martineau offered in the speech with which, as President, he moved the commemorative resolution at the June meeting of Trustees in the Centenary year of the College (cf. p. 163):

"Suppose this College had been set up by Unitarians as such, on trust to impart an education, including some specified contents of their own most liberal type of doctrine. 'There can be no harm,' it might be said, 'in asking assent to what every Christian believes.' Suppose, then, that in 1786 the College had been opened on that principle, and that nothing had been laid down for acceptance by Tutors and Students, except propositions which were at that time held to be absolutely axiomatic and beyond dispute. Anyone who knows the state of theological opinion a century ago will perceive that, in spite of this honest intention to take a stand on immovable and common ground, positions would have been laid down which are absolutely untenable now. . . . Where should we have been now, if the changes which have occupied the century from Dr. Barnes to Dr. Drummond had been all barred out? Should we have fixed a tenderer or a colder eye upon the face of Christ? Should we have been conscious of a closer or of a more distant relation between the human spirit and the Divine? May we not say that, when tested by spiritual results, no less than when estimated by the wisdom of necessity, our free principle is amply justified? To suppose that our will can arrest the law of change which is inherent in the growth of the human mind is presumption; to wish that it could do so is infidelity. Life itself is movement, its highest form is the stir of thought; and the longing for stationary thought is a prayer for death! For my part, I am heartily thankful that we and our forefathers have sincerely conformed to this Providential law."

confidence, in fellowship with other comrades in a good cause.

The College has a definite work to do in the service of the Churches¹ and in the great field of religious culture for the common good. The achievements of the past stand on record. The fine tradition of the College, the memory of its teachers, the fellowship of its friends, can be contemplated with a deep and thankful satisfaction; and there is every reason to hope that in the future the vigour of its life will be well maintained and its coming teachers will not fail to carry on the good tradition. What shall yet be achieved the future alone can tell; but it is greatly to be wished that before long another teacher may be found in the College, following Carpenter as an authority in Comparative Religion, to supply a need seriously felt in the University; and memories of what has been give ground for hope that in the coming time other voices may be heard, kindred to that of James Drummond, "devout interpreter of the mind of Christ," with the kindling power of a pure spiritual faith, and with the moral ardour and commanding genius of Martineau—not in the lecture-room and the College Chapel only, but on some happier day in the pulpit also of the University Church.

The concluding passage of Drummond's opening address of 1893 has been already cited.² Those words of hope and aspiration for the College followed a reference he had made to the situation, as it might affect the duty of the College, which would arise when the last barriers of dogmatic and ecclesiastical restriction should be removed, and

¹ The close connection of the College with the community of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches has been happily recognized by frequent vacation meetings within its walls of Summer Schools of the Sunday School Association and the Social Service Union, and Easter gatherings of the Fellowship of Youth and the Lay Preachers' Union. In 1906 the College welcomed the National Conference of Unitarian, Free Christian and other Non-subscribing and kindred Congregations to Oxford.

² Cf. p. 177.

the ideal of free teaching in theology be completely realized in the University. Martineau, in the critical debate of 1889, had suggested that when that time came there would be no further need for Manchester College as a separate institution and it might contemplate a "dignified euthanasia." But not so Drummond, speaking as Principal in the completed College building:—

"We are here not to inculcate this Theology or that, but to explore the open field of divine truth, so far as God may grant us power, and to teach all whom we can influence to prize truth above all worldly or party gains, and to weigh every conclusion in the even scales of a just and sober and prayerful judgment. But why, then, have we reared a permanent home dedicated 'to Truth, to Liberty, to Religion'; for may we not at last lose our separate existence in the completeness of victory and melt away into the general body of an emancipated nation? Only one faculty in the University is still bound by tests; and if the time should come when the Professors of Theology are chosen, without regard to their ecclesiastical connection, simply on account of the extent and solidity of their learning, the soundness and impartiality of their judgment, and the spirituality of their character, our distinction will indeed be gone, and we shall offer up hallelujahs to the Lord of all for this breaking down of ancient walls of enmity and separation. *But even then we shall not be without a function to fulfil.* As the ancient Colleges prepare men for their degrees in Arts, so we could offer tutorial help in the preparation for degrees in Divinity. Moreover we could provide the student for the ministry with that special training which a distinct profession requires. And further, we can hardly anticipate the time when there will be no divergent Schools of Theology; for though I am profoundly convinced that perfect freedom of thought and study will bring about far greater unity of belief than decisions of Councils and Acts of Uniformity have ever done, still the tendencies of the human mind are so various, and the objects of religious contemplation exhibit so many aspects, and extend so far beyond the range of our faculties, that there must always be different tones of theological thought, and the vivid play of faith will never stagnate into the deadness of a fixed and mechanical knowledge."

So then the College will still have a part to play in the vital movements of thought and the general life of the University, while it carries on its own distinctive work of training men for the ministry. It would be faithless to suppose that it can have no contribution of value to make to the full current of learning and inspiration which flows through College and University channels into the life of the nation.

Of the nature of such contribution, Edwin Odgers had also written in the course of the discussion of 1889:—

"If we share the hope—and I do so most fervently—that before many years Subscription will be no longer required from the occupants of Divinity Chairs at Oxford, is not this an additional reason why we should do all we can to insure that every good result of *our* free teaching has fair play and representation, in the free teaching of the Oxford that is to be? We must not stand apart; we must be ready to contribute to the teaching Staff of the new Open Faculty men approved by Oxford standards, ranking among her distinguished sons, who know her men and her methods, and who, besides this, can bring to the task they undertake that mixture of sobriety and fearlessness, of conscientious independence and sympathetic understanding of opposing systems, which stand to many of us as the distinguishing mark of our College, our heritage from the past, and our ideal still."

It is not for us to forecast the future; but faith will hold to the ideal, and the issue is in God's hand. We know what is required of those who would "follow the Gleam,"—what courage, what reverence, what humility, what earnest, steadfast purpose. "Freedom to grow in the knowledge of God" is the trust and privilege of all those who have any part in the fellowship of life and work in Manchester College. Its dedication is to the service of Religion, in the Open Way of Truth and Freedom, "the only method of reverent approach to the knowledge of the inexhaustible God." It is an offering of faith, which in the coming time, as in the past, is to be made with expectant trust in the Eternal and

humble confidence in the exhaustless riches of the Divine Grace. There can be no limit in such service to what may be achieved by simple faithfulness, nor to the glory of the vision that may be granted. The word is spoken for all alike, a testimony of the Spirit: "Faith and love abide. Thy soul and God stand sure."²

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE

THE constitution of Manchester College, so far as it has been defined, is to be gathered from the original report of its foundation meeting in 1786, and the series of resolutions then adopted.¹ Of those resolutions the fifteenth declared "That these constitutions and regulations shall not be altered but by a majority of votes, taken by ballot at an annual meeting of Trustees, and that after the experience of three years they shall undergo a due revisal and then be established in a code of laws not alterable but by the vote of three-fourths of the Trustees, present at their annual meeting."

There is no record of any such revisal having taken place, and when, in 1853, a question as to the constitution of the College came to be decided in the Court of Chancery, the Master of the Rolls based his judgment on the report of 1786, as "the only instrument of foundation."²

The founders established the rule, which had previously been adopted for the Warrington Academy, that the body of Trustees, responsible for the maintenance and administration of the College should be constituted of all donors of twenty guineas and annual subscribers of two guineas.³ Under their authority the work of administration is undertaken by a strong executive committee, the number of which, according to the original rule, was twenty-one, including a chairman, a treasurer and a secretary, a number enlarged in 1897 to twenty-five. Since 1885 the Committee has been left to elect its own chairman. From 1814 onward there have been two secretaries, a layman and a minister, and early in the period of the College at York a further office, that of president, was added,—to be distinguished from that of principal, the head of the College as a teaching body. Percival, who was the first Chairman of Committee, was virtually president, though not so designated, but

¹ Pp. 56-60.

² Pp. 127-8.

³ The rule was subsequently extended to admit ministers of religion as Trustees on various other conditions, and life-members of University Hall in virtue of that membership. The rule for ministers is now simplified, the one condition being an annual subscription of one guinea instead of two.

after his time the two offices were distinctly separate, the president taking the chair at general meetings of the Trustees, while the Committee had its own chairman. The Divinity tutor from the first had naturally acted as principal, though it was only after the return from York to Manchester that the term "principal" came into regular use, and definite appointment to the office was made.

The annual meeting of the Trustees was originally ordered to be held early in the year, near to the date of the foundation in February, and a second general meeting was held in June, at the end of the College session; but since 1907 there has been only one annual meeting, at the end of the session.

The office of Visitor to the College was first instituted at York, to bring an influential minister of the community of liberal Churches into touch with the College, and personally with the students, in an advisory capacity, a link between the College as a teaching body and the religious life of the Churches. One important function of the Visitor was to be present at the annual examinations at the close of the session and to address the students on some aspects of their work. Since the establishment of the College at Oxford the interest of distinguished members of the University has been enlisted by their appointment as Visitor, in addition to the ministers appointed under the original conception of the office.

The progress of the College through the whole course of its history has been marked by a steadfast adherence to its fundamental principle of freedom, guarded by the vigilance of clear-sighted laymen and ministers alike, who have worked together in close co-operation, in devotion to the common cause. The Committee as first appointed consisted entirely of laymen, and the ministerial element was only gradually introduced. Even during the second Manchester period laymen were still in a decided majority. When William Gaskell was appointed chairman in 1853, he was the first minister to serve in that capacity. Of recent years the tendency has been to a more equal division between laymen and ministers, but still with a small majority for the most part on the lay side. Since 1922 women also have been elected on the Committee, adding an element of special value, through their service on the house committee.

The work of administration has been greatly increased since the settlement of the College at Oxford, where the buildings,

with the Chapel, the Arlosh Hall and the Students' Residence, are on a scale far beyond anything in the earlier stages of its history. But the main responsibility of the Committee has always been the direction of policy, together with appointments to the teaching staff and the admission of students to the College. The Committee's proceedings, together with a record of the work of the College, are annually reported to the Trustees, and are always open to comment and revision on their part, as the ultimate authority. Any question of major importance, as it arose, has been the subject of special report, as in the matter of the removal of the College from one place to another, and in the controversies of 1857 and 1904, where in each case the vote of the Trustees was decisive.

It is therefore manifestly of the greatest importance, for the well-being of the College, quite apart from the question of finance, that the body of Trustees should be adequately maintained, as the constituency pledged to the service of its ideal, and that the Committee should consist of members thoroughly conversant with the history, the procedure and the purpose of the College.

The Trustees are a body, indeterminate in point of number, which has ranged from small beginnings of less than a hundred to close upon three hundred, the number being now between one and two hundred. There has never been any regulation of the number, nor any condition of trusteeship, but that of willingness to subscribe the necessary amount. The Trustees and Committee have a very wide discretion in their administration of the College, the only limitation being that of an honourable acceptance of the foundation principle of freedom, as declared in 1786. This was clearly brought out, not only in the judgment of the Master of the Rolls in 1853, but in the opinion obtained from Lord Haldane (then R. B. Haldane, K.C.) in connection with the controversy of 1904. The essential passages of that opinion were as follows:—

"The purpose of the founders of the charity in the present case was quite clearly expressed in the resolution of 1786. . . . The institution was to be open to young men, of every denomination, from whom no test or confession of faith was to be required. Now these words throw open the institution to young men of the Church of England just as much as of any other sect, and it would be in contravention of the principle laid down in that

language were adherents of the Church of England to be excluded on account of their creed. The difficulty in the present case has arisen from the fact that whereas the foundation would in 1786 have been almost exclusively of a dissenting character, by reason of the absence of provision for the education of such dissenters elsewhere, in recent times this has ceased to be so, and dissenters can enter almost any academy of learning. I think that it is true that the original foundation was intended to be in the main for the benefit of dissenters, and that it would probably be a breach of trust to turn it to some purpose of a different order, as for instance to make it in point of fact an institution mainly for the benefit of students of the Church of England. But it nevertheless remains true that it is of the essence of the foundation that a member of the Church of England should be as free as anybody else to enter and to take its benefits. . . . It is perfectly true that in his judgment [the Master of the Rolls, in 1853] he refers to the institution having been specially devoted to the purpose of affording advantages to the English Presbyterian Protestant Dissenters.¹ But nowhere does the order made say that the benefit of the institution is to be limited to English Presbyterian Dissenters or any other religious body, and it would not have been in his power to make any such declaration, altering, as it would have altered, the original objects of the trust. . . . I am therefore of opinion that the College authorities are free to admit Divinity students irrespective of their religious belief and ecclesiastical connection, and that the only limitation upon their power is that they must not completely alter the character of the College by turning it into a college of another character than one capable of providing for the education of dissenters."

¹ Cf. pp. 127-8.

LISTS OF OFFICERS OF MANCHESTER COLLEGE

The first three names on the list are of the Divinity Tutors, who were not yet designated Principals.

PRINCIPALS

Thomas Barnes	1786-1798
George Walker	1798-1803
Charles Wellbeloved	1803-1840
Robert Wallace	1840-1846
John Kenrick	1846-1850
George Vance Smith	1850-1853
John James Tayler	1853-1869
James Martineau	1869-1885
James Drummond	1885-1906
Joseph Estlin Carpenter	1906-1915
Lawrence Pearsall Jacks	1915-1931
John Henry Weatherall	1931-

PRESIDENTS

Thomas Percival, M.D., F.R.S., Manchester	1793-1800
Samuel Shore, Jun., Norton Hall, Derbyshire	1808-1813
Samuel Shore, Meersbrook, Derbyshire	1813-1815
Benjamin Gaskell, Thornes House, Yorkshire	1815-1817
Joseph Strutt, Derby	1817-1826
Samuel Shore, Jun., Norton Hall, Derbyshire	1826-1829
Daniel Gaskell, Lupset Hall, Wakefield	1829-1834
Robert Philips, The Park, near Manchester	1834-1837
G. B. Strutt, Bridge House, Derbyshire	1837-1840
Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bart., F.R.S., Claremont, near Manchester	1840-1842
Mark Philips, The Park, near Manchester	1842-1846
Thomas William Tottic, Leeds	1846-1848
Robert Philips, Heybridge, Staffordshire	1848-1853
James Heywood, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., London	1853-1858
John Pemberton Heywood, Liverpool	1858-1860
Thomas Ainsworth, The Floss, Cleator, Cumber- land	1860-1863
Samuel Dukinfield Darbshire, Pendyffryn, near Conway	1863-1867

Samuel Robinson, Wilmslow, near Manchester	1867-1871
Mark Philips, The Park, near Manchester	1871-1874
Timothy Kenrick, Birmingham	1874-1876
Samuel Sharpe, London	1876-1878
Edward Enfield, London	1878-1880
Joseph Lupton, Leeds	1881-1886
Rev. James Martineau, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., D.Litt., London	1886-1888
Henry Russell Greg, Lode Hill, Handforth	1888-1894
George Holt, Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool	1894-1896
David Ainsworth, Wray Castle, Ambleside	1896-1900
William Colfox, B.A., Westmead, near Bridport	1900-1904
Rev. Samuel Alfred Steinthal, Manchester	1904-1907
Rt. Hon. William Kenrick, Birmingham	1907-1909
Rt. Hon. Lord Airedale, Gledhow Hall, Leeds	1909-1911
Rt. Hon. Sir John T. Brunner, Bart., Chertsey	1911-1917
Rev. Henry Enfield Dowson, B.A., Gee Cross, Hyde	1917-1920
Rev. Joseph Estlin Carpenter, M.A., D.D., Oxford	1920-1925
Hugh Reynolds Rathbone, LL.D., Greenbank, Liverpool	1925-1928
Sir John F. L. Brunner, Bart., London	1928-1929
Arthur Henry Worthington, B.A., LL.D., Man- chester	1929-

VISITORS

William Wood	1806-1808
William Turner	1808-1859
Joseph Hutton	1818-1822
Lant Carpenter	1822-1825
Charles Wellbeloved	1841-1849
Robert Wallace	1846-1850
John Kenrick	1851-1877
William Gaskell	1859-1884
Samuel Bache	1861-1865
John Hamilton Thom	1866-1880
Thomas Sadler	1881-1890
Charles Beard	1885-1888
Henry William Crosskey	1887-1893
James Edwin Odgers	1889-1894
Charles Hargrove	1891-1903

Friedrich Max Müller	1895-1900
Samuel Alfred Steinthal	1895-1903
Edward Caird	1902-1908
Richard Acland Armstrong	1904-1905
Philip Henry Wicksteed	1904-1920
Charles Clement Coe	1905-1908
Joseph Wood	1910-1921
Gilbert Murray	1910-
Reginald Walter Macan	1920-1926
Valentine David Davis	1922-1925
William Hamilton Drummond	1922-1926
Alexander Robert Andreae	1925-1928
Alfred Hall	1926-1930
Frank Heming Vaughan	1928-1931
George Dawes Hicks	1930-

CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEE

Thomas Robinson	1817-1852
Benjamin Heywood	1852-1854
John Touchet	1854-1856
T. B. W. Sanderson	1856-1857
John Touchet	1857-1858
Isaac Harrop	1858-1840
J. Aspinall Turner	1840-1852
Robert Needham Philips	1852-1855
William Gaskell	1855-1884
S. Alfred Steinthal	1884-1889
J. Edwin Odgers	1889-1891
Harry Rawson	1891-1897
S. Alfred Steinthal	1897-1903
H. Enfield Dowson	1903-1917
Arthur H. Worthington	1918-1929
C. Sydney Jones	1929-

TREASURERS

Josiah Birch	1786†
James Touchet	1786-1798
Samuel Jones	1798-1803
Ottiwel Wood	1803-1808
George William Wood	1808-1843

William Rayner Wood	1844-1852
Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire	1852-1854
Robert Needham Philips	1854-1860
Thomas Ashton	1860-1873
David Ainsworth	1874-1891
Charles William Jones	1892-1908
Grosvenor Talbot	1908-1919
Henry Philips Greg	1919-1930
Stephen Grosvenor Lee	1930-

SECRETARIES

George Duckworth	1786-1806
Thomas Henry Robinson	1811-1821
Rev. John Gooch Robberds	1814-1822
Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire	1821-1836
	1840-1852
Rev. John James Tayler	1822-1833
	1836-1840
William Rayner Wood	1833-1839
Rev. James Martineau	1839-1840
Rev. William Gaskell	1840-1846
Rev. Robert Brook Aspland	1846-1857
Robert Worthington	1852-1853
Robert Dukinfield Darbishire	1853-1892
Rev. Charles Beard	1857-1879
Rev. Henry Enfield Dowson	1880-1903
Arthur Henry Worthington	1893-1917
Rev. Henry Gow	1903-1922
Philip Milner Oliver	1917-
Rev. Valentine David Davis	1922-1930
Rev. William Hamilton Drummond	1930-

NOTE.—In the interval between the first two Secretaries, the Treasurer appears to have acted in that capacity.

INDEX

- Academies, Nonconformist, 17
Academy—
Attercliffe, 23, 25
Bolton, 18, 28
Calton Hall, 22
Daventry, 43, 45
Dawson Fold, 22
Exeter, 24, 88, 102
Findern, 29, 31, 73
Hackney, 49, 50, 66, 75, 88
Homerton, 75
Kendal, 18, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 68
Manchester, 18, 27 (*Cf. also*
Manchester College)
Northampton, 28, 42
Rathmel, 16, 18, 21 ff., 53
Warrington, 18, 26, 30, 31 ff.
(*Cf. also under* Warrington,
Teaching Staff)
Whitehaven, 18, 28, 36
Acton, Henry Morell, 130
Addis, William Edward, 185, 189,
191
Aikin, Anna Lactia (*cf.* Barbauld)
Aikin, Arthur, 75
Aikin, John, 31, 35, 40, 42, 47, 55
Aikin, John, jun., 32, 42
Aikin, Lucy, 40, 41
Ainsworth, David, 151
Ainsworth, Thomas, 126, 137
Annual Review, 75
Areopagitica, Milton's, 20
Arlosh, James, 175, 177
Armstrong, Richard Acland, 110,
154, 159, 164, 165, 166, 190
Arnold, Matthew, 148
Ashe, John, 25
Ashton, Thomas, 159, 173
Ashworth, Caleb, 43
Aspland, Lindsey M., 166
Aspland, Robert Brook, 102, 126,
138, 140
Attercliffe, 23, 25
Bache, Samuel, 95, 98, 126
Barbauld, Mrs. (Anna L. Aikin), 33,
42, 75
Barnes, Thomas, 15, 35, 54 ff., 70
Baxter, Richard, 19, 23
Beard, Charles, 79, 87, 90, 101, 129,
132, 140, 145, 158, 163
Beard, John Relly, 70, 84, 95, 110,
114, 117
Beard, Lewis, 190
Beesly, Edward Spencer, 124
Belsham, Thomas, 50, 66, 75, 120
Bergson, Henri, 194
Bethel, Richard, 125, 128, 133
Boros, George, 154
Bosanquet, Bernard, 194
Boutroux, Emile, 194
Bowman, Eddowes, 114, 138, 144
Bridge, John, 147
Bright, Henry Arthur, 32, 41
Brodrick, G. C., Warden of Merton,
172, 177
Brooke, Stopford A., 149, 167, 190
Brougham, Loed, 82
Browne, Theophilus, 76, 78
Browning, Robert, 149
Brunner, Sir John, 175
Buckton, George, 108
Buckton, Mrs. George, 176
Burnet, John, 194
Burns, Robert, 36
Caird, Edward, 172
Caldecott, Alfred, 149
Calton Hall, 22
Cappe, Catharine, 21, 74, 78
Cappe, Newcome, 73
Carlyle, Thomas, 109
Carpenter, Joseph Estlin, 54, 76,
150; lectureship, 153, 154; Ox-
ford M.A., 171, 173, 176; life-
story, 181; publications, 183, 190,
192, 195, 199
Carpenter, Mrs. J. E., 176
Carpenter, Lant, 76, 85, 98
Carpenter, Philip Pearsall, 76, 86,
102, 108
Carpenter, Russell Lant, 76, 86, 105
Carpenter, William Benjamin, 124,
136, 181

- Chancery suit, 126; judgment, 128; costs, 129
 Channing, William Ellery, 118, 119
 Cheam Library, 27, 65
 Chorlton, John, 18, 27, 28
 Churches, Unitarian and Free Christian, 99, 124, 127, 133, 199
 Clayden, P. W., 165, 166
 Clayton, Nicholas, 48
 Clegg, James, 25, 25, 27
 Clough, Arthur Hugh, 124
 Clutton-Brock, A., 195
 Cobbe, Frances Power, 193
 Coe, Charles Clement, 155, 164, 165
 Colenso, Bishop, 187
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 46
 Coningham, James, 18, 28
 Conventicle Acts, 15, 16
 Crosskey, Henry William, 109, 110, 112, 158
 Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, 27, 32, 54, 58, 62, 70, 109, 110, 113, 144
 Cumont, Franz, 195
- Dalton, John, 62, 63, 66, 69, 70
 Darbshire, Robert Dukinfield, 130, 151, 140, 157, 158, 161, 165, 166, 173
 Darbshire, Samuel Dukinfield, 109, 125, 126, 130, 138
 Darwin, Charles, 148
 Darwin, Erasmus, 56
 Davies, Thomas, 63
 Davis, David, 102
 Dawson Fold, 22
 Daye, James, 29
 Dendy, John, 110, 129
 Dendy, Mrs. John, 110
 Dicey, Albert Venn, 177
 Dissenters' Chapels Act, 100, 123
 Dixon, Thomas, 18, 28, 29, 36
 Doddridge, Philip, 26, 28, 42
 Dowson, Henry Enfield, 153, 164, 165, 166, 176
 Drummond, James, 54, 150, 151; lectureship, 152, 153, 162, 163; Oxford Settlement, 169, 171, 173, 176; life-story, 179, 187, 190, 192, 198, 199; future of the College, 200
 Drummond, William Hamilton, 154
 Dunkin, Joanna, 102, 173
 Dunkin lectureship, 173, 183, 195
- Enfield, Edward, 101, 140, 157
 Enfield, William, 44, 45, 49
 Estlin, John Prior, 55
 Everett, Charles Carroll, 177
- Farnell, L. R., 183
 Field, Edwin Wilkins, 144
 Fielden, Samuel, 101
 Finch, Peter, 24
 Finlay, Robert, 107
 Fisher, H. A. L., 178
 Five Mile Act, 16, 22
 Flower, J. Cyril, 192
 Foester, Johann Reinhold, 44
 Fox, Arthur W., 190
 Frankland, Richard, 16, 17, 21; ejection, 22; character as teacher, 23; method at Rathmel, 25; death, 27, 163
 Franklin, Benjamin, 45
 Fremantle, Canon, 177
 Fripp, E. L., 154
- Gaskell, Daniel, 98
 Gaskell, William, 102, 105, 109, 110, 115, 138, 157
 Gaskell, Mrs. W., *née* Stevenson, 65, 66, 105, 109, 114
 Geldart, Edmund M., 159
 Giles, Henry, 118
 Goldschmidt, Ald., 163
 Gordon, Alexander, 16, 18, 20, 24, 26, 28, 40, 121, 155
 Gow, Henry, 151, 154, 171, 192
 Green, Thomas Hill, 148
 Greg, Arthur, 176
 Greg, Henry Russell, 158, 165, 175, 176
 Grundy, John, 63
- Hackney College, 49, 50, 66, 75, 88
 Hargrove, Charles, 165
 Harrison, John, 102
 Harrison, John, 190
 Harrison, Ralph, 35, 54 ff., 70
 Harrop, Isaac, 97

- Heap, George, 102
 Henry, Thomas, 56
 Herford, Brooke, 106, 129
 Herford, C. H., 183, 184
 Herford, R. Travers, 154
 Herford, William H., 102
 Hewley Trust, 99
 Heywood, Arthur, 33
 Heywood, James, 97, 124, 126, 138, 144
 Heywood, John Pemberton, 101, 126
 Heywood, Oliver, 23
 Heywood, Samuel, 35
Hibbert Journal, 155, 195
 Hibbert, Robert, 154
 Hibbert Trust, 154
 Hicks, George Dawes, 154, 179
 Higginson, Edward, 65
 Hill, Frank Harrison, 130
 Hincks, Thomas, 94, 103, 174
 Hincks, Thomas Dix, 95
 Hincks, William, 79, 93, 94
 Hobbouse, L. T., 194
 Hollins, William, 174
 Holt, Mrs. George, 175
 Holt, John, 55, 45
 Holt, Raymond V., 192
 Holt, William, 92
 Hope-Pinker, H. R., 151
 Hornblower, Frederic, 94
 Houghton, Pendlebury, 35, 47
 Howorth, Franklin, 84, 86
 Humble, Miss, 100
 Hutton, Joseph, 102, 140
 Hutton, Richard Holt, 124, 130, 161
- Ierson, Henry, 166
 Independents (Congregationalists), 16, 19
 Inge, Dean, 194
- Jacks, Lawrence Pearsall, 154, 155, 171, 181, 191, 192, 195
 James, William, 194
 Johns, William, 69, 70
 Jollie, Timothy, 27
 Jones, Charles W., 175
 Jones, Henry, 194
 Jones, Robert Crompton, 129
 Jones, Samuel, 65, 71
 Jowett, Benjamin, 148, 149, 172, 188
- Kell, Edmund, 102, 159, 173
 Kenrick, Archibald, 101
 Kenrick, Edward, 24
 Kenrick, George, 79
 Kenrick, John, 25, 47, 71, 77; lectureship, 78, 82, 87; life-story, 88; tributes, 90, 91; College Jubilee sermon, 94, 95, 104, 107, 109, 117, 125, 138, 139
 Kenrick, Timothy, 24, 67, 88
 Kenrick, William, 25
 Kentish, John, 83, 88, 98
 Kerr, Hugh, 76
 King, Richard Meade, 144
 Krüger, Gustav, 194
- Lampont, William James, 100
 Lee, Thomas Eyre, 98
 Lister, Isaac S., 165, 166
 London University, 96, 103, 107, 155
 Long, George, 144
 Loyd, Lewis, 65
 Lupton, Arthur, 98
 Lupton, Joseph, 175
- Macan, Reginald W., 172, 178
 McLachlan, H., 18, 50, 114
 Madge, Thomas, 87, 102
 Madge, Travers, 106, 130
 Manchester College, 55; Foundation, 56-8; Constitution, 59, 60, 203-6; courses of study, 60, 69, 77, 92, 141; College buildings, 61, 64, 74, 79, 108, 156, 173-6; Removals: to York, 71; return to Manchester, 97, 105; to London, 125, 156; to Oxford, 165, 168; Jubilee, 94; Chancery suit, 126, 129, 133; Martineau controversy, 138-46; Centenary, 162-4; Addis controversy, 185-91; women students, 193; future prospects, 199-202. *Cf. also under* Open Principle and for Teaching Staff, Addis, Barnes, Bowman, Bridge, Browne, Carpenter, Dalton, Drummond, Finlay, Flower, Gaskell, Gow, Harrison, Hincks, Holt, Jacks, Johns, Kenrick, Kerr, Loyd, Martineau, Newman, Nicholls, Odgers, Perry, Phillips, Robberds, Ryland, Sanders, Simpson, Smith, Stevenson,

- Taylor, Turner, Upton, Walker, Wallace, Weatherall, Wellbeloved, Yates
- Markby, Sir William, 172, 177
- Marriott, J. A. R., 194
- Marshall, Thomas L., 129
- Martineau, David, 165, 166
- Martineau, James, 34, 54, 71; tribute to Wellbeloved, 81; College at York, 81-6; tribute to Kenrick, 91; jubilee sermon, 94, 95, 97; lectureship, 107, 109, 111; friendship with F. W. Newman, 115; growing influence, 117; Channing's tribute, 118; religious leadership, 119, 120; tribute to Taylor, 121; in London, 137; controversy on his appointment, 138-45; life-story, 147 ff.; statue, 151; retirement, 161, 162; Centenary resolution, 163; opposes move to Oxford, 165; Oxford D.C.L., 171; at College opening, 176; suggested appointment of Colenso, 188; women at his lectures, 193; on the Open Principle, 198
- Martineau, Philip Meadows, 35
- Martineau, Russell, 146
- Milson, John, 19, 20, 22
- Morley, Henry, 160, 166
- Morley, H. Foester, 160
- Müller, Max, 172, 183
- Muirhead, J. H., 154, 195
- Murray, Gilbert, 172
- Natland, 22
- Nettlefold, Frederick, 165, 166
- Newcome, Henry, 27
- Newman, Francis William, 107, 113, 114, 124
- Nicholls, John Ashton, 130
- Nicholls, T., 63
- Nicholson, Francis, 21, 26, 28
- Odgers, James Edwin, 154, 164-7, 184, 201
- Odgers, W. Blake, 165, 166
- Open Principle, 37-9, 56-8, 62, 67, 77, 83, 127, 133, 143-4, 161, 168-70, 177, 185-91, 197-202
- Owen, John, 186, 187
- Owens, John, 105
- Owens College, 99, 105, 107, 108, 125, 134
- Paget, John, 101
- Palmer, Roundell, 125
- Peake, A. S., 183
- Percival, Thomas, 35, 54 ff., 70
- Perry, Walter Coupland, 94
- Peterloo, 62
- Pfeiderer, Otto, 195
- Philips, Mark, 95, 97, 101, 126, 144, 154
- Philips, Robert, 95, 101
- Philips, Robert (of Heybridge), 79, 101, 154
- Philips, Robert Needham, 101
- Phillips, Montague L., 107
- Pneumatology, 26, 35, 60
- Poynting, T. Elford, 129
- Presbyterian Board, 99, 177
- Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, 63, 115
- Presbyterians, English, 19, 20, 22, 23, 80
- Price, P. W., 165
- Price, Richard, 43, 46, 50
- Priestley, Joseph, 29, 33, 37, 41, 42-4, 46, 47, 118
- Pringle-Pattison, A. S., 194
- Rathbone, William, 165
- Rathmel, 21, 23, 27
- Rawson, Harry, 158, 164, 175
- Réville, Jean, 195
- Robberds, John, 102, 103, 163
- Robberds, John Gooch, 73, 102, 109, 110, 112
- Robinson, Samuel, 72, 79
- Robinson, Thomas, 72
- Robinson, Thomas Henry, 72
- Romilly, Sir John, Master of the Rolls, 127 ff.
- Rotheram, Caleb, 18, 26, 28, 29
- Royce, Josiah, 194
- Ryland, John Howard, 84, 94, 109
- Sabatier, Paul, 195
- Sadler, M. E., 195
- Sadler, Thomas, 161

- Sanders, Charles, 67
- Schleiermacher, 36, 121
- Scott, Russell, 190
- Seddon, John (of Manchester), 32
- Seddon, John (of Warrington), 32, 41, 44
- Shaen, William, 161, 163
- Sharpe, Samuel, 98
- Sharpe, W. Arthur, 166
- Shepherd, William, 95
- Shore, Offley, 97, 101
- Shore, Samuel, 101
- Shore, Samuel, jun., 35, 101
- Silver, James, 100
- Simpson, Canon, 172, 185, 191, 192
- Smith, A. L., 195
- Smith, George Vance, 94, 114-16, 162, 177
- Smith, Sydney, 82, 85, 86
- Socinianism, 23, 27, 41, 68
- Sorley, W. R., 194
- Stanley, Dean, 148, 188
- Steinthal, S. Alfred, 129, 160, 166, 194
- Stevenson, William, 65
- Street, C. J., 190
- Strutt, Edward (Lord Belper), 101
- Swanwick, Anna, 193
- Tagart, Edward, 84, 95, 123
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 195
- Tarrant, W. G., 190
- Tate, Henry, 174, 175
- Tawney, R. H., 196
- Taylor, James, 122
- Taylor, John James, 54, 72, 89, 95, 96, 97, 103; lectureship, 106; Principal, 116; influence as teacher, 117-20; tributes, 121; life-story, 122-3; letter on theological teaching at Owens College, 134; opening address in London, 137; plea for Martineau's appointment, 139; teaching with Martineau, 141, 145; Open Principal of the College, 186
- Taylor, Stephen S., 166
- Taylor, Edgar, 97
- Taylor, John, 24, 29, 31, 35; Divinity tutor, 36; authority in Religion, 37; undogmatic principle, 39; death, 40, 67, 111
- Taylor, John Edward, 130
- Taylor, Philip, 36
- Taylor, Richard, 37
- Taylor, Russell Scott, 130
- Temple, Richard Godman, 100
- Tennyson, Alfred, 149
- Tennyson, Mrs., 152
- Thom, John Hamilton, 95, 117, 118, 119, 126, 139 ff., 161, 164
- Thomas, J. M. Lloyd, 20
- Thrush, Captain, 81
- Tottie, T. W., 98
- Transylvania, Unitarian Church, 102, 154, 177
- Transylvanian students, 102, 154, 162, 194
- Turner, J. Aspinall, 126, 138
- Turner, William, 35, 66, 73, 78, 86, 98, 178
- Turner, William, jun., 75, 78, 92, 93
- Tyndall, John, 148
- Uniformity, Act of, 16, 17
- Unitarian (Home Missionary) College, 114, 156, 184
- Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, 99, 100, 123, 127, 197, 198, 199
- Unitarianism, 83, 198
- United Brethren, 19
- University College, London, 97, 98, 113, 124, 125, 136, 155
- University Hall, London, 123, 125, 136, 159, 160, 165-7
- University, of London
- Upton, Charles Barnes, 149, 152, 173, 180, 181, 191
- Wakefield, Gilbert, 42, 48, 49, 69, 75
- Walker, George, 45, 67 ff.
- Walker, Thomas, 68
- Wallace, Robert, 79, 95, 106, 110-12
- Wallas, Graham, 195
- Ward, Mrs. Humphry, 178
- Warrington Academy, 18, 30, 31 ff., 54; *cf. also* for Teaching Staff, under Aikin, Clayton, Enfield, Foester, Holt, Houghton, Priestley, Seddon, Taylor, Wakefield, Walker
- Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, 37
- Watts, G. P., 152

- Watts, Isaacs, 36, 45
 Weatherall, John Henry, 192
 Wellbeloved, Charles, 53, 66;
 Divinity tutor, 70; at York, 73;
 life-story, 74 ff.; scheme of studies,
 77; tributes, 80, 81; Wrangham
 controversy, 81-2; Family Bible,
 83; farewell presentation, 100,
 102-4
 Wendt, H. H., 195
 Wesley, John, 36, 75, 170
 Whitehead, J. T., 166
 Wicksteed, Charles, 95, 115, 117, 126
 Wicksteed, Philip Henry, 154, 159,
 165, 173, 183, 184, 190, 195
 Wiclif, John, 170
 Williams, Dr., Library, 123, 167
 Williams, Dr., Trust, 99
 Wilson, Sir Roland, 165
 Women students, 194
 Wood, George William, 72, 96,
 102
 Wood, George William Rayner, 73
 Wood, Ottiwell, 72
 Wood, Samuel, 72
 Wood, William, 72, 75
 Wood, William Rayner, 72, 103, 126,
 127, 129
 Workers' Educational Association,
 196
 Worthington, Alfred W., 129
 Worthington, Arthur H., 190
 Worthington, Percy, 175
 Worthington, Robert, 125, 126
 Worthington, Thomas, 173
 Wrangham, Archdeacon, 81, 82
 Wright, John, 129
 Yates, James, 47, 78, 98, 126
 Yates, John, 47



GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
 LONDON: 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1
 CAPE TOWN: 73 ST. GEORGE'S STREET
 SYDNEY, N.S.W.: WYNARD SQUARE
 AUCKLAND, N.Z.: 41 ALBERT STREET
 TORONTO: 91 WELLINGTON STREET, WEST

The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches

by ERNST TROELTSCH

TRANSLATED BY OLIVE WYON

Sm. Royal 8vo.

Two Vols. 42s. the set.

"It is a standard work on the subject, immensely learned, judicially impartial, and full of interest to all who are occupied with modern social problems. . . . In erudition he ranked with Harnack; in depth of thought he probably surpassed him."—DEAN INGE in the *Church of England Newspaper*

"Troeltsch is a great man who gives forth great thought. . . . Few have ever conceived a more gigantic task or brought it to a more successful conclusion."—*Theology*

The Social Substance of Religion

by GERALD HEARD

Demy 8vo.

10s. 6d.

"Fascinating. . . . But this is emphatically a book to buy, for many a private discussion will arise from its contents . . . provocative in the best possible way. He provokes not irritation, but debate."—*Listener*

"It contains much clever, pointed and suggestive writing, and is informed with an eloquent fancy."—*Expository Times*

The Development of Religious Toleration in England

(From the beginning of the English Reformation to the death of Queen Elizabeth)

by W. K. JORDAN

Demy 8vo.

About 21s.

This work constitutes the first exhaustive and definitive discussion of an important subject. Dr. Jordan traces the development of thought in England on the subject of religious toleration among diverse groups: the churchmen, statesmen, Puritans, dissenters and laymen. Continental influences have not been neglected. The study is based upon a thorough grasp of the contemporary materials. The work will be valuable to the historian, the churchman, the political theorist and to the philosopher.

The Holy and the Living God

by M. D. R. WILLINK

Demy 8vo.

10s.

"It is delightful to welcome from the pen of a woman theologian so distinguished a piece of work. . . . Here is an exploration of the most daunting aspect of religious experience, informed by a remarkable power of interpretation, and conspicuously clear of the supposed 'feminine' reactions to religion."—*Spectator*

A Study of Conversion

by the Rev. L. W. LANG

Foreword by William Brown, M.D., B.Sc.

Demy 8vo.

10s. 6d.

"Not to be lightly passed over. . . . The book is important for the psychologist and the evangelist."—*Times Literary Supplement*

"A book with a real message, and it is put in a way that is really impressive."—*London Quarterly Review*

The Bible and Its Background

by C. H. DODD

Cr. 8vo.

2s. 6d.

A series of broadcast talks on the history of the Bible, revised and specially prepared for publication.

"Invaluable."—*Christian World*

Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion

by J. G. MCKENZIE, B.D.

Cr. 8vo.

5s.

"His counsel is marked by a simple common sense, all the more valuable because it is reinforced by the fruits of his knowledge as an expert psychologist."—*Times Literary Supplement*

"His book is full of genuine guidance."—*Christian World*

Creative Worship

by HOWARD H. BRINTON, Ph.D.

Swarthmore Lecture, 1931

Cr. 8vo.

Cloth 2s. 6d., Paper 1s. 6d.

"A most helpful, thoughtful and suggestive little book deserving a wide circulation."—*Scots Observer*

Democracy and Religion

A Study in Quakerism

by G. VON SCHULZE GAEVERNITZ

Swarthmore Lecture, 1930

Cr. 8vo.

Second Impression Cloth 2s. 6d., Paper 1s. 6d.

"There is a great deal of good work in these essays. . . . Their subject is apposite at the present time when so many fundamental political conceptions are in the melting-pot. It is a book worth reading carefully."—*Church Times*

The English Bible as Literature

by CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE

La. Cr. 8vo.

7s. 6d.

The religious associations surrounding the Bible make it difficult for the general reader to appreciate the value which the Scriptures bear as literature. Dealing as it does with elementary passions and principles, born of the genius of two remarkable races, the English Bible is, in the author's view, the greatest book of all the ages.

Religion, Morals and the Intellect

by F. E. POLLARD

Cr. 8vo.

5s.

This book examines the part played by the intellect in the grasping of religious truth and in the moral life. Does reason lead us to reality? Is the unintelligible an essential element? Are the Churches attending to the results of modern criticism? Are rites and symbols a real help? A rational morality alone can cope with the needs of to-day. There are indisputable facts of inward experience which it is for reason to see and interpret.

All prices are net

LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD