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EDITORIAL

THE bicentenary celebrations at Castle Hill (Doddridge) ~~Church~~, Northampton, in honour of Philip Doddridge, which took place in October, gave satisfaction and inspiration to all who shared in them. No pains had been spared by Mr. Bernard Godfrey and his Committee to make the occasion fitting and memorable: the church was decorated for the occasion with interesting Doddridge relics of various kinds, and most generous hospitality was shown to the many guests. Among the speakers were the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Spencer Leeson), the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council and General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of England (Dr. A. D. Harcus), the Secretary of the Baptist Union (Dr. E. A. Payne) and the ex-President of the Methodist Conference (Dr. W. E. Sangster), as well as the Chairman (the Rev. H. S. Stanley) and Secretary (Dr. L. E. Cooke) of the Congregational Union. The extent of the debt owed to Doddridge by all the Protestant Churches in this country could hardly have been recognized more strikingly. Others present included the Mayor and Mayoress of Northampton; the Principal of New College, London; the Rev. Philip Doddridge Humphreys, Doddridge's lineal descendant; and officers of our Society. The celebrations concluded on 28 October with an address on Doddridge broadcast from Doddridge's pulpit by Dr. J. Trevor Davies. Among the letters of appreciation Dr. Davies received was one which revealed that the retiring Principal of Pusey House (Dr. Frederic Hood) is a descendant of Doddridge. Another correspondent suggests that Doddridge's famous opening line, "O happy day that fix'd my choice", may have been influenced by the comment on *John i, 39* ("They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day") in Bengel's *Gnomon* (1742), *O felix dies!* Whether sound or not, the conjecture has a felicity about it which, like the gladsome spirit of the celebrations as a whole, would have appealed to Doddridge himself.

* * *

"The Gospel dieth not when I die," wrote Richard Baxter in his *Dying Thoughts*; "The Church dieth not. The Praises of God die

not." So, in the year after Doddridge's death, a worker in the dockyard at Sheerness, William Shrubsole, began to preach, and from his ministrations the Sheerness Congregational church dates its origins. His tomb in Minster churchyard has recently been restored, and on 10 November, by permission of the Vicar of Minster, a commemorative service, attended by the Chairmen of the Sheerness and Sheppey Urban District Councils, was held, the address being given by Shrubsole's great-grandson, the Rev. S. S. Shrubsole, Secretary of the Surrey Congregational Union.

* * *

A book in which the author pays frequent tribute to the help he has received from our President, in particular in compiling a "List of Clergy in Exile, 1645-1660," is *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, by Dr. R. S. Bosher (Dacre Press, 25s.). This is a most careful and thorough study, making considerable use of contemporary correspondence preserved in manuscript in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. "The fact that the greater part of the old Church was quietly absorbed into the Cromwellian Establishment has received little attention; but it was of immense consequence at the Restoration. By that time the role of a self-conscious and vocal Anglicanism had entirely devolved on the minority which had maintained a separate and independent existence." After portraying this minority in exile with the Court and their "confidence impervious to the gibes of Romanist and Presbyterian," Dr. Bosher shows them step by step preparing for the Restoration and, when it came, cautiously but determinedly recapturing the Establishment for the Church of England. His conclusion is: "The political strength of the High Church party was bought with a price—the Church surrendered to Parliament its last shred of independence."

* * *

We are most grateful to Professor Norman Sykes for his kindness in contributing the appreciation of Dr. Peel with which this issue opens. The rest of the issue it seemed right to devote to Philip Doddridge. The Rev. F. W. P. Harris, of Solihull, has recently been awarded a

B.Litt. by the University of Oxford for a thesis on Doddridge. Mr. S. G. Harries has for some years taught at Oundle School, which he is shortly leaving to become a Lecturer in Education at Cambridge. It had been hoped to follow their contributions with a complete list of those of Doddridge's books which are preserved at New College, London; but in view of the rising costs of production it became clear that space would permit no more than a brief article.

* * *

The Committee appointed by the Society is, indeed, gravely disturbed about the future of these TRANSACTIONS. At a time when our membership is higher than ever before, it is becoming increasingly nigh impossible to continue to finance them. In these circumstances the Committee has decided to dispense with the usual address at our Annual Meeting next May. Instead, our Chairman, the Rev. R. F. G. Calder, will open a general discussion on our difficulties and on the ways in which we may hope to master them.

Dr. Albert Peel and Historical Studies

"THUS God's children are immortal while their Father hath anything for them to do on earth; and death, 'that beast, cannot overcome them and kill them, till first they have finished their testimony' ". Thomas Fuller's consoling reflection on the exodus of the father of English history, Bede, strikes on the ear with a singular incongruity and contradiction in relation to the premature death of Albert Peel, in the prime of his age and with so much historical work projected but unfulfilled. Rather would the student of church history echo the melancholy soliloquy of Keats :

When I have fears that I may cease to be
Before my pen has glean'd my teeming brain,
Before high piled books in charact'ry,
Hold like rich garners, the full-ripen'd grain.

Not content with this protest against the injustice done to church history by the death of Albert Peel, the votary of that study is moved to even more bitter lament concerning the intrusions made by those thieves of learned leisure, the responsibility of a pastoral charge and the editorship of a quarterly review, upon the unrealized project of a definite history of Elizabethan Puritanism. When the eye passes from his early works which gave promise of so rich a harvest to the long catalogue of books left unfinished at his departure, one is compelled vehemently to grudge the years which he gave to his pastoral cure and to the drudgery of proof-correcting and reviewing.

To the present writer, born and educated in the same region of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Albert Peel was a kind of mythical and legendary figure of a byegone heroic age. At a later stage in Oxford I remember the eulogistic references of Sir Charles Firth to his earlier historical work, and the reported indignant protest addressed by Firth to Dr. Selbie for the exiling of Peel to country pastorate far from libraries, where historical writing was beset by many difficulties. With the publication in 1915 of the two volumes of *The Seconde Parte of a Register*, being a calendar of manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams' Library, London, the name of Albert Peel became widely known amongst scholars and his work generally recognized as of first-class importance in the study of Elizabethan Puritanism. Of his editorial contribution it is sufficient to quote the prefatory verdict of Firth : "To provide a key to the whole collection by indicating the contents

of each particular document, and to print in full the essential portions of those which were important, were tasks requiring judgement as well as industry, and Dr. Peel has performed his work in a scholarly fashion". To the serious student of the Elizabethan church, Peel's two volumes are indispensable and his work in this field is definitive.

But the history of Elizabethan Puritanism had attracted other learned scholars, amongst whom it is sufficient to mention the names of Champlin Burrage, R. G. Usher, F. J. Powicke and William Pierce; and it was no small venture for Peel to enter their field of investigation. Inevitably he was led to question, or correct, some of their conclusions. In his little pamphlet of less than fifty pages *The First Congregational Churches: New Light on Separatist Congregations in London 1567-1581*, published in 1920, he traced the fortunes and church-polity of the earliest fugitive separatist congregations in the Elizabethan age; and with evidence cumulatively convincing concluded that "there is no valid reason for moderns to deny to Fitz's congregation, and probably to others contemporary with it, the title of "the first Congregational Churches'". This pamphlet has an importance altogether out of proportion to its slender size. It has also a pathetic aspect; for the author's preface, dated from Great Harwood in May 1920, contained the promise that "I have for many years had in preparation a work on 'Elizabethan Puritanism and Separatism', which will endeavour to trace the development of Nonconformity from Elizabeth's accession to the Hampton Court Conference". Thirty years later this *magnum opus* has still not appeared; and with Peel's passing from us, hopes of its completion must be abandoned. A parallel pamphlet, also of 1920, *The Brownists in Norwich and Norfolk* laid down a further plank in the projected platform by its investigation of the historical origins of Puritanism in one of its strongest regions in the Elizabethan age.

But the pastorate at Great Harwood shortly gave place to a more onerous and exacting cure of souls at Clapton Park; and when to the varied labours of his church, Peel added the foundation and editorship from 1923 to '45 of *The Congregational Quarterly*, the hopes of a continuance of his scholarly historical work steadily receded. Some alleviation of the great disappointment thus occasioned may be found in his editorship for a quarter of a century of the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society, which evoked a series of historical articles and notes which kept alive the hope of bigger things, supported by an occasional extended essay such as his chapter "From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Emergence of Separatism" in *Essays Congregational and Catholic*, and by his sketch of *The Throckmorton Trotman Trust, 1664-1941*. Not indeed that Peel's pen was ever inactive, any more than his busy mind. A stream of minor publications issued from his study. Some of them were necessary, and useful,

livres de circonstance; such, for example, as his centenary history of the Congregational Union, his Brief History of English Congregationalism, and his part authorship of a biography of R. F. Horton. But serviceable though these works of denominational *pietas* were, they were not adequate substitutes for the long-planned history of sixteenth-century separatism. Not even this can be said of some of his more ephemeral productions, such as *From Thirty-Five to Fifty*, or the innumerable book reviews which he contributed to his Quarterly journal. When during the war of 1939-45 he became a kind of unofficial travelling ambassador in the United States, the pristine hopes of a solid historical book faded into the light of common day.

At the end of the war, however, the spring seemed to have returned to his year. He was no longer burdened with the Clapton Park pastorate; he even resigned the editorship of the *Quarterly*. In occasional (but alas! infrequent) visits to Cambridge he unfolded to me his ambitious design to edit the principal works of the Elizabethan fathers of Separatism. In 1944, indeed, he published for the Royal Historical Society *The Note-Book of John Penry*, with a critical and learned introduction; and he was busy copying a manuscript in the library of St. John's College which he believed to have been compiled by Richard Bancroft. With the comparative leisure which release from a pastorate and the editorial chair brought, he seemed to be renewing his youth as a historian; but with his extensive scheme for a *corpus* of Puritan Fathers he mingled occasional dark sayings and veiled hints, presaging the possibility that he might not live to complete these tasks.

Now he being dead, yet speaketh. For the first volume of his project, *Cartwrightiana*, has been published with the editorial help of Professor L. H. Carlson; and other volumes are to follow, embracing the works of Robert Harrison, Robert Browne, Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry; while a sixth and seventh volumes in this series will contain *A Parte of a Register*, upon which he had been engaged from his earliest years as a historian. It is hoped also that his transcript of *The Opinions and Dealings of the Precians and the Heresies of the Brownists* (1584), with his introductory essay arguing for the authorship of Richard Bancroft, will shortly appear. When this entire series of volumes is completed, Peel's purpose to lay the foundations for the history of Elizabethan Puritanism by the publication of the indispensable sources will have been realized. But the gap left by his own failure to write that definite history will still remain. "Though one's preference would have been to finish the work, *Elizabethan Puritanism and Separatism*, I have long had in hand, it seemed a clear duty first to provide the sources so that, if time prevent the completion of my plans, others may carry them out": this melancholy sentence from

Peel's own preface to the first volume, *Cartwrightiana*, marks the final disappointment of his, and our, long-deferred hopes. The only compensation possible would be that some younger Congregational historian may be inspired to accept the challenge and fulfil his wishes.

But if the quantity of Peel's historical work is much less than he and his friends and fellow-workers had anticipated and hoped, its quality is beyond question. Peel was characterized by indefatigable industry and patience in seeking out manuscript and printed sources, and he would have spurned hasty and ill-considered writing. He had a fine sense of historical discrimination, and, though dealing with a subject and period which have aroused much passion and prejudice, he maintained the strictest standards of historical integrity. This does not mean, of course, that he refused to make judgements on persons and events; his forthcoming preface on Bancroft for example is a far from flattering picture of that prelate; but he was never partisan in his verdicts. Above all, he illustrated the duty of the historian to seek the truth and to speak truth as he saw it, "To his historical writings there may be applied without fear or favour the standards to which Gilbert Burnet made his appeal : "For I do solemnly say this to the world and make my humble appeal upon it to the God of truth; that I tell the truth upon all occasions as fully and freely as upon best enquiry I have been able to find it out . . . For I reckon a lie in history to be as much a greater sin than a lie in common discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other."

NORMAN SYKES.

New Light on Philip Doddridge

Notes towards a new Biography

WHEN Alexander Gordon wrote his admirable article on Doddridge for the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1888 he commented on the fact that, though Stanford's *Doddridge* was "the best life at present, yet a better is desirable". That statement is as true now as it was when it was written. Moreover, since Gordon's day a great deal of new material concerning the life and times of Doddridge has been discovered. Most of this is contained in newly discovered letters to or from Doddridge, which throw considerable light on various aspects of his work and influence.

There is room, and there is need, for a large-scale standard biography of Doddridge, which will make use of the information which was not available to his previous biographers. This claim gains support from the fact that there has been as yet no serious attempt at presenting a detailed and complete study of Doddridge in his proper setting in Church History. Although much good work has been done in connection with Doddridge, it has been very largely of a popular nature, and he has not received the careful and critical examination which he deserves.

The first biography or memoir of Doddridge was that published by Job Orton in 1766, but this cannot be regarded as being in any sense a biography as that word is understood today. Then there was the small volume written by Dr. John Stoughton in 1851, to mark the centenary of Doddridge's death, which, though limited in its range, is very good. Stanford's *Doddridge* appeared in the series of "Men Worth Remembering", and this is, as Gordon says, the best life at present. Even so, there are at least two points where Stanford is inaccurate in his information, and it is impossible to agree with some of his judgements. In his Introduction Stanford says that he "originally prepared the Manuscript of a much larger work. It seemed to be wanted". He continues: "The writer, however, gradually felt a suspicion that busy modern men could not spare time to give it attention, and he has therefore cut it down to what it is, in the hope that by doing so he may gain more readers, and do more good". A similar hesitation may well assail the potential biographer of Doddridge today. He would, nevertheless, be in a much better position than Stanford was, to produce a comprehensive "Life", and that for two reasons: first, because of the mass of new materials concerning Doddridge; and secondly, because of our greatly enlarged knowledge and understanding of the eighteenth century. In addition, there are fields open for further research, which would certainly be of interest

and probably of great value in giving us a fuller picture of Doddridge's work and a clearer idea of his place and influence in his own day and in succeeding generations.

This essay is an attempt to give some account of the materials which have not been used hitherto by writers on Doddridge, and also to consider what may be required in any new biography of him.

The correspondence of Doddridge is invaluable, both on account of the light it throws on the personality of Doddridge himself and many of those who wrote to him, and also because of the innumerable insights which it gives into his life and times. It is in this field that new light concerning Doddridge is most likely to be discovered. Indeed, there are already hundreds of letters known which are not included in Humphreys' edition, and many of them are of great importance. Of these a number have been published in these *Transactions* and other periodicals, but there are still hundreds which have never been published. Dr. Nuttall, writing in these *Transactions* in May 1944 (xiv, 4, p.238), has said that "an inclusive calendar of the letters of Doddridge would be a useful piece of work". It would "also be a difficult piece of work, but there is no doubt of its value, particularly in view of the unreliability of Humphreys' editing, of which more will be said later. It would be a fascinating and an almost endless task as well. The present writer has so far compiled a list of some three hundred letters to and from Doddridge, none of which is in Humphreys; and there are doubtless many more to be added to that list. The Doddridge MSS. at New College, London, still await a thorough investigation, for Humphreys used by no means all of them in his collection. He himself says: "I have rejected some hundreds of unimportant letters" (iv, 570n.). Unimportant though many of these letters may be, they do contain much that is of interest, and the student of Doddridge cannot simply regard them as of no importance because Humphreys judged them to be so.

Typical of the new material now available is the collection of letters between Doddridge and Lord Kilkerran, many of which were published for the first time in 1948. They appear in James Fergusson's book, *John Fergusson, 1727-1750* (Cape, 1948). About forty of these letters are published either wholly or in part, and afford a good deal of information concerning life in Doddridge's Academy, as Lord Kilkerran's son was a pupil there. It is at this point that many of the newly discovered letters are of special help. Doddridge kept in close touch with the parents of his students, and sometimes with the students themselves, even when they had finished their studies.

There are some particularly illuminating letters which support this view. It is perhaps understandable that Humphreys included almost no letters of this kind in his five volumes, for in all probability

Doddridge did not always keep copies of them, and those letters which survived would be in the hands of the descendants of those to whom they were written, in which case they would be inaccessible and probably unknown to Humphreys. There are some letters of this sort at New College, London, but they may have been amongst those which Humphreys regarded as unimportant.

A small collection of six letters in the British Museum shows Doddridge's great care for those committed to his charge. They are all written by Doddridge to Dr. William Farr, whose son went to the Academy. A similar example is found in two letters which are in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Eng. MSS., 369, 39b, 39c).¹ These are from Doddridge to Mr. John Lowe, of Bramhall, Stockport, Cheshire. Mr. Lowe's son, John, went to the Academy in 1741. In January 1741/2 John fell ill, and Doddridge wrote to Mr. Lowe, telling him of John's condition. The letter reads :

Northampton

Jan. 26. 1741/2.

Dear Sir

I cannot satisfy myself any longer to defer acquainting you wh what I was at first unwilling to alarm you wh. I mean ye bad state of your good Sons Health. A violent Cold the beginnings of wh he did not regard so cautiously as Prudence wd have required some time since settled on his Lungs occasioned a Decay of appetite and Want of Sleep a Shortness of Breath & other Symptoms wh made me very uneasy at length wh much Importunity I perswaded him to call in ye Advice of the Physician who has now attended him about a Fortnight. We thought him rather better last week but he is somewhat altered for the worse within these last two Days & on ye whole I look upon ye Case as so hazardous that I thought it absolutely necessary to acquaint you wh it.

I can assure you Sir that great Care has been taken of him that he might want neither proper Food suitable to his Low State nor careful Nursing & as it has so happened that my wife who miscarried about three weeks ago has been confined ever since to a Chamber near his wh an excellent Nurse to attend her Mr Low has shared wh her in those comfortable Things & in that Attendance wh suited her in those Circumstances. And his obliging thankful Temper joined wh ye Early Apprehension wh she had of ye Dangerous Nature of his Illness has engaged her to

¹. For access to these MSS. and for permission to print them, I have to thank the Librarian at the John Rylands Library.

some more than ordinary watchfulness over him & I can truly say that if he had been her own Brother I see not how she could have been more tender of him.

I would hope on ye whole Sir ye Case is not desperate but it is so bad that I judged it my Duty to send you this information both that your prayers may join wh ours wh are very earnestly presented to God on his Account & also that you may be preparing to make him a Visit if Circumstances should require it.

However Sir I wd not urge your coming immediately you shall here again in a Week & then I will send your Bill wh on this melancholy occasion is a pretty large one tho ye Doctors Fees have been only $\frac{1}{2}$ a Guinea each other Day. Expences in these Circumstances are unavoidable but I do all I conveniently can to moderate them & ye Assistance of my Wifes Nurse & ye tender Love of his Fellow pupils each of whom waits on him like a Brother & one or another almost continually has saved the Charge of a Nurse for him wh otherwise must have been provided.

I must conclude Sir wh mentioning one Thing wh has given me great Comfort under ye Deep Concern wh his dangerous Illness occasions & it is this. It seems to have led him into some deeper Reflections on Religion than he had ever before entertained, and he appears wh a much more affectionate Sense of the Truth & Importance of some doctrines of ye Gospel wh tis so fashionable to pour Contempt upon than he once had. This if God spare his Life will have in all probability a very happy Effect on his future Ministry & if God should remove him will be ye best support to him & his surviving Friends. I must now conclude wh his Duty & our Services to your self Mrs Lowe & ye rest of ye Family & wh ye Assurance of my paternal Care of him wh is ye best proof I can give of being

Dear Sir

Your affectionately sympathizing Friend & humble Servant,

P. Doddridge.

Your Son is rather better this Morning.

When John got worse instead of better, Doddridge wrote again to his father on Feb. 6th, this time in even more anxious terms :

Northampton, Feb. 6 1741/2

Dear Sir,

It was not so much my own Indisposition tho that has confined me some Days to my Chamber & my earnest Desire if it were ye will of God to send you some better News of your Dear Son that delayed my Writing. And indeed from ye State of his Health

for 2 or 3 Days & the Encouragement ye Doctor gave yesterday I hoped I might have told you quickly that he was recovering but to my great Grief I am now forced to tell you that he appears to Day worse than ever I have known him. That Hectick wh has been sometime upon him seems now to have affected his Head so that he often wanders & he has now a purging upon him wh if it cannot be stopd must soon waste him away considering how much he is already emaciated. He has himself been always firmly perswaded he should recover but I must needs say tho I say it wh inexpressible concern that I see very little appearances of it & indeed he is already so much weakened that good as his Spirits are & too ready as he is to make ye best of his Illness I much question whether he will be able to bear a Journey Home wh perhaps if he could do his native Air might do him as much good as any Thing. I communicated to him ye Contents of your kind letter to me for wh I heartily thank you. He is very sensible of the Tenderness it expresses & desires me wh his Duty to your self & good Mother to assure you that it would be a great Pleasure to him to see you here as soon as you conveniently can, & indeed if he go on to alter for ye worse so much as he has done for ye last 24 hours I fear Sir you will hardly find him capable of Conversing wh you if he be yet alive. He may indeed not improbably be revived but as I had not seen him for 3 or 4 Days on Acct of my own Illness wh generally kept me sweating in Bed I was shockd extreamly when I saw him so extreamly ill as he appeard in ye Morning & was very apprehensive of a sudden Change.

That tender Concern wh great & threat'ning as his own Illness is he expressd for me under my comparatively slight Disorder & that affectionate Joy wh seemd almost to overwhelm him when he saw that I was come to make him a little Visit this Morning & to pray wh him as well as my now disabled Voice would let me affected me very deeply. I have Sir ye Satisfaction to think that nothing in our power is neglected wh may seem conducive to his Health & Comfort here or his future Happiness of wh last I have blessed be God a very chearful Hope. Yet as I know how tender a Circumstance ye Illness of a Child & of such a dear affectionate hopeful Child intended for such a Station in ye Church & promising such Usefulness in it must be I join my Request to his that you would please to come over as soon as you can. We cannot (being so full as we are) offer you a Bed here but you may lodge very near & to all such other plain Accommodation as a Family like ours can afford you will be cordially & thankfully welcome to us both. I pray God to give you a prosperous Journey & so to regard

our united & earnest Prayers as that you may find my Dear Pupil not only living as I think you probably may but also on ye recovering Hand. We conclude wh our united Respects to ye whole Family especially yourself & Mrs Lowe.

I am

Dear Sir

Your very affectionate Friend & obliged humble Servant,
P. Doddridge.

I bless God my Wife is much better. We thank you for ye kind Concern you express on her Acct & all ye Satisfaction you have in our Care of your dear Child.

A note in Doddridge's Diary included amongst "Some Memoranda of New Year's Day, 1743" mentions the fact that "good Mr. Lowe, of whom I still retain an affectionate remembrance," died in February, 1742.

No doubt Doddridge showed the same love and care for each of his pupils. There is one letter which shows what patience and toleration he displayed even to the most trying student. It is not known to whom this letter was written, and it is undated. This also is in the John Rylands Library (Eng. MS. 369, 39a.):

Sir,

A very unusual Perplexity & Distress in my Affairs the last Week hinder'd my answering your prudent & obliging Letter so soon as I should have done & I am extreamly sorry that I must now do it in a Manner which will be afflictive to you & your good Lady.

I had been informed by several Hands that Mr Henry St Nicholas was under very little Government at St. Albans so that I expected a sharp Conflict with him when he came into my Family. His Father assured me he would second me in the most vigorous attempts to reduce Him to order if he behaved at all amiss. At first being a Stranger in Town he was very regular but absented himself more than once from Family Prayer in the evening before the Death of that good Man, with whom I fear all the Hopes of Governing this poor Lad were taken away. Once he lay out of my House for which I admonish'd him with great Solemnity & intended to have informed his Father had I not heard he was so weak that I feared it would quite overwhelm him. When he returned again after that melancholy Scene he immediately told me he intended to board abroad not being pleased with his Study which was the best in the House in my Judgement & which he might have exchanged for several others & from that Time he

begun to take Liberties for which I was obliged to admonish him. One Night he took 3 of his Companions to an Alehouse kept them there very late & knowing I sate up for his Coming in broke in at a window about Midnight & slipt up without seeing me on this. I thought it necessary to give them all a publick Admonition before Family prayer the next Morning in Contempt of which he stay'd out till after prayers three or four Nights just after it. I then told him directly I would bear it no longer & intended to have informed you Sr had not Mr Some with whom I talk'd over the Matter writ to Mr Watson about it (not that I remember by my express Desire) He told me while he continued in my Family he would conform to the Orders of it but that he would quickly leave it. Yet he stay'd out after that till ten almost every Night carried his Companions frequently to the Alehouse. Neglected Lecture two or three Days in one Week & ye Meeting sometimes on the Sabbath Day. Particularly yesterday when he went to Daventry I know not with whom or for what. Whenever I talk to him he says he will have these Liberties he is under no Bodies Controul has his Fortune in his own Hands & therefore will take these innocent Freedoms as he is pleased to call them. He left my Family on Saturday & is gone to board with a poor Widdows at a great Distance in the Town where there is no prayer in the Family & I suppose no Government. He desires to attend my Lectures but really Sir I hear so many ill things of him I fear he will bring a reproach upon us all. He swears as I am told most scandalously. I cannot say I ever saw him drunk but I fear he often exceeds the Bounds of Temperance & prudence if he dont sink into the greatest Excesses in that Respect. I must do him the Justice to say he behaves generally in a very complacent Manner speaks of me with the greatest Respect gives as good an Account of his Lectures as most of the Class but nevertheless I think such a pupil will be dangerous & the most of my other Lads are persons of great Sobriety & I doubt not of strict & eminent piety, Some may be insnared & all disgrac'd by such a Companion. I am loath to turn him away as I have done one with whom he had a particular Friendship and who came but since last Vacation. My Respect to the Memory of his dear Father & to the other Branches of his Family would lead me to treat him with the greatest Tenderness & I have done it but both my tenderness & Authority have been so slighted & my Family so disordered that I thought it not to be born & tis certain that if he does not speedily remove or reform I must refuse him a Liberty of attending my Lecture tho he seems most earnestly to desire it. I beg your Advice on this Head & entreat you dear Sir to do your utmost to

bring him to a better Sense of things. For my part I determine to do all I possibly can to preserve the Character of those committed to my Care but you may easily apprehend there are numberless Instances in wh a watchful Eye may be eluded & especially when several are in a Confederacy to conceal the Irregularities of each other. I never have discovered any Immorality that I have not attempted immediately to redress to turn a Student away or to complain to Friends is an Extremity to wh I would not proceed where milder Methods will do but I am now come to a full Resolution tho directly contrary to the Bias of my natural Temper for the future rather to err in the severe than the indulgent Extream. Excuse so long & unconnected a Letter, & believe me with sincerest Respect

Sir Your most faithful
humble Servant P. Doddridge

My humble Service attends your good Lady & Mr Watson.

ps. I propose on occasion of this late Disorders (which what ever the Malice & Falsehood of some of our Church & Antinomians may have represented are intirely new in my Family[]) to draw up some Laws relating to the Conduct of my Pupils which I shall require them all to subscribe if they desire to continue with me, as likewise all that may hereafter come.

Not many of Doddridge's contemporaries would have been so long-suffering, I imagine. One cannot help wondering what became of Mr. Henry St. Nicholas in later years.

The new material is not concerned only with Doddridge's Academy. There is a small collection of some thirteen letters at Castle Hill Church, Northampton, which are most interesting. They are all letters to Doddridge, and are a part of his foreign correspondence, with the exception of two, which are from Dr. Nathaniel Lardner. The others come from the following persons: four from A. H. Walbaum, Privy Councillor to the Duke of Saxony; one from Th. L. Munter, Master of the School at Hanover; one from B. W. Schmager, Editor of *The Family Expositor* in German; one from Daniel de Superville, Physician to the Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth; one from Verneude, Pastor of the Walloon Church at Maestricht; one from Lette, Pastor of the Church at Zierickzee; one from F. E. Rambach, Pastor of the Church at Magdeburg; and one from a Peiffers, whom I cannot identify.

The letters are written some in French and some in Latin. There may well be some Doddridge letters still in existence at the places from which these letters were written. There is also, I believe, a

good chance that further letters by Doddridge himself may be found in the U.S.A. where Doddridge had several correspondents.

To return to this country, there are three letters in the Bodleian Library, one from Doddridge to his wife, and two to Doddridge from Isaac Watts. Others are to be found at High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, at Dr. Williams' Library, London, and at Manchester College, Oxford. There are eight more letters (seven from Doddridge and one to him) in the British Museum, apart from those already referred to concerning the son of Dr. Farr. Amongst these are two letters from Doddridge to Lord Hardwicke, and a reply from Lord Hardwicke, on the question of the ordination of Dr. Stonhouse. Another MS. letter was in the possession of the late F. W. Bull, of Newport Pagnell. The unearthing of further letters must be undertaken before a standard biography of Doddridge can be written.

If it be asked what must be required in any complete biography of Doddridge, the main object must, I think, be threefold : to show Doddridge as he really was as a man, to give a proper account of his work during his lifetime, and to estimate what is his true place in English Church History.

What is required in the first place is a thorough study of Doddridge's personality as revealed in his letters and writings, and here the letters in particular are of the greatest importance, for, as Dr. Nuttall has said of Baxter, so it can be said of Doddridge, that he gives himself to you. There is a wonderful warmth, tenderness, and gentle manner in his letters to Mrs. Doddridge, which tell us much of his character. In one unpublished letter he writes with obvious joy, " You spell exceeding well ", and many a similar touch is found. His letters to other people also, whoever they may be, often contain some little phrase which opens up Doddridge's mind and heart to the reader.

The second task of the biographer is to tell of Doddridge's work, and to attempt to see it in its true perspective. Here is a daunting task, for there are so many different aspects to be considered. There are the hymns, the sermons, the devotional writings such as *The Family Expositor*, and *The Rise & Progress*. There are the various addresses at ministers' meetings, the lectures given in the Academy, and other minor publications. There is Doddridge's work in connection with the cause of foreign missions and his discussions of the possibility of a " Comprehension " with the Church of England. His dealings with the early Methodists are also of considerable interest. Theological questions would arise concerning Doddridge's attitude towards the Arian Movement. All these matters would require lengthy and exhaustive investigation, as would the teaching methods employed in the Academy. Another important piece of work, which would lead on to the third section of the biography, would be the attempt to trace

the careers and influence of as many of Doddridge's pupils as possible. Many could be traced without much difficulty, and the careers of some others who followed other callings could probably be discovered. A number of those who became ministers are well known, such as Risdon Darracott, Benjamin Fawcett and Philip Holland, but there are others, who, though never famous, exercised fruitful, evangelical ministries in small churches, and who bore the mark of Doddridge upon them. Typical of such men were Thomas Strong, of Kilsby, Northamptonshire, and Richard Denny, of Long Buckby, in the same county. Time and again it is a story of increasing congregations and enlarged meeting-houses.

It was through his students that Doddridge continued to exercise a great influence on the life of the English Independent churches for years after his death. The work of these men must be borne in mind if Doddridge is to be given his rightful place in the history of eighteenth century Nonconformity and in the wider field of English church history. What is Doddridge's rightful place? The answer to that question is neither short nor easy. One of the most important points to be remembered is the fact that it was Doddridge who bridged the gap between the Old Dissent and the Methodist Revival. He embodied much of the spirit of the old Puritanism at its best, and had a real contribution to make in the early days of the revival under Whitefield and Wesley. Doddridge's biographer will also have to show how Doddridge and some of his pupils, such as Darracott and Fawcett, were engaged in the work of revival before the Methodists had properly started. Whatever the details of a new judgement on Doddridge may be, he must certainly be given a high position among the truly evangelical churchmen of the first half of the eighteenth century.

A gigantic task has to be attempted in connection with Humphreys' editing of the correspondence. He is by no means reliable and this was recognized by some of his reviewers. One writer says :

“ On examination, every page was found to be garnished with annotating ‘ bombast ’ and ‘ vulgarity ’ . . . In hardly a single instance did we find a faithful adherence to the MSS, and this not with reference merely to the orthography, but in the entire style and texture of the letters.”

This reviewer was writing in the *Evangelical Magazine* for October 1852. He quotes from another article in the *North British Review* (xiv. 28, pp. 350ff.), in which Humphreys is described as a “ coxcomb ”, and his work as “ the most eminent instance, in modern times, of editorial incompetency ”.

Humphreys sets out his plan of editing as follows (iv. 570 n.) :

1. I have rejected some hundreds of *unimportant* letters.

2. I have condensed the matter printed, by the omission of *uninteresting* passages.
3. I have, in some instances, struck out the *superabundant* words with which the hasty carelessness of the writers had left their sentences encumbered.
4. I have *not*, in any instance, omitted any passage showing the Personal history, or the Theological opinions of Dr. Doddridge.
5. I have *not*, in any instance, altered the original sense of *any* passage printed in these volumes.
6. I have *not* put parts of separate letters from the same individual together, so as to make up one letter from the whole, as it did not suit the biographical plan of this work, although it was done in some instances by Mr. Stedman, and perhaps with some advantage, as his publication was confined to a single volume of four hundred and seventy-two pages.

Unfortunately, it can be shown that Humphreys breaks his own rules time and again in a most reckless or ruthless fashion. Sometimes he softens down or omits a passage such as one which refers to Mrs. Doddridge's having a miscarriage. On many occasions he omits a postscript altogether or attaches it to another letter. In one letter he omits an interesting passage describing a private interview which Doddridge had with the Countess of Huntingdon. Doddridge was greatly impressed by the meeting and wrote: "Being then entirely alone we could open our Hearts to each other without any Reserve." Humphreys makes no reference at all to this meeting.

If a standard biography of Doddridge is to be written, and I believe there is a real need for such a book, clearly a vast amount of research will have to be attempted. Within the general framework set out in this essay there are a number of subjects all of which must be discussed at length if Doddridge is to be seen as a whole. Mr. A. V. Murray has recently observed in the bicentenary *Philip Doddridge* (p. 111) that Doddridge "had an extraordinary wholeness about his character". These words sum up Doddridge to perfection, and that "wholeness" must be sought and presented in all its fulness in any adequate biography of Doddridge. His innumerable contacts, social, academic and ecclesiastical, together with his firm grasp of the full catholic and evangelical faith, give him a high claim upon our attention even two hundred years after his death. He still has much to teach us.

F. W. P. HARRIS.

The Status of Doddridge's Academy

EARLY in the seventeenth century there was much criticism of the universities and grammar schools. According to Bacon and Comenius they were more concerned with words than things, too much dominated by the past and insufficiently open to the new ideas of natural knowledge. Both urged observation and first-hand experiment as the proper basis for natural science, and advocated its inclusion in the teaching of schools and universities. Milton in his tractate *Of Education* (1644) was even more critical, though his remedies were impractical. Locke was equally disapproving : " when I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the Schoolmaster's Rod ". Locke would have added to the curriculum French (" as soon as he can speak English, 'tis time for him to learn some other language "), Arithmetic (" a man cannot have too much of it "), Chronology, History and Geometry. As his pupils advanced to the higher stage, Astronomy, Ethics, Law and Natural Philosophy were to be added. In the main, criticism was concentrated on the methods of teaching the classical curriculum rather than on its content. Locke regarded Latin as absolutely necessary to a gentleman. These critics were untroubled by notions of an overcrowded curriculum; the new subjects were to be additional to the Classics.

Despite this criticism, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw the grammar schools and universities become more and more out of touch with the needs of society. However needful change must have appeared to enlightened minds at the time, the difficulties in the path were almost insuperable. Most grammar schools were closely bound by their statutes, which determined not only their curriculum but prescribed their text-books; they were tied to the Church by the licence to teach, and to the conservative universities by the need to provide an education in the clerical tradition.

This was how matters stood when the Dissenters founded Academies of their own to overcome the educational disabilities put on them at the Restoration. These Academies were unfettered by the restraints which hampered the growth of the grammar schools and were thus able, in addition to training men for the ministry, to meet some of the needs of contemporary society. The history of the Academies falls into three stages. The earliest Academies, up to about 1690, were small, private, often from circumstances migratory, and usually

conducted by one tutor. In the second phase, from 1690 to 1750, to which Doddridge's Academy at Northampton belongs, they were often controlled in the interests of some group or board, and frequently had several tutors. It has been held that "the academies of this period, while teaching university subjects and employing university methods, yet become more and more modern."¹ In general, this is probably true, but it is difficult to establish any exact general equivalence. The ethos of so many of these Academies was personal rather than institutional and there was much variety of standard from one to another. Even in the second period of their history some approximated more to grammar school than to university learning. Perhaps the best indication of the status of any particular Academy was the educational standard required of students on entrance. Fortunately Philip Doddridge was a prolific letter-writer and has left us abundant evidence of the standard he expected from entrants to his Academy at Northampton.

A letter about a prospective student written to Doddridge in 1729 by Samuel Clark of St. Albans runs : "Mr and Mrs Pembroke are now come to a resolution to put their son, after Whitsuntide, under your care, if you are willing to take him : he has made a good proficiency in the Latin classics, but little in the Greek".² Later in the same year, referring to other students, Doddridge informs Clark that "the three who are intended for the ministry had made a very considerable progress both in Latin and Greek, indeed *far beyond what many others have done who have just left a grammar school*".³

Teaching standards were low in many eighteenth-century grammar schools, and pupils from such schools would often need private coaching from a tutor before reaching the standard in Classics required for entrance to Doddridge's Academy. Of a clergyman's son in Norfolk, who desired to be brought up as a Dissenting Minister, John Barker of Hackney writes thus to Doddridge : "but they tell me that he has not yet proceeded so far in classical learning as is needful, in order to qualify him to enter upon your course of academical study; and I had thoughts of sending him to Mr Lee's, in your neighbourhood, upon the recommendation of that gentleman which you gave me".⁴ Some entrants from grammar schools were undoubtedly well prepared. One would-be entrant, Doddridge suggested to Barker, "might have much greater advantages for classical studies, in some *considerable grammar school*".⁵

John Roebuck, M.D., later the inventor of a new process for manufacturing sulphuric acid, entered Doddridge's Academy after his early education at Sheffield Grammar School. Of him it was said that, although in later life his chief interest were medicine and chemistry, he was "a good classical scholar, retaining throughout life a taste for

the classics".⁶ That such well prepared pupils were not numerous may perhaps be inferred from a letter Doddridge wrote to Samuel Say : " Mr Steffe's youngest son is a lad of as promising a genius as any I have under my care. He made a progress in Greek, while at a neighbouring school, beyond what I have commonly known ". He goes on to record the virtues of this young man, who " before he had spent one year in the study of that language, read over the twenty-four books of the Iliad, in less than a month. . . . He now writes very elegant Latin, and is on the whole a fine scholar, and, what is yet more important, a serious Christian ".⁷

Often a pupil truly reflects the traditions of his teacher. Job Orton, a pupil and for a time assistant tutor with Doddridge, entered the Academy after eight years at Shrewsbury grammar school, where he attained a good knowledge of Classics. He remained a strong supporter of Classical training. When Thomas Stedman was about to become Curate of Little Cheverel in Gloucestershire, Orton wrote to him : " I am pleased with the list of books you intend taking with you, but you will allow me to add, that I hope you will take some of your Classics, in order to keep up, and improve you knowledge . . . especially such as may increase your critical acquaintance with the New Testament ".⁸ On another occasion, in 1775, Orton again stresses the importance of Classics in the training of ministers : " the scheme of training up young men for the Ministry who have had no previous classical knowledge is attended with many difficulties and objections. I have known many such who had what may be called half an education, and they have generally turned out ignorant and conceited bigots and been very troublesome to their regular brethren ".⁹

When Doddridge first considered opening an Academy, Isaac Watts clearly saw that the Classical training given in many grammar schools would be an inadequate introduction to a course of studies such as Doddridge proposed. Watts pointed out : " You will have many lads coming from grammar schools, and as many such young scholars will not be fit to enter upon your academical course, with proper advantage, should not the perfection of the studies of grammar, algebra, and geometry be the business of your first half-year ? "¹⁰

For many years Doddridge neglected to take this advice. He had no shortage of well qualified entrants, and, as the following passage shows, he was reluctant to appear to compete with the local grammar schools. He tells John Barker : " I have hitherto studiously avoided encumbering myself with the care of youths who were not well qualified for an immediate entrance upon their academical studies; not only because I would not seem to interfere with any of my friends who make the teaching of grammar schools their only care, but also, because I apprehend that, in the variety of other business in which I am engaged,

I am not fully able to do justice to those who would study languages under my tuition ".¹¹ At the same time, his eye was always open for the boy of talent whether deficient in Grammar Learning or not. In 1741 we find him writing to Isaac Watts about "some of my poor boys whom I am at my own charge supporting in their Grammar Learning".

By 1750 his views had changed. In a letter to Samuel Wood, written in the August of that year, he gives the reasons for the alteration in his practice :

You may remember that there were three affairs of a public nature which were the objects of my particular solicitude. The procuring a third tutor for my academy, the providing for lads not yet fit for academical education, and the doing something for the service of New Jersey, in the propagation of Christianity abroad. . . . The want of ministers and students is so seen and felt, and *the necessity of the scheme for educating lads not yet ripe for academical studies is grown so apparent*, that between three and fourscore pounds per annum have been . . . subscribed for that purpose in and about London; and out of that, it has been determined, that besides Mr Clark, who, with a salary of forty pounds per annum and his board, is to be tutor of philosophy, another tutor is to be maintained with a salary of thirty pounds, besides his board, who is to teach the languages; and as his salary chiefly arises from this scheme, he is also to superintend the education of these lads in their grammatical studies; who are, in devotional exercises, to attend with my pupils, and to be under my inspection, though not under my personal instruction.¹²

In September of the same year he is able to record the early success of this scheme : "And it has had such an effect already that whereas at Midsummer we had four vacancies on Mr. Coward's list that we could not fill up; candidates are now offering faster than we can provide for them both as pupils and as scholars ".¹³

It appears, then, that most of Doddridge's students came from grammar schools, some of the better ones directly, others only after their Classics had been refurbished sufficiently for them to make a start on Doddridge's course of academical studies, which was comparable in standard to contemporary university learning. When Doddridge considered admitting only ministerial students, he was warned by David Jennings that it would be unwise to force the Dissenting laity to send their sons destined to be physicians, lawyers or gentlemen "to Oxford or Cambridge, or to make them rakes in foreign universities". Doddridge's learning attracted some who had completed the university stage of their education. Graduates of Scottish universities were to be found at his lectures on Divinity.

There are also other indications of the status of Doddridge and his Academy. Richard Newton, the first Principal of Hertford College, submitted the new statutes of the College for Doddridge's examination. John Wesley enquired of Doddridge about the best books for educating his preachers. The list he received was formidable, and it is from this that Wesley is said to have gained the idea of his *Christian Library* of works of Divinity published in English.

In 1743 Lord Kilkerran wrote to Doddridge to inform him that he proposed to send his eldest son to Northampton Academy. When every allowance is made for the nature of the occasion, the letter remains a most valuable commentary on the Academy's reputation.

As the education of my children in a right way is what I have much at heart, and that as I foresee many dangers attending the usual method of sending young gentlemen to the Universities, I have been long of opinion, that the better way is to have them taught in an Academy, where they are under the immediate inspection of virtuous people, who will be no less watchful over their morals than over their literature. But as there is a difference even among these, my difficulty has for some time been where to fix; but I no sooner thought of you, than without one moment's hesitation I determined to put my eldest son under your care. The boy is going seventeen since July last, and after being taught Latin and Greek at a public school, with the assistance of a tutor, has been one year at the University of Edinburgh, and two years with Mr McLaurin, professor of mathematics, whose name will not be unknown to you.¹⁴

Discerning Dissenters in England, like Lord Kilkerran, thus valued the moral and social education provided by Doddridge's Academy. Although, then as now, student behaviour was not invariably exemplary, there prevailed at the Academy those standards of enlightened manners and accomplishment that well fitted Doddridge's men for entry to the professions and for easy acceptance in a larger society.

That all was not equally well at other Academies seems clear from a letter to Doddridge from Nathaniel Neal, written in 1750 :

The chaplain's post which I want to fill I shall be extremely cautious of recommending to, for it is a difficult one, and many a youth, who might make a very respectable and honourable figure in a congregation, might make a contemptible one there. And it is a misfortune to our interest, that our ministers are so generally taken out of the lower families, where they have had neither instruction nor example of any degree of polite behaviour, are then carried through a course of studies on the foot of a charitable exhibition, which will not allow of the least expense or opportunity for improving in a genteel deportment, and are immediately freed

into the world, decked in a low bred familiarity and confidence, or a sheepish awkward manner, which is as ridiculous, as the former is offensive. Perhaps I speak in terms too strong concerning these external qualifications; but you, who know the world as well as the Scriptures, also know the truth of the observation, ‘ That man looketh only at the outward appearance ’, and, perhaps, it may suggest to you some expedient for its gradual correction.¹⁵

Such strictures did not apply to the Northampton Academy, where the students were of varied social origin and were by no means all destined to become ministers. In 1744 Doddridge notes “ the accession of nine pupils, some of them very considerable on account of the persons to whom they are allied, as well as remarkably amiable and delightful ”.¹⁶

There was one respect in which the Universities remained manifestly superior to the Academies. This was in the amenities, such as libraries and apparatus. Doddridge was quick to remedy this weakness as far as was in his power. He was one of the first to start a library in an Academy. His own knowledge of books was wide and detailed, and he spared no trouble in instructing his students in the proper use of books. The following extract from a letter of 1741 to his wife not only shows the esteem in which he was held at the Universities but is itself a reflection of his Academy’s status :

Cambridge, June 18 1741.

As for the town where I now am, it is in itself a very sorry kind of place, if you except the colleges and the public buildings belonging to them. King’s College and Trinity are both charming, and I think beyond anything in Oxford. I have seen several great curiosities in the libraries, to which I found a ready access through the complaisance of the students and fellows. . . . I waited yesterday on Dr. Middleton, who showed me the fine University Library, and some of the most curious manuscripts in the world. I was most courteously entertained by Dr Newcombe, Master of St. John’s ; . . . I have met with Mr Caryl, . . . a Fellow of Jesus College, and a very worthy gentleman; he supped with me last night, and invited me and all my company to dine with him to-day.¹⁷

In a further letter written two days later Doddridge relates that Caryl carried me to several other Colleges, where I was very respectfully received, and then drank tea with Dr Middleton at his house. He showed me several very fine curiosities, and I, on the other hand, had the pleasure of informing him of several very curious and valuable manuscripts, in the library of which he had the charge, of which neither the doctor himself nor any of the gentlemen of the University, that I saw, had ever so much as

heard, though they are the oldest monuments relating to the churches of Italy, which continued uncorrupted in the great darkness of Popery. . . . and indeed their libraries want some of the best books which have of late appeared among us, being written by dissenters, nor did my learned friends there so much as know that such books were ever published.¹⁸

Later in the same month William Warburton, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, wrote to Doddridge:

My worthy friend Mr Caryl tells me you have been at Cambridge. And is so won with his new acquaintance, that he expresses himself to me in these words, which for once I will not scruple to transcribe from his letter:— “Dr Doddridge spent a couple of days here last week. I showed him all the civility I could, at first indeed merely as a friend of yours, but it soon became the result of my own inclinations. He favoured me with much curious conversation; and if I judge right, is a man of great parts and learning, and of a candid and communicative temper. I now reckon him amongst my acquaintance and thank you for him.”¹⁹

The quality and achievements of his students, his own considerable reputation and the social and academic character of his curriculum all point to the same conclusion concerning the status of Doddridge's Academy. Within the limitations imposed upon it, it was a place of university learning.

S. G. HARRIES.

NOTES.

1. Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England*, p.76.
2. *Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, ed. J. D. Humphreys, ii.484.
3. *ib.*, ii.487 (italics mine).
4. *ib.*, iii.203.
5. *ib.*, iii.206 (italics mine).
6. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v.
7. Humphreys, iii.259.
8. Job Orton, *Practical Works*, ii.415.
9. *ib.*, ii.655 f.
10. Humphreys, ii.481.
11. *ib.*, iii.205.
12. *ib.*, v.178 f. (italics mine).
13. *ib.*, v.182.
14. *ib.*, v.285 f. [For a more correct and complete transcript than Humphreys provides, cf. James Ferguson, *John Ferguson, 1727-1750*, pp.29 f., where the school is identified as Edinburgh High School. Ed.]
15. Humphreys, v.156 f.
16. *ib.*, v.459.
17. *ib.*, v.27.
18. *ib.*, v.30. [The MSS. were no doubt the Waldensian MSS. brought to England by Sir Samuel Morland, which have been proved to be “forgeries of moderate skill and ingenuity”. Morland presented them to the University Library at Cambridge, whence they “were long supposed to have mysteriously disappeared. . . . and it was generally supposed that they had been abstracted by the puritans; but they were all discovered . . . in 1862, in their proper places, where they had probably remained undisturbed for centuries”. See *D.N.B.*, s.v. Morland. A copy of Morland's *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* (1658) had been presented to the Northampton Academy Library by Robert Atkinson, an *alumnus aedium*, in 1740, the year before Doddridge's visit to Cambridge. Ed.]
19. Humphreys, v.30.

Two Doddridge Letters

[These two letters are in the possession of Mr David Lewis, of 63, St. Augustine's Avenue, South Croydon. Mr Lewis has gladly given his permission for the publication of the letters. The one addressed to Mrs Doddridge is written in Doddridge's own hand, and it can be safely dated as having been written in August, 1740. Evidence to support this contention may be found in the letter from Doddridge to his wife dated 13 August 1740, printed by Humphreys, iii. 489.

The other letter, dated 30 June 1748 is written in another hand and is only signed by Doddridge. It is well known that he would quite often dictate letters to his students, as to a secretary, and would then sign them himself. Doddridge's contemporaries felt apparently, as we do, that it would be difficult to find time to carry out completely the devotional programme propounded in the *Rise and Progress*. Nathaniel Neal himself wrote to Doddridge on this matter: "If I might venture to add another remark, it should be this: whether your rules and directions for promoting the Christian life do not require *more time* to be spent in the exercises of devotion, and in the instrumental duties of religion, than is consistent with that attention to the affairs of this life, which is *necessary* for the generality of Christians?" (Humphreys, iv. 397f.).

The postscript concerning the edition of Archbishop Leighton's works is interesting as showing what trouble Doddridge took in connection with it. His preface to that work is dated: "Northampton, April 26, 1748." So far it has proved impossible to discover to whom this letter was written. F.W.P.H.]

[August, 1740]

My Dearest,

I was greatly comforted last Night after all ye Labours of ye Day wn I recd your charming Letter. It gave me back my exhausted Spirits & renderd me for a little while less sensible of ye Afflictions of my Friends. I bless God Mast'r Shepherd has a very good sort of small pox & seems out of danger wh is also ye Case wh Joe Clark. Mrs Williamson is also to my great Surprize still on this Side ye Grave wh leaves Room for those importunate Prayers we are daily presenting before God on her account. As for dear Polly I heard nothing of her till to Day & now I hear from Welford that she is quite well has not had a Days Illness in [?] ye five she came thither & eats her Meals wh a most hearty Appetite. She is also very good & very entertaining & to Mrs Norris's great Joy likes Welford as well as Haddon. Miss Rappit grows sensibly better, she supped wh me last Night. [?] We drank your Health as constantly as you can drink mine at least I am sure I wish it as earnestly. I am very glad you my Love are so agreeably entertained & acknowledge ye good Hand of Providence

in all ye Kindness you meet wh. Indeed where God has given so much good Sense so agreeable a Temper & such elevated Heights of real Religion Esteem & Love generally attend it in proportion to ye Degree in wh it has an opportunity of being known. I am glad Mrs Roffey & Mrs Clark are so well I hope you have by this Time had an Interview wh our invaluable Friend at St. Albans. I must conclude wh ye Services of all our Friends to you & ye Duty of all your children who thro divine goodness are well. You will salute in my Name all our good Friends around you & assure them that their Kindness to you lays ye most sensible & endearing Obligation upon

dearest & best of women
your ever affectionate
& faithful P. Doddridge.

I am very well & taken very good Care of. Yet long for you.

Northampton June 30th 1748

Dear Madam,

I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 16th Instant and the Information it gives me with relation to our worthy friend at Newington, I sympathize with dear Doctor Watts under the Burthens of his increasing weakness but rejoice in the thought of that exaltation with wh he will soon soar above it to those Regions of Immortal vigour and perfect health to which he has been so long aspiring. I am Glad good Mrs Ruhier [?] enjoys so good a state of Health but am very sorry that your Complaints dear Madam Continue, and that the Waters of Bath give no relief, I heartily pray if it be the will of God those of Bristol may be more successful and that you may be restored to such a state of Health as to render you Capable of enjoying yourself and your friends and of Contributing to their Happiness both by your Conversation and writing, to wch the Benevolence of your Heart so strongly inclines you, and of wch your piety and good sense render you so Capable. It is a great pleasure to me that any of my writings have Contributed to the advancement of the divine life in so excellent a mind, but it would really be a Grief to me if by aiming at more than the present Tenderness of your Constitution will bear the Directions I have given particularly in the 19th Chapter of my Rise and Progress etc. should prove a snare and be Burdensome to you. You will please to remember Madam that I do not present them as essential nor as what any one is at all times bound to, I am sure my own Circumstances are such that I can Seldom practice them with the exactness I could wish, and which with more Leisure and retirement I have sometimes been able to do; they would in the main be impracticable by almost all the world were it not that some actings of the mind are so soon exerted and that our Consciences may answer to some things with a strong degree of Conviction before our Lips could particularly pronounce them.—As for what you are pleased to enquire Madam Concerning a Rule by which to Judge how far our Duties have been acceptable to God, my answer will be in a few words.—viz., all those Services are thro the Intercession of our Blessed Redeemer acceptable to God wch we offer him in the Sincerity of our Hearts and in wch we have had a prevailing Desire to please him tho in the Midst of many Infirmitie. That therefore is the great thing to be enquired into, whether we have Intended & Desired to please God in the process of the Duty, whether our Hearts have in the main been Directed towards him, Sometime Conscience will tell us, at least if I am to Judge of other Christians by what I too frequently find in myself, that we have been sinfully deficient in exerting the Government wch he has given us over our own Thoughts while acts of Devotion have passed and in such a Case it is undoubtedly our Duty to be Humbled before

God, & to take care that we do not rest merely in a Circle of outward forms where the heart is absent, but where he is in the main remembered & whereas in his sight and presence and from a sense of love to him we are struggling with the remaining Disorders and Infirmities of our Hearts I hope he Graciously accepts us, and it appeared to me that putting the Question in such a view might by the divine assistance have some efficacy towards helping us forward in those Duties wch we propose taking such a Review. As for what you say of a Constant sense of the Divine presence, of living by faith in the Son of God under the Character there referred to, and of a Heart full of Love to God and Mankind, I would not Madam be understood as if I Imagined it possible while we are surrounded with so many necessary Avocations to keep the Thoughts Continually attached to such objects, yet I think by divine Grace we may be frequently recurring to such Thoughts, & that the having such particulars pointed out to us may assist us in directing our Minds to God and our blessed Redeemer in those Intervals of Time wch otherwise might be quite lost, & I believe that experienced Christians do sometimes find such inexpressible sweetness Intermingle itself with such occasional aspirations of Heart to God so that sometimes as much of his presence and love is enjoyed in the little Intervals of other Business & Entertainments as would in an equal Compass of Time be found in the most Solemn exercises of Devotion; I Cant but think that a great Deal of the art of an holy life, (if I may be allowed the expression) Consists in attending to this, and it is particularly to be urged upon those whose tender Constitution or Multiplicity of Business renders them less Capable of attending to stated Devotion for any Considerable length of Time; It may & shd be our daily Joy that we have to do with a Gracious father who lays no Intolerable Burden on his Children, with a Compassionate Redeemer who discerns the willingness of the Spirit under the greatest weakness that can attend the Flesh, and who observes with pleasure that sincere and upright Tendency of Heart towards him wch we are not able to exert with the Vigour and retain with the Attachment we could Desire. These, Madam are such Views of the Subject as I have had an opportunity of giving you in the few Moments I have at Command, You will pardon me that being obliged to write so much I send them by the Hand of a Friend, who while he Transcribes what I Dictate knows not to whom it is Directed. You may depend on my Care to conceal your Letters tho everything so well expressed in it as to be far above the need of any apology [?]. My wife Joins her most respectfull Compliments with mine to yourself and good Mrs Ruhier, and will be Glad to take part of the pleasure wch the News of your Recovery would Give to

Dear Madam

Your most obliged &

affectionate Humble Servant

P. Doddrige

P.S. The Expository works of Arch-Bishop Leighton are Just now published & will I doubt not give you a great deal of pleasure, it cost me almost as much pains to prepare part of them for the press as the writing a Tract of equall Length.

Philip Doddridge's Library

Preserved among the mass of older books which have been inherited by the Library of New College, London, along with many which were in the Academy Library at Northampton, are others which belonged to Doddridge personally. Neither category, alas, is catalogued; but, whereas the Academy books are dispersed among a much greater number, the larger part of Doddridge's, some three to four hundred, have been kept together. In what follows I attempt no more than a selective review of the latter, noting date and place of publication (London, where not stated otherwise). The fact that a work is not named does not mean, therefore, that it is not in the collection.

Among classical authors Doddridge possessed Aristophanes' *Comoediae* (ed. N. Frischlinus, Frankf.); Aristotle's *De Rhetorica* (1619); Cicero's *Epistolae ad Atticum* (Leyden, 1592), *Epistolarum Libri XVI* (Amst., 1689) and *De Officis* (Oxon., 1729); Plato's *De Rebus Divinis Dialogi Selecti Graece & Latine* (ed. J. North, Cant., 1683), 'said to be a very worthless production' (D.N.B.); Plautus' *Comédie* (Paris, 1691); Seneca's *Flores excerptae per D. Erasmus Roterod.* (Amst., 1642); Sophocles' *Tragoediae* (1722); and Suetonius' *Opera* (Oxon., 1690).

Among his New Testaments were Stephanus' Paris edition of the Greek, which he inscribed *e libris praestantissimis*, and Gregory Martin's Rheims edition (1582) of the English, together with Martin's anon. *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the H. Scriptures by the Heretikes* (Rheims, 1582). Of Gospel Harmonies he possessed those by Henry Garthwait (Amst., 1634), Gerard Vossius (Amst., 1656) and John Le Clerc (1701).

In the Christian Fathers he seems to have been weak. I have found Tertullian's *Apologeticus* with Minucius Felix' *Octavius* (Cant., 1686), and *Lactantius* (Geneva, 1630).

Of more modern writers he possessed Bacon's *Essays* (1701); the *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1709) and other works by Grotius; a minor work by Hobbes; works by the Cambridge Platonists, John Norris and John Smith; the anon. *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1696) and several other works by Locke; several works by Robert Boyle; Sir Isaac Newton's *Treatise of the System of the World* (1728); *A Collection of Several Pieces* by John Toland (1726); and a considerable number of books and tracts relating to the Trinitarian and Deist controversies.

In the sphere of education he possessed Buxtorf's *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Basel, 1655); the rare anon. *Synonyma* by J. Beaton (1647); J. T. Philipps' *Compendious Way of Teaching Antient and*

Modern Languages (1727); Gabriel Dugrès' *Dialogi Gallico-Anglico-Latini* (Oxon., 1660); a *Novus Historiarum Fabellarumque Delectus in usum Scholae Etonensis* (1701); Francis Hutcheson's anon. *Metaphysica Synopsis* (Glas., 1742); and, of course, John Jennings' anon. *Logica* (two copies, one interleaved and annotated) and *Miscellanea*, both published at Northampton in 1721 *in usum Juventutis Academiae*.

Among Puritan and Nonconformist writers he possessed Ainsworth's *Arrow against Idolatry* (Nov. Belgia, 1640); Dent's *Plaine-Mans Pathway to Heaven* (1631); two editions (1649 and 1655) of Oliver Bowles' *De Pastore Evangelico*; Mede's *Key of the Revelation* (1650); works by Humfrey and Drake in the controversy recently studied in these pages by Mr. Biggs; and several volumes by Baxter, whose *Practical Works* (1707) he inscribed *e libris longe dilectissimis*. He also possessed George Herbert's *Priest to the Temple* (1701); Joseph Hall's *Occasional Meditations* (1633); and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (1656) and *Holy Dying* (1658).

Among preachers whose sermons he possessed, French writers, such as Bourdaloue, Cheminais, Fléchier, Saurin and de Superville are prominent. His library included a number of other French books, as well as translations of La Bruyère, Fénelon and Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (1750). In the last of these he wrote: "I do not remember that I have ever met with any book which contains a greater number of new and solid thoughts or which is written with a more exquisite knowledge of mankind in its natural, civil and political capacities."

Books by earlier hymnologists which he possessed are John Patrick's *Psalms of David in Metre* (1710); Simon Browne's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1720); and John Cennick's anon. *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God* (1741). He had Ken's anon. *Manual of Prayers for the Use of the Scholars of Winchester College* in the 1700 edition which contains Ken's morning and evening hymns.

Doddridge's interest in missions appears in his possession of St. Francis Xavier's *Epistolarum Libri Quatuor* (Mainz, 1600); *Travels of Several Learned Missionaries of the Society of Jesus* (1714); and *Thirty-Four Conferences Between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabarian Bramans* (1719). J.-B. Tavernier's *Les Six Voyages* (Paris, 1679), Robert Knox' *Relation ou Voyage de l'Isle de Ceylan* (Amst., 1693) and Geo. Roberts' *Four Years' Voyages* (1726) suggest an interest in travel generally. He also possessed Josiah Woodward's anon. *Account of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners* (1699) and A. H. Francke's *Pietas Hallensis* (3 vols. in one, 1707-16).

Among curiosities may be mentioned Abú Bakr Ibn Al-Tufail's *Improvement of Human Reason* (1708); Louis Jobert's *Knowledge of Medals* (1697); *The Complete Justice* (1638); Pierre Le Lorrain De Vallemont's *La Physique Occulte ou Traité de la Baguette Divinatoire*

(Amst., 1693); Edw. Dacres' anon. translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* (1640); John Ray's anon. *Collection of English Proverbs* (Cant., 1670); John Thorley's *Melisselogia, or the Female Monarchy* (1744); Daniel Whitby's anon. *Protestant Reconciler* (1683), which was burned by Oxford University; and John Wilkins' *Mercury* (1694), 'a very ingenious work on cryptography and modes of rapid correspondence' (*D.N.B.*).

Many of his older books Doddridge inherited from his uncle Philip, whose name they carry. Among over a dozen donors whose names appear on the books' title-pages were his brother-in-law, John Nettleton; Samuel Clark of St. Albans; David Some; Theophilus Lobb, who gave his *Compendium of the Practice of Physick* (1747); Nathaniel Lardner, who gave his *Sermons* (1751); and William Warburton, who gave his *Divine Legation* (1738-41). Among the books which Doddridge inherited from his tutor, John Jennings, are Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) and Adrian Reland's *Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum* (Utrecht, 1708). The former of these carries the book-plate (from the date, presumably Jennings' father's) "Johannis Jennings Liber, MDCC. Omnia explorare, Bonum tenete. I Thess. v.21"; the latter is copiously annotated by Jennings. Doddridge was accustomed to inscribe his books with his name, the book's price and the date of acquisition but not to annotate them. An exception is Burnet's anon. *Life of William Bedell* (1685), in which, on the words "the lawfulness and the usefulness of the Episcopal Government" Doddridge notes in the margin "observe he says not the Divine authority," and later writes "He takes it for granted this Episcopacy was Diocesan."

In J. W. Jaeger's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Tübingen, 1692) Doddridge has written "Receiv'd from Leicester Oct. 3. Sent to Harborough Oct. 10"; and from later inscriptions in different hands it appears that the book travelled round to Uppingham, Oundle, Kettering, Rugby, Hinckley and Tamworth. If Doddridge founded a ministers' book club, it would be entirely in character.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

REVIEWS—(continued from page 31).

We have received the following short histories of Congregational churches :
Lion Walk, Colchester, by Mr. E. Alec. Blaxill.

Olton Church, Birmingham, by the Rev. G. H. Medhurst, B.D.

Palmer's Green, London, by Mr. Arthur H. Pye.

Grange Church, Sunderland, by the Rev. W. J. L. Paxton.

We have also received *A Brief Sketch of the Life and Work of Robert Travers Herford*, by Dr. H. McLachlan. This booklet of 22 pages, printed for private circulation, is a worthy appreciation of the great Hebrew scholar and Unitarian minister, who from 1914 to 1925 was Secretary of Dr. Williams' Trust.

H. SELLERS.

Reviews

Philip Doddridge (1702-1751): His Contribution to English Religion.
Edited by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Independent Press. 7s. 6d.

Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge: a study in a tradition. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d.

These notes are not a review so much as a record. I hope every member of our Society has a copy of *Philip Doddridge*, but our journal would be incomplete without a reference. The Congregational Union 'missed the bus' over Isaac Watts and had to rely at the twelfth hour on a species of Marshall Aid or Lend-Lease in the shape of Dr. Davis' competent and comprehensive biography. This time it was more alert and with commendable common-sense committed to Dr. Nuttall the task of a fitting literary memorial of the bicentenary. He in turn, besides contributing a general survey of Doddridge's life and times and a more intimate personal appreciation, called in as associates A. T. S. James, Erik Routley, Ernest Payne, Victor Murray and Roger Thomas to handle various aspects of Doddridge's multi-coloured endowment. Like the undergraduate who was asked for a list of major and minor prophets, I demur to make invidious distinctions between so eminent a company, but if they do not each deserve an alpha none is far below it, and the concerted effort certainly deserves it. (There is a chronological lapse on p.107, and a fascinating printer's slip on p.80.) This must suffice, for I wish to make a suggestion. It is not often that we can celebrate a birth and a death within a year. Next June (26th, 1952) it will be 250 years since Philip drew his first breath. Can we now have a select anthology of his writings? Extracts from the *Rise and Progress*, his letters, his hymns and his lectures. What about it, Independent Press and Dr. Nuttall? A fitting companion to the book we have and a rounding off of our tribute.

The theme of the fifth Dr. Williams' Library Annual Lecture is after the author's own heart and mind—that of a spiritual succession—and is treated with penetrating knowledge and delicate appreciation. There are many 'traditions' in theology and ecclesiasticism, here is one in Religion. And my second suggestion is that Dr. Nuttall (or one of his students) should give himself to the task of tracing this 'tradition' back beyond Baxter and forward from Doddridge. Many honoured names will be rediscovered as links in the golden chain of 'Christian Action' or 'Saving Faith' as Dr. Micklem has recently defined it—commitment to God and co-operation with Him in His purposes.

A. J. GRIEVE.

In *Essays and Addresses* (Manchester University Press, 21s.) Dr. H. McLachlan has gathered together and revised nineteen studies of "the lives, principles, scholarship and influence of liberal nonconformists from the seventeenth century onwards, with particular reference to the work of their Academies and the worship in their Meeting Houses." The academies of Thomas Dixon at Whitehaven and of Ebenezer Latham at Findern are considered in some detail, and there are essays on Semitics and on sport and recreation in the academies, Doddridge's naturally receiving frequent mention. Daniel Mace (d.1758), a pioneer in New Testament criticism, receives recognition too long withheld. Two of the most interesting pieces concern Alexander Gordon and his grangerized copy of the *D.N.B.* preserved at the Unitarian College, Manchester. All students of Dissenting History will be grateful for this volume. The only cause for regret is that a writer so sharp in correcting others should have allowed so many slips or misprints to pass himself.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.