

HISTORY

OF . . .

UPPER

CHAPEL.

J. E. MANNING.

Messrs. J. W. Northend, of Sheffield, will publish next month a new book by Canon William Odom on "Hallamshire Worthies." It will contain biographical sketches of 200 notable men and women of the past, born in or closely associated with Sheffield. Complete lists will also be given of the vicars, master cutlers, Mayor, Lord Mayors, and honorary freemen of that city.

HISTORY OF UPPER CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD;

FOUNDED 1662: BUILT 1700:

"For the Worship and Service of Almighty God."

A BICENTENNIAL VOLUME,

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING

TIMOTHY JOLLIE'S REGISTER
OF BAPTISMS.

BY

J. E. MANNING, M.A.,

MINISTER OF THE CHAPEL.

*We love the venerable house
Our fathers built to God.*

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UPPER CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD.

TO
THE MEMORY OF
JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.,
WHO, WHEN A BOY, ATTENDED THE SERVICES AT UPPER CHAPEL,
AND WHEN A MAN REMEMBERED WITH AFFECTION
HIS OLD RELIGIOUS HOME,
THIS VOLUME
IS DEDICATED IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF MUCH
VALUABLE HELP.

PREFACE.

A MEETING of the congregation of Upper Chapel was held in Channing Hall on the 18th of July, 1899, under the presidency of Mr. Michael Joseph Hunter, senior Trustee, when it was resolved that, in view of the bicentennial of the building of the chapel, a history of this place of worship be prepared and published in 1900.

In compiling the history I have consulted the following works (among others):—Joseph Hunter's "Hallamshire," "Gens Sylvestrina," and various documents which I have been able to consult either personally or through others; Miall's "Congregationalism in Yorkshire;" Turner's "Diary of Oliver Heywood;" Fishwick's "Thomas Jolly's Note Book;" Urwick's "Nonconformity in Cheshire;" Calamy's "Account;" Palmer's "Nonconformist's Memorial;" "The Dictionary of National Biography;" Giles Hester's "Attercliffe," "Memorials of the Hollis Family," "Nevill Simmons, Bookseller and Publisher;" R. E. Leader's "Reminiscences of Old Sheffield." Many of the biographies I have been obliged to compile from the local newspapers, from the past numbers of the *Unitarian Herald* and *Inquirer*, or from the *Christian Reformer*.

I must express my special indebtedness to the Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, Manchester, and to Henry Julian Hunter, Esq., M.D., of Bath, for many valuable suggestions.

J. E. M.

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ERRATA.

Page 33, line 8, for 23 read 25; for 32 read 34.



INTRODUCTION.

ERRATA.

Page 16, Line 13	For Newcombe read Newcome.
.. 40, .. 35 ... ..	.. cite .. site.
.. 68, .. 2 ... ..	.. Waingate .. Market Place.
.. 90, .. 29 ... ..	.. Gloucester .. Doncaster.
.. 101, .. 5 ... ..	.. death .. retirement.
.. 121, .. 26 ... ..	.. 1849 .. 1859.
.. 156, .. 24 ... ..	.. Crewkerne .. Crewkerne.
.. 157, .. 26 ... ..	.. Neuenahr .. Brussels.
.. 158, .. 28-29 ... ..	.. Shakespeare .. Shakspeare.
.. 169, .. 29 ... ..	.. Whitelegg .. Whitelegge.
.. .. 33 ... ..	.. Bowdin .. Boden.
.. 187, .. 21	delete 1700-10.
.. 46, The words, I find, are:—	

Transiere patres, simul et transibimus omnes;
At caeli patriam, qui bene transit, habet.

should be used in all the churches. Clergymen refusing to comply were to be deprived of their livings. About 192 of the superior clergy, including eleven of the Marian bishops, were ejected.

The *fourth Act of Uniformity* (Chas. II.) was passed in 1662, and required that all clergymen should declare their "unfeigned assent and consent" to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The penalty for

¹ 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1. See Neal, "History of the Puritans," I. pp. 46-8.

² 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 1. Neal, *ib.*, pp. 63-64. ³ 1 Eliz. c. 2.

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INTRODUCTI

UPPER CHAPEL, like so many Nonconformist churches, owes its origin to the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. This Act, together with others of a similar nature, was passed to secure uniformity of belief and worship. The Acts of Uniformity have proved to be the most effectual means hitherto discovered by our legislators of preventing uniformity in religion.

The *first Act of Uniformity*¹ (Ed. VI.), passed in the year 1549, directed that the new English Prayer Book (Edward's first Prayer Book) should be used in all churches throughout the land. This involved great changes in the old service, and the result was open rebellion. In Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere there was civil war, the revolt being suppressed only after scenes of violence and bloodshed.

The *second Act of Uniformity*² (Ed. VI.), passed in the year 1552, directed that the revised Prayer Book, "which the King and Parliament had now caused to be perused, explained, and made more perfect," was to be used "in all churches after the feast of All Saints, under the same penalties that had been enacted to the former book three years before."

The *third Act of Uniformity*³ (Eliz.) was passed in 1559. It directed that the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. should be used in all the churches. Clergymen refusing to comply were to be deprived of their livings. About 192 of the superior clergy, including eleven of the Marian bishops, were ejected.

The *fourth Act of Uniformity* (Chas. II.) was passed in 1662, and required that all clergymen should declare their "unfeigned assent and consent" to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The penalty for

¹ 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1. See Neal, "History of the Puritans," I. pp. 46-8.

² 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 1. Neal, *ib.*, pp. 63-64. ³ 1 Eliz. c. 2.

neglecting or refusing to make this declaration was deprivation *ipso facto* of all their spiritual promotions. It further enacted that all masters, fellows, or tutors of colleges, professors at the Universities, schoolmasters keeping public or private schools, and "any person instructing youth in any private family, shall, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662," subscribe certain declarations, and "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established."

A clause further enacts "that no person shall be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds."¹

This Act received the royal assent on May 19th, and was to take effect on the 24th of August. Many clergymen could not obtain a copy of the Act before August 17th; many never saw it at all until they found themselves deprived of their livings. Bishop Kennet says of it: "The world has reason to admire, not only the wisdom of this Act, but even the moderation of it" (!) But Neal² well asks, "Where could be the wisdom and moderation of this Act, which turned out two thousand ministers into the world to beg their bread upon such severe terms? . . . Must the blessings of unity and peace, then, be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience?"

The results of this Act were deplorable. It not only inflicted severe hardships on the ejected ministers, but it deprived the Church of England of some of its most learned and able men; but what proved still more disastrous to it was that they were amongst the most indefatigable in parish work and labour among the poor, the most pious, earnest, and conscientious. The Church could ill afford at that time to lose such men. The Act will always be a blot upon the Church's name. But by such men as Bishops Sheldon and Morley, and the whole King-and-Church party, the Act was welcomed as a crowning mercy.

¹ Neal, IV., pp. 325-29.

² Neal, *ib.*, p. 331.

Among those ejected or silenced were distinguished men like Baxter, Calamy, Philip Henry, Owen, Bates, Goodwin, Clarkson, Gouge, Caryl, and many others. Thomas Jollie (1629-1703), father of Timothy Jollie, was ejected from Altham in Lancashire; William Bagshaw (1628-1702), "the Apostle of the Peak," from Glossop; Oliver Heywood (1630-1702) from Coley Chapel, Halifax; James Fisher (-1666) from Sheffield; Robert Durant (-1678), who succeeded him as minister to the first Nonconformist place of worship in the town, was ejected from Crowle in Lincolnshire.¹ It was not easy to fill the places of the ejected ministers. They were, as Locke says, "worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines." We are told that many who were put in their places were unfit to teach because of their youth; others were men of bad reputation; others illiterate; others "factious." The Church did not gain, but suffered, by the change. But the worst effect of the Act of Uniformity is, that it sowed the seeds of enmity between Churchpeople and Nonconformists, which have since grown to a harvest.

Connected with this Act were others equally cruel and persecuting; and as they will be referred to more than once in this history, it may be well to give them concisely here.

In 1661 the *Corporation Act* was passed. It drove Nonconformists from public life; for it required that all persons holding municipal offices—Mayors, Aldermen, Town Clerks, Magistrates—should "take the sacrament of the Lord's

¹ The following six ejected ministers are buried in the Sheffield Parish Churchyard:—

1674 Thomas Burbeck (Ackworth).

1678 Robert Durant (Crowle).

1681 Richard Taylor (Long-Haughton).

1685 Rowland Hancock (Bradfield and Sheffield).

1697 Nathaniel Baxter (St. Michael's, Lanc.). After ejection he preached at the Abbey Church, Beauchief.

1708 Edward Prime (Sheffield; assistant to James Fisher).

The five following were natives of Sheffield:—

Richard Taylor (above named), b. 1636.

John Croke (Denby Chapel), d. 1687.

William Pell (Stainton), d. 1698.

James Creswick (Freshwater), d. 1692.

Samuel Bayes (Grindon).

Supper according to the rites of the Church of England." They must renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and declare it unlawful to take up arms against the King on any pretence whatever. This Act was repealed in part in the time of George IV., 1828; wholly in 1871 (34 and 35 Vict., c. 48).

In 1664 the *Conventicle Act* was passed, which prohibited under penalty all public worship other than that of the Church of England. It enacted that if "five or more persons than the household" meet for such worship, they "shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds;" for the second six months, or ten pounds; for the third, "that the offender be banished to some of the American plantations for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy." Very soon after this Act was passed the gaols were filled with Nonconformists. Pepys says in his Diary, "I would to God they would conform, or be more wise and not be caught." To discover "conventicles" officers of justice (!) had the right of forcible entry into suspected houses. The King, Charles II., now suggested that toleration should be *sold* to Nonconformists, as a means of raising the revenue. The bishops were firm against this, as was also Clarendon. His opposition in this matter is said to have lost him the King's favour. This Act was repealed in 1863.

In 1665 the *Five-miles Act* was passed.¹ It was aimed against Nonconformist ministers. It is entitled "An Act to restrain Nonconformists from inhabiting Corporations." After stating that Nonconformist ministers must take an oath like that imposed by the Corporation Act, it goes on, "And all such Nonconformist ministers shall not after the 24th of March, 1665, unless in passing the road, come, or be

¹ This Act, called also the Oxford Act, came into force 25th March, 1666, and did not affect any who took the oath against taking up arms against the King on any pretence, or trying to change the government. About forty took it, including Bates, Howe, Jacomb, and Pool. It was repealed in 1812.

within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have since the act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c., or where they have preached in any conventicle on any pretence whatsoever." The penalty was forty pounds; to go, "one-third to the King, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it." "Any two justices of peace are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months without bail or mainprize."

Soon after it was passed we hear of ministers meeting their flocks by stealth. Mr. Billingsley, ejected from Chesterfield, went to live in Mansfield, then not a corporate town, and used to steal along the Chesterfield road, often by night, to minister to his old friends. Mr. Fisher in Sheffield, and after him Mr. Durant and Mr. Jollie, made many visits to their people while living in concealment. They were watched by informers, and were more than once thrown into prison. The Nonconformist laity were not exempt. Magistrates were appointed who were known to be hostile to Nonconformity. No Nonconformist was safe. Servants were bribed or threatened with imprisonment to make them inform against their masters. Letters were opened, and their contents construed as illegal. The prisons were crowded with earnest, pious men, who in their own place were known to live exemplary lives. The state of affairs may be seen from the following extract from Oliver Heywood's Diary, 1682:—

"On Aug. 30, '82, at mine own house, we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving to god for the publick liberty we have enjoyed in my house without interruption, aboue 10 yeares, notwithstanding many warrants issued out agt us as well as others, yet we have been secured through the moderation of our officers as instrumental, when all the society[s] round about us haue been sadly broken and scattered, Mr. Smith at Kipping, Mr. Dawson at Closes, Mr. Jos. Holdsworth at Heckmondwyke¹ meet not in the day, but in the night for these several months, so at Leeds, Morly, Topliff, Alverthorp, Mr. Whitehurst at Lidiat—all haue been

¹ Corroborated by the numerous entries in the Heckmondwike Church Book on the purchase of *candles*.

some way hindered in the places they used to meet in, and the times they had met on and in Craven they have been fined, at Sheffield they were all taken off,¹ some troubled at Sessions, watcht —, at Jo Armytages they meet in the night at Robt Bins hitherto obstructed scarce any place in the country free. Mr. Ward of York, hunted, fined 40 li. scattered, scarce any place in this county free except Hull and yet we, even we at this poor Northowrum haue been quiet never informed agt, disturbed, molested only 2 or 3 days we begun a little sooner then at other times, but god brought full companys, and that was but wñ we knew wt time the officers would come immediately before the Sessions, and then returned into our old channel again and haue vast multitudes that flock to us from all parts of the country, so many meetings being broken."²

The difficulties in which Nonconformists found themselves under these persecuting Acts, are well seen in the following extract from Thomas Jollie's Note Book (1683). The incident occurred while he was visiting his son in York Castle:—"In the city an object of pitty and prayers was then presented to mee, viz., one reduced to a great exegent by psecution from the Prelats Court, that hee must either temporize and truckle to them or give up his rich shop and full trade, or surrender up himself to ppetual imprisonment and pay a large sume of money besides. The want of consideration before hand and his weakness in grace made the temptation to work almost to distraction, yet did the lord counsell and comfort, succour, and save him in that distress according to prayers."

The object of all these Acts, known as the *Clarendon Code*, was to destroy Nonconformity. It was regarded as a disease in the State, to be cured by drastic means. The means adopted, however, had not the effect intended. In spite of persecution Nonconformity spread. Moreover, under monarchs like Charles II. and James II., with their strong

¹ This year Timothy Jollie was obliged to leave Sheffield; he was subsequently arrested, fined £20, and imprisoned in York Castle for six months.

² Exact reprint from O. Heywood's "Solemne Covenants." Turner, iii. p. 214.

Roman Catholic sympathies, the Acts told against their Catholic supporters. They were desirous, therefore, of relieving them.

Accordingly in 1672 Charles II. issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, proclaiming that it was the royal will and pleasure that all penal laws against Nonconformists should be immediately suspended, "and they are hereby suspended." His object was to relieve the Catholics. The Protestant Nonconformists were not blind to the fact. They did not approve of the right assumed by the King to dispense with laws passed by Parliament. When it suited his purpose he might dispense with the new Indulgence. The Commons resisted; and the Indulgence was withdrawn the following year. But in the meantime many Nonconformist ministers took out licenses to preach under the King's own hand and seal, 1672.¹

Again, in 1687, James II. issued a *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, suspending all penal enactments against Nonconformists. James had at first favoured the High Church party, and had persecuted the Nonconformists. But finding the same party bitterly hostile to the Roman Catholics, he now sought to win the Nonconformists to his side. The

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. Alex. Gordon for the following notices of the Sheffield licenses, 1672:—I. PRESBYTERIAN. *Thomas Burbeck*, or *Birbweek*, ej. Ackworth, licensed for own house in Sheffield. Walker calls him (ii. 85) "a Stif-Rump'd Presbyterian," which, says Calamy (Acc. 789, cont. 940), "is a Phrase that needs Explication." He died 8 July, 1674; bur. 10 July at Sheffield (Turner i. 306). *Matthew Bloome*, ej. Sheffield lecture, licensed for own house at "Arcliffe"; also Arthur Powell's house, Attercliffe; also for Cowthorne, and Briggate, Leeds. He died 13 Ap., 1686, in Lincolnshire. *Edward Prime*, ej. Sheffield curacy, licensed for own house; also Robt. Britsworth's malthouse; also for Beverley and Ship-langton. Died 26 Ap., 1708; age 77 (?). II. CONGREGATIONAL. *Robert Durant*, ej. Crowle; licensed for Fisher's house (prob. Dr. Fisher, son of Rev. James Fisher); also for Leeds, in house of a *Presbyterian*. Died 12 Feb., 1678; age 71. *Richard Taylor*, ej. Long Haughton; licensed for Fisher's house; also for Swath. Born Sheffield, 17 May, 1636. Ed. Magdalene Coll., Camb. Died Mar., 1681. A facsimile of the license granted to Oliver Heywood to preach "in a Roome or Roomes in the house of John Butterworth in ye Parish of Hallifax, in ye County of Yorke," is given in Turner, ii. 16.

Declaration was re-issued in 1688, and the clergy were commanded to read it in their churches. Most of them hesitated to comply, and they were supported by many Nonconformists; Baxter, Howe, Stretton, and other leaders declaring they would not benefit by an act that assumed the King's right to dispense with the laws of the country. The seven Bishops strenuously resisted, and were brought to trial. "God has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it," said the King. But the jury took a different view, and the Bishops were acquitted, to the joy of the nation. The majority of the Protestant Nonconformists were in perplexity; the temptation was great; but if they used the King's indulgence what was to prevent him from taking away their liberties once more when it suited his purpose? A large section declined it altogether; many stood aloof; but some, and among them the congregation of Sheffield, addressed a letter of grateful thanks to their "Dread Sovereign," expressing their thankfulness that the prisons were now opened, and that liberty of conscience was assured. It is a curious document. It will be found printed on page 35.

But laws like the Clarendon Code cannot last. Nor can the dispensing with the laws, as adopted by Charles II. and James II., be tolerated. The needs of social and political life forbid it. It was political necessity rather than religious sentiment that brought about a change in England. During the reign of James II. Churchmen and Nonconformists found themselves united in opposition to Roman Catholicism, which they all dreaded. In return for Nonconformist help, men in power and political organisations of various kinds, had pledged themselves to help Nonconformists in their struggle against persecuting laws. Ideas of toleration had spread. The new King, William, was on the side of those who claimed equal religious rights for all. A reaction took place; and when, in 1689, "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," the so-called *Toleration Act* (though the word toleration is not used in the Bill) was brought into Parliament, it was passed without opposition. Henceforth Independents, Presbyterians,

Quakers, Baptists, might worship as conscience directed them. The law gave them protection. Roman Catholics were excluded, and so were Unitarians. The Bill was, in truth, a Partial-Toleration Bill. But it secured immunity from interference in worship for a large section of the nation. All who benefited by it were obliged to declare their allegiance to the Crown, their detestation of Popery, their belief in the Trinity.¹ This Act received the royal assent 24th May, 1689. It was not until the year 1813 that legal penalties for holding anti-trinitarian opinions were removed from the Statute Book.

So long as William was on the throne Nonconformists were safe, in spite of the restless scheming of the High Church party. But no sooner was he dead than this party began to undermine the work he had done, and in 1711 the *Act against Occasional Conformity* was passed, excluding Nonconformists from public offices, "till they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to the Church, and not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year." This outrageous Bill was followed by one still worse; for in 1714 the *Schism Bill* was passed by a majority of 237 against 126. It was intended to prevent Nonconformists from acting as schoolmasters and tutors: they were to have nothing to do with the education of the young. Any schoolmaster or tutor proved to have attended Nonconformist worship was to suffer three months' imprisonment, and be disqualified for the future to exercise the office of teacher. This Act, "one of the worst that ever defiled the Statute Book," was to come into effect on the 1st August, 1714. But that very day the Queen died, and her death stayed the operation of the Act. It was repealed by her successor, George I.

These various Acts represent many years of conflict during which Nonconformity was struggling for existence. Its opponents, chiefly of the High Church party, regarded Nonconformists as schismatics, dangerous to the State: they could not be loyal Englishmen and not worship according to the rites of the Church of England. The conception of

¹ Neal, Puritans, V. append. 13, gives this Act in full.

religious toleration was difficult to grasp, and made its way slowly. The doctrine of religious *equality* is only now beginning to be understood.

At the beginning of the conflict two bodies of Nonconformists stand out prominently, the Presbyterians and the Independents. The former had been the stronger party until the time of Cromwell. The first presbytery was established at Wandsworth in 1572, though Queen Elizabeth was strongly opposed to the Presbyterians. But it comprised only a single organised congregation, and did not, therefore, exactly correspond to the Scotch Presbyterian system or to the Lancashire "classis." Its proceedings were kept as secret as possible; and though the Queen "issued a proclamation for putting the Act of Uniformity in execution," and though the officers of the High Commission knew of the existence of the presbytery, "they could not discover the members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring counties."¹ Presbyterianism grew both in numbers and influence. Parliament was for the Presbyterian system of Church government, even before the assembling of the Westminster divines in 1643. In that assembly, says Neal,² "the majority at first intended only the reducing Episcopacy to the standard of the first or second age, but for the sake of the Scots' alliance, they were prevailed with to lay aside the name and function of bishops, and attempt the establishing a presbyterial form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a divine institution, derived expressly from Christ and his Apostles. This engaged them in so many controversies, as prevented their laying the top stone of the building, so that it fell to pieces before it was perfected." A coalition of Scotch and English Presbyterians was brought about in 1643. On the 25th September of that year they met in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, and took the Solemn League and Covenant "for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction." The establishment of the Presbyterian form of Church government in England was actually voted by the Long Parliament, 13th

¹ Neal, I., p. 244.

² III. p. 116.

October, 1647. * Yet, in spite of the predominance of the Presbyterians, this form of government was never really established. There was always a sufficiently large minority of Independents to prevent "their laying the top stone." London and the neighbourhood had, however, in the meantime been formed into twelve presbyteries, or rather twelve *classes* (with a presbytery for each parish); and the Presbyterian system had taken root also in Warwickshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Northumberland, and (for a time) Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Devonshire.

In Cromwell's time we find a system of Church government unique in our annals. He established a *Board of Triers* to examine the fitness of ministers presented to livings. The right of patronage remained as it was, but each minister had to receive the approbation of this Board before he could be appointed. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and (a few) Baptists alike were elected to livings in the Church. Cromwell was for the widest toleration. He wanted the best men, the most religious men, whatever their ideas on Church government might be. Under his regime, the principle of the Presbyterians, "comprehension," and that of the Independents, "toleration," seemed, like righteousness and peace, to have kissed each other. The scheme worked well. The livings in the Church were filled with godly and zealous men. The Triers have been accused of favouritism and arbitrariness in their selection. "Yet," says Baxter, "so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the Church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out again."¹

The process of casting out began with the Restoration. At Cromwell's death the Presbyterians were amongst those who desired the recall of Charles II., and a deputation of their ministers waited upon him at Breda, and there received from him promises which satisfied them that they were safe under the rule of "a praying King."

In reality Charles had no love for the Puritans. "Presbyterianism is no religion for a gentleman," said he.

¹ Neal, IV., p. 99.

Whatever the expectations of the Presbyterians might be, the doings of the King and his High Chancellor Clarendon began to open their eyes to the fact that Episcopalians and not Presbyterians were henceforth to be in the ascendant. The Act of Uniformity in 1662, and the persecuting acts that accompanied it, completed the rude process of awakening them from their delusion. Presbyterianism was abolished, never to be restored.

The majority of the two thousand ejected from their livings by the Act of Uniformity were moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians; a large minority were Independents. Among the latter was the Rev. James Fisher, vicar of Sheffield. Robert Durant, who succeeded him, Richard Taylor, who probably preached during the interregnum, and Timothy Jollie, were also Independents. There was no Presbyterian *classis* in Yorkshire, and though Upper Chapel has frequently been designated a Presbyterian foundation there is no evidence that this was the case. On the contrary, all the evidence points the other way. It is true that Oliver Heywood speaks of "presbiters" present at Timothy Jollie's ordination; but these were simply ministers invited to take part in the service. The actual engagement between minister and people was according to Congregational usage. Oliver Heywood says the chapel "was always accounted independent"; and on the title-page of John De la Rose's funeral sermon on Timothy Jollie, the latter is called, "late Pastor of the Congregational Church at Sheffield." In the diary of Timothy Jollie, junior, under the date 1714, we find a reference to his father's death, and he continues, "Upon his Decease strange Heats in y^e Congregational Church at Sheffield." All contemporaneous evidence points in the same direction. It proves that the theory that Upper Chapel was a Presbyterian foundation is a later growth. By the actual founders it was understood to be an Independent Church. It is true that on Gosling's Map of Sheffield, 1736, Upper Chapel is marked "Presbyterian Meeting House"; but as it marks Nether Chapel "ditto," we gather that in Sheffield, as in other places, the term Presbyterian was used simply as a synonym with Dissenter.

It is sometimes said that the open trust of chapels like our own, now in the hands of Unitarians, is a proof that they were originally Presbyterian foundations. These trusts impose upon the worshippers no special creed, or doctrinal limitations of any kind. Upper Chapel was founded for "the worship and service of Almighty God," and nothing is said of theological belief, because the founders were well known to be orthodox, and toleration was conditioned by subscription to the Articles of the Church.¹ The founders of Upper Chapel were Calvinistic in creed. It is contrary to the well-known facts of the case, and to the spirit of the time, to suppose that in leaving the trust open they were animated by a far-seeing desire to place no hindrance to doctrinal developments in the future. Least of all would the Presbyterians be moved by such a desire, for they were the most intolerant of all the Dissenters, calling toleration "the Great Diana of the Independents." "We detest and abhor the much endeavoured Toleration," said the Presbyterian ministers of London in 1645. The Independents were far more tolerant than the Presbyterians; but neither did they, when they left their trusts open, do it with a view to possible theological changes. There are to-day more chapels that were founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century with open trusts among the Independents than among the Unitarians.² For the most part they have remained more or less orthodox, while among Unitarians doctrinal changes have taken place. But in neither case was the trust left open with the object of giving free play to theological speculation. Nor is it at all likely that the founders left their trusts open with a view to a possible return to the Established Church. They were proud of their dissent: they had suffered for it. They made provision for "the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters" by erecting their Meeting Houses; and for the supply of dissenting pulpits by establishing their Academies. The open trust was part of their dissent.

The founders of Upper Chapel, then, were Independents. They had an Independent minister, and an Independent mode

¹ See Section VII. of the Act. Neal, V., appendix 13.

² The original Trust of Nether Chapel is "open," like our own.

of Church government. Their trust they left "open," in common with many other dissenters of the time. The theological change that has taken place has been made legal by the relaxation of the terms of toleration, and by the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844), which made the relaxation retrospective.¹



PERIOD I.—1662-1714.

CALVINISM.

THERE is no evil thing in this world that has not some good attaching to it. Cruel as the persecution was, it led to the foundation of many Nonconformist Chapels which have done good service to England, and have produced men eminent for piety and public usefulness as well as eloquence and learning.

For the movement which led subsequently to the building of Upper Chapel we must go to the ejection of the Rev. JAMES FISHER, Vicar of Sheffield from 1646 to 1662. Unfortunately our information concerning him is very scanty. There are no authentic records of his appointment as vicar; nor is anything known of the place of his birth and education. Calamy tells us that in his younger days he had been minister in London, "in conjunction with another minister who had great multitudes to hear him, while Mr. Fisher had but very few. Inquiring the reason of one of the parish, he was answered, 'Sir, you do but preach the old humdrum doctrines of faith and repentance, but the other preaches *dispensation truths*.' This much affected him. He afterwards succeeded worthy Mr. Towler (Thomas Toller, appointed vicar Feb., 1597-8) and Mr. Bright (John Bright, M.A., succeeded Toller 20th August, 1635) at Sheffield, and walked in their steps, preaching usefully and living exemplarily." He further tells us that Mr. Fisher "was congregational in his judgment, a man of great piety and worth, an excellent preacher, and an instrument of much good in this populous town." In 1640, while living at Clipsham in Rutlandshire, he married, 7th March, at Laughton, Elizabeth Hatfeild,¹ daughter of Ralph Hatfeild (d. 1626), originally of Ecclesfield but afterwards of Laughton-en-le-Morthen (seven miles south-east of Rotherham). Elizabeth was sister of Anthony Hatfeild, and so

¹ The Trinity Act of 1813 legalised Unitarian doctrine; the Act of 1844 made this legislation retrospective.

¹ The name is written Hatfeild in the Laughton register, and the family have always so spelled it.

aunt of Martha Hatfeild, of whom Mr. Fisher wrote a curious book to be noticed further on. By this marriage Mr. Fisher became related not only to the Hatfeild family, but also to the Brights of Carbrook. Stephen Bright married Barbara, Ralph Hatfeild's elder daughter. After the death of his first wife (buried at Sheffield 20th May, 1655), Mr. Fisher married, 26th September, 1656, Mary, daughter of Randolph Carleil, of Sowerby, Yorks.

At the passing of the Act of Uniformity, Fisher felt himself unable to take the prescribed oaths. He belonged to the Independents, and it appears that he had been greatly disturbed in mind by recent events, and shared the wild visions of the Fifth Monarchy men; for Henry Newcombe (ejected Manchester; founder of Cross Street Congregation) says in his diary, 25th June, 1663, "— told me the sad case they are in about Sheffield, where Mr. Fisher designs separation, and courts all the apostates, and preaches up the Fifth Monarchy."

A great number of Fisher's congregation seceded from the Church when he was ejected, and, with him as minister, they formed an Independent Church. His three assistants, Edward Prime, Matthew Bloome, and Rowland Hancock,¹ were ejected with him.

¹ *Edward Prime* was assistant minister about eight years. Born Wheston, near Tideswell; educated Chesterfield Grammar School and Christ's Coll., Camb. Afterwards tutor in family of Thomas Westby, of Ravensfield, and minister at Baslow. Elected by burgesses as assistant to Mr. Fisher in 1654. After ejection settled in Sheffield, and preached a fortnightly lecture there. Lived 45 years after ejection, dying April 26, 1708, aged about 77. During the last ten years of his life he preached frequently at Attercliffe. On July 31, 1689, the Register at Quarter Sessions under Toleration Act gives his name, as Penne and Peinne, for worship at his own house. "He was very clear in the point of Nonconformity," says Calamy, "and had much satisfaction about it." "He was a very solemn observer of Bartholomew-day. The last sermon he preached upon that occasion was in 1707, on Josh. xiv. 10, 'And now behold the Lord has kept me alive these forty and five years!'" His daughter Hephzibah (b. 1654, d. 1735) married, first Christopher Richardson, and afterwards Robert Fern.

Matthew Bloome, b. Brotherton, near Pontefract. Educated Magd. Coll., Camb. Elected assistant, 1655. Acted also as curate at Attercliffe,

From this time to his death, January, 1665-6, he led a very troubled existence. He continued the pastoral relationship to his faithful flock, preaching in his own house, or in their houses, as occasion permitted. But he appears to have

1653-1662. After ejection he eked out a living for himself and family as a maltster, "but preached in private as he had opportunity." For licenses, cf. p. 7. "He was a man of good parts, and an excellent preacher. He was some time prisoner in York Castle. He died suddenly at Sir W. Ellis's in Lincolnshire, April 13, 1686." (Calamy.)

Rowland Hancock, Vicar of Ecclesfield, which he relinquished 1660. Under-master of the Free Writing School, Sheffield, 1661, in which year (April 22) he was elected assistant minister to James Fisher by the burgesses. He lived at Shiercliffe Hall. There arose some doubt about the legality of his election, but the discussion was brought to an end by the Act of Uniformity, and on August 24, 1662, he was ejected. Obligated to leave Sheffield, 1665 (Five Miles Act); imprisoned in York, 1668 (cf. O. Heywood's Diary, May 31, 1668); returned to Sheffield, 1672, and obtained a license to preach in his own house. He maintained also a weekly lecture at Brookside, Bradfield. On July 28, 1676, he established, in conjunction with Matthew Bloome, "a small church on the Independent model." The following are the names of those who joined this communion:—Rowland Hancock, Matthew Bloome, ministers. Mr. John Hatfield, Mrs. Antonina Hatfield, Mrs. Hancock, Mrs. Jennet Bloome, Joseph Capper, Joseph Nutt, Robert Hoole, tanner; Widow Hoole, William Hoole, cutler; Robert Hoole, his brother; William Wadsworth, Mary Wadsworth, William Marsland, Mary Nicholson, widow; Hannah Cox, Margaret Parkin, Margaret Sharpe, John Oldale. In 1681 this arrangement came to an end. Disagreements arose between the two ministers, and it was deemed best to separate. Part of the worshippers followed Matthew Bloome to Attercliffe; part remained with Rowland Hancock. The quarrel arose when they gathered funds from London and elsewhere to build a chapel midway between Shiercliffe and Attercliffe. This was the "bone of contention," which, says Oliver Heywood, "that evil one, envying that unity and success, cast betwixt them;" for they had previously "joyned sweetly together in preaching the gospel as brethren." Bloome's friends took a barn at Attercliffe, "making windows, doores, pulpit, seats, and all things very convenient for a meeting-place, and a pretty place it is;" but Hancock resented this action, and would have nothing to do with the barn, "would not own it or preach in it, but preacht at Addercliff in a private house at the same time Mr. Bloom was preaching in his meeting place . . . thus divisions and hart-burnings are grown amongst them." (Heywood's Diary, Turner ii. 238-9). Hancock died 14th April, 1685, and his congregation then, for the most part, attended Timothy Jollie's ministry. Calamy says of Hancock, "He was a very pious man, of excellent natural abilities, and tolerable learning, though he had not a university education."

been constantly under suspicion, being "maliciously and falsely accused, and forced to appear at the Sessions at Rotherham, Doncaster, Wakefield, and Pontefract, and at two Assizes at York, where he was several times afterwards sent prisoner on false accusations, and once without any reason or *mittimus* made him, by order of the Duke of York" (afterwards James II.). "At one time one of his accusers being perjured, ran away; and the other, a drunken clergyman, did not appear; so that Mr. Fisher was acquitted by proclamation in open court. At another time a man of Attercliffe, in York Castle, condemned for murdering his wife, was offered a pardon and a sum of money if he would swear treason against Mr. Fisher, but he refused, saying, 'that he knew no such thing, nor any harm by him, and he would be hanged before he would so forswear himself'; and was hanged for the murder. The last time he was in prison, he was designed to be kept there during his life; but the (second Villiers) Duke of Buckingham coming to York, enquired into the state of prisoners in the Castle; and finding him and some others confined there out of spite, he set them at liberty." (Calamy) Fisher had been wrongfully accused (as was also Thomas Jollie, father of Timothy Jollie) of complicity in the Farnley Wood plot, 1663. It was in this year that we find in the accounts of the Constables of Sheffield "charges about Mr. Fisher seekeing and carrying to Yorke, £1 17s. 6d." The times were uneasy; the Government of Charles II. suspicious. On the 10th October, 1663, some twenty persons met in Farnley Wood, near Leeds, under the leadership of Thomas Oates, a schoolmaster, and his son Ralph, a clergyman, with the object of forming a league for the reinstatement of the ejected ministers, and the restoration of Parliament. Information of the meeting was given by a traitor to the authorities; the men were arrested; Ralph Oates turned king's evidence, and implicated many others by name, among them Mr. Fisher. There was no evidence of his complicity and he was released; but many were executed, their heads being set up on the gates of York Castle.

In 1665 the Five-miles Act drove Fisher finally from Sheffield, one of his greatest troubles, among the many that

afflicted him, being his forced separation from his beloved flock. His health at this time was sadly impaired, by frequent imprisonment and constant danger. During his imprisonment he had been treated with rigour. His son was not allowed to speak to him except through the window. Friends were unable to see him. Writing materials were denied him. He was treated as one under special suspicion. He was most unfortunate, for apparently beyond the lying testimony of Ralph Oates, there was nothing against him. He left prison a dying man. He could not go home to Sheffield. The law forbade it. He went to the house of Captain John Hatfeild, his wife's relative, at Hatfield, near Doncaster. Here he continued "four or five months in a languishing condition, and then died, and was buried there in January, 1665-6." (Calamy.)

Fisher wrote a curious book, called "The Wise Virgin," being an account of his wife's niece, Martha Hatfeild, who, when about twelve years old, was subject to a distressing disease, probably of a hysterical nature, which rendered her helpless for months together. Her body became rigid. She could neither see, hear, nor feel anything. She could not open her mouth, and only took liquid food in very small quantities, which they poured through a gap left by a missing tooth. At times when the paroxysms abated, though still quite unconscious, she opened her lips and spoke words of pious exhortation and religious reflection, which astonished all who heard her. Great numbers of friends came to her bedside, and her speeches were carefully noted down. In Fisher's book they vary in length from a few sentences to several pages. Sometimes she lay for weeks without uttering a word; sometimes she spoke two or three times a day—always in the same strain of earnest exhortation and reflec-

¹ Hunter (Hallamshire, Gatty, p. 289) thinks Calamy mistaken in the date of Fisher's death. He quotes O. Heywood's Diary for 12th Nov., 1666:—"We went to Mr. Hatfeild's of Loughton to visit Mr. Fisher of Sheffield, who lives there." But it is quite possible that the Mr. Fisher here referred to is John Fisher, surgeon, James Fisher's eldest son. The date 1665-6 appears to be correct. But Calamy is certainly wrong in saying that Fisher was buried at Hatfield. The Loughton register has "James Fisher, minister, buried y^e 29 of Januari, 1666."

tion. The speeches are made up very largely of sentences the child had heard in the family devotions and in church. There are many phrases in them clearly the echo of the orthodox teaching of the day. Much of it the child herself cannot have understood. Her speeches were all taken down between 19th May and 21st November, 1652. When she came to herself she was quite unconscious of having uttered them.

Fisher regards them as miraculous, and sees in them portents and warnings from God. The accompanying "Portraiture of Mrs. Martha Hatfeild" is taken from an engraving in the copy of this rare book in the British Museum, dated 1664 (5th Ed.). The artist has not been successful in portraying the tender years of this "childe of wonders;" but the picture illustrates Fisher's words that "Whereas you might rather apprehend" (from the small quantity of food she took) "that she was a lean, dried, and withered Anatomy," as a matter of fact "she grew very fat and her flesh very firm and solid, and she did look very fair and fresh." The book throws an interesting light upon the superstitious credulity of the time.¹

Fisher died in January, 1666. Where the congregation met after his death is not known; probably at each others' houses, to hear secretly such ministers as visited Sheffield, which, being a non-corporate town, was a safe refuge, except for those driven from it by the Five Miles Act. Richard Taylor and Nathaniel Baxter are known to have resided here. But for three years there was no settled minister. In 1669 ROBERT DURANT, who had been ejected from Crowle, in Lincolnshire, was invited on the recommendation of Thomas Woolhouse, of Glapwell, near Bolsover, and preached his inaugural sermon on November 17th of that year. Durant was the son of a minister (John Durant?) living near London. While Vicar of Crowle he had endeared himself to his congregation by his gentle and courteous manners, and his devotion to his flock. After his ejection he retired to Reedness on the Ouse, and preached in private until 1664.



¹ For a detailed account of this curious book, with some of Martha's "speeches," see "Fisher's Wise Virgin, &c.," by the present writer.

In that year, travelling to London with his friend John Ryther (ejected from Ferryby), he was seized on the road, and both were thrown into York Castle on suspicion, for no charge was brought against them. It was in York Castle that he met Woolhouse, also a prisoner for conscience' sake, and well known as a supporter of the ejected ministers. Durant was an earnest, religious man, an able preacher, a devoted pastor. We are told that he and his congregation fasted once a month. "His circumspection was such that envy itself could not charge him with anything blameworthy. He could never endure railing or backbiting, but exhorted all to love Christian unity and forbearance." He was a man of considerable culture, "skilled in languages, especially French." He had travelled and "had seen many of the American islands." "He had uncommon ability in writing agreeable letters." When he settled with the Sheffield congregation he told them they might give him what they pleased as salary, but we are not told what they actually gave; not likely to be much, for Nonconformist ministers were very badly paid.¹ The same year that he was elected John Barber was appointed ruling elder, and Richard Paramour deacon.

Durant's ministry was fruitful in results. The congregation held together and increased. When the Indulgence of 1672 was issued he obtained a license for public worship in the house of Dr. Fisher (son of James Fisher).² Here the people met, thankful to be able to worship God without fear of molestation. So steadily did the numbers increase that in 1678 they ventured to open the New Hall, at the bottom of Snig Hill, which was the first Nonconformist place of worship in Sheffield. It is probable that the New Hall was already standing, and was now converted into a Meeting House, Hunter tells us that George Saunderson, yeoman, of Midhope, by his will, 1649, gave Francis his son a messuage called the New Hall, and this appears to be the hall in Snig Hill. The Brights of Carbrook were members of Durant's congregation at this time, and contributed to the funds of the new

¹ Matthew Sylvester (1637-1708), of Blackfriars Chapel, London, was literally "passing rich on £40 a year," though he had "a soaring genius, a rich and copious fancy, and great depth of thought." ² See p. 7.

Meeting House. Thomas Hollis, merchant, of London, was also a large contributor. Within a month of the opening Durant died (February 12th, 1678-9, aged 71),¹ his loss being much deplored by all who knew him. He was buried in the Parish Churchyard.

The name of THOMAS HOLLIS is associated in the annals of Sheffield with Hollis's Hospital, still used as an almshouse, but soon likely to be removed for city improvements. Thomas Hollis, son of Thomas Hollis, whitesmith, of Rotherham, was born in 1634 (baptised September 4). In 1648 he was apprenticed cutler in Sheffield to his uncle Ramskar. The only place of religious worship at this time was the Parish Church, and young Hollis, who is said to have been a Baptist, came under the influence of Fisher, and was converted to his way of thinking. He left Sheffield for London in 1654, to manage his uncle's cutlery business in the Minories. In 1658 he married Anne Thorner, whose brother Robert is distinguished as a benefactor of Harvard College. In London Hollis worshipped at Pinner's Hall, and in 1678 he leased the hall for the use of Nonconformists. Meanwhile he was not forgetful of his Yorkshire religious home. He contributed, as stated above, to the funds of the first Meeting House, and when this became too small for the growing congregation and a new chapel had to be built in 1700, he contributed largely to the expense of the building, and also purchased the old chapel and converted it into an almshouse. An inscription, on what is probably a part of the original building, runs thus:—"This hospital for sixteen poor aged inhabitants of Sheffield, or within two miles round it, and school for fifty children, were founded by Thomas Hollis, of London, cutler, 1703. And further endowed by his sons, Thomas Hollis, 1724, and John Hollis, 1726, and rebuilt more commodiously by the Trustees, 1776."

Towards the end of his life Thomas Hollis became blind. He died in 1718, aged 84.

¹ This is Calamy's statement, which is probably correct. O. Heywood, however, says in his Diary, Feb. 1678-9, he has just heard of the death of "Mr. Durant a congregational man, pastour of the Church at Sheffield, aged 66." (Turner, iii. 259.)



HOLLIS'S HOSPITAL.

After the death of Robert Durant it is very probable that RICHARD TAYLOR ministered to the congregation, though he does not appear to have been appointed pastor. He was born at Sheffield, 17th May, 1636. He was admitted to Magdalene College, Cambridge, as a sizar, 15th May, 1654,¹ matriculating at that college 8th July of the same year. On the 4th December, 1656, he was elected a scholar on John Smith's foundation. He graduated at Magdalene College, B.A., 1657-8 (1658 according to our computation). After leaving the University he became chaplain to Mrs. Dalton, of Fulburn, near Cambridge, acting also as tutor to her sons, and preaching occasionally in the neighbourhood. Later he settled at Long Haughton, where he remained until ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He then became chaplain to Sir E. Rhodes, and after that to Mr. Wadsworth, of Swath Hall, near Barnsley. Later on he came to Sheffield, where he died in 1681. Calamy says "he was a serious, zealous Christian, and a plain, laborious preacher. God owned his ministry in these parts for the good of many." He left a MS. entitled, "A Thankful Remembrance of some remarkable Acts of the Lord's good Providence towards me Richard Taylor."

One of the most distinguished names among the ministers of Upper Chapel is that of TIMOTHY JOLLIE, in whose ministry the chapel was built. He came to Sheffield, aged 23, in 1679, on the invitation of the congregation worshipping at the New Hall. He was not, however, ordained until April 28, 1681. It is possible that his settlement here was due to Thomas Hollis, for he had attended the services at Girdler's Hall, and had preached there, and so was probably well acquainted with the Hollis family. He was born in 1656 at Altham in Lancashire, where his father, Thomas Jollie (1629-1703), a strong Independent, was ejected from his living on

¹ The following extract is taken from the Magd. Register:—

"May 15, 1654. Richardus Taylour filius Richardi Taylour de Sheffield, annum agens 17^m. è scholâ ibidem erectâ [the Free Grammar School] admissus est Sizator, Tutore Dno. Zanchy."

He was also under the tutorship of Mr. Hill, who succeeded Mr. Zanchy as tutor.

"Black Bartholomew's Day." After his ejection he was frequently put in prison for holding conventicles. His son Timothy (by a third wife—Thomas had four) inherited his father's Independent principles. At 17, on August 27, 1673, he entered Richard Frankland's Academy at Rathmell, Yorks. He remained here until December, 1675, when he went to study in London with the object of entering the ministry. He became a member of the Independent Church meeting at Girdler's Hall, Basinghall Street, of which George Griffith (ejected from Charter House) was the minister. Before coming to Sheffield he appears to have preached for a year under Griffith, and when he came he preached for a year as "candidate" (*i.e.*, licensed but not ordained).¹ He was a very young man for so important a charge; but he soon justified the congregation's choice. He had great natural abilities, being an eloquent preacher and a devoted pastor. Later on he showed also remarkable skill as a tutor, among his pupils being several who afterwards became distinguished. Oliver Heywood, who was present, and took a prominent part in his ordination, has left a graphic description of the ceremony, by which we get a glimpse into the religious life of Sheffield at the time. Moreover, as this ordination was one of the earliest that took place among Nonconformists, the narrative has especial interest as a historical record. The following is an exact reprint of the memorandum made by Heywood, taken from his Diary (Turner, ii. 199-201). Timothy Jollie was lodging at the house of Abel Yates, a member of the congregation, and the ordination took place there:—

"Upon April 25, 1681, we had a solemn and sweet day of fasting and prayer at J. Baxters, in the close of it Mr. Tho. Jolly came to my house (according to former appointment) lodged with me, the day after we rode to Sheffield upon a solemn occasion wch was the setting apart of Mr. Timothy Jolly chosen to be pastor of that church in Sheffield where Mr. Fisher and Mr. Durant were pastors before him: we took up our lodgings in Abel Yates house, one of the members

¹ The Altham and Wymondhouses Church Book, 1681, says:—"Had preach't a year in London, and a year at Sheffield as a candidate."

with w^m Mr. T. Jolly tables,¹ besides us two were Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom called in for assistance, who came on wednesday morning early, we all consulted together how to carry on the work of that meeting, they unanimously chose me moderator to manage that affair. I would have avoided it but was compelled to it, the people came together about 10 a clock, I begun the work with prayer my god did graciously assist in that duty about an hour, then we put young Mr. Jolly on the work of preaching for a tryal of his gifts, he preached on Isai. 59, 1, 2, very satisfactorily, we dismissed the people, and then fell to our work of examining him, wherein we spent about three houres, going through logick, philosophy, languages, divinity, but (through an oversight) he had no position in latin, however something was done extempore by way of disputation—An infantes omnes baptizatorum et si scandalizantium sint baptizandi,² having dispatched this work we parted near 6 a clock, appointed to meet at the same place (*viz* at Abel Yates) at 7 in the morning, and some kept that time. Besides Mr. T. Jolly we were desired to take a test of the gifts of other two (*viz* Mr. David Noble formerly schoolmaster at Morley my son's master, now living with Mr. Woolhouse in Darbyshire, a pious man, candidate for the ministry, another was one Robt Dickinson a member and ruling Elder in that society, an English schollar only, but a good man of rare parts, and hath preacht above 10 yeares at seasons, and in his own house beyond Doncaster, 18 miles from Sheffield,) the former of these Mr Noble, prayed and preacht on Rom. 8. 1. very profitably but we wanted time (or rather light) with reference to the latter, then Mr Hancock went to prayer and after him Mr. Bloom, most of the members of that society being there, only we were informed that two were dissatisfied with that examination by presbiters, thought it should be done by ruling Elders in the name of the people, but no notice was taken of that opinion or of them, so we went on with our work, then I proceeded to propound such quærys as are

¹ *i.e.*, boards and lodges.

² "Whether all children of persons baptised, but irregular in their conduct, should be baptised."

prescribed, to wch he answered, and then his father was willing to give him up to god by prayer in this office as he had formerly given him up to god in Baptism, which he did very pathetically, and after that he kneeling down upon his knees we standing about him, god helped me to pray over him in his actuall ordination by imposition of hands, and there were considerable affections in all the people. After that solemnity I proceeded to give this exhortation which was grounded upon 1 Tim. 4.15. god helped in that work in some good measure, so I concluded all with prayer, and their Elder desired all that were not of that society to withdraw, so most of the people scattered for there was a full assembly with several young schollers, Mr Billingsly jun, Mr Kerby, my son Eliezer, we all with drew for about half-an-hour, then went into the chamber where first one read a letter from Mr Griffith in London dismissing Mr Tim Jolly from their church to Sheffield-people, then he spoke in the name of the people their desires that he would accept of a pastorall office over them, wch the rest signified their consent to by lifting up their hands, and he assented, expressing his desires to serve them in the gospel, then Mr Tho Jolly his father discoursed of the relative dutys of pastours and people, wherein he enumerated 30 or 40 apellations or titles given to Ministers in Scripture, applying them distinctly all along very usefully, when he had done that work his son concluded all with prayer, indeed very sensibly and sweetly, so the whole company was dismissed we having continued in the Lords work from 8 a clock in the morning to 8 a clock at night except about half an hours intermission betwixt 4 and 5. There was more than ordinary mercys in this solemnity and all the transaction.

“ 1 That this Church wch was always accounted independent would admit of a pastour ordained by presbiters, yea Mr Durant immediatly before that was of another persuasion, I look on this as an olive-branch of peace amongst gods people.

“ 2 there was no doubt or objection received in that affair, as yong Mr Jolly observed no noyse of a hammer in that building, he was glad Mr Ogle came not (tho invited) who is

otherwise minded, yet by providence necessarily hindred, living at Chesterfield.

“ 3 Mr Hancock and Mr Bloom who have had an unhappy clashing a considerable time, sweetly joynd in this work without the least reflection, yea with some humble acknowledgmts of their folly, wch is a hopeful sign of reconciliation.

“ 4 Tho it was too wel known in town and parish and country (for wch we had reason to challenge some for imprudence) yet there was no disturbance or affront, however, in the middle of a considerable market town, and if no hurt come of it we must ascribe it to gods providence not our prudence.

“ 5 it is a wonderful transcendent mercy that in such a day as this is, god raiseth up out of private schools so many yong men so wel furnished with learning, gifts, graces for his work as a seminary for the Church to build up wast places of zion.

“ 6 God did not withdraw his gracious presence and assistance from our soules, but did melt many hearts in prayer. I hope some will remember it while they have a day to live.

“ 7 Many (I think all) the people were very well satisfied, several of them came to us the following day expressed their gratitude and high *resentment* of that days work, and the yong man himself was abundantly encouraged, blessed for ever, blessed be the Lord for his mercy thus far.

“ We gave him an instrument in parchement under our hands of what we have done for him, that 28 of April, 1681.”

This extract makes it clear that the engagement between minister and congregation was made on Independent, not Presbyterian lines. Doubtless there were Presbyterians in the congregation, and Jollie, in order to satisfy their scruples, invited “presbiters” to take part in his ordination. He always manifested a desire to reconcile differences, and invited both parties to Communion. Among Oliver Heywood’s warm praises of Jollie, he mentions (Diary, Turner, iv., 164) that Jollie “entertains Mr Primes people to communion and some of his members sit down with Mr Prime,

tho he be congregational yet of an healing humble spirit—blessed be god for him." Mr. Durant appears, from Heywood's expression "of another persuasion," to have been otherwise minded in this respect, though he, too, was "a congregational man." The contract between minister and people was in accordance with Independent usage. The "elder" caused the "presbiters" and all except Church members to withdraw. A letter from Griffith, the Independent minister, was read; the elder then, in the name of the congregation, asked Mr. Jollie if he would accept the pastoral office, the congregation assenting by holding up their hands; and with the young minister's consent, the agreement between pastor and congregation was completed. The two sturdy Independents who raised an objection against the ordination by "presbiters," and Mr. Ogle who, "tho invited," came not, being "by providence necessarily hindred," doubtless disapproved of the presence of "presbiters" at this solemn service in a church "always accounted independent." But the ordination, while reconciling the Presbyterians, did not affect the contract between minister and people.

It was a most happy union. Heywood, always in praise of Jollie, says:—"Indeed, I perceive he is well accomplished for his work, both for learning, parts, sweet temper, and soundness in the faith, not drawn away with these odde opinions, very orthodox of a moderate spirit, blessed be god for him."¹ Jollie must have had reason also to be satisfied with his people, for his father writes in his Note-Book (1680, 3rd mo.)² "My younger son being called to Sheffeld, I went thither and found cause to acknowledg the speciall providence of god in bringing him among such a sober people in such a well affected place, to such a numerous congregation though he was very young, yet had I encouragement in him both as to grace and gifts for soe great a work."

Jollie was a Calvinist, as his predecessors also were. Those changes in theology which later mark the history of Upper Chapel had not yet begun. But he was "of a mode-

¹ Oliver Heywood's "Remarkable Returns of Prayer." Turner, iv., 164.

² "The Note-Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly," edited by Henry Fishwick, F.S.A. Chetham Society's Publications, 1894, p. 42.

rate spirit,"—tolerant, not bigoted; of that type of mind which would inevitably have progressed with the times.

All would have been well with the congregation and its young minister but for the persecuting laws. Soon after his settlement he married (2nd July, 1681) Elizabeth Fisher (b. 15th April, 1647; d. 17th January, 1708-9), daughter of James Fisher, and she proved an admirable help-meet. At the time of their marriage he was 23, she 32. A woman of deep piety and strong faith, she was a great support to him in the troubles that were soon coming. Her letters to her daughter which have been preserved indicate great strength of character, founded in invincible trust in God. She wanted all her faith, for bad times were again approaching. The Indulgence of 1672 was regarded by all good Churchmen as fatal to uniformity of faith. "Sir John Reresby, who took a very active part in the opposition to Nonconformity in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, says that it was never from that time at all practicable to prevent the formation of conventicles. The attempt, however, was made, and in the latter years of King Charles II. the permission was withdrawn, and the gaols were again filled with the poor Nonconformists."¹ In 1682 Timothy Jollie was obliged to leave Sheffield to avoid arrest. On venturing to return he was arrested under the Five Miles Act, brought before Sir John Reresby, who sent him to prison in York without permitting him to take leave of his wife. A fine of £20 was inflicted, and as Mrs. Jollie was unable to pay it her goods were seized, and she was obliged to seek refuge in her brother's house. She had recently been confined. "So I sent thee," she says to her daughter, "to thy dear uncle John Fisher's, and some hours after I was forced to follow thee for harbour. Kind letters were received from thy father, who met with many friends at York, though he met hardships in the way. Many comfortable letters from him did I receive. The Lord made his imprisonment very easy to him from what he did expect it would be. He had his liberty to go out into the city, only that he must appear once in two days. In two months he was set at liberty upon his bond to appear at the next

¹ Hunter, "Hallamshire" (Gatty), p. 291.

sessions. He was at home one month when he went to the sessions, where he met with hard usage; [he was required to take an oath of 'good behaviour,' *i.e.*, to refrain from preaching. This he refused, and so] from thence he was sent to prison again for six months. But it pleased the Lord wonderfully to support and help him to choose a prison rather than defile his conscience. After he had been a little time I went to him, and sent for thee and our maid, Hannah Gates, and we continued at York till thy father was set at liberty. I was mostly with thy father in the prison, and thou came mostly every day from the room we had taken for thee and our maid in the city. Thy father preached every Lord's Day but one. Several prisoners came to hear him, and many of the city. In the latter end of our time it pleased the Lord to afflict us. I was obliged to go out of the prison, and the gaoler was very strict. He would not suffer thy dear father to come to see me, and our maid was very ill, and also thyself. But we were all wonderfully provided for. Our relations and strangers showed us kindness. Thy dear father was set at liberty before I was mended, October 1st, 1683. On the 10th day we came out of York, and came to Doncaster in a coach that day, though but poorly. The next day, being the 11th, we all went to Hatfield. Thy uncle did very carefully send his coach for us, and there we were welcomely entertained till the 24th October. Then my uncle [Rev. Alex. Hatfeild] sent us in his coach to Braithwell, and we were very kindly entertained by Cousin Bosville. The 28th, my Cousin Hatfeild, of Laughton-le-Morthen, did send his coach for us. It was a sore snow morning, but we got safe to Laughton and found all well, and were kindly entertained. November 2nd, we went from thence to Attercliffe. The road was bad, but through mercy we got safe. Thy father went into Lancashire till the 13th November, and then we came to Mrs. Taylor's house and stayed with her six weeks, when she let us her house, and went to table [*i.e.*, into lodgings]. The Lord stored up friends to help us on cheerfully and comfortably to the place of our desires, which was Sheffield, where many helped and pitied us, and was much concerned for us till we got a habitation, as mentioned above.

But thy dear father was forced to wander up and down, sometimes to one friend and sometimes to another, and now and then we got a sight of him. But he was not suffered to come to Sheffield without he came that none knew of it but friends, for his enemies were so enraged against him that, if they should find him, they would send him to prison. They had a warrant, but it pleased the Lord to keep him out of their sight. He went about preaching to friends, and I was left at home alone. Soon after this he came home two or three weeks, and we had precious opportunities for our souls' good, notwithstanding the malice of our enemies. One of them said that thy dear father should never come to Sheffield again; but our comfort is—God is above the Devil."¹

A trying experience for her; but she makes no complaint. She is convinced that all will come right in the end. Her womanly fortitude is no less admirable than her fervent piety.

Thomas Jollie visited his son in prison in 1683, as did also Oliver Heywood. The former says in his Note Book, 1682:—"I would humbly bless God that I have a son not only a professor and preacher, but a confessor of the truth and way of the Gospell, that hee and his true yoke-fellow were helped to carry it so christianly and comfortably, that they are soe blessed as to bear the yoke and cross of christ in their youth."

Once more, in 1685, he was obliged to retire from Sheffield to avoid arrest. But in February of that year Charles II. died, and the policy of his successor led to a relaxation of the persecution of Nonconformists. The Declaration of Indulgence was received by them with mixed feelings. They could not approve the king's assumption of right to dispense with England's laws; yet the relief it gave them was great. Hence many, and among them the congregation at Snig Hill, joined in an address of thanks to the king for his clemency. It is a curious document, but it is a sign of the times. It runs:—

"The humble Address of divers of your Majesties loyal and dissenting subjects in the town of Sheffield, and other parts in the West riding of the County of York. Dread

¹ For a further account of Mrs. Jollie's diary, see "A Good Puritan Woman, &c.," by the present writer.

Sovereign, As we your Majesties loyal subjects cannot but have our hearts most deeply affected with those signal divine blessings of liberty, peace, and prosperity as well sacred as civil, which under your Majestie we not only at present enjoy, but are likewise assured shall be preserved to us during your Majesties reign, especially when we eye them as fruits of that most noble testimony first imprinted no doubt by the finger of God upon your royal breast, and after most freely and fully published to the view of the world in your Majesties late declaration for liberty of conscience, as your constant sense and opinion, which therefore we trust shall prove an indelible principle, viz., That conscience ought not to be constrained,—so we cannot but, as in solemn duty bound, prostrate our most sincere grateful acknowledgments of this your princely bounty and goodness at your Majesties feet, blessing from our hearts that great God by whom kings rule and princes decree justice, for directing your royal Majestie unto that truest method of government which leaves entire to God his absolute sovereignty over the souls of men, which undoubtedly will be the stability of your throne, render you truly great in the esteem of all good men, who shall reap the blessed fruits of your wisdom, justice, and moderation, and may become a noble pattern for imitation. And praying from our very souls that your Majestie, after a long and happy reign over us, in pursuance of the same great ends of rule, under the conduct of divine grace and wisdom, may be fitted and prepared for a crown that is incorruptible:—Who are your Majesties most loyal and thankfull subjects."

Reading what lies between the lines of this address, we can enter into the feelings of the signatories. They were not quite easy about the king's action, but were thankful for the relief it gave them. This relief was legalised by the Act of Toleration (1689).

Timothy Jollie was not only an eloquent preacher and devoted pastor, he was a successful teacher also. From his academy (called Christ's College, Attercliffe, by William Bagshaw¹) he sent forth a large number of students, some of

¹ See his letter "For the much respected Mr. Fletcher, at Christ's College in Attercliffe," printed in *Gens Sylvestrina*, pp. 127-9. The letter is

whom later became distinguished. It was stated above that he had been educated at Richard Frankland's Academy at Rathmell. Frankland left Rathmell in 1674, settling at Natland, near Kendal; thence he went (1683) to Calton Hall, Kirkby; thence (1684) to Dawson Fold, Westmoreland; thence (1685) to Hart Barrow, near Cartmell Fell; thence (1686) to Attercliffe, taking out a fifty-shilling dispensation from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity. He remained at Attercliffe until July, 1689, when he returned once more to Rathmell, on the death of his son.¹ Jollie was warmly attached to his old master, and two years after Frankland left he removed to Attercliffe Hall, and began the work of educating young men, for which he proved himself so eminently qualified. Between 1691 and 1700 he had sent out forty ministers, and had twenty-six in training. One of his pupils, Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D., says of him:—"He had a charming voice, flowing and of a musical sound, a natural eloquence; his elocution and gesture were such as would adorn an orator. The pathetic was sometimes heightened with that divine enthusiasm which is peculiar to true devotion, and he would make our hearts glow with a fervour which he kindled in the breasts of those who endeavoured all they could *not* to be moved by him. There have been tutors of greater learning, who have been capable of laying out a greater compass of education; but, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that the relish for practical religion, that devotional spirit which was so improved by his example, that sweetness of temper and benevolent turn of mind, which a soul, of anything the same make, insensibly catches from such an example, are things not everywhere to be met with, and yet have such an influence towards our usefulness and acceptance as ministers as cannot easily be supplied by any other qualities." Curiously enough he prohibited mathematical studies from his curriculum, "as tending to scepticism and impiety." But, on the principle that forbidden fruit is

dated Ford, Jan. 10th, 1698-9. Mr. Fletcher, of Wirksworth, was then one of Jollie's students.

¹ We are told by Mrs. Timothy Jollie that this youth died of small-pox, he being then just ready to enter the ministry.

sweetest, some of the students "by stealth made considerable progress," and one, at least, Nicholas Saunderson, LL.D.,¹ became distinguished (though blind) at Cambridge as mathematical professor and numismatist. Among the pupils were also Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (1758-68); John Bowes, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Dr. John Evans, minister of the New Broad Street Chapel, London; Samuel Price, assistant and afterwards successor to Dr. Watts. Thomas Bradbury ("bold Bradbury," as Queen Anne called him), at first assistant to Thomas Whitaker, of Leeds, and afterwards the distinguished minister of Fetter Lane Chapel; William Moulton, of Mill Hill, Leeds; William Bagshaw, of Stannington; Jeremiah Gill, of Fulwood; and Dr. Samuel Wright, of Carter Lane, London, were also his pupils.

Mrs. Jollie had the management of the domestic arrangements at the academy, and she made an excellent house-keeper. In her diary she tells us she had now the care of a large family. Her duties were many and pressing. She says she found great advantage in going to God every morning to beg Him to help her through the business of the day. Her services were much appreciated by the students. She was "the choice mistress," as William Bagshaw calls her, who presided over the academical household, satisfying the students' appetites and providing for their comfort, while her husband attended to their intellectual and spiritual needs.

Meantime, not only was Timothy Jollie sending forth able preachers of the Gospel, but he was also steadily increasing his congregation at the New Hall. So large did it become that the hall would not hold them, and it became necessary to build a new chapel. A plot of ground was purchased "betwixt the Pepper Alley and the Alsop Fields" (now Norfolk Street), and a chapel was built, then called the New

¹ The Rev. Alex. Gordon says:—"Jollie's Academy drew a much finer and more varied set of men than Frankland's. Till Daventry, inclusive, the Independent Academies were almost always better than the Presbyterian. Dixon's and Grove's are the two exceptions to the credit of the latter."

Chapel,¹ but subsequently the Upper Chapel. It soon had the largest Nonconformist congregation in Yorkshire.² Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists worshipped here. Mothers brought their infants from far and wide to be baptised by Timothy Jollie.³ The New Chapel was the Nonconformist local Zion.

Thomas Hollis was a large contributor to the funds, as was also Field Sylvester. By indenture of lease and release, dated respectively 24th and 25th November, 1704, "Feild Sylvester conveyed unto and to the use of himself and of Thomas Hollis junior, citizen and draper of London, and eleven others,⁴ their heirs and assigns, all that great building then lately erected for a meeting place for the service and worship of Almighty God, situate in the town of Sheffield, betwixt the Pepper Alley and the Alsop Fields there, with a court before the said building, and the garden betwixt the same from the said Pepper Alley and Alsop Fields, in trust that the said great building [afterwards called the Upper Chapel] should be used as a public Meeting House for the worship and service of Almighty God, in such manner as the said trustees, or the major part of them, their heirs and assigns, should for ever thereafter order or appoint."⁵ The deed further provides that the trustees shall be "members in communion," and that "the preaching minister of the congregation" shall have a voice in the selection of trustees. It provides also that if the said great building should be

¹ In the Indentures of lease and release, 11th and 12th February, 1729, Upper Chapel is called "The Dissenters' Meeting commonly called the New Chapel."

² In 1715, after about 200 persons had withdrawn (to found Nether Chapel), the congregation consisted of 1163 persons, 75 of whom were freeholders of the County of York. ("Hallamshire," Gatty, p. 293.)

³ Jollie's Register of Baptisms, May, 1681—July, 1704 (a copy of which is among the archives of Upper Chapel), shows an average of about 25 per annum.

⁴ Viz., John Browne, gentleman; William Stead, mercer; Samuel Shore hardwareman; William Burch and Jonathan Smith, cutlers; Joseph and Samuel Saunderson, tanners; Benjamin Kirkby, Luke Winter, Joseph Fletcher, cutlers; John Crooke, the younger, tallow-chandler, all of Sheffield.

⁵ Abstract of deed.

employed for any other purpose, or in any other way, than as the said Thomas Hollis, Field Sylvester, and the rest, or the major part of them, their heirs or assigns, should order or appoint, then from henceforth it should return to the said Field Sylvester, his heirs or assigns.¹

The foundation stone was laid by Field Sylvester, and the opening sermon was preached by Mr. Jollie from Gen xxvi., 22, "And he removed from thence, and digged another well, and for that they strove not: and he called the name of it Rehoboth (room), and he said, For now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land." The exact date of the opening is not known.

Timothy Jollie died on Easter Sunday, 28th March, 1714. His son's diary states that he died of dropsy in the stomach. He had been ailing for some time. His son says he "bore His Affliction with true Xian Patience till March 28. Being Easter Sunday He left ys world for a Better."

During the last fourteen years of his life the cause flourished; the congregation increased; he continued his work at Christ's College, and with his assistants, Jeremiah Gill, John Wadsworth, and John De la Rose, he continued to preach at the New Chapel. His wife died 17th January, 1709. Her son says:—"My dear Mother after a long debarment from ordinances by reason of her growing weakness and infirmitie . . . continued till ye 17 (being Monday) when about 6 in ye morning she would get up which was much sooner than commonly she used to get up and no sooner had they begun to dress her but she fainted away: giving up her soul to ye giver of it, and that without either sigh or groan, as she lived so she died; her Funeral Sermon was preached on Wednesday night by Mr. Bagshaw upon II Cor. 4. 17." He says:—"tho ye stroke be severe, and ye bereavement a great loss to me: yet what I have to be thankful for: that

¹ In February, 1729, a piece of land was purchased "formerly situate in New Church Street, but now part of the cite of the new Town Hall," whereon a Minister's House was built. This land was purchased by the Corporation in 1880. At the same time the Trustees acquired from the Corporation a plot of land fronting the newly formed New Surrey Street (now Surrey Street), on which Channing Hall now stands.



TIMOTHY JOLLIE.

ever I had so good so kind and carefull a mother, both in Spiritualls and temporalls."

Timothy and Elizabeth Jollie had four children, two daughters and two sons. The eldest was Elizabeth (b. August, 1682; d. 17th November, 1739); the second Thomas (d. an infant 26th April, 1685); the third Timothy (b. 22nd August, 1691; d. 3rd August, 1757); the fourth Theodosia (living in 1709).

When Timothy Jollie died his loss was keenly felt, not only by his own congregation, but by the whole of Sheffield and by many ministers in different parts of the country whom he had trained. His funeral sermon was preached by John De la Rose, his assistant, who gives us a vivid description of him. "As to the constitution of his body it was remarkably strong, fine, and florid, and in the air of his countenance there appeared a just temperature of admirable sweetness and majesty; his voice answered his countenance, and awed or won all who heard it. His genius was masterly and grand, elevated and curious; and as to his natural temper, it was serene, cheerful, active, open, and generous; his composedness of spirit, his mirth, his majesty, were all unaffected and natural to him, and continued with him in a very conspicuous degree even to the very last. As to his capacity and power, they were unquestionably great and extensive; and as Nature had moulded them and given them some advantageous casts and touches, he appeared very much of an original. I cannot omit what I have often thought and spoken, and that is, that his quick apprehension, his amazing invention, his diction, his elocution, and the vast but even flow of his affections, together with his uncommon presence of mind and the agreeableness of his person, all conspired to make him one of the most consummate orators of his age."

Unfortunately, not much of Jollie's work has been left. He published a sermon on his father's death, and "Memoriae Sacrum" on the life and character of Thomas Whitaker, of Leeds. The latter is published in full in Mr. Giles Hester's "Attercliffe as a Seat of Learning and Ministerial Education."¹

¹ I am indebted to this excellent publication for the above quotation from De la Rose's sermon, the title of which is "A Sermon occasioned by

Timothy Jollie was buried in the chapel yard, and on his tombstone the following inscription was placed, surmounted with his arms, a sword between two keys; on a chief, three dexter hands' :—

CHR. SER. SA.
 TIMOTHEUS JOLLIE,
 VERBI DEI INTERPRES ELOQUENS
 ET EVANGELICUS :
 DOCTRINAE CHRISTIANAE FUNDAMENTA
 JACIENDO, VIR PROPE DIVINUS,
 VERE MAGNUS.
 PHILOSOPHIAM, SACRAMQ. THEOLOGIAM
 PROFESSUS,
 JUVENTUTIS TUTOR FELIX PERITUS.
 IN ECCLESIA CHRISTI SHEFFIELDIENSI
 PER ANNOS XXXIII
 PASTOREM AGEBAT VIGILEM FIDUMQ. :
 IN COELUM MIGRAVIT
 5 CALEND. APRILIS A.D. 1714
 AETATIS SUAE 56.²
 CHRISTUS IN VITA, IN MORTE LUCRUM.

This may be translated :—

Sacred to Christ the Saviour.

TIMOTHY JOLLIE
 an eloquent and evangelical interpreter
 of the Word of God :
 a man almost divine, and truly great
 in laying the foundations of Christian doctrine.
 He taught

the death of the Reverend Mr. Timothy Jollie, late Pastor of the Congregational Church at Sheffield. By John De la Rose, London, 1715."

¹ A grant of arms was made in 1648 by the Heralds' College to James Jolly (grandfather of Timothy Jollie) of Manchester, who was Provost Marshall General of the Parliamentary forces in Lancashire and Cheshire.

² The age here given is undoubtedly wrong. The Altham Church record for 1656 (new style) has :—" Pastor's third wife died when his son Timothy was born." [Thomas Jolly's Note-book by Fishwick, 1895, p. 129.] T. J. was consequently in his 58th year when he died.

Philosophy and sacred Theology,
 being a successful and skilful instructor of youth.

He was the watchful and faithful pastor
 of the Church of Christ in Sheffield
 for 33 years.

He departed this life
 March 28th, A.D. 1714,
 in the 56th year of his age.¹

To live is Christ, and to die is gain.

This inscription has been reproduced on a marble tablet and placed this year (1900, the bicentennial of the building) in the right niche over the choir stalls, and the following commemorative notice is inscribed under it :—" The above is a reproduction of a time-worn inscription on the tomb of the Rev. Timothy Jollie, during whose ministry this place of worship was built; and this tablet is erected by the congregation of Upper Chapel, A.D. 1900, the bicentennial of the building, as a memorial of his character and work. He was a faithful minister of the Gospel, and he trained others for the same sacred office."

The tombstone has been removed from the tomb in the yard at the back of the chapel, and placed against the outside wall of the organ-chamber, where it now stands. The recommendation of the Bicentennial Committee to re-cut the inscription on the tombstone itself was found to be impossible, the stone being much worn by the weather.

Timothy Jollie had an elder brother Samuel, a medical man, who had a practice in Attercliffe while Timothy was living there. He was married but had no issue, and died in 1688 or 1690. He was buried in the Old Chapel, Attercliffe, and his brother put an inscription on his tombstone. Hunter gives it thus :—

Hic sitae sunt reliquiae Samuelis Jollie
 nuper Attercliffensis, medici.

Transiere patres, simul et nos transibimus omnes

Caeli patriam qui bene transit, habet.

Amoris et mortalitatis

Posuit hoc Μνημόστυνον T.I. A.D. 1701.

¹ See note on preceding page.

Hunter says that sixteen years before he wrote it was nearly obliterated (it is completely obliterated now).¹ It can hardly have been in the form he gives it. The second and third lines must have formed an elegiac couplet, thus: -

Transiere patres, simul et nos transimus omnes;
Cælestem patriam, qui bene transit, habet.

The translation of the inscription thus emended is:—

Here lie the remains of

SAMUEL JOLLIE

late of Attercliffe, physician.

“Gone are our fathers before us, and all of us die in like manner;

He who hath safely passed on, findeth in heaven a home.”

This Memorial
of love and mortality

T [imothy] J [ollie] placed here, A.D. 1701.

Timothy Jollie had for his assistant from 1689 to 1697 JEREMIAH GILL (b. 1669; d. 1709), a young man from Frankland's Academy, Attercliffe. He entered the academy at the age of 17, 10th January, 1686-7. We know him chiefly from Thomas Whitaker's "Minutes" of his life and character.² Whitaker says, "he was the Son of Religious Parents, who were more concern'd for his Education, than for all their Children besides;" the reason being "the hopeful Prospect he gave, even in those tender Years, of his future Worth and Usefulness. For while he was yet a School-boy, he was extremely addicted to his Book, very ambitious of being a Scholar." "His darling Study was Divinity." After leaving

¹ The present writer visited the Old Attercliffe Chapel in 1899. It is falling to ruin. The roof is dilapidated, the windows are broken. The rain drives into it; the wind sweeps through it; the mud is thick upon the floor. Samuel Jollie's tombstone lies near the entrance, but not a trace of the inscription is visible. The burial ground round the chapel is in the same state of utter neglect as the building itself. Over the doorway of the 1629 chapel is an inscription giving the date of erection, and the TAHB initials of the builders, viz., Thomas Arnalde and Henry Barber.

² "Some Minutes of the Life and Character of Mr. Jeremiah Gill," contained in "Sermons on several occasions by the late Reverend and Learned Thomas Whitaker, A.M.," with a preface by Thomas Bradbury. London, 1712. I am indebted for the loan of this volume to the Rev. Giles Hester,

the Academy (not later than 1689 when Frankland left Attercliffe) "his first more fixed Province was to be Assistant to the Reverend Mr. Jollie at Sheffield, in whose Family he liv'd with a great deal of Satisfaction for several Years, and with whom he serv'd, as a Son with his Father in the Gospel: And with what Diligence, Prudence, Piety, Humility he acquitted himself in the Post," many were willing to testify. "And with what Acceptance he had in his Work, was evident from their great Unwillingness to part with him, and the mighty Concern they express at his going away." From Sheffield he went, in 1697, to Hull, to undertake the pastorate of the Chapel (afterwards Dagger Lane) at which Richard Astley (ejected Blackrode) had been minister. In 1698 the new chapel was built, and Gill was ordained. He, like Jollie, was an Independent. The congregation consisted of 113 members. "In this Candlestick," says Whitaker, "he was a Shining and Burning Light for several Years." Whitaker proceeds to speak of him appreciatively as a Scholar, as a Christian, and as a Minister. "He was a noble Example of real and undissembled Piety, and a shining Ornament to his holy Profession; And not many pass thro' the World with fewer Blemishes upon their Character than he." Of his pulpit work we are told, "He entertained not his People with Trash or Froth, with raw Effusions or Empty Harangue: But fed 'em with wholesom and edifying Truths, proper to Minister Nourishment to the Souls of them that heard him." "He was a mighty Man in Prayer." After some years of useful work in Hull he was seized with a fever, from which he never rallied. "A little before his Death, he was advised to remove to York, in Hopes that Change of Air and Physicians might be of some Service to him. But, alas! the vital Lamp of Life was too far exhausted; and a little Time discover'd that this was only a preparatory Step to his last Remove. For notwithstanding all that could be done for him, the Earthly Tabernacle moulder'd, and his Dissolution came on apace; till at last he bowed his Head, and sweetly slept in Jesus, Jan. 1709, aged 40 years." Thomas Bradbury speaks of Gill as "my intimate Friend," and corroborates all that Whitaker says in his praise.

FIELD (or Feild) SYLVESTER was the son of Joshua Sylvester of Mansfield, who married, 1646, Judith Field, daughter of James Field of Thurnscoe, West Riding Yorkshire. Their fifth child (they had ten), Field, was born 11th May, 1654, at Mansfield. The Sylvester family had a share in founding three of our chapels—the Old Meeting House, Mansfield; Carter Lane, London (now Unity Church, Islington);¹ and Upper Chapel, Sheffield. Field Sylvester, being intended for a commercial life, was bound apprentice (11th May, 1670) to Thomas Hollis (founder of Hollis's Hospital), wholesale cutler and draper, London, with whom he remained eight years. He went as his "factor," or agent, to London about 1678; but the engagement ended abruptly soon after. We next find him with John Shepherd, of London, with whom he remained about ten years. During part of the time he was again "factor" in Sheffield. On the 16th February, 1680-1, he married Rebecca Capper, daughter of a tanner at Neepsend, and had two daughters, Cassandra (b. 25th April, 1683; died 7th May, 1684) and Rebecca (b. 17th October, 1685; baptised by Timothy Jollie, 29th January, 1686). Rebecca afterwards married John Wadsworth, Timothy Jollie's successor. Field Sylvester became a

¹ *Matthew Sylvester* (1636-1708) went in 1667 from Mansfield to London to become pastor of a congregation meeting at Rutland House, Charter House Yard. He was assisted by Richard Baxter, 1687-1691. The congregation moved, 1692, to a building in Meeting House Court, Knighttrider Street. Here Edmund Calamy, D.D., was Sylvester's assistant, 1692-5. The congregation moved again to St. Anne's, 1721, and once more to Little Carter Lane (opened 5th Dec., 1734). The last move was in 1862, when on St. Bartholomew's Day Unity Chapel was opened at Islington. Matthew Sylvester was the son of Robert Sylvester, mercer, of Southwell, Notts., where Matthew was born. Educated Southwell Grammar School; then St. John's Coll., Camb. (admitted 4th May, 1654). Made vicar of Great Gonerby, Lincoln, 1659. Resigned 1662, and became chaplain to Sir John Bright, and afterwards to Mr. John White, of Cotgreave, Notts. He married (1) Hannah (family name unknown) in 1671. She died 12th April, 1701, aged 57. (2) A daughter of George Hughes, and sister of Obadiah Hughes, D.D. She survived him, and married (1710) Samuel Wright, D.D. (Jollie's pupil), and had one daughter. "Sylvester edited," says Mr. Gordon, "as badly as a man could contrive to do it, Baxter's *Reliquiae*, 1696."

merchant, and prospered. He acquired an estate of his own, in addition to holding a large tenancy under the Duke of Norfolk. He was a strong Nonconformist, zealous and active. He was not in Sheffield during the worst times of the persecution consequent on the Act of Uniformity, but when the Meeting House at New Hall was opened, his name, together with that of his cousin Francis Barlow, appears prominently. He was appointed Trustee. When the New Chapel (Upper Chapel) was built in 1700, Field Sylvester laid the foundation stone, and contributed largely to the expense of building; and in 1704, he and Joshua Bayes (Master Cutler in 1679, and a prominent Nonconformist) conveyed it and the ground on which it stands to the first body of Trustees.¹ Field Sylvester died of apoplexy at Hackenthorpe (near Beighton, North Derbyshire) 10th May, 1717. In his will he desires "to be buried, with as little charge as may be, in a deep grave near the south-east corner of the Meeting House by Pepper Alley, where I laid the first stone, but not within the walls of the said building." The stone covering his grave was subsequently put up against the wall, close to where he was buried. It bears the following inscription, which records also the death of his daughter Rebecca, his grandson William, and his widow:—"Rebekah, wife of John Wadsworth, daughter of Field and Rebekah Sylvester, was buried here Jan. 12, A.D. 1735, aged 50 years. Field Sylvester, son of Joshua and Judith Sylvester, of Mansfield, born May 11th, 1654; expired May 10, 1717. 'He y^e Hath mercy on y^e Poor, Happy is He.' Pro. xiv. 21. William, son of John Wadsworth and Rebekah his wife, dyed Feb. y^e 15th, 1723, aged 19 weeks. Rebekah, the widow of Field Sylvester, died July y^e 28th, 1725, aged 75 years."

Among the muniments of Upper Chapel is an interesting little document, a reduced facsimile of which is here reproduced. It is endorsed in a quaint hand, "A lisencs for the new chapil." It dates from the year 1701, and is an order for registration under the Toleration Act (1689). The scribe is mistaken in calling it a "lisencs." Licenses were taken

¹ See p. 39.

out under the Indulgence, 1672; and hence Nonconformists got into the habit of using the word. But under the Toleration Act they had a legal right to register their places of worship, and this curious document is an order from certain Justices of the Peace that the chapel lately built is, from the 22nd July, 1701, registered for religious worship. The law Latin is, like a doctor's prescription, as illegible as the writer could make it; but it may be written thus:—
 “West Ridd. Com. Ebor.—Ad generales quartarias sessiones pacis Domini Regis tentas apud Rotherham per adjournamentum in et pro le West Ridd. Comitatus praedicti vicesimo secundo die Julij Anno regni Domini Willelmi tertii Dei gratia nunc Regis Anglie &c decimo tertio coram Honorabilibus Thoma Wentworth Armigero, Johanne Bradshaw, Godfrido Bosville, Samuele Mellish, Thoma Vincent, Roberto Molesworth, Johanne Bright Armigeris et Francisco Jessopp Clerico [et] aliis Justiciariis pacis ibidem, &c.

“Itt is ordered that the new building in a Garden adjoyning to Pepper Ally in Sheffield be recorded as a place for religious worship according [to] the Act of Parliament intituled an Act for exempting his Majesties Protestant subjects discenting from the Church of England from the penalties of sundry laws.

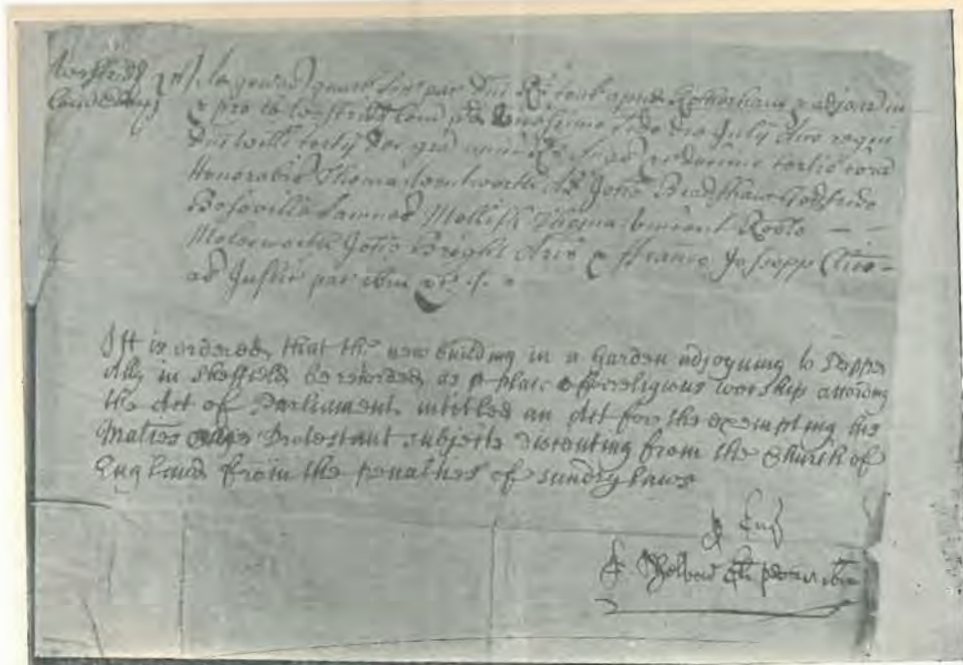
“ Per curiam

“ Teste Shelton clerico pacis ibidem.”

The Latin may be rendered thus:—“West Riding of the County of York.—At the general quarter sessions of the peace of our Lord the King, held at Rotherham by adjournment in and for the West Riding of the aforesaid County, on the twenty-second day of July in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Lord King William, by God's grace now King of England, &c., in the presence of the Honourable Thomas Wentworth, Knight; John Bradshaw, Godfrey Bosville, Samuel Mellish, Thomas Vincent, Robert Molesworth, John Bright, Knights, and Francis Jessopp, clerk (clergyman) (and) other justices of the peace of the same place, &c.

“ By order of the Court.

“ Witness, Shelton, Clerk of the Peace of the same place.”



REGISTRATION ORDER.

This Clerk of the Peace is Theophilus Shelton, who was also keeper of the register at Wakefield. He died at Nottingham in November, 1717. What the hieroglyphic is at the beginning of the document, after "West Ridd. Com. Ebor," I have not been able to discover. Some think it is a P, for paragraph; some M, for memorandum. It *looks* like SS, and may mean Sessiones.



PERIOD II.—1714-1759.

MODIFIED ORTHODOXY.

WE now come to an important crisis in the history of the Upper Chapel, brought about by the secession of a large minority of the congregation, who founded Nether Chapel. The period is also the turning point in the theological teaching given from its pulpit—the change that led from Calvinism, through semi-Arianism and Arianism, to Unitarianism. Timothy Jollie was strictly “orthodox,” as was also his assistant, Jeremiah Gill. But he had two other assistants, John Wadsworth and John De la Rose, the former moderately orthodox, the latter ultra-orthodox. The careers of these two men mark the parting of the ways between the Calvinistic and the Unitarian history of the Upper Chapel.

JOHN WADSWORTH (born 30th March, 1678; died 24th May, 1745) was the grandson of William Wadsworth, a “conveyancer” (died at Sheffield in 1652), whose son, of the same name, lived at Attercliffe, and had been imprisoned in York Castle for Nonconformity. John was educated under Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe. He entered the College in 1694, and after a creditable academical course he preached at Nottingham, Carburton, and elsewhere. In what year he became assistant to Timothy Jollie, and how long he remained in that capacity is not known. But in 1701 he settled at Rotherham,¹ and there remained until the 22nd October, 1714, when he entered upon the ministry at Upper Chapel. In the meantime JOHN DE LA ROSE, son of a French refugee, had been elected assistant to Timothy Jollie. He “was a preacher of showy eloquence, his style being formed on the model of the French preachers. In his doctrine it is

¹ Minister of the Independent Chapel, the forerunner of The Church of Our Father.

supposed that he went to an extreme in orthodoxy, beyond what was sanctioned by the opinions of almost all his brethren in the dissenting ministry.”¹ On the death of Timothy Jollie, the question of his successor led to contention and hot debate. One section of the congregation wished to appoint De la Rose; but the Trustees, supported by another section, wished to have John Wadsworth. The latter were the stronger, and appointed Wadsworth as minister. The other party held that “there had been a deliberate, resolute setting aside the great rights and privileges that Christ had purchased with his own blood.” But, as a matter of fact, the action of the Trustees was, on this occasion, in perfect accordance with the conditions of their Trust Deed, which, without expressly mentioning the appointment of minister, places the management of the chapel absolutely in the hands of the Trustees. About two hundred members withdrew, and at first fitted up two houses for temporary worship, and then built a chapel, which was finished in 1715, and called Nether Chapel. It did not then face Norfolk Street (or rather Alsop Fields) as at present, but looked towards Chapel Walk (hence the name of that thoroughfare)² “The affair,” says Miall, “excited an immense sensation. It was the first instance, probably, of a Nonconformist division, at least in the North. Both parties appealed to their respective friends. Mr. Wadsworth wrote to many ministers, among whom were Watts and Colton, promising to publish their reply, which he never did. Young Thomas Bradbury was his warm, not to say violent, adherent. On the other hand, the seceding party made known their grievance to the Congregational Church at Leeds, and Mr. Moulton and three members came to Sheffield to inquire into the affair. Their judgment was that the election of a pastor by Trustees was an act of “unexampled baseness,” and they exhorted the seceders to persevere. In this conclusion young Timothy Jollie, then in the north of Yorkshire, agreed, as a

¹ Hunter, “Gens Sylvestrina,” p. 147.

² The present Nether Chapel was built in 1828. The former chapel became too small during the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Smith, M.A. (1817-1852); and in consequence of a fire the opportunity was taken to erect the present building.

letter of his to Moulton shows, though he afterwards became assistant to Mr. Wadsworth. The seceding body was led by Mr. Elias Wordsworth, a man of great piety and zeal. Mr. De la Rose was elected to the pastoral office, and a day was fixed for his ordination. On that day the Rev. Messrs. Jollie, Hesketh, Allwood, Moulton, Kirby, and others were present. But some ministers whose services had been calculated on never appeared. A strong letter was at the same time sent by Mr. Wadsworth, of the Upper Chapel, entreating ministers to warn and protest against the sinful separation which was being perpetrated. Under these circumstances it was judged wise to defer the ordination altogether for the present, and to enter upon a solemn inquiry into the whole matter. Accordingly, in the following month (November, 1715) a number of ministers met, and fully investigated all the facts of this important case. After hearing both sides, they pronounced their judgment, "that the first breach arose from the precipitant acts of those who now adhere to Mr. Wadsworth, and that those brethren that now adhere to Mr. John De la Rose have a just and righteous cause;" and they therefore joined in ordaining Mr. De la Rose to the pastorship of Nether Church. Unfortunately the signatures to this award have not been preserved, and we only know from other authority that at the ordination "Mr. Moulton, of Leeds, asked the usual questions, and gave the charge, and the Rev. T. Jollie, jun., preached the following day." Such was the schism which separated the daughter from the mother church. The Trustees of Upper Chapel had an undoubted right to act as they did, and their legal right had the support of the large majority of the congregation (nearly twelve hundred, of whom two hundred seceded). The cause at Nether Chapel has evidenced its vigour and earnestness by becoming one of the most important Congregational Churches in the town.²

¹ Miall, "Congregationalism in Yorkshire," pp. 352-3.

² I am indebted to the courtesy of the Trustees of Nether Chapel, through Mr. J. Wycliffe Wilson, for the following extracts from the original Trust Deed, dated 19th July, 1737; and from the later deed, dated 12th March, 1827. It will be seen that the early deed imposes no creed or restrictions of any kind as to religious beliefs. It is as "open" as our own.

The secession caused division in families. Two important families in Timothy Jollie's congregation were the Smiths and the Fletchers. Mr. John Smith, who had married Rebecca Fletcher (by descent a Sylvester), took the side of De la Rose, and contributed largely to the erection of Nether Chapel. The Fletchers, on the other hand, sided with John Wadsworth, and remained at Upper Chapel. Rebecca, however, often went with her husband to hear Mr. De la Rose and his

The later deed, however, is strongly Calvinistic. Extract from deed, 1737:—"In trust that the said building and premises with their appurtenances shall be always used as a public meeting place for the worship and service of Almighty God so long as the same shall be tolerated, or may be so used in such manner, under such regulations and government from time to time as the said Trustees (named) or the survivors of them, and such others as shall from time to time be chosen to succeed in their place by virtue of the clause hereinafter in that behalf mentioned, or the major part of them shall for ever hereafter from time to time direct and appoint; and when the said building may be no longer used for the purposes aforesaid, the further use thereof shall be in the power and subject to the like direction and appointment of a majority of the trustees for the time being for ever." But whereas the Upper Chapel Trust Deed says nothing about the appointment of a minister, everything being in the hands of the Trustees, the Nether Deed provides that the minister "shall be chosen by the said trustees and the members of the said congregation in full communion, or by a majority of voices of the said members and trustees." Extract from deed, 1827:—"Upon trust that the said building or meeting place or some enlarged or improved building or meeting place on the site thereof or adjoining thereto shall at all times for ever hereafter be used as and for a public meeting house for the service of Almighty God by that Denomination of Protestant Dissenters commonly called Calvinistic Independent Protestant Dissenters who believe in and maintain the doctrines of the Gospel commonly called Calvinistic as contained in the articles of faith compiled by the reverend Assembly of Divines convened for that purpose at Westminster in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty three and such of the doctrinal articles of the Church of England as are specified in the Act of Toleration passed in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary and were usually subscribed by dissenting ministers of the Independent denomination and which said articles respectively are deemed conformable with the sacred and inspired writings commonly called the Old and New Testament the only infallible rule for the Christian Faith and Practice." The deed further provides that when there is a vacancy in the ministry, "a new minister shall be chosen by the members of the said congregation for the time being in full communion or by the major part of them male and female."

successor, Mr. Kelsall. She and her husband befriended Mr. Kelsall when he began to have trouble with his congregation. When Mr. Kelsall left, Mr. Smith thought of going back to Upper Chapel, fearing that he had made a mistake. He did not, however, return, but remained at Nether Chapel for the rest of his life. He and his wife were both buried in the Nether Chapel yard.

Mr. De la Rose died 31st December, 1723. He too was buried in the Nether Chapel yard. He appears to have been a popular preacher, but Miall tells us "he was wretchedly sustained by the contributions of his people, a fault for which Sheffield was remarkable about that time." His funeral sermon was preached by Richard Bateson, minister of the Castle Gate Independent Chapel, Nottingham, from Phil. i. 21.

There can be no doubt that the extreme High Calvinism of De la Rose was offensive to the majority of the worshippers at Upper Chapel at the time of the secession, though this was not the prime cause of the secession. He held views identical with his brother, the Rev. Samuel De la Rose, minister of the Tabernacle Chapel, Stockport,¹ who was censured by the neighbouring ministers for a sermon, which, said his censors, "containeth such doctrine as we apprehend we cannot safely preach to the people committed to our care." The sermon, from 1 Cor. xv. 22,² was preached 27th July, 1718, and again (on account of the dissatisfaction it created) on the 12th February, 1721, when it was printed, entitled, "A Brief Account of the Two Covenants." In it he tried to show that the new covenant was not made between God and man, by the mediation of Christ, but between the Father and the Son; hence Christ, and he only, fulfils the covenant, and all he does for the elect is imputed to them as done by them, neither faith nor repentance having "anything to do in the business of our justification." These ideas were derived from the teaching of Tobias Crisp, D.D., and were called Antinomianism. De la Rose's views on original sin may be seen

¹ He succeeded the Rev. Richard Milne, 1718. Both John De la Rose and his brother Samuel were educated under Dixon at Whitehaven.

² "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

from the following extract:—"It is our duty to be deeply sensible of the sin of our natures, and greatly humbled for it. That guilt which is upon us, considered as in our first head, Adam, would sink every soul of us out of the reach of mercy, though we had never committed any other sin all the days of our lives. Christ's blood is as absolutely necessary for the pardon of our *original sin*, as for the pardon of the most daring and flagitious *actual sins* we can commit." The printed edition of this sermon appeared with a preface by John De la Rose, of Sheffield, explaining the circumstances under which it was written by his brother, and expressing complete agreement with it. The sermon was the cause of a separation in the Tabernacle Chapel, which was a curious reversal of the separation in Upper Chapel. Its teaching was vigorously attacked by Mr. James Clegg, M.D., minister at Chinley, as being Antinomian, and calculated to do mischief. Censure was passed on De la Rose 28th January, 1720-1. In the same year, 15th November, certain members of the congregation requested him to retire, to which he replied urging them "to give themselves unto prayer, and seek the Lord earnestly that they might not act unbecoming of the holy and peaceable Jesus whom they profess to follow." The result was that the dissentients withdrew, and erected a chapel in High Street,¹ which was taken down in 1864, and another was built in St. Peter's Gate—the present handsome Unitarian Chapel. So that whereas in Sheffield the supporters of John De la Rose seceded, and founded a Calvinistic Chapel, in Stockport the supporters of his brother Samuel remained with him, and the dissentients withdrew and founded what afterwards became a Unitarian Chapel.²

Mr. Wadsworth remained in the pastorate of Upper Chapel for thirty years, until failing health compelled him to resign in 1744. He died the following year. In addition to his duties as pastor, he continued the work of Timothy Jollie in the Academy at Attercliffe. But after the death of Jollie

¹ The first minister at High Street was James Hardy, ordained 1723. Clegg was one of the ministers who officiated at his ordination.

² A full account of the De la Rose controversy in Stockport is given in Urwick's "Nonconformity in Cheshire," pp. 293-9.

we hear little of the Academy. Whether it be that Wadsworth had not the gifts of his predecessor, or that he simply ceased to desire to carry it on, the former vigour of this training school of so many excellent men for the Nonconformist ministry died out, and Christ's College ceased to be. The hall itself has disappeared, its very site being now covered with smoke-begrimed bricks and mortar.

John Wadsworth married Rebecca, daughter of Field and Rebecca Sylvester, 21st March, 1714-15. Close beside the stone in the chapel yard commemorating her death there is another (also erected by the wall) on which the inscription runs:—"To the memory of the Rev. John Wadsworth, who above 30 years presided as a minister among y^e Protestant Dissenters in this Town, with singular wisdom, and candor, and as a Tutor with reputation and success. He died May 24, 1745, aged 67. His only son y^e Rev. Field Sylvester Wadsworth died Oct. 8th, 1759, aged 42, and on the 11th was interred with William his 3rd son aged 4 years."

During his pastorate John Wadsworth had four assistants, Timothy Jollie, jun., 1715-1720; Daniel Clark, 1720-1724; Benjamin Roberts, 1724-1740; and his son, Field Sylvester Wadsworth, 1740-1758.

TIMOTHY JOLLIE, jun., was born 22nd August, 1691, at Attercliffe,¹ baptised by his father 1st September, and died 3rd August, 1757, in the 66th year of his age. He was educated at Attercliffe by his father, being probably contemporary at the Academy with Nicholas Saunderson and John Bowes. His mother's diary tells us many particulars of his infant days, his many ailments, *e.g.* teething (he had his first tooth when he wanted "5 weeks of a year," and at two years he had them all, which she thinks is a "mercey worth takeing

¹ Fishwick, "Thomas Jolly's Note Book," introduction, appears to think it probable that he was born at Altham. Timothy Jollie, sen., was assisting his father at Wymondhouses in July, 1691, and Thomas Jollie enters in his Note Book in August:—"My weakly daughter safely delivered, the lord adding to me another grandson; her sparing is a publique mercy considering my son's circumstances." The supposition is that Timothy Jollie's wife was with him at the time. On the other hand, the entry in his Register of Baptisms, under the date 1st September, 1691, of the baptism in Sheffield, appears to be decisive.

noetis of"); at three years and four months he had the "mazills," and soon after that an illness which "we did think would have proved the Small Pox but it proved them y^e (they) call the Hen Pox, they came thicke out and was gon again in a few dayes;" for "the lord was very gracious" to her "Deare Timi." He had also what they at first thought "to be an Ague, and yⁿ (then) we thought y^t wormes did caus thy illness." Then she recounts the accidents that attended the infancy of her precious child. One day, 2nd November, 1695, "thou was bissi about the fire and it got hold of thy apron, and burnt a great part of it presently befor we got to thee." However, he was not hurt, which "blesed be God we look upon as a great mercey and more when I think how many have bein spoyled with the fire." So when he was seven years old, he "was delivered from the dainger of a scald, y^{er} (there) was a Pan of Hot water set into which y^u (thou) fell side way soe thy arme and Leg was a little scalded, but blesed be God thy face did get noe hurt admire the good providence y^t ordered it so mercifully y^t thou got soe little Hurt study w^t (what) to render to the lord for his presarving and healing mercyes." He appears to have been a somewhat delicate child, and according to his own Diary was constantly ailing as a man. His fond mother tells us, "When thou was 4 years and about 5 months old y^u went to Shefeild (they were living then at Attercliffe) to lairn to read better. I confess I was concerned thoe it was soe little away of becaus thee was soe youn(g) and was soe unwiling I should leave thee, thy tears had like to have bein to hard for me but I did indeviour to denie my self for thy good." At eight years and a half he had "a breaking out in the head." "The humer gathered into one side of thy head and proved a boyle which was soe big y^u cold not hold thy head straight." Meantime also his "eyies" had been very bad. We are told that 8th May, 1700, he went "into Lantshire to se thy Dear Gran Father Jollie;" later to Laughton and Bullhouse, and "twise to Glapwell;" and in all these formidable "Jurneyes" he was "presarved in thy goeing." At thirteen he was sent to "Mr. Matthewes," before which, 20th September, 1704, "we did get some

friends to help us to Lift up our hands in Prayer for direction and protection and for a blessing upon this our disposing of thee, and thy Dear Father spoke something from the 1 Chron. 28, 9. I desir my Dear Child thou may often Read and meditate of this text." The boy appears to have been better in health away from home. Who Mr. Matthewes was, and where he lived, I have not been able to discover.¹

The Diary is continued by her son, for he is "bound in gratitude and duty, yea also in respect of the advantageousness of such a performance" to himself. We have fairly full particulars of his life, though unfortunately in places where we want special information he is silent. Writing on 7th October, 1707 (he was then sixteen), he says:—"I began to learn school learning with Mr. John Wadsworth, I hope not to my disadvantages thô I confess I might have made a better improvement." He constantly complains of being "a little out of order," "indisposed," "I was ill"; also of being "vain and indolent," "averse to y^e work my Father designed me for and upon low considerations." There is a tone of morbidness about his diary, such as might be expected from a man not in good health, and hence indolent and self-introspective. He appears to have been very poor also, and having a large family of rather sickly children, he found it at times very difficult to make ends meet. But he never wavers in his submission to God's will, nor in thankfulness for such mercies as he receives. In 1707 he left John Wadsworth, having been a year with him, and began to read with his father; but he says, "at first I was not a little discouraged but afterwards I grew a little more Couragious, but then I grew vain and so apt to Droll upon y^e Scriptures, also y^e Devil set upon me with filthy thoughts, and I was very idle too did not mind my business as I out (ought) to have done; but y^e name of y^e Lord be praised y^t he made me senseable of my condition—a little." In 1711 he went to London, and

¹ For a further account of this delightful diary, and its continuation by her son, see "A good Puritan Woman," by the present writer. The difference in the spelling in these extracts from those on pp. 33-5 is due to the fact that these are taken from an autograph, while the autograph of those is lost.

there remained until 1712. He was then, he tells us, "full of convictions. Covenanted to be y^e Lord's. Join'd myself to y^e Church of Sheffield. A disorderly walker Humbled but little for it; not careful enough to improve time." In 1714 he began (February) "to Preach at Staninton." This year his father died, and in August "John Wadsworth received His call to ye Pastoral charge. I was also chose Assistant." And on 19th October, "I was marry'd to my Dear and long belov'd Mrs. Simmons."² In December, "I was choose with Jonathan Smith to ye Place of Elder." On 1st May, 1715, "I took y^e House in Westbar." He chronicles conscientiously the birth of all his children, and tells us who baptised them. His eldest son Timothy appears to have given him trouble, and went to sea. He died at Rhode Island, 1738 or 9 (?). His other children were Ruth, Nevil, Thomas, John, and Samuel, who all died young. His daughter Elizabeth (born 1st June, 1723; died 16th June, 1771) was married (21st January, 1755) to Thomas Bridges, of Sheffield.² His son Philip, the sixth child, of whom he always speaks with great affection, became a student for the ministry, and died suddenly 26th February, 1748, aged 21 (born 16th May, 1727). In 1719-20 Mr. Jollie received a call from London to become assistant to Matthew Clarke, minister of the dissenting chapel in Miles Lane, Cannon Street; and after a ministry of five years at Upper Chapel, he bade farewell to the congregation, assigning as one reason for leaving, "a prevailing Indolency of temper I found encreasing upon Me, from y^e way of living there." He also says, "Y^e management of Pretended friends helpt to wean my Affections." Then we have such entries in his diary as, 1st January, 1721, "Was chosen to Mr. Braggs lecture;" April, "Was called to assist at y^e Lecture in Gravil Lane." They lived first at "Peters Hill," then in the "Wansor-field," then in "Goodmansfields." Here "our cares encreased. Res angusta Domi. Perplexity inexpressible. No way of relief apparent." On March 27th, 1726, Mr. Clarke died, and "after many warm Debates within Doors and very unwarrantable Practices without the Church

¹ Daughter of Nevill Simmons, bookseller. See p. 67.

² She continues the diary after her father's death.

by balloting the Lot fell upon me by a considerable Majority." He succeeded as sole pastor, holding the office till his death. In April, 1727, his sister Elizabeth Jollie came to live with them, and remained with them until she died (17th November, 1739; buried 23rd, in Bunhill Fields). Towards the end of his life he was frequently disabled by gout from preaching. His infirmities grew, and troubles increased. He speaks of "discouragements, and distrustful fears," "return of indisposition very frequent;" but through it all there is the same cheerful submission. "It is te will," he says at the end of his diary, "of tt (that) God who is always mindful of his Covenant. All his proceedings are consistent with it." He died at a house in Clement's Lane, 3rd August, 1757, in his 66th year. Dr. David Jennings preached his funeral sermon. Mr. Hester points out that he is associated with Dr. Watts and Dr. D. Jennings and other ministers, who signed a certificate of character for Thomas Milway, who was ordained for the ministry at Haverhill, Suffolk, 8th December, 1737. The certificate is dated "London, Tuesday, Jan. 9th, 1732-3."¹ Mrs. Jollie (born 3rd December, 1690) died 9th December, 1761, in her 71st year. She was buried, December 13th, in Nether Chapel yard.

When Timothy Jollie left Sheffield he was succeeded by DANIEL CLARK, who then became assistant to Mr. Wadsworth. Clark was minister to the dissenting congregation at Attercliffe founded by Matthew Bloome. This cause had gradually diminished in numbers, many being in the habit of going to Sheffield to attend the services of Timothy Jollie, sen., and by degrees the two societies became practically one. Hence it was not remarkable that Daniel Clark should be elected assistant to Mr. Wadsworth, though he still continued to reside at Attercliffe. He was great-grandson (through his mother) of Samuel Clark the martyrologist, and grandson (through his father) of Daniel Clark, vicar of Kirk Beeston, Yorks. He was brother of Samuel Clark, D.D., of the "Scripture Promises," the patron of Doddridge. "He married," says Hunter, "Mrs. Bagshaw of Hucklow, the

¹ Hester's Attercliffe, pp. 30 and 58.

widow of Mr. William Bagshaw of that place, and the daughter of Mr. Dunn of Attercliffe. She and her son by Mr. Bagshaw are both interred in a vault in the Upper Chapel."² After marrying Mrs. Bagshaw he lived at Great Hucklow, and in 1717 he was chosen stated assistant to John Ashe, minister of Ashford, Derbyshire. He died 11th November, 1724.

He was succeeded by BENJAMIN ROBERTS, whose ministrations proved acceptable for sixteen years, from the time of his appointment in 1724 to his death in 1740.

And now FIELD SYLVESTER WADSWORTH was invited to assist his father, who was at this time in his 63rd year. The son was 23, having been born 15th August, 1717. His election is an indication of the change which was gradually and almost imperceptibly taking place in the theological opinions of the congregation. The beginning of the eighteenth century was a time of considerable ferment in theological speculation. The Deistical controversy was at its height. The works of Toland, Shaftesbury, Tindal, Woolston, were fresh in people's reading; as were also the works of Stephen Nye, Richardson, Balguy, Chandler, in reply to them. But the most important work in the controversy was Dr. Samuel Clarke's "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God" (Boyle Lectures, 1705-6), followed by "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity" (1712), in which he denied that the Athanasian doctrine was contained in Scripture or held by the early Christian Church. This latter work made a great sensation, and was followed by a long and violent controversy, which exposed Clarke to a charge of Arianism. He was undoubtedly Semi-Arian.² Meantime Bidle, Firmin, Emlyn, Freke, Hedworth, William Manning,³ and others had been teaching Unitarianism, and even Milton and Sir Isaac Newton were heretical on the question of the Trinity. It was inevitable that the questions thus brought prominently into notice should be discussed with vigour by the thoughtful

¹ Hallamshire, p. 296.

² He represented the opinions of many in the Church. He was at the time Rector of St. James's, Westminster.

³ A Congregationalist ej. Middleton, Suffolk, d. 1711.

and intelligent young men in the dissenting Academies throughout the kingdom; and the opinions of Dr. Samuel Clarke produced a profound impression even in places where no suspicion of heterodoxy had hitherto arisen. Thus it was that at Dr. Doddridge's Academy at Northampton the quiet atmosphere of Evangelical orthodoxy began to be disturbed with breezes of heterodox controversy, and many of the students there came out of the Academy with ideas strongly Arian. There was no lack of encouragement for them, for many of the clergy and more of the Nonconformist ministers were openly Arian in their teaching. The new teaching met with fruitful soil in the mind of Field Sylvester Wadsworth. Hunter tells us that his father had sent him in 1735 to Doddridge's Academy, intending him for the ministry. He was then eighteen years of age. But he had been there only two years when he was requested to leave, since he declared he could no longer profess belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Atonement as commonly taught. He accordingly withdrew, and finished his education at the Academy (afterwards called the Hoxton Academy) in London at the head of which was Mr. John Eames, F.R.S.,¹ a scholar of considerable attainments, friend of Sir Isaac Newton. Hunter is, however, mistaken in the order of events. Wadsworth entered Doddridge's Academy in 1737, not in 1735. It is most probable, therefore, that he had been to Mr. Eames *before* he came under Doddridge's care. After finishing his academical course, young Wadsworth began, in December, 1737, at the age of twenty, to preach at Kibworth, in Leicestershire, and on the 23rd April, 1738, he settled there as minister. On the death of Benjamin Roberts, in 1740, he returned to Sheffield, and became assistant to his father at Upper Chapel. This settlement, which appears to have been made with the consent of the congregation, is a striking proof of the changed attitude of the congregation in theological matters. It was well known that Field Sylvester Wadsworth was Arian in belief. His father was only moderately orthodox, but the son was what was then regarded as distinctly heterodox. Yet the

¹ Eames was an Independent, the only layman who ever held (1734-44) the theological chair in a Nonconformist Academy.

congregation welcomed him, and after the elder Wadsworth's death they invited him to act as assistant also to his successor, Thomas Haynes, who was likewise heterodox, it being well known that he had no belief in the doctrine of the Trinity or the Atonement. Hence, with the settlement of Wadsworth, junior, or, more especially, with the appointment of Thomas Haynes, we come to a clearly marked turning point in the history of Upper Chapel.

On the death of Thomas Haynes in 1758, there was some disturbance in the congregation, and Wadsworth did not press his claim to succeed him as pastor. He withdrew; and in the following year he died (8th October, 1759). He was an excellent preacher, and was held in much esteem in the town. He married Elizabeth Horsfield, and left her surviving with two sons—John, aged eleven, afterwards a medical man, and Sylvester, aged seven, afterwards an attorney.

One more name must be mentioned as belonging to this period, that of NEVILL SIMMONS, bookseller and publisher, of Sheffield. It is not certainly known whether Simmons was a Churchman or a Dissenter. His wife Ruth was buried in the Parish Church, 25th December, 1707, aged 41. She left four sons and five daughters, as we are informed by the inscription on a brass plate in the church. But as Timothy Jollie's register records the baptism by him of seven of these children,¹ the probability is that he was a Nonconformist. This probability is strengthened by the fact that most of his known publications are treatises and sermons by Nonconformist ministers. It is more than probable, therefore, that he attended Mr. Jollie's ministrations at the only Nonconformist place of worship in the town. He appears to have come from London to Sheffield in 1692, and we first find him

¹ Thomas, b. 25th Sept., 1688, bap. 10th Oct., d. 15th June, 1749; Mary, b. 3rd Dec., 1690, bap. 11th Dec., d. 9th Dec., 1761; Nevill, b. 22nd Dec., 1691, bap. 16th Jan., 1692, d. 11th June, 1730; William, b. 1st Jan., 1694, bap. 16th Jan., still living 1707; Ruth, bap. 1st Mar., 1696; Elizabeth, b. 18th Jan., 1698, bap. 25th Jan., d. May, 1755; Anna, bap. 26th Feb., 1700, d. 9th Mar., 1764. The two other children were Samuel, b. 13th June, 1703, d. 18th April, 1790 (was stationer and postmaster, Sheffield) and a daughter (the youngest child, name unknown) b. 4th Oct., 1705.

acting as auctioneer at a book sale at the "Rose and Crown" in Waingate. This was on Wednesday, 19th October, 1692. He is mentioned again in the diary of Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, as being the salesman at another book auction in Leeds, 29th December, 1692. His wife was a Sheffield lady, daughter of Thomas Bretland,¹ grocer, whose shop was among several facing the Shambles, from the bottom of High Street² to the Hartshead Passage. Nevill Simmons's shop was in the same row, where for many years he carried on his business of stationer and bookseller. He died 21st July, 1735. His daughter Mary, as we have seen, married Timothy Jollie, jun. The Simmons family were well known as printers and publishers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in London, Kidderminster, and Sheffield. Milton made a contract with Samuel Simmons, "next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate Street," for the publication of "Paradise Lost" in 1667; and Richard Baxter employed Nevill Simmons of Kidderminster to print and publish many of his works. Mr. Hester says Nevill Simmons of Sheffield "may have been, and probably was, the son of Nevill Simmons, Baxter's publisher and bookseller." "Chronology," however, "would not be violated if we regarded him as the son of Samuel Simmons, who negotiated with Milton for the publication of 'Paradise Lost,' and whose contract is still extant. There are probably now no means by which the question of relationship can be satisfactorily determined."³

Nevill Simmons published "*Pastoral Care Exemplified*," a sermon by Timothy Jollie, sen., on the death of his father, Thomas Jollie; "*A Funeral Sermon for that Pious Gentlewoman, Mrs. Eliz. Jollie, of Attercliffe*," by W. Bagshaw, minister of Stannington, formerly student at Attercliffe; "*A Funeral Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Reverend and Learned Mr. John De la Rose*," by Richard Bateson, and many others during the twenty-nine years of his business career. It is probable that he published also De la Rose's funeral sermon

¹ He married a daughter of the Rev. Wm. Carr, Rector of Hansworth.

² Then called Prior Gate.

³ "Nevill Simmons, Bookseller and Publisher," by Giles Hester, Sheffield, 1893, p. 22.

on the death of Timothy Jollie, sen.; but his name does not appear on the title-page.

There are several references to Nevill Simmons in his son-in-law's Diary. He paid a visit to the Jollies in London (they were then living at "Peter's Hill") in January, 1722-3, and the Diary says:—"Dear Father Simmons came to us. a glorious instance of Gods supporting Grace who under outward discouragements bodily weakness and severe tryals in his children. yet was helpt to be thankful." In April, "He went from us to Bristol not a little concern'd to leave Molly in such circumstances she yn being near her time." [A daughter, Elizabeth, was born June 1st.] And again in 1735, "Father Simmons was suddenly removed from us July 21. being found dead in his Bed in te posture He usually slept with his Head upon his hand. there seem'd to have been no struggles of dissolving Nature. but as with inoffensiveness he had lived so without uneasiness He dyed."



PERIOD III.—1745-1837.

ARIANISM.

WITH the ministry of THOMAS HAYNES begins a new era in the history of Upper Chapel. We must not, however, suppose that any sudden or violent change in the theological teaching from the pulpit ever took place. On the contrary the change was gradual, a natural development with the progressive spirit of the times. The teaching of Fisher, Durant, and Timothy Jollie was doubtless the common orthodoxy of the day; but there is nothing to shew that it was the rigid Calvinism of the Assembly's Catechism, though of course that was the standard criterion of orthodoxy. Oliver Heywood praises Timothy Jollie's "soundness in the faith," saying he "was not drawn away with these odde opinions, very orthodox of a moderate spirit," by which he means that Jollie, though orthodox, did not push his orthodoxy to extremes. He did not approve of the extreme orthodoxy of De la Rose. Of Jeremiah Gill's theological opinions we can only infer from Thomas Whitaker's account of him that they were subordinated to his fervent religious teaching. The spiritual and religious life was his constant theme. John Wadsworth was well known as moderately orthodox, and whatever approval some in the congregation gave to the teaching of De la Rose, the majority unquestionably were satisfied with the non-Calvinistic interpretation of the Gospel as expounded by Wadsworth. Speaking of John Wadsworth, Timothy Jollie, jun., Benjamin Roberts, and Daniel Clark, Joseph Hunter says, "There can be little doubt that if anything could now be found which would shew what were the opinions of these four ministers, it would shew that they were what would now be considered 'orthodox'; but that it would *not* be found that they held Calvinistic sentiments in the sense in which they are exhibited in the Assembly's Catechism." And further, that the opinions of John Wadsworth "were not Calvinian, in any proper sense

of the word," would appear from the fact that the pupils in Wadsworth's Academy came out for the most part Arian. The election of his son, Field Sylvester Wadsworth, of strongly rational and anti-orthodox sentiments, is evidence of the growing anti-orthodoxy of the congregation; and, Hunter adds, "Mr. Wadsworth's children and Mr. Roberts's children were, we know, quite heterodox, which, although no proof, affords presumption that their parents were not at least of highly Calvinistic sentiments, but more probably in some intermediate stage between Calvinism and Arianism. The election of Mr. Field Sylvester Wadsworth to be assistant to his father in 1740, I take to be the first measure of the congregation in which there was an open declaration that the sentiments of the congregation had lost their orthodox character; this was perhaps more decidedly shewn when, on the death of John Wadsworth in 1745, they chose for their pastor Mr. Thomas Haynes, whose Arianism was quite undisguised. In his time there were still persons in the congregation whose opinions were still 'orthodox.' I have heard his daughter, Mrs. Evans, relate that once her father was saluted by one of his congregation with an expression of a wish for the *old doctrine*; when he replied, 'Yes, Mr. Crook, the older the better; mine is as old as the Apostles.' The Nether Chapel (which had from its foundation adopted the Assembly's Catechism as its standard of theological belief¹) received accessions by minorities from Upper Chapel from time to time, as the doctrine became further removed from the original orthodoxy. Mr. Field Sylvester Wadsworth and Mr. Haynes continued as ministers till about 1758, and their successors, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Evans, were decidedly of the most moderate sentiments, with no trace of orthodoxy. Mr. Evans had been noted for his adoption of what were in those days called *Rational sentiments*, from the time when he was at the Academy. He was in fact removed from the Academy (Dr. David Jennings') on account of his want of orthodoxy. He had been put forward to maintain Rational Christianity at a very early period of his life, in one of the

¹ This is doubtless true; but they started with a perfectly "open" trust. See p. 56.

Essex congregations, and his want of anything like orthodoxy was quite notorious when he was chosen the minister in 1758 to be co-pastor with Mr. Dickinson."

This account of the "Changes in opinion in the ministers and congregation at Upper Chapel in Sheffield" was written by Joseph Hunter in a letter addressed to Mr. T. Asline Ward, 8th February, 1843. Though anticipating our subsequent history, the remainder is given in order that we may have a concise view of the changes which afterwards took place. He continues:—"Mr. Dickinson died in 1780, and was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin Naylor, whose sentiments accorded with those of his colleague, Mr. Evans. Mr. Evans resigned his connection with the congregation in 1798, when Mr. Naylor became sole pastor. Both Mr. Evans and Mr. Naylor looked with great respect to Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Priestley, and were both in opinion hardly to be distinguished from these early advocates of Unitarianism, or more precisely, Socinian opinions.¹ There was a little assembly of persons at Attercliffe, who professed those opinions, and who

¹ It may be well here to give a concise summary of Calvinistic, Arian, and Unitarian opinions, so that the differences may be seen at a glance.

(i.) *Calvinism*. "There are three persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one God, and the same in substance, equal in power and glory" (Shorter Catechism). God created the world for his own glory. Man, made originally in the image of God, is a fallen being, totally corrupt. Sin implanted in our nature by Adam's fall, brought upon us God's displeasure and curse, so that by nature we are children of wrath. To rescue us, Christ became incarnate, and by his death merited for us the grace of salvation. Yet until a man is united to Christ by faith, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, he cannot be saved. Then, through faith, the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him; he receives justification; his sins are forgiven. Yet by the eternal decree of God some men are predestinated to eternal life, and some fore-ordained to everlasting death. His chosen ones are kept by him in progressive faith and holiness to the end. The "five points" are:—(1) Predestination (or particular election); (2) irresistible grace; (3) original sin (or moral inability in a fallen state); (4) particular redemption; (5) the perseverance of the saints.

(ii.) *Arianism* takes its name from the doctrines of Arius, who protested against the Trinitarianism beginning to be prevalent in the fourth century. He said, in opposition to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (318), that the Son was distinct from the Father, not of the same substance, nor co-equal,

joined the congregation at the Upper Chapel before there was an open declaration of the reception of these opinions by name in the Sheffield congregation. As long as Mr. Evans

nor co-eternal with him. He was the first of created beings, created out of nothing by God's free will, before all conceivable time, yet in time. He was not impeccable, though sinless, the result of his own free choice. The Father alone is God, unbegotten, eternal, unchangeable. The Trinitarians (among them Athanasius) held that the son was of the *same substance* with the Father (homoousia); Arius said the Son was of *different substance* (heteroousia). After the death of Arius (who was probably poisoned by his enemies, though they said his sudden death was God's answer to Bishop Alexander's prayer), some of his followers held *Semi-Arianism*, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinitarians that the Son was of one substance with the Father, yet holding that he was not of different substance. They said he was of *like substance* (homoiousia). They thought thus to give the Son a dignity higher than the Arians, without confusing him with the Father. *Clarkeism*. The Arianism of England in the eighteenth century was much modified from primitive Arianism. The movement received such an impetus from the teaching of Samuel Clarke, D.D., the friend of Newton in his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity" (1712), that *Clarkeism* is, perhaps, the best designation of the Arianism of the period. Clarke held that the terms *one and only God* in Scripture refer to the Father alone. He alone is self-existent. The Son is not "unoriginated." He was created by the Father in time. Except self-existence he possessed all the divine attributes. He could thus make atonement by a real death—not the death only of the assumed human nature. Clarke repeated the old Arian attempt of the fourth century to find a mean between the belief that Jesus was essentially God, and the belief, always held by some, that he was essentially a human being. But even more important than Clarke's book as a direct solvent of the hard Calvinism of the eighteenth century was "The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin," by John Taylor, D.D., of Norwich, published in 1740. It shows the baselessness alike in reason and in Scripture of the orthodox doctrine. The book had great influence, and though answers to it appeared, it held its ground. Jonathan Edwards complained in 1758 ("On Original Sin," pref.) that no one book had done so much as it towards rooting out the principles of Calvinism in New England. It was equally effective at home.

(iii.) *Unitarianism* has existed in the Christian Church from the beginning. Unitarians deny the doctrine of the Trinity, maintaining the absolute unity of the Godhead. They are, as Theophilus Lindsey said, "The only class of Christians who really and properly maintain the unity of God." They believe, in harmony with the teaching of Christ, that the Father alone is God. There is considerable variety of opinion among them with regard to Christ, but they are all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of his deity. They reject also the doctrine of original sin, the atonement

was minister the name Unitarian was not thought of, and probably the word was scarcely ever heard in the chapel, or at vestry meetings; but in Mr. Naylor's time the preaching in the chapel assumed more of a doctrinal character, and the minister sometimes declared and defended in the pulpit the Socinian or Unitarian system of Christian doctrine; and when Mr. Naylor resigned his connexion with the congregation in 1805, the congregation founded themselves entirely on Unitarian principles." Dr. Philipps, who succeeded Mr. Naylor, never adopted the name *Unitarian*; he called himself simply a Presbyterian, and was Arian in doctrine. But that the congregation had definitely adopted Unitarianism as its fundamental principle is shewn by an entry in the Minute Book, 19th January, 1837, to the effect that a meeting of the congregation had been held on 15th January, when measures were discussed "to produce a reaction in favour of Unitarian sentiments in Sheffield," and it was recommended that services should be held "conducive to the propagation of Unitarianism." When Mr. Stannus accepted the invitation to become minister, he addressed his acceptance,¹ "To the Trustees of the Upper Chapel, Norfolk Street, Sheffield, and to the Society of Unitarian Christians therein assembling." Hence, from the beginning of the present century, the religious teaching from the pulpit of Upper Chapel may be best described as Unitarian Christianity. Modifications in its presentment have doubtless taken place with the progress of time, especially with the growth of scientific knowledge and the development of Biblical criticism. But there is no better description of the teaching from the pulpit of the present day than Unitarian Christianity. Having as its fundamental principle the word of the old Law, "The Lord our God is one," and the word of Christ, "God is a spirit, and they that

(the work of Christ affects *man*, not God), and eternal punishment—indeed, the whole orthodox "scheme," regarding it as both irrational and unscriptural. *Socinianism*, though often identified with Unitarianism, differs from it in two important points. Socinus and his followers believed the miraculous conception of Jesus and taught that he must be adored, and may be invoked.

¹ Dated 28th December, 1837 St. Cuthbert's Glebe, Edinburgh.

worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth," it is faithful to the mission of the Unitarian Church from the beginning, which was to teach a rational and spiritual faith.

With this introduction explanatory of the changes in theological opinion which have taken place in Upper Chapel, we must return to THOMAS HAYNES, who was appointed on the death of John Wadsworth in 1745, with the assistance of Field Sylvester Wadsworth, a man of congenial feeling in religious and theological matters. He was Arian in belief, and his congregation found his teaching in every way acceptable. In it there was no place for the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the atonement. He came from Nantwich, but of his life there, and before he settled there, very little is known. When Field Sylvester Wadsworth withdrew in 1758, Haynes was desirous of having Joseph Priestley, then not so well known as he afterwards became, to take his place. Hunter says, "Mr. Haynes had some share in the direction of the early studies of this eminent person, and would gladly have had his assistance. He was at this period of his life an Arian: but as under the ministry of the younger Wadsworth and Mr. Haynes the congregation had in general adopted these views, there was no objection made to him on that account. There were, however, in the Society some whose fastidious ears were displeased with certain real or supposed imperfections in his delivery, and they rejected him to place in the situation his friend Mr. John Dickinson, who was at that time minister at Diss, in Norfolk." Yates, however, tells us that he was rejected at Sheffield as being "too gay and airy."¹ He settled in September, 1758, at Nantwich, in Cheshire.

An interesting letter by Mr. Haynes to Joseph Priestley is printed in Rutt's edition of Priestley's works (vol. i., p. 9). The autograph was sent to Rutt by Joseph Hunter. Haynes is replying to a letter from Priestley, who had asked him

¹ Yates, "Memorials of Priestley," 1860, p. 3, n. His authority is also Joseph Hunter (in a letter dated 21st November, 1860), who confirms the story by adding that at Nantwich Priestley sometimes jumped over the counter of the grocer's shop where he lodged. As Hunter vouches for both stories, it is possible that the possessors of the "fastidious ears" were identical with the persons of fastidious taste.

advice about his studies. It is as follows:—"Dec. 31, 1750. Mr. Priestley, I received both yours; but the benevolence so often expressed for you, as a young scholar of diligent and pious character, was not of so much account as you seem to have rated it at. As to any hints in my power respecting the conduct of your studies, I should be glad to offer them as I have opportunity; but various of those which would have occurred on the supposition that you intended some time to wear the ministerial character, would be impertinent, as I now hear you intend some other learned profession.¹ This, however, on any scheme of learning, is a proper hint, that all study is in order to a useful life, and therefore every degree of it injurious to bodily health will defeat its own end; and if it does not wear out the body prematurely, will at least be a fatal *remora* to an active life. This I say in reference to what I have heard of your very laborious application. As to literature, properly, or the study of languages, what occurs to me at present is, that Rabinical skill, which you seem to have some itch for, will least answer the pains you will be obliged to employ upon it; and if it was worth the labour, yet would much of it be lost, without some sufficient tutor to lead you first into the idiom of the Hebrew language. The other learned languages, viz., Latin and Greek, you cannot be too exact in; and as probably you have had a competency of school helps, your own application will furnish the means of a ready accuracy and critical skill in both of them. But that labour will be shortened, and made much more effectual, if you compare the classics in both languages with translations of reputation. No one means of assisting youth, and shortening the drudgery of that sort, so useful, yet so neglected. Tacitus is a fine Latin historian; if you could procure Gordon's translation you would read him to much advantage, and by that single book become acquainted with the phraseology and diction, in a good measure, of other histories of note which you will have inclination to consult. Dunster's Horace would be of a like good use respecting poetic language. I proceed no further in this, because this hint will lead you on to all I intend by it."

¹ The medical.

Joseph Priestley (born 13th March, 1733; died 6th February, 1804) was at this time in his eighteenth year, in bad health, and hesitating "whether his profession should be physic or divinity." His health, however, improved, and he went to Daventry "to study under Mr. Ashworth, afterwards Dr. Ashworth."¹ It is very probable that the advice of Mr. Haynes helped to fix his preference for the ministry.

Thomas Haynes was born at Stone, in Staffordshire, in 1700. He was the son of Mr. Haynes, a tanner of that town. His brother, Richard Haynes (who was living in 1736), was also a tanner. Thomas married, 2nd March, 1731, Elizabeth, daughter of John Eddowes, of Nantwich, Cheshire. They had nine children—Susannah (born at Nantwich, 21st December, 1731; married, 29th July, 1762, Rev. Joseph Evans; died 17th June, 1813, and was buried with her husband in Upper Chapel yard); Mary (born 23rd April, 1733; died 14th May, 1736, buried at Nantwich); John (born 14th January, 1735; died 18th April, 1737, buried at Nantwich); Thomas (born 12th June, 1737; died 20th December, 1745, buried at Upper Chapel); Elizabeth (born 10th April, 1739; died unmarried 3rd April, 1803, buried at Upper Chapel); John (born 9th, May, 1741; died at Nantwich aged about 17); Richard (born 29th May, 1743; died 26th July following, buried at Nantwich); William (born 6th September, 1744; died 2nd March, 1748, buried at Upper Chapel); Jane, the youngest child (born 26th October, 1746; married Rev. Astley Meanley, of Stannington; died without issue 1814, buried at Upper Chapel).

Mr. Haynes and his wife lived at 91, Norfolk Street. Here he died 3rd December, 1758, and was buried in the chapel yard. His tomb bears the following inscription:—"Here lie (waiting for the glorious Resurrection of the Just and Innocent) the dear Remains of Thomas y^e Son of Thomas and Elizabeth Haynes who died Dec. 20. 1745 aged 8. Also William another son who died Mar. 2nd 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ aged 3 years. Also the Revd. Thomas Haynes late Minister of this Place

¹ Rutt, I., p. 8.

who died 3 Decr. 1758 aged 58; the Memory of the just is Blessed." His wife died in 1780, and was buried with her husband, says Hunter;¹ but there is no notice of this on the tombstone.

The REV. JOHN DICKINSON (1758—1780) and the REV. JOSEPH EVANS (1758—1798) succeeded Thomas Haynes, acting as co-pastors until the death of the former, when the REV. BENJAMIN NAYLOR became Evans's co-pastor. About the time of the death of Thomas Haynes, the connection which had hitherto subsisted between the Attercliffe congregation and Upper Chapel ceased, the former congregation in fact dying out, as its members became more attached to the ministry at Upper Chapel. But a new connexion was now formed, viz., with the FULWOOD CHAPEL; and Dickinson and Evans acted as joint pastors of Upper Chapel and Fulwood. This chapel was built in 1729, out of funds left by will by William Ronksley (born 1650; died 4th January, 1724), who, as the result of an industrious life (he was at different times schoolmaster, tutor, and private secretary), had accumulated a sufficient competence, and being never married, left it at his death partly to endow schools at Fulwood and Crookes, and partly to build a place of worship for Protestant Dissenters at Fulwood. For this purpose he left £400, the interest of which for several years was to go for the building of the chapel, and afterwards to be paid towards the support of a dissenting minister. The chapel was also endowed with £10 per annum by Thomas Hollis, jun. The first minister was Jeremiah Gill, a pupil of Timothy Jollie, and probably son of Jeremiah Gill, Jollie's assistant. He died in 1758. At his death Fulwood was taken under the charge of the congregation at Upper Chapel; Dickinson and Evans preached alternately on Sunday afternoons; and when the former died the same arrangement was carried out by Evans and Naylor. In December, 1798, Mr. Joseph Ramsbotham was chosen sole minister of Fulwood.

Mr. Dickinson had been educated at Kendal Academy, which he entered in 1745. He settled at Penruddock

¹ *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, "Haynes."

(Cumberland) in 1749; he removed to Palgrave,¹ near Diss, in 1755, where he remained till 1758. Here he was intimate with Priestley, and shared his Arianism. From Palgrave he removed to Sheffield, where he "was a man of considerable popularity, of a strong and ardent mind, and particularly active in his opposition to the principles which occasioned the American war."² He married Mary, widow of George Eddowes, of Sheffield, and daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Roberts, assistant to John Wadsworth, of Upper Chapel. He died 1780.

We are fortunate in having an excellent account of Joseph Evans from the pen of Joseph Hunter, who was adopted by Evans, and lived many years in his house. In his *Gene Sylvestrina*, he speaks with the greatest affection of both Mr. and Mrs. Evans.

The REV. JOSEPH EVANS (born April, 1728; died 31st December, 1803) was minister of the congregation for nearly forty years, with the assistance first of Mr. Dickinson (1758-80), and afterwards of Mr. Naylor (1780-98). He was the son of Mr. Roger Evans, a tradesman of Manchester. His mother was the daughter of Joseph Dawson, minister at Rochdale, and grand-daughter of the well-known Rev. Joseph Dawson, of Morley (ejected Thornton Chapel in 1662), an intimate friend and associate of Oliver Heywood. Joseph Dawson's father, Abraham Dawson, was one of those accused with James Fisher of complicity in the Farnley Plot. Evans was educated for the ministry at the London Academy, then under the direction of the Rev. David Jennings, D.D. (died 1762). While at the Academy he was supported by Coward's Trustees; but is said to have been obliged to withdraw from the Academy, with several others, on account of his heterodox opinions.³ He was, however, an excellent student, as Dr.

¹ Mr. Gordon says Palgrave was Independent, but was not a church of itself. The church members communicated at Wattisfield or Denton; the Lord's Supper was not celebrated at Palgrave till 1774, and Rochemont Barbauld was the first minister ordained (13th September, 1775) as its pastor.

² *Monthly Repository*, 1810, p. 474.

³ So says Hunter. But Toulmin gives no hint of this forced withdrawal. He mentions that two were expelled, Thomas and John Wright,

Jennings himself testifies.¹ After leaving London he settled at Brentwood, in Essex, as successor to the Rev. Gabriel Barbor.² Here he remained a few years, and was then invited (1754) to become assistant to Dr. Samuel Eaton, of the High Pavement Meeting, Nottingham. On the death of Thomas Haynes he became minister of Upper Chapel, 1758. He married, 29th July, 1762, Susannah, eldest of the daughters of his predecessor, Mr. Haynes. They had no children, and on the death of an only nephew they adopted Joseph Hunter, afterwards the distinguished antiquary, as their son. Hunter, in his "Gens Sylvestrina," has left a very pleasing notice of Mr. Evans and his wife, recalling with gratitude "his care, which was more than paternal, and her love, which was more than a mother's love." He speaks of the "great excellence and worth" of Evans's character; but he says he knew little of the world, and was a man of strong prejudices. He says elsewhere,³ "Mr. Evans, more than anyone I have known, retained the spirit and principles of the original Non-conformists. . . . His theological opinions were those of the Rational Dissenters, as in those days they were called, a species of Clarkeism of the most subdued kind. The Religion he taught was that of Doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly, looking upon God as a Father, and expecting future accountability as revealed by Jesus Christ. He held Dr. Priestley, whom he knew, in the highest respect, and was scarcely if at all different from him in theological views. He was a great admirer of Mr. Lindsey, whom he met occasionally at Mr. Shore's. He rarely spoke either in public or at home on religious or metaphysical peculiarities. He was strongly attracted to Non-conformity; it was a bigotted

in 1749-50. Probably, says Mr. Gordon, Evans sympathised in their very mild Clarkeism, and left. Had he been expelled, he would have been transferred, as the Wrights were, to Taunton Academy.

¹ In a letter to Dr. Doddridge, given in Stedman's "Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge," 1790, p. 252. Toulmin quotes it in *Prot. Diss. Mag.*, 1798, pp. 122, 125, dating it June, 1749. See Toulmin's note, *ibid.* Jennings was a strong Independent, and strong non-subscriber.

² Died 1750. Descendant of John Barbor, the Protestant, who just escaped martyrdom by the death of Mary.

³ In a MS. in possession of his son, Dr. Henry Julian Hunter, of Bath.

attachment. He lamented sincerely the decline of the sect to which he belonged, but he never that I remember looked at the fact with a philosophic eye, or thought of ascertaining the true causes of it. His sermons were the only things he wrote; he left nothing but them behind him as evidence of his attainments, opinions, or studies. Much in them of Benson, whom he knew in early life and highly esteemed, the rest plain and simple. He was minister at Sheffield and Fulwood nearly 40 years. His salary never reached more than £80 a year, but was more frequently £70, and he had no chance additions to it by the bounty of his people. He had a little fortune left to him about the time when I became domesticated with him, by Mr. Eddowes of Nantwich an uncle of his wife. This, added to another little property, gave them an income on which they lived in a frugal manner, when, in 1797, he felt himself compelled by circumstances in the congregation to retire from the ministry. Those circumstances illustrated in a remarkable manner the nature of the connection between minister and people in the Nonconformist congregations. I well remember the mortification and grief which they occasioned. But this did not shake his opinion of the excellence of the system as compared with the Church, though I never heard from himself what were the grounds of Dissent beyond the vague and doubtful propositions maintained in such books as the Protestant Dissenters' Catechism, and the Dissenting Gentleman's Letters. He looked with a species of horror upon Conformity, though so many of his near relations, the Dawsons, educated Non-conforming ministers, conformed and became useful and respectable ministers in the Church into which they carried the free spirit of their non-conforming ancestry. . . . In Politics his opinions were extreme on the side of "Freedom." He had been a zealous friend of the Americans, and the room in which I slept was hung round with mezzotinto prints of the American generals. He was a hearty well-wisher to the French in their Revolution. He gloried in the destruction of the Bastille, and he certainly did not turn with much abhorrence from the acts of cruelty perpetrated on the French [Royal] family and Court. Even the atrocities of the Robespierre period

scarcely changed his feeling. In the war he most heartily wished them success. Corresponding with this he had the most cordial hatred of the ministry and measures of Mr. Pitt. His dislike was extended to the Crown, and he would gladly have seen a Revolution at home. Nothing was too violent, no expression however seditious which he would not repeat: he meditated emigration to America where only a freeman could breathe. In these political sentiments he was by no means peculiar; he was but one of a large class including nearly all the Rational Dissenting Ministry, and a great part of the Dissenting Laity. This was from 1792 to 1803. When the second war commenced Mr. Naylor preached an exciting sermon; but Mr. Evans adhered to his old partiality for the French cause. He laugh'd at the apprehension of invasion and wished success to Napoleon on the Continent." In Hunter's diary, February 8th, 1797, he writes, "Supposing any account comes of any battle, or anything such like, Mr. Evans says, 'All this is but child's play to what will come after. We shall not live to see, but thou wilt.'" Of the Evans's household he says:—"Our house was the abode of piety and charity. They were according to their means bountiful to the poor, ready to every good work. We had family prayers and devotional reading morning and evening. Our Sundays were almost wholly occupied with religious exercises. . . . Mr. Evans passed through life much respected by everybody. He had had some share in almost every good work in the town in which he lived. He had no great popularity as a preacher, and no great learning as a divine. He possessed 723 volumes, Grotius, the Fratres Poloni, Poole's Synopsis, &c., but when I knew him they were merely looked into, and he had not access to the best theological works."

With respect to the joint pastorate at Fulwood, Hunter says:—"Mr. Evans and Mr. Naylor were the joint ministers at Sheffield and at a little country chapel, four miles from Sheffield called Fulwood. They officiated at each on the alternate Sundays. There were two services at Sheffield, and between them it was the practice to dine at Miss Haynes' a sister of Mrs. Evans who lived in the town, Mr. Evans dining



REV. JOSEPH EVANS.

at a farm house near the Chapel at Fulwood." The Sheffield "Register" for 1787 gives his address as Portobello, which was then practically in the country!¹ Of Mrs. Evans we are told, "She came of an old dissenting stock, and boasted as he did of a connection with the ejected ministry. She entered into all his opinions." She had two sisters; one died unmarried, the other married Mr. Astley Meanley, "minister of the group of chapels in the Peak, who afterwards settled at Stannington where he lived useful rather by his charities than by his preaching. Meanley and his wife died about 1813, when the Haynes family (settled at Sheffield 1745) became extinct."

Mr. Evans died on the last day of the year 1803. The *Iris*, 5th January, 1804, contains a brief obituary notice of him, and another, fuller and more accurate, appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* for February of the same year. This was written by Joseph Hunter, in which he was assisted by Mr. Moulton, of Wickersley. Evans was buried in the chapel yard. His tomb is close to the vestry wall. The inscription is as follows:—"In Memory of the Revd. Joseph Evans for near 40 years the faithful pastor of this Congregation. He died Dec. 31st 1803 aged 75 years." His wife was buried in the same place twelve years later. The inscription continues:—"Susanna Evans (formerly Susanna Haynes), his aged and virtuous Relict, died 15 June 1815, and was also here interred."

In one of Mr. Hunter's MSS. there is an interesting note on Upper Chapel, headed by an outline sketch of the old building and followed by the verse:—

Hail, House of God! where Evans once was heard,
Eternal honours flourish round thy head;
There sleeps his dust in peace;—but if this page
(Protected by its subject) live, late times shall know
I once was blessed with such a matchless friend.

The accompanying portrait is a reproduction of one at Stoke Hall by Nathaniel Tucker,² painted about 1777 or 8.

¹ Before the death of Mr. Eddowes, the Evanses lived in Cheney Square (the site of the new Town Hall).

² Tucker printed a catalogue of an exhibition of his own works, and in it was a notice of his picture, "The Last Supper." In an appended note

Mr. Evans has a volume of Locke¹ in his hand—whose principles Joseph Hunter found so mischievous in his own education. There is also a portrait of Mrs. Evans by Tucker at Stoke, and a small, but very beautiful, crayon portrait of her at Greystones, by J. Raphael Smith. Joseph Hunter says:—"In person Mr. Evans was rather below the common stature. His manners were plain and simple befitting his character. He was one of the last to wear a full-bottomed wig and a cocked hat. In the house he usually wore a flowered damask gown of blue with a black velvet cap."

It is here necessary to say something of JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A., who adds distinction to Upper Chapel by the eminence he attained as an antiquarian. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of his printed works and his MSS., as a source of information for the history of the Chapel. Though differing from him in his opinion as to the Presbyterian origin of it, I must express my indebtedness to his writings for much pleasant reading and valuable information. He was born in Cheney Row in Sheffield, 6th February, 1783, being the son of Michael Hunter, cutler (born 1759; died 29th January, 1831), who married, 1781, his first wife, Elizabeth Girdler (born 11th June, 1761; died 20th March, 1787).² She died when Joseph was four years old, and very soon after, at the age of six, the little boy was adopted by Mr. Evans (1788), whose ward his father had also been.

The miniature³ here reproduced represents the adoption of Joseph Hunter by Mr. Evans and his wife. The scene is in the garden of Mr. Evans's house in Portobello. Above is

he says, "The figure of Judas is taken from a well-known Presbyterian of this town!"

¹ This does not come out plainly in the reproduction.

² He afterwards (1797) married Mary, daughter of Charles Smith, and widow of James Battersby.

³ The miniature is an exquisite piece of work. Its size is 2in. by 1½. The central picture is 1½ by ¾. It is bordered with gold, and has a gold back. It was given in 1888 (just a hundred years after the event) by Dr. H. Julian Hunter to "the youngest of the Hunters, for him and his to keep for ever"; viz., to Charles Michael (son of Charles Stephen Hunter), then one year old.



THE ADOPTION OF JOSEPH HUNTER.

inscribed, "Sacred to love and friendship." The adoption was made with full consent on both sides, including the two Miss Haynes. Surrounding the central picture is a border composed of the hair of all the persons concerned. It is made up of eight or nine different shades of hair, varying in hue from dark brown to grey. Dr. Julian Hunter says:—"My grandmother died early in 1787. Mr. Evans came to the resolution of making a formal adoption of the boy, Joseph Hunter, two years afterwards, which may have been in 1789, but which I believe to have been 1788. It was communicated to the boy by the simple instruction given on the roadside in Portobello Lane that he was no longer to speak of his house (to Mr. Evans) as 'your house,' but in future to say 'our house.' It is an anachronism, no doubt, yet the figure bringing the child is his *mother's*. So said my father. The hair of the two Miss Haynes expresses their assent; my grandfather's and grandmother's with my great-grandmother's (a daughter of John Smith) expresses their assent to the adoption. Mr. Evans had made a previous adoption of his nephew, Joseph Bamford. He withdrew his patronage from the young man on his taking orders in the English Establishment. Bamford died in 1784. It was not long afterwards that Mr. Evans received his handsome legacy from Mr. Eddowes: the two events facilitated the adoption of Joseph Hunter."

The little boy was sent to Mr. Sorby's school at Attercliffe, a very poor school, at which he learned nothing, the master having, apparently, nothing to teach. Here he remained from 1789 to 1796, a weekly boarder, owing to the need of attending Upper Chapel on Sunday. After leaving school he was "placed in a commercial house in his native town, that of Mr. Hatfield, in which he continued for several years, but with no growing taste for the duties connected with trade. He looked back upon this portion of his life as wasted time, and attributed his being apprenticed to trade as one of the mischiefs resulting from Mr. Locke's advice in his 'Thoughts concerning Education,' that every gentleman should learn a trade, a manual trade; nay, two or three, but one more particularly.' When speaking of this, there was an

asperity manifested towards the name and reputation of Mr. Locke, as if he felt that the great English philosopher had actually wronged him."¹ Nor was Hunter entirely satisfied with Mr. Evans's mode of training in the home. It was not sufficiently free and liberal. "I can well remember," he says, "how carefully he sought to repress every sentiment which betrayed the working of even the most subdued and limited desire after distinction of any kind." He dwells upon this more than once in his MSS., and also in his "Gens Sylvestrina." Later on, being of a serious and thoughtful disposition, he entered, 26th November, 1805, at Manchester College, York, then under the charge of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, with the intention of studying for the Unitarian ministry. He left York, June, 1809, and settled as minister of the Trim Street Chapel, Bath, where he remained twenty-four years (1809-33). He had early developed a special taste for antiquarian studies, and all through life devoted much of his time to them. He was one of the first members of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, and also of the "Stourhead Circle" for the discussion of the antiquities of Somerset and Wilts. He was a Fellow, and for many years a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1833 he was appointed Sub-Commissioner of Public Records, and went to London. In 1838 he was appointed Assistant Keeper, and was commissioned to compile a Calendar of the Queen's Remembrancer's Records. His published works bear traces of great research, *e.g.*, "Hallamshire" in 1819 (Gatty's edition 1869); "South Yorkshire," "The History and Topography of the Deanery of Gloucester," 1828-31; "The Attorney General *versus* Shore; an Historical Defence of the Trustees of Lady Hewley's Foundation, and the claims upon them of the Presbyterian Ministers of England," 1834; "Disquisition on Shakespeare's 'Tempest,'" 1839, and many others. He devoted much attention to the text of Shakespeare's plays. His manuscript collections were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1862, and are now among the additional MSS. His "Gens Sylvestrina" was printed privately in 1846.

¹ "Christian Reformer," 1861, p. 444, notice by Mr. Aspland.

In a letter¹ to T. A. Ward, dated 30, Torrington Square, London, May 17, 1852, Hunter places at the disposal of the Trustees of the chapel £100, annexing no condition, but suggesting that it should be applied "to the preservation of the gravestone in the chapel yard which covers the remains of my father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and also that under which rests the brother of a direct ancestor of mine, Mr. Field Sylvester." In accordance with this letter, the Trustees (June 11th, 1852) resolved that the tombstones named should be preserved, and renewed when necessary; and that a yearly sum of £5 be added to the minister's salary, as "Hunter's Donation."

He married, 26th December, 1815, Mary, daughter of Francis Hayward, M.D., of Bath. She died 27th December, 1840. They had six children, four sons and two daughters; of these, two sons and two daughters joined the Roman Catholic Church. He died 9th May, 1861, and was buried in Ecclesfield Churchyard. On his tombstone is the following inscription:—

H. S. E.
 JOSEPHUS HUNTER, S.A.S.,
 SACR. SCRINIORUM UNUS DE VICE-CUSTODIBUS,
 QUI CUM IN ARCHIVIS NOSTRIS VERSARETUR,
 SUMMO RERUM ANTIQUARUM STUDIO PROVECTUS,
 MULTA DOCTE, LUCULENTER, ACCURATE SCRIPSIT,
 SED PRAESERTIM HUIUSCE AGRI
 ANNALES LABORE EXPLORAVIT HISTORIAEQUE MANDAVIT.
 NATUS EST SHEFFIELDIAE VI^{TO} DIE FEBRUARII
 A^O SALUTIS HUMANAE M.D.CC.LXXXIII.^{MO}
 MORTUUS LONDINI IX^{NO} DIE MAII
 ANNO M.D.CCLXI^{MO}
 QUO IPSE VIVENS DESIGNABAT LOCO
 IN PACE DEPOSITUR.

This may be translated:—"Here lies buried Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., one of the Assistant Keepers of the Records, who, while engaged upon the public archives, became deeply versed in antiquarian lore, and wrote many things learnedly,

¹ Preserved in the Minute Book of Upper Chapel.

fully, and accurately; but he investigated with special care the history of this district, and committed it to writing. Born at Sheffield 6th February, 1783; died at London, 9th May, 1861. He is laid to rest in peace in the spot he himself pointed out while living."

The portrait here printed is reproduced from the engraving of the portrait by S. C. Smith, presented to Joseph Hunter by Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart., and published by Hunter in 1829.

On the resignation of Joseph Evans in 1798, the Rev. BENJAMIN NAYLOR became sole pastor. He was born in 1761. He was the great-grandson of the Rev. Peter Naylor¹ (or Naylour), ejected from Houghton Chapel, Lancashire, in 1662, whose son Benjamin died 1753 (he was of Penistone, where his father at one time preached). Benjamin Naylor's son Richard married Martha Percival, sister to Dr. Thomas Percival, of Manchester, and had issue Benjamin, the minister of Upper Chapel. Through his mother, Martha Percival, Benjamin Naylor was descended from a brother of Humphrey Chetham. He was educated at Warrington Academy, and passed through his studentship with much credit. At the age of twenty-one he settled at Upper Chapel. He married (1795, at Birmingham) Anne, daughter of John Dennison, of Newcastle-on-Tyne (by his wife, Elizabeth Byerley). Their children were Benjamin Dennison Naylor (registered at Upper Chapel, 1798); Martha Josepha (registered at Upper Chapel, 1802); and Anna Jemima (registered at Cross Street, Manchester, 1809). Mr. Naylor's ministry appears to have been very acceptable to his people, and much regret was expressed when, in Midsummer, 1805,² he was obliged to resign, in consequence of family matters which necessitated his presence in Manchester to conduct a cotton mill belonging to the family. This proved unsuccessful, and occupied all his best years with little profit. He died in 1846, and was buried

¹ Born in Lancashire, 1636; educated St. John's College, Cambridge; died Alverthorp, near Wakefield, 1690.

² Robert Aspland was at Norton, visiting the Shores, in April, 1805, just before his settlement at Hackney. He wrote in his diary, 8th April, "Rode to Sheffield with Mrs. and Miss Shore. Called on Mr. Naylor (*sic*), the Unitarian minister, who is going into business at Manchester."



JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

at Bowdon. His wife (born 1770) survived him, dying in 1855. Joseph Hunter, who knew him well, says of him, "he was a man of considerable power, and an admirable preacher"; that he was connected with Joseph Evans by marriage; that Joseph Evans was a guardian of his wife, she having been left an orphan. He further hints that all did not go smoothly between the co-pastors, for he says, "It is difficult for two ministers of the same congregation to remain in perfect harmony." We hear of Benjamin Naylor in Manchester, as being present, as vice-chairman, at the banquet (August, 1824) when the presentation was made to the Rev. John Grundy, of Cross Street, on his removal to Liverpool; at which banquet the Rev. George Harris made the famous "Unitarian" speech which led to the Manchester Socinian controversy. Naylor was at one time partner with James Montgomery in the *Sheffield Iris*. He is mentioned in the *Sheffield Register* of 1787 as living in "Pinston Lane."

Benjamin Naylor's successor in the pulpit of Upper Chapel was the Rev. NATHANIEL PHILIPPS, D.D. He was born at Sowerby, near Halifax, December 4th, 1757; died at Moor Lodge, Sheffield, October 20th, 1842; was buried in the General Cemetery, October 26th. He was the only son of the Rev. Daniel Philipps (educated at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen), minister of the Old Meeting at Sowerby. Nathaniel was educated at Halifax, under the Rev. Richard Hudson, M.A. In 1773 he went to the Academy at Hoxton, North-east London, where Dr. Savage occupied the chair of Theology, Dr. Kippis of Belles Lettres, and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Abraham Rees of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy. Here he remained four years (1773-7). On leaving the Academy he settled as minister of the High Pavement, Nottingham, where he remained eight years (1778-85), as co-pastor with the Rev. George Walker. In 1782 he married his first wife, daughter of Mr. Tertius Dale, a merchant of Nottingham. In 1785 he removed to Palgrave, in Suffolk, and kept the school there which the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld and his wife (*née* Anna Letitia Aikin) had given up. On the 31st January, 1794, the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of

D.D. He spent eleven years at Palgrave, where he also helped to found (26th October, 1790) "The Suffolk Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Dissenting Ministers and Aged Ministers." Leaving Palgrave, he removed to Walthamstow, near London, where he also kept school (1796-1801). While here he was elected Trustee (1799-1801) of Dr. Williams's Library, Red Cross Street.¹ Mrs. Philipps being in delicate health, he removed to Bury St. Edmunds, in the hope that the change would benefit her. She, however, died shortly after (1801), and he returned to London. He was now elected pastor at Hanover Street Chapel (after the secession of Mr., later Dr. Winter), and was also morning preacher at Leather Lane. The Rev. Hugh Worthington was morning preacher at Hanover Street, acting at the same time as pastor at Salters' Hall. Philipps also lectured at Salters' Hall. In the year 1805 he was invited to Upper Chapel, Sheffield. Just before this he married Elizabeth (born August 11th, 1783; died March 26th, 1863), daughter of Thomas Harmer, of Bury St. Edmunds, by whom he had two sons, Richard Nathaniel Philipps, LL.D., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law (born October 23rd, 1807; died September 5th, 1877), and Thomas Daniel Philipps, surgeon, "esteemed," as the stone in the Cemetery records, "for his skill, kindness, and abilities" (born March 8th, 1813; died March 30th, 1844); and four daughters, Elizabeth (died Ipswich, December 20th, 1831); Jane, wife of Dr. Bingley, of Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield (born April 27th, 1811; died March 29th, 1860); Anna (born September 8th, 1816; died November 1st, 1871); and Hephzibah Emma (Mrs. Butterworth), born 1820, who is still (1900) living at Broom Hall, Sheffield.

Dr. Philipps was a good astronomer, and was proficient in the physical sciences.² In 1822 he assisted in the formation

¹ He was cousin to the Rev. Thomas Morgan, LL.D., Librarian.

² Mrs. Butterworth tells a story illustrative of the terror created in some breasts by his scientific experiments. He had, among other apparatus in his study, electric wires placed round the walls. One day a tinker called to see him. Dr. Philipps sent down a message he was to come up to the study. "No, no!" replied the tinker; "the Doctor won't catch me in his conjuring shop."



NATHANIEL PHILIPPS, D.D.

of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, and was one of its first presidents. He frequently lectured on scientific and antiquarian subjects. It is said that he could talk Latin fluently, and that he and his father carried on correspondence in Latin. He took an active interest in the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, in the Reform Bill, and in the Emancipation of the Negroes. He frequently spoke in Sheffield on these subjects.

His ministry in Sheffield was eminently successful. The congregation increased both in numbers and position. Dr. Philipps did not adopt the name Unitarian. He called himself simply a Presbyterian. In the baptismal service he used the formula, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He was an Arian. In September, 1828, after he had preached acceptably for twenty-three years, a few members of the congregation, dissatisfied with his conservative views, separated, and held services in the Music Hall, inviting the Rev. Henry Hunt Piper to conduct them. Dr. Philipps addressed a dignified letter (dated October 4th, 1828) to the congregation, appealing against the "incorrect and ungenerous representations" made by the dissidents. On December 21st a large meeting was held in the schoolroom, under the presidency of Mr. William Newbould, and a resolution was passed unanimously expressing the confidence of those who remained faithful to Upper Chapel (by far the larger majority) in their venerable pastor, and their warm attachment to him. Advancing age compelled him to resign in 1837 (he was now 80); and those who had seceded returned. Dr. Philipps died in 1842. A monument in the General Cemetery has the following inscription, written by Joseph Hunter:—"Here is laid in Faith and Hope, the Body of Nathaniel Philipps, D.D., a man of Learning, Eloquence, and Piety; ever zealous to maintain the Cause of Civil and Religious Liberty. He was one of the last survivors of the old Presbyterian Ministry of a former Generation, and for more than thirty years the Pastor of the Ancient Chapel of the Protestant Nonconformists in the Town of Sheffield. His Congregation and Friends have placed a Monument in Memory of Him, where

he so long ministered the Christian ordinances. Faithful in Teaching, Fervent in prayer. His Widow and Family here record their warm affection for him as the Husband and Father, their Gratitude for his wise Instructions and the Example he set before them of a Virtuous, Benevolent, and Religious Life. Born December IV. A.D. MDCCCLVII. Died October XX. A.D. MDCCCXLII."

The monument here referred to is in Upper Chapel, and runs,—“In Memory of Nathaniel Philipps, D.D for thirty six years minister of this Chapel Obiit. Oct. 20. 1842. aetat. 84 years. ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.’ This tablet is erected as a tribute of respect by his congregation and friends.”

During Dr. Philipps’s ministry the hymn book used in Upper Chapel was Kippis’s, second edition, 1797. No liturgy was used. Communion was held every month, in the morning.

There is a marble bust of Dr. Philipps at Broom Hall, from which the accompanying block reproduction is taken. There is also a pleasing portrait, in which he wears a gown and Geneva bands, but has no wig. Yet he must have worn a wig fairly late in his ministry, as the following extract from *Notes and Queries*, 31st December, 1881, proves (p. 546):—“I well remember when I was little more than a child—say about 1820—being taken into the vestry of Jewin Street Chapel by my father to be introduced to two well-known dissenting ministers, Dr. Abraham Rees, of Cyclopædia fame, and Dr. Nathaniel Phillips (*sic*) of Sheffield fame, who both wore splendid wigs. I thought the two doctors must be the greatest men in the world.” (John Green, Wallington, Surrey.)



PERIOD IV.—SECTION I.—1838-1875.

UNITARIANISM.

IT will be convenient to divide Period IV., the distinctly Unitarian period in the history of Upper Chapel, into two sections—the first from the ministry of the Rev. B. T. Stannus to the temporary occupancy of the pulpit by the Rev. W. H. Channing after the death of the Rev. J. L. Short, viz., 1838-1875; the second from the ministry of the Rev. G. Vance Smith to the present time, viz., 1875-1900.

On March 10th, 1837, a meeting of Trustees was held, when it was resolved that a letter be sent to the Rev. Henry Hunt Piper, Norton, and the Rev. Peter Wright, Stannington, asking them to undertake between them the supply of the pulpit until a new minister was appointed. This they consented to do, and the arrangement continued until the appointment of Mr. Stannus the following year.

The REV. HENRY HUNT PIPER was minister at Norton from 1805 to 1843. He was born 26th August, 1782, in London, where his father was a builder, and belonged to the Congregationalists. Henry was intended for his father’s trade, but conceiving a desire to enter the ministry, was sent to Hoxton Academy, and later to Homerton. By degrees his opinions changed from Trinitarianism to Arianism, and to Unitarianism. His first settlement in the ministry was at Rochford, Kent. We next find him (1805) at Norton, where, in addition to his ministerial duties, he took pupils into his house. In 1839 he was requested by the Unitarians of Sheffield to reply to the attacks upon Unitarianism by the Rev. Thomas Best, a clergyman of the Church of England; for which service they presented him with a silver inkstand and a purse of £100. He befriended Chantrey in his struggling days, and Chantrey was attached to him all through life. James Montgomery was his friend, and frequently visited him at Norton. Mr. Piper took an active

part in founding the Literary and Philosophical Society, and was elected president. He frequently lectured at its meetings. In 1843 he left Norton for Banbury, and remained there until 1853. Christchurch Chapel was built, chiefly through his zeal, in 1850. He died 13th January, 1864, at 2, Church Row, Hampstead, and was buried on the 20th at Highgate. He married, 1805, Alicia, eldest daughter of Samuel Lewin, of Hackney. She survived him. He wrote "Christian Liberty Advocated," 1808; "Sunday Evenings," a volume of sermons; "Sylvanus," a religious romance; "Common Prayer Book Revised," 1841 (Pickering).¹

The REV. PETER WRIGHT was born in 1793, and died 20th August, 1854. He settled as minister of Stannington

¹ In a letter to me, 23rd April, 1900, Mr. Holbrook Gaskell, of Woolton Wood, near Liverpool, who was at Mr. Piper's school in 1825-7, says:—"Mr. Piper was universally respected by his pupils, and beloved by most of them. I felt much attached to him and to his family. The school house faced Norton Park, and the chapel was in the Park, directly opposite the school house. Mr. Piper was tall, and of good figure. He wore knee-breeches, as was general in those days, but did not sport a pigtail; though I can remember at least one old gentleman who did, and wore powdered hair. Mr. Piper's preaching was didactic, dwelling chiefly on the moral virtues and formation of character—probably intended mainly to influence his pupils, who formed a large part of the congregation. There were thirty or forty boarders at the school. Among them I recall the names of Rodgers, son of the celebrated Sheffield cutler; and a young Bagshaw, whose family, I think, were of some consequence in the neighbourhood. There was also Frank Hollins, from Mansfield, who subsequently settled in Liverpool as a cotton broker—now dead. Four or five boys came from Liverpool, viz., two Lewins, one Harvey, my brother, William Broadbent, and myself. Of these I think I am the only survivor. . . . The school was detached from the dwelling-house. There was some land attached to the school, partly used as a play-ground, and partly cultivated by Mr. Piper. I remember when I was confined to my bed by rheumatic fever, Mr. Piper bringing me under a napkin, with much form and ceremony, a singular specimen of mangold-wurzel, a product of his farm, grown in the form of a human being, with arms and legs. When this freak of nature was exposed to view I felt bitter disappointment that it was not something good to gratify my appetite! Mr. Piper had a considerable fund of humour. The family consisted of an elder son, who was educated at York; a younger son, Lewin; and several daughters—Alicia, Emily, and Fanny—who were great favourites with the schoolboys." An excellent notice of Mr. Piper will be found in the *Inquirer*, 30th January, 1864.

in 1814, and his ministry lasted forty years. During much of this time he lived in Sheffield, where he kept a school. He was buried at Underbank, Stannington, where a gravestone commemorates his death and that of his wife and children. In the chapel there is a mural tablet to his memory, erected by the congregation "in testimony of their respect for his virtues and of their gratitude for his services as their Pastor during a period of 40 years."

Dr. Philipps was succeeded by the REV. BARTHOLOMEW TEELING STANNUS, who was a native of Ireland, being born at Ballyclare, county Antrim, in September, 1801. His father was a revenue officer. He was the youngest of a large family, all of whom, except himself, remained Wesleyan Methodist, to which denomination the parents belonged. While Bartholomew was still young, his parents removed to Carrickfergus, where he was brought up. "His Christian names were given him in respect for an earnest individual who bore an active part in the stormy political struggles of the period just antecedent to his birth. The early portions of his school education were conducted by Dr. Paul, a Covenanting minister, and Mr. Johnston Neilson, a Unitarian probationer. His college education he pursued at the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. He entered its classes in 1821, continuing a student regularly through its prescribed course of instruction till 1825." In 1823 he gained the silver medal for elocution, and in the same year he became day assistant to the Rev. Henry Montgomery in English. He studied theology under the Rev. Dr. Hanna, Professor of Theology, in connection with the General Synod of Ulster. "It was from this body he received his license to teach and preach the Gospel. It was given him by the Presbytery of Bangor in 1825. In the same year he became the principal resident assistant to Dr. Montgomery in the Royal Belfast Academical Institute, and continued to act in that capacity till his marriage. On the decease of the Rev. W. D. H. M'Ewen, 1828, he was elected to succeed him as Lecturer on Eloquence and Teacher of Elocution in the Institution, and occupied that position till 1831. This eventful period of Mr. Stannus's life was also an eventful period for the Presbyterian

Church of Ireland. In those years began the suspicions and surmisings and disclosures respecting the 'infection of Arianism' among its ministers and elders, which speedily thereafter led to the attempted infraction which ultimately rent in twain its members and congregations. It could not be but that the noble declarations and efforts of the true-hearted men determined to stand fast in the liberty wherewith the Son of God makes free—and more especially the incomparable defences of religious freedom uttered in the Assembly by his personal friend, whose assistant in the English department of the Belfast Institute he at that time was—should make deep impression on a young and generous spirit. Though licensed to preach by a Presbytery of the Synod, and frequently invited to occupy their pulpits by various of its members, he resolutely refused, ultimately throwing off all connection with it, and casting in his lot with the ill-treated and proscribed Remonstrants.¹ This was followed by his appointment, 14th August, 1831, to the pulpit of the Unitarian congregation of Young Street Chapel, Edinburgh. On October 3rd of the same year he made a public avowal of his Unitarianism, declaring his belief that Unitarian Christianity was the teaching of the Bible. In November he gave a course of lectures in Young Street, which brought him into controversy with the Rev. Dr. John Ritchie, who denounced his teachings as "blasphemous." The controversy drew attention to him and the cause he maintained. His ministry in Edinburgh was very successful, and on the 18th October, 1835, as the result of his exertions, a new chapel, St. Mark's, was opened, more suitable to the growing congregation. The Rev. George Harris, of Glasgow, preached on this occasion. Mr. Stannus's influence and reputation as an eloquent preacher steadily increased. He remained in Edinburgh nearly seven years. In 1838 he was invited to Sheffield, and settled here in May of that year, much to the regret of his Edinburgh flock. He continued to preach until the spring of 1849, when he broke down in health. A severe and protracted indisposition followed, which prevented the continuous performance of his duties, and there appeared to be

¹ *Christian Reformer*, 1858, pp. 185-188.

little hope that he would ever again be able to resume his work. Yet the congregation manifested their respect for him by deferring the choice of a successor until 1852, when, in August, Mr. Hincks was appointed. Mr. Stannus so far recovered as to resume his literary occupations, and occasionally lectured and preached. But there was no permanent improvement, and he died 10th January, 1858, at the age of 56. He was a gifted preacher, noted for his fervid and impressive eloquence. He had gifts also as a painter. He contributed frequently to the *Iris*, and subsequently to the *Independent*.

During his ministry the old chapel was almost entirely rebuilt and enlarged. A portion of the old walls was retained. The new chapel was opened for public worship on Sunday, the 21st May, 1848. The Rev. Dr. Montgomery, of Belfast, preached "a masterly exposition of Unitarian opinion to an overflowing congregation."¹ The late Mr. Charles Woollen came home from service declaring he could have sat listening all day. On the other hand, a friend of his expressed his determination never to enter the chapel again—the sermon was so long. He is said to have carried out his resolution. The evening service was again crowded, when the Rev. Dr. Beard "delivered an interesting and beautiful discourse, his subject being 'The practical Beneficence of Jesus Christ, a proof of the Divinity of his Mission.'" The collections amounted to £90. The following Sunday the Rev. Charles Wicksteed and the Rev. George Harris preached. On Monday, the 22nd May, "a splendid soirée was held in that beautiful apartment, the Cutlers' Hall," when about four hundred ladies and gentlemen "met under the able and eloquent presidency of Rev. B. T. Stannus." Many ministers from the Midland counties, and representatives of various Unitarian associations were present. The following day the Midland Counties Association held its anniversary. Dr. Montgomery preached from the text, Luke xiv., 28-33, his subject being "an estimate of the hindrances to the progress of pure liberal views of Christian truth." "It

¹ *Christian Reformer* for 1848, p. 377, where a full account of the opening is given.

was," we are told, "a fine specimen of his bold, out-speaking style." The rebuilding cost about £2,000, and was carried out under the directions of Mr. John Frith, architect, of Sheffield.

THE DISSENTERS' CHAPELS ACT.—Six years after the settlement of Mr. Stannus in Sheffield, this important Act was passed (1844), finally securing to Unitarians the legal possession and undisturbed enjoyment of their own chapels. Until the year 1813 the profession of Unitarianism had been illegal. In that year, however, the clauses in the Toleration Act which made it an offence punishable by law to deny the doctrine of the Trinity were repealed, chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. William Smith, M.P. for Norwich, who introduced the Unitarian Relief Act (53 Geo. III., c. 160), which so readily found assent that it "silently passed through both houses of parliament without giving occasion to a division, or even a debate."¹ All trusts for Unitarian worship created after the passing of this Bill were valid in the eye of the law.

Unfortunately this emphasised the fact that all trusts previous to that date in use by Unitarians, whether founded by Unitarians, or in Unitarian hands by inheritance, were illegal; for, being left at a time when Unitarianism was not recognised by the law, they could not be made legally valid by the passing of an Act which rendered the denial of the Trinity no longer a penal offence. This was soon made evident by the result of the Wolverhampton case (1817-1842), where "the congregation were turned out because they held doctrines which could not be legally preached at the time when the trust deeds were executed";² and more especially by the result of the Lady Hewley case, 1842, when the fund established 1705, by Dame Sarah Hewley, of York, for "poor and godly ministers of Christ's holy Gospel," was removed from the management of Unitarians; the case being "decided in the House of Lords on grounds independent of the intentions of the founders, drawn from inquiries into catechisms and the like. It was held that it was a trust for Dissenters,

¹ Debates on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, p. vi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 288, note.

and that that must be taken to mean such Dissenters only as were at that time tolerated by law."¹

Something like a general assault had been made, chiefly at the instigation of George Hadfield,² of Manchester, upon our old chapels, *i.e.*, those held by Unitarians, but built or founded when Unitarianism was illegal. And there is little doubt that most of them would have been taken out of our possession, like the Hewley Fund, but for the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act, which received the Royal Assent 19th July, 1844 (7 & 8 Vic., c. 45). That Act is the charter of the rights of Unitarians to their own. The Act of 1813 did not affect the tenure of our chapels. It merely legalised the holding of anti-trinitarian doctrines. The new Act practically abolished that of 1813,³ and established two important principles, (i.) that the legalisation of the profession of Unitarian opinions should be made retrospective, and that certain Acts mentioned in the Bill (Toleration Act and the Unitarian Relief Act), and all deeds or documents relating to the chapels in question should be construed as if they had been in force at the time of their foundation; and (ii.) that "the usage for twenty-five years immediately preceding any suit relating to such Meeting House of the congregations frequenting the same, shall be taken as conclusive evidence that such religious doctrines or opinions or mode of worship as have for such period been taught or observed in such Meeting House, and the right or title of the congregation to hold such Meeting House shall not be called in question on account of the doctrines or opinions or mode of worship so taught or observed in such Meeting House," provided always that no particular doctrines or mode of worship be expressly stated in the trust deed. Hence the religious doctrines taught in the chapel, and recognised by the congregation for the past twenty-five years, are legalised. No restriction is placed upon the future, except that the teaching cannot be *suddenly* changed. In the Wolverhampton case, the minister (Mr. Steward), who was appointed in 1814, professed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298, note.

² See his "Manchester Socinian Controversy," 1825.

³ It was removed from the Statute Book in 1873.

to be a Unitarian; but in 1816 he declared himself a Trinitarian, and expected the congregation and trustees to follow him. He was supported by an orthodox minority, and their claim to the trust funds was maintained by law. Such claims, after violent changes of this kind, are rendered impossible in the future, whether on the part of minister, or trustees, or congregation. Hence in cases where the mode of worship is to be determined by the trustees from time to time (as in the case of Upper Chapel), legal safeguards are provided to prevent unnecessary and unreasonable alterations.

During the struggle thus forced upon our congregations for the tenure of their chapels (1825-1844), it was natural that some of these buildings did not receive the attention they otherwise would have received had the congregation felt perfectly secure in their possession. From a minute book of the "Congregational Committee," 1845, this appears to have been the case at Upper Chapel. In 1845 there appears to have been a revival on a small scale of the feeling which in 1714 caused the secession. The trust deed confers upon the Trustees the absolute control of chapel affairs; but a desire was felt in 1845 that the congregation should have a larger share than hitherto in the management. A request was made that a committee be appointed from the congregation to act with the Trustees. In answer to this, the Trustees proposed, 3rd February, 1845, that a committee of seven of the congregation "be formed for the purpose of conferring on any matters with the Trustees, inspecting their accounts, and otherwise being a connecting link between themselves and the congregation." Henry Atkin, Thomas Jessop, Thomas B. Turton, Joseph Stevenson, Richard Solly, John Ragg, and George Waterhouse were appointed, with Richard Solly as chairman. This was called the CONGREGATIONAL COMMITTEE. In subsequent communications between Trustees and Committee, the former reserved their undoubted right to freedom of action to deal with all matters financial and others conferred upon them by trust deed, saying, 11th March, 1845, "to allow others to influence them more than by advice would be to abdicate their trust." Later, the Trustees

endeavoured in every way to meet the wishes of the Committee, while acting within their legally constituted functions. In a minute of the Congregational Committee, 1st September, 1845, the Committee reports a meeting which had been held 20th August, 1845, at which it was agreed, "that there being now eight acting Trustees, a Congregational Committee should be appointed consisting likewise of eight members, and that all the chapel affairs should be henceforth managed by one united Committee of Management formed of the two bodies, and thus consisting of sixteen members; or of such equal proportions of each as may afterwards be determined amongst themselves; the Trustees, of course, continuing to exercise such functions as can be legally exercised only by themselves." It is added, "The Committee have much pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy and good feeling with which they were met by the Trustees in the above-mentioned conference." The Committee further state (evidently with reference to some complaints about the forlorn look of the old place), "Truly if the zeal and sincerity of a religious body may be in any degree judged of by the external appearance of their House of Worship, ours must rank miserably low, for a more desolate and neglected-looking chapel could scarcely be found in the whole kingdom, certainly not in the town of Sheffield. It may perhaps be said that the congregation could not feel great interest in the management of affairs in which they had so little participation. If the propositions now made be adopted, that will no longer be the case; and the security of tenure afforded by the Dissenters' Chapels Bill leaves no remaining excuse for allowing our place of worship to continue so miserably inferior to the chapels of many, even among our poorer fellow Christians, whose doctrines we consider erroneous, but whose practice, in this particular at least, we might perhaps do well to imitate."

The renovated chapel was opened Sunday, 21st May, 1848. The last separate record of the Congregational Committee's proceedings is 16th June, 1848. With their united action in carrying out the improvements of the chapel, the friction between Trustees and separate Committee appears to have come to an end.

In the year 1852 the REV. THOMAS HINCKS, B.A., F.R.S., was invited to the pulpit of Upper Chapel; and left, much to the regret of the congregation, in 1855, to become minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds. He was born 15th July, 1818, at Exeter, where his father, the Rev. William Hincks,¹ was minister of St. George's Meeting. He was educated at Belfast Academical Institution (where the Rev. J. H. Thom, later of Liverpool, was one of his tutors). He entered York College in 1833, being not intended for the ministry. But having studied there a year, the desire came over him to adopt the career followed by his father and grandfather. Throughout his ministry he devoted much of his time, as they also had done, to scientific pursuits. He remained at York College, 1834-39; when he became the colleague of the Rev. Samuel Hans Sloane, LL.D., at Cork. While here he took his B.A. degree, London, in 1840. In 1842 he became assistant minister to the Rev. Joseph Hutton, at Eustace Street, Dublin; but before the end of the year he left, owing to the attacks made on the congregational property, which threw the congregation into serious pecuniary difficulties. This was in the days before the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act, 1844, which beneficent measure prevented many of our old chapels passing out of our hands. In 1844 he settled at Cairo Street, Warrington. In 1846 he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Allen, of Warrington. In the same year he became minister at Exeter, returning to the city of his birth. In 1852 he came to Sheffield; whence, in 1855, he removed to Mill Hill. He remained in Leeds twelve years, earning for himself the respect of the townspeople and the love of his own congregation. He took a prominent part

¹ He left Exeter, 1822, for Renshaw Street, Liverpool (1822-27); thence removed to York, where he became Professor of Natural Philosophy at Manchester College. In 1839, when the College went back to Manchester, he was invited to London, Stamford Street, where he remained until 1849. He edited the *Inquirer*, 1842-9. Later on he became Professor of Natural History at Queen's College, Cork (1849-53), and afterwards at University College, Toronto, where he died, 1871. His father, the Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, LL.D., was Professor of Hebrew at Belfast. The Rev. Edward Hincks, D.D. (1792-1866), uncle of the above-named Thomas Hincks, distinguished himself as a pioneer in hieroglyphic and cuneiform decipherment.

in all movements for the welfare and enlightenment of Leeds. But the affliction from which he suffered for the remainder of his life came upon him—the loss of his voice; and he found himself unable to continue his pulpit work. He resigned in 1868. He never took another pulpit, and very rarely preached. He retired to Bristol, where, at his residence, Stokeleigh, Leigh Woods, he died, 25th January, 1899. He devoted himself in his retirement chiefly to scientific work. Between 1851 and 1889 he contributed many papers to the "Transactions" of various scientific societies, and wrote monographs on "British Hydroid Zoophytes" and "Marine Polyzoa." He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1872.

Mr. Hincks wrote a number of hymns, marked with deep poetic fervour and a fine devotional spirit. Among them are:—"Hark, the evening call to prayer;" "To the Cross, O Lord, we bear All the spirit's darker care;" "Lord, in this holy hour of even;" "Heavenly Father, by whose care, Comes again this hour of prayer." These were first contributed to *Vespers according to the use of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds*, 1868, a *Supplement* to the collection there in use. He published also several sermons.

Among the names of those now living who have ministered at Upper Chapel, there is none better known than that of the REV. BROOKE HERFORD, D.D., who succeeded Mr. Hincks in 1856. During the nine years of his ministry he established in Sheffield, as he has done subsequently elsewhere, a reputation for hard work as a pastor, for plain common-sense preaching as a minister, and for practical interest in the extension of the cause of Unitarian Christianity, as well as for active service in the social, educational, and philanthropic activities of the town. Uppertorpe Chapel is a lasting monument of his labours for the spread of Unitarianism. He was born at Altrincham, 21st February, 1830, of an old Unitarian family, and was sent to the Rev. J. R. Beard's school at Higher Broughton, Manchester. Here he remained until 1844, when, at the age of fourteen, he was put to business; for at that time there was no thought of his entering the ministry. But after four years'

work as office boy and clerk, at the age of eighteen he came under the influence of the Rev. Philip Carpenter, then minister at Warrington (1846-61). He now felt a desire to enter the ministry, and this desire took practical form by his entering Manchester New College, Manchester, in 1848. The Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., was then Principal of the College; and the Revs. John James Tayler, B.A., James Martineau, and William Gaskell, M.A., were on the teaching staff. Here he remained three years, being enabled by hard work to pass from the first year to the third, and from the third to the fifth, closing his academical career in 1851. In February of that year he entered upon his ministry at Todmorden, and soon began to show that energy and whole-heartedness in his work which have characterised his ministry all through. In the following year (22nd June, 1852) he married Hannah, daughter of Mr. William Hankinson, of Hale, Cheshire. He terminated his ministry at Todmorden, 31st December, 1855. In the meantime the pulpit of Upper Chapel had become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Hincks, and the congregation, looking round for a successor, thought they saw in the young minister at Todmorden the man they wanted. They sent him an invitation, which was accepted, and the event proved how wisely they had judged. He began his ministry at Upper Chapel in January, 1856, and here he remained, with increasing reputation for energy and usefulness, until October, 1864. In 1858 he began his scheme for missionary extension in Sheffield. Its beginning was humble enough. A vacant joiner's shop on the Penistone Road was taken, and on the 9th January, 1859, it was opened for religious services. This was the forerunner of Uppertorpe Chapel, the foundation stone of which was laid on the 15th October, 1860, by Miss Urith Lydia Shore, of Meersbrook, and on the 17th July, 1861, the new chapel was opened. In 1859 Mr. Herford was appointed tutor at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board (now College), Manchester, and carried on his work there in addition to his many engagements in Sheffield, and after 1864 in Manchester, until 1875. He was also one of the founders and editors of the *Unitarian Herald*, 1861-1875. Among his numerous duties he found time, just before

the settlement of the Rev. William Blazeby, B.A., at Rotherham (1860) to undertake the ministry at the old chapel there, and was in fact minister there for nine months. Mr. Blazeby is fond of telling how during Mr. Herford's temporary occupancy of the pulpit on Sunday afternoons during Mr. Brettell's illness, he was desirous of introducing Martineau's "Hymns for the Christian Church and Home," instead of the old collection by Kippis, when an old lady, Miss Favell, protested against it, vowing that they had only "recently" (forty years before) adopted a new hymn book!

On the 7th May, 1864, Mr. Herford sent a letter, "To the Trustees, Committee, and Congregation of Upper Chapel," resigning the pulpit. He had received an invitation from the Strangeways Unitarian Free Church, Manchester. His acceptance of their invitation was prompted partly by a feeling that after Dr. Beard's resignation the Strangeways congregation was in a critical position, partly by the desire to try the voluntary offering system in place of the pew rent system, partly from a conviction that it is not a good thing for a minister in the earlier part of his career to remain with one congregation more than nine or ten years. Another consideration which weighed with him was his position as Tutor at the Home Missionary Board. These considerations combined had determined him to sever a connection which had been most happy and useful. The congregation in acknowledging his letter could not but express their feeling that his "resignation had caused them much surprise and disappointment." They expressed their "high sense of Mr. Herford's character and attainments," and desired "to convey to him their heartfelt thanks for the faithful and exemplary manner in which he has uniformly discharged all the duties of his sacred office, and for the distinguished ability with which he has vindicated and laboured to promote the Unitarian cause in Sheffield."

In October of the same year farewell meetings were held both at Uppertorpe and Upper Chapel. The Mayor (Mr. Thomas Jessop) expressed the universal feeling when he said that every one felt the greatest regret at the approaching departure of Mr. and Mrs. Herford. He knew "that the

labours of Mr. Herford had been productive of great good, not only among his own congregation, but in the town at large. He had won a high position as a public man. He had, during the last few months, given a specimen of his energy in the manner in which he had worked as treasurer of one of the Inundation Relief Committees. He had always been actuated by a thoroughly Christian spirit, and he would carry away with him the fervent wishes of a great number of friends for his future prosperity and happiness." Mr. Herford began his work at Strangeways 6th November, 1864, and continued it until January, 1876, when he received a call to the Church of the Messiah, Chicago, U.S.A. He remained in Chicago nearly seven years, from January, 1876, to July, 1882. He was now invited to Arlington Street Church (Dr. Channing's old Society), Boston, and here he remained until January, 1892. During his ten years' residence here he built up Arlington Street Church, and made it the strong and important community it is to-day. He returned to England to succeed the late Dr. Sadler at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, beginning his present ministry in February, 1892. While in Boston he was for several years one of the University Preachers at Harvard College, and exercised a powerful influence on the students by his popular yet scholarly addresses. He received the honorary degree of D.D. in June, 1891. He was Chairman of the Council of the American Unitarian Conference, 1889-91. The work he did in this position is remembered with pride and pleasure by the churches on the other side of the Atlantic. His departure to England was universally regretted.

On his return he attempted, with characteristic energy, to double the annual subscriptions to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and his efforts resulted in great benefit to that excellent and most useful institution. He acted as President of the Association, 1898-9.

Dr. Herford is the author of *The Story of Religion in England; Courage and Cheer*, a volume of sermons; and of innumerable pamphlets, sermons, and addresses. His series of sermons on *Parables from Common Work* is remembered in Sheffield for the admirable lessons he draws from the workshops and forges.



REV. BROOKE HERFORD, D.D.

The same year that the Rev. Brooke Herford left, an old member of the congregation, connected with an important local family, passed away, viz., MISS URITH LYDIA SHORE. The family of the Shores of Norton had long been settled in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, and the name appears in the records of the counties of Derby and York from a very early period. The pedigree of Shore of Sheffield, Meersbrook, Norton, Tapton, &c., begins with John Shore, of Sheffield, who came originally from Dronfield. He died March, 1682. His son, Samuel Shore (the first Samuel), was born May, 1676, and died February, 1751. His name appears in the first list of Trustees of Upper Chapel (appointed 25th November, 1704), where he is described as "hardwareman."¹ His son, the second Samuel Shore, born 21st August, 1707, purchased the Meersbrook estate, where he died 23rd September, 1785. His name appears on the second list of Trustees, 1st September, 1743, where he is described as Samuel Shore the younger, gentleman. Of him it is recorded that he chose the *north* side ("the devoted region of Satan and his hosts"—*Milton*) of the Parish Churchyard for the situation of the family vault, in spite of the almost universal prejudice against it. He married Margaret Diggles, daughter of a Liverpool merchant. They had fourteen children. William, the third surviving son, of Tapton, was grandfather of Florence Nightingale, he having married Mary Evans, daughter of George Evans, of Cromford, near Matlock, niece and heir of Peter Nightingale, of Lea, Derbyshire. Samuel, the eldest surviving son (the third Samuel), born 5th February, 1738, was High Sheriff of the County of Derby in 1761. Appointed Trustee of Upper Chapel, 21st December, 1763. He married, as his first wife, Urith, daughter of Joseph Offley, of Norton Hall, Lord of the Manor of Norton; and thus the Norton Hall estate passed into the hands of the Shore family. He married, as his second wife, Lydia Flower, only daughter and heir of Freeman Flower, of Gainsborough and Clapham. On his second marriage he retired to Meersbrook, where he died

¹ The name, Shore, appears among the Trustees of Upper Chapel from the first list of 1704 to the seventh in 1864. The list of 1881 is the first in which it does not appear.

16th November, 1828, and was buried at Norton. He was a staunch Nonconformist, a man of great benevolence, and enjoyed a high reputation for uprightness in all his doings—a worthy successor of those who, at the risk of serious penalties, found a refuge for the ejected and persecuted ministers. It was to him as Trustee of Stannington Chapel that the (orthodox) householders of that village addressed, 26th April, 1825, a petition, the gist of which was that the Rev. Peter Wright should be dismissed, and the chapel, with its endowments, should be handed over to the petitioners to manage in the future. To this modest request, Mr. Shore, then in his 87th year, sent a brief but convincing reply, 9th May, 1825.¹ He was 90 years old when he died. His son, the fourth Samuel Shore, born 3rd June, 1761, rebuilt Norton Hall, 1815; was High Sheriff of Derbyshire, 1832; died 1st November, 1836, aged 75, and was buried in Norton Church. His wife was Harriet Foye, a Dorsetshire lady. They had eight children, two sons—Sydney (born 1790, died without issue 1827), and Offley (born 1797, appointed Trustee of Upper Chapel, 30th November, 1837)—and six daughters, Elizabeth Maria, Harriet, Urith Lydia, Amelia Theophila, Maria Theodosia, and Octavia. Miss Urith Lydia was the only surviving daughter in 1864. She was born 25th July, 1800. When she died (17th October, 1864) a local paper said of her:—"Miss Shore has long been known to the parish of Norton and the town of Sheffield for her unostentatious Christian life, and her abounding benevolence. Possessing a comfortable estate, it was her delight to expend her means for the good of others, and never, if it was possible, did she allow her charity to be publicly known. She, like her ancestors, adhered to the Nonconformist faith. She was a most regular attendant on the ministry of the Rev. Brooke Herford at the Upper Chapel, whom she highly esteemed, and whose approaching removal from the town was to her a source of regret. Her loss will be greatly felt in the Unitarian Church, where her kindly help could always be relied on. She was a true lady of the old school, reserved, unostentatious, kind, and generous to a degree never excelled and seldom equalled. The

¹ See "Manchester Socinian Controversy," pp. xvii.-xxiii.

poor around Meersbrook have lost in her a judicious and considerate friend and bountiful patroness." She was buried in the Sheffield General Cemetery, where the members of the Shore family had been interred since the shameful refusal of the Vicar of Norton, in 1855, to allow Miss Maria Shore to be interred in the family vault at Norton Church.

The old Hall in Meersbrook Park has, since the spring of 1897, been used and maintained by the Corporation of Sheffield as the "Ruskin Museum."

Upper Chapel has been distinguished in the history of Sheffield for the number of LAYMEN who have devoted their time and energy to the public life of the town. In municipal, educational, and philanthropic movements the men of Upper Chapel have always taken a foremost place. It will be convenient to mention some of the best known among them here.

THOMAS ASLINE WARD (born 6th July, 1781; died 26th November, 1871), son of a Sheffield merchant, was in his day one of Sheffield's most energetic leaders. He and Sir John Bowring and the Rev. H. H. Piper married sisters, daughters of Samuel Lewin, of Hackney. Mrs. Ward died in 1826. He joined Upper Chapel in 1800, under the pastorate of the Rev. Benjamin Naylor, having left the Established Church disgusted with the "Church and King" party in the time of the revolution and war. He was at the time an officer in the Sheffield Volunteers, formed in fear of the French invasion. His secession created a great stir, and he was followed by another young Churchman, Mr. William Fisher. He was early recognised as a promising public man. In 1812 he was appointed by a town's meeting as one of a deputation to protest against the East India Company's Charter. In 1815 he was elected Town Trustee, and a few years later "Town Regent," or Town Collector, there being then no Municipal Corporation. He was always one of the most active in all matters pertaining to the advancement of the town, industrial, social, and literary. In 1816 he was Master Cutler. In 1830 he helped to found the Political Union, and was its first President. When the Reform Bill was thrown out by the Lords in 1831, Sheffield was much excited. The Church bells rang a muffled peal, and

25,000 people gathered in Paradise Square to listen to stirring speeches by William Fisher, Samuel Bailey and Asline Ward. When the Reform Bill was carried, and Sheffield, among other towns, was enfranchised, he was pressed to go into Parliament. He, however, hesitated, and meantime James Silk Buckingham came into the field and was elected. From this time forward he took little part in public life. He had won a position as political reformer in stormy times when every reformer was a marked man. There were few places where political feeling ran higher than in Sheffield. On one occasion all the tradesmen in one of the public streets were arrested on suspicion of Jacobinism. Paradise Square was not then so quiet as it ordinarily is now. It was often thronged with excited crowds who came to hear what their leaders had to say on all the stirring topics of the time.

After his retirement, Ward devoted himself chiefly to literary pursuits. He was one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Society; was several times its Vice-President, once its President. For some years prior to 1830, he was editor of the *Sheffield Independent*, and for fifty years he acted as Secretary to the Sheffield Book Society. After 1847 he lived abroad for several years. Few men of Sheffield have been held in such universal esteem. Ebenezer Elliott inscribed his poem, "We met again," "To the man of Sheffield of our hearts,—Thos. Asline Ward, Esq." In the obituary notice of him in a local paper, he is described as a man of old-fashioned courtesy, deep unobtrusive piety, and ready humour, fond of giving reminiscences of the times in which he took so active a part. He was to be seen daily when past eighty at the Athenæum. He was a regular attendant at Upper Chapel until failing strength prevented him. He was in his 91st year when he died.

In the Chapel Roll book will be found a letter written by him to his son dated Park House, 26th May, 1853. He had been reading the key to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and says that Mrs. Stowe has justified all her statements. "The Pope," he declares, "has just completed the triumph of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' by prohibiting it." His tombstone in the graveyard of Upper Chapel runs:—

THOMAS ASLINE WARD

BORN JULY 6TH 1781

DIED NOV. 26TH 1871

HE WAS TRUSTEE OF THE ESTATES OF THE UPPER CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD, AND OF THE STANNINGTON UNDERBANK CHAPEL FOR 50 YEARS.

EDWARD BRAMLEY (born 17th January, 1806; died 12th March, 1865), of the firm of Bramley and Gainsford, solicitors, was the first Town Clerk of Sheffield. He was the son of Richard Bramley, of Bridlington Quay, and was intended originally for the medical profession. His father placed him with a surgeon in York; but as he showed a greater taste for law than medicine, he was articled to Mr. Joseph Haywood, of Sheffield. He was admitted attorney in 1828, and began practice in St. James' Row. His was a highly successful career, for he proved himself an excellent lawyer, a man of extensive knowledge and perfect integrity. When the town was incorporated by Royal Charter, 1843, he was appointed Town Clerk, and served in that office fifteen years. He was universally respected. At times party spirit ran high, but his impartiality secured for him the confidence of all. He was a strong and consistent Liberal in politics; was one of the secretaries of the Political Union which conducted the agitation for the Reform Bill; and was an effective speaker. On his retirement, through impaired health, from his office of Town Clerk in 1849, the Town Council presented him with an address expressing the unanimous feeling of respect for him personally, and admiration for his many excellent qualifications. Mr. Bramley was brought up a member of the Church of England, but in 1837 he joined Upper Chapel (pastorate of Dr. Philipps), and from that time to his death he was a regular attendant, always showing the utmost interest in its welfare and giving it his consistent support. He was hon. secretary and treasurer for several years, and served the cause with ability and zeal. He took an active part in the establishment of Upperthorpe Chapel. He was Trustee for Stannington (appointed 3rd January, 1853), and of Fulwood (appointed 31st December, 1860). He wrote an excellent pamphlet, "What is Unitarianism? The question answered by a

layman." He also composed a fine hymn (No. 552 in our hymn book) to be sung at the opening of Uppertorpe Chapel.

A brass tablet in the chapel to his memory bears the following inscription:—"In affectionate remembrance of Edward Bramley, solicitor and first Town Clerk of Sheffield. Born Jan. 17. 1806, died Mar. 12. 1865. Also of Fanny Grace Bramley his wife, daughter of Thomas and Ann Mason of Hull, born Mar. 14. 1811, died Feb. 13. 1896. This tablet is erected by their son and daughters."

A well-known firm in Sheffield is Messrs. Alfred Beckett and Sons, Brooklyn Works, manufacturers of saws, files, chisels, and other tools. The founder of this business was MR. ALFRED BECKETT, who died 21st December, 1866, aged 52. He was a staunch adherent of Upper Chapel, and was a trustee of several of our neighbouring chapels. He was also a member of the Sheffield Town Council. At the beginning of the present century his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson, used to attend the Queen Street Independent Chapel, where sometimes they heard strong Calvinistic doctrine. One Sunday the minister preached a sermon on original sin and the lost condition of children in their unregenerate state. He lost a family from his congregation by that sermon, for Mrs. Nicholson was so shocked that she resolved it should be her last visit. She had as her neighbours Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Rhodes, who were members of Upper Chapel. Ebenezer Rhodes was a man of considerable literary ability, author of "Peak Scenery" and other works. He was Master Cutler in 1808, and was in business in the Wicker. He died 16th December, 1839, aged 77. He does not appear to have been a regular attendant at Upper Chapel, but Mrs. Rhodes was, and her daughter, Miss Bailey Rhodes, was superintendent of the Girls' Sunday School, when Mr. Charles Morton was superintendent general, and his son, Mr. Francis Morton, superintendent on the boys' side. Mrs. Rhodes invited Mrs. Nicholson to visit Upper Chapel, and one tangible result of her so doing was that when Mr. Alfred Beckett died about forty descendants of Mrs. Nicholson were Unitarians, and of these about thirty adults were in regular attendance at the chapel. Mr. Beckett himself was seldom absent from its

services, until a long and painful illness, borne with Christian fortitude, ended in his death at a comparatively early age. He left six sons and one daughter. Two of his sons are at the present time (1900) trustees of the chapel; Joseph Shaw Beckett, appointed 1881, and Alfred Beckett, appointed 1891.

His brother, MR. ALDERMAN JOHN BECKETT, one of Sheffield's well-known and highly respected citizens (died 31st January, 1871, at the age of fifty-three), was also a staunch supporter of the chapel which he attended from his childhood. He was appointed Trustee in 1864. He succeeded to his father's business of rent and debt collector, and afterwards added the business of stock and share broker. He took an active interest in local affairs. He was elected member of the Town Council in 1855, and Alderman in 1862. He was for some years chairman of the Watch Committee. As a business man he enjoyed the respect and esteem of all who had transactions with him. The name of Beckett is now, and has long been, associated with stirring commercial honesty, practical wisdom and excellent judgment in business.

Another active and useful citizen of Sheffield was JOHN RYALLS, who was born 27th July, 1804. He first saw the light at 74, West Street, now a busy thoroughfare along which the electric tram runs, but at that time almost in the fields. He was educated first at the school of Mr. John Eadon, and afterwards at the school (held in the rooms connected with Upper Chapel Sunday School) of the Rev. Peter Wright, minister of Stannington. His father, John Ryalls, senior, was a table knife manufacturer, who put him, after his schooling was over, in the office of Messrs. Clark and Shepherd, of Barnsley, solicitors. He was afterwards articled to Mr. Henry Broomhead, of North Church Street, Sheffield. He was admitted as a solicitor in 1829; and soon made for himself a reputation as a sound and accurate lawyer. He took a prominent part in politics, especially in early life, calling himself a Whig. He was always proud of the efforts he had made on behalf of Free Trade, and of civil and religious liberty. He was a warm advocate of the opening of the Universities to Nonconformists, and lived to see his son graduate at the head of legal honours at Cambridge in 1863.

He married Ruth, third daughter of Mr. Joseph Wager, of Worsbro' Dale, yeoman. He had ten children, two sons, Charles Wager Ryalls, LL.D., barrister-at-law, and Leonard Atkinson Ryalls, solicitor, and eight daughters, of whom five survive (1900). At the time of his death he was Senior Trustee of Upper Chapel, with which his family had been connected almost from the foundation in 1700. His last act of hospitality was to entertain the members of the congregation at a garden party at his residence, Cliffe Field, Norton Lees, July, 1887, on the occasion of his 84th birthday. The last time he was out of the house was to attend a meeting of the Upper Chapel Trustees on 13th March, 1888. He died at Norton Lees, 8th May, 1888, and was buried at the General Cemetery, Friday, 11th May. He was a man of warm and generous sympathies; in private life retiring and courteous. As a business man he was highly esteemed for his sound judgment, and his upright character. His wife died 11th November, 1864, aged 62 years.

THOMAS JESSOP, J.P.—Few names of Sheffield worthies are better known or respected by Sheffield people than that of Thomas Jessop. For fifty years he was closely identified with the public and philanthropic life of the town. A local paper¹ recording his death says of him: "Mr. Jessop will be remembered as one of Sheffield's most energetic, enterprising, and successful manufacturers; as one who took the deepest practical interest in all that concerned the welfare of the people; as one who gave most nobly and generously to all movements that commended themselves to him as deserving of support; but not less will he be remembered for his kindness of heart, and for his altogether unostentatious and unassuming demeanour." It is not often that such a consensus of opinion of people of all shades of political thought, and of all ranks in the community from highest to lowest, is felt towards a public man as in the case of Mr. Jessop. Sheffield was unanimous in mourning his loss as that of a true friend and noble benefactor. He was born 31st January, 1804. His father, William Jessop, was a member of Upper Chapel,—a staunch Unitarian. He was a steel melter by trade, and his practical

¹ *The Independent.*



THOMAS JESSOP, J.P.

sagacity was shown by the great success that attended his business career. He married a daughter of Mr. Taylor, a steel manufacturer (Joseph Gillott, the well-known pen maker, married her sister), and had a numerous family, five sons, William, Montague, Thomas, Sydney, Henry, and five daughters, Maria, Anne, Eliza, Caroline, Margaret.¹ In 1830 the father and sons went into business together in Furnival Street under the style of William Jessop and Sons. Thomas was sent early in the history of the firm to America² to extend the business there. Meantime the premises in Furnival Street proved much too small, and works were taken in the Park, and later also in Brightside, though they were not then the great works they are now. William Jessop, the father, died in 1846. In 1871 Thomas was the sole survivor of the firm. The responsibility he felt to be too great, and he converted the business into a limited liability company (1875), he acting as chairman of directors.

In 1845 he married Frances Yates, daughter of Mr. Peter Hope, of Leece Lodge, near Douglas, a retired wholesale grocer of Liverpool. Their children were Mary (Mrs. Weiss), Rebecca (Mrs. Blake), Eliza (Mrs. Shaw), Margaret (Mrs. Hensley), Maria (Mrs. Bingley). His only son was William Jessop, of Worksop.

As early as 1840 we find Thomas Jessop taking an active part in public affairs; he was then serving on the Board of Police Commissioners, a body corresponding to the present Watch Committee. On the 1st November, 1843, he was elected on the first Sheffield Town Council as member for the Park Ward. He was re-elected in November, 1845. In 1848 he retired, and remained outside the Council for fifteen years. He was elected one of the overseers for Brightside 31st March, 1848; Town Trustee 18th December, 1862 (in

¹ Of this family only two now (1900) survive—Caroline (Mrs. Jackson, living at Carysbrook, Oakholme Road) and Margaret (Mrs. Slagg), living at Stork Holme, Psalter Lane.

² He used to tell an amusing story of his experience soon after arriving in New York. Walking down the street, he met a man who had left Sheffield abruptly to escape his creditors. "Hullo!" he said to Mr. Jessop; "what have *you* done amiss?"

place of William Fisher, deceased); was made borough magistrate 22nd July, 1863; became Master Cutler 3rd September, 1863; on 1st November of the same year he was again elected to the Town Council, and on the 9th of the same month he was elected Mayor. His first mayoralty was notable for the great Sheffield flood, a catastrophe which created widespread suffering. It was caused by the bursting of a dam called the Bradfield Reservoir, which had been in course of construction since 1st January, 1859. At midnight on the 11th March, 1864, the embankment gave way, and the water rushing impetuously down the valley, "overwhelmed a large portion of Sheffield and a district extending for eight miles to the west, causing the loss of about 250 lives, and of property estimated in value at nearly half a million."¹

As chief magistrate Mr. Jessop was indefatigable in his exertions in organising relief for the sufferers. Working men, who lost their all, had no more sympathetic friend, or one more determined that they should be fully compensated. It was an anxious time for Sheffield, and Mr. Jessop shared its anxiety. He spared no time and no devotion in his endeavours to mitigate the evil.

In November, 1864, he was re-elected Mayor, with the unanimous approval of every citizen of Sheffield. On the 15th March, 1865, he was elected Alderman, and re-elected in 1868. He retired from the Council in 1874, and a movement was set on foot to present him with his portrait as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered his native town. The portrait (painted by H. F. Crighton, and now in the Cutlers' Hall) was presented to him 22nd March, 1875.

It is impossible to enumerate all the good work in which Mr. Jessop took part as initiator or helper. He took great interest in the welfare of the people of Brightside, contributing to all philanthropic and educational movements among them. But the permanent monument of the catholicity of his philanthropy is the JESSOP HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN, which originated in the desire of his kind heart to help poor women, and which cost him £30,000. He had seen that there was room for an

¹ Gatty's Hunter's "Hallamshire," where a full account of the flood is given, pp. 188-196.



JESSOP HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN.

institution to do a work amongst women which was not being done satisfactorily by the other medical charities of the town. He recommended that a separate institution should be organised; and such an institution was started in Figtree Lane. He was Chairman of the Committee, and soon saw that the means were wholly inadequate to meet the ever-growing demands upon them. In April, 1875, it was announced at the annual meeting of the Hospital Committee that Mr. Jessop had offered to purchase Brooklyn House and grounds at the corner of Upper Gell Street and Portobello, and to erect thereon suitable buildings as a Women's Hospital. The cost was estimated at from £10,000 to £12,000. It was soon found, however, that the cost would be much greater,—£21,000 at least. But when the necessary cost of furniture was added (and Mr. Jessop volunteered to supply this) the total sum amounted to £30,000, which he cheerfully paid. It is a noble pile of buildings, and a noble gift of a generous son to Sheffield. It was opened on 22nd July, 1878. Since its erection Mr. Jessop's family have added a steam laundry, at a cost of over £1,000.

Thomas Jessop was a life-long member of Upper Chapel, of which he was a Trustee (as also of Uppethorpe and Stannington Chapels). He was Vice-President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and was a generous donor to all schemes whose object was the extension of the Unitarian faith. In politics he was an earnest Radical in early life, and a staunch Liberal until the time of Mr. Roebuck, when he went over, with many others, to the ranks of Conservatism. In the annals of Sheffield there are few men who won such universal esteem as Mr. Jessop. He died 30th November, 1887, aged 83.

Among the names of members of Upper Chapel who have done good public work for Sheffield, that of Mr. ROBERT JACKSON, J.P., of Carysbrook, must not be omitted. A man of considerable mental culture, and having extensive practical knowledge of matters commercial and manufacturing, he was not only highly prosperous in his own business undertakings, but was also able to do good service for the material prosperity of the town. He was one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce, of which he was appointed President in 1863, and

held office for the following two years. He took a prominent part in all the proceedings connected with the great International Exhibitions beginning with that of 1851. In the negociation of the French Treaty of 1860, Mr. Cobden had to appeal to various localities for information as to their special kinds of work and productions, and he found in Mr. Jackson one of his most assiduous and well-informed helpers. When he died (21st July, 1873, aged 66 years) he was Senior partner in the firm of Spear and Jackson, of the Ætna Works. Mr. Jackson entered the Town Council in 1856 as member for Brightside; he was chosen Mayor in 1857; Alderman in 1859 and again in 1865. He was elected Master Cutler in 1858 and in 1859, uniting the office with that of Mayor. He was made Justice of the Peace for the Borough in 1863. In all these offices he did excellent service, sparing no time or labour in the public interest. During the last few years of his life he was afflicted with loss of sight, which brought a useful public career prematurely to a close. He was, during the greater part of his life, a regular attendant at Upper Chapel, a staunch and consistent Unitarian. He married Caroline (Mrs. Watson) fourth daughter of William Jessop, who survives him.

The Rev. Brooke Herford was succeeded in 1865 by Mr. Short. The REV. JOHN LETTIS SHORT was born in Great Yarmouth in 1818. His father was a cordwainer, and died in 1825. His mother belonged to a well-known Yarmouth family of Lettis. After leaving school he was apprenticed to business, but had little taste for it. His desire for practical usefulness in another direction is seen in the fact that he established with the help of friends a Boys' Sunday School in connection with the Unitarian Chapel (then under the ministry of the Rev. Henry Squire). He afterwards went to Bath, and becoming known as a local preacher, he was invited to settle as minister at Warminster. In 1842, when on a visit to London, he made the acquaintance of the Rev. J. C. Means (who from December 1839 to 1843 had no charge, but preached, without stipend, to a few people whom he gathered in the evening at Worship Street), and with his encouragement he became a student of the General Baptist Academy, under the tuition of the Rev. B. Mardon, M.A., in whose house he



REV. JOHN LETTIS SHORT.

resided. Meantime he attended classes at University College, and gained some distinction in Logic and Mental Philosophy. During his last session he preached several times at Dover, and when his academical course was over he settled there as minister of the General Baptist congregation in 1845. The Rev. Dr. Hutton preached his induction sermon. In 1847 he married Amelia Anne,¹ daughter of Samuel Wright, silk manufacturer, of Mickleover, near Derby. He remained two years at Dover, and in July, 1847, settled at Bridport, where he passed seventeen happy years, a prominent, useful, and highly esteemed citizen. He was manager of the British Schools, and took an active part in the management of many local institutions. He settled in Sheffield in 1865, and here, again, he soon became known as an active public man. In the first year of his settlement he was put on the Council of the Literary and Philosophical Society; later he was president for one year, and vice-president for four years. He acted on the Committee of the Hospital for Women nine years, and was vice-president for six years. He was also on the Committee of the Totley Orphanage, and of the Free Public Library. In 1870 he was invited to deliver the address to the students of the School of Medicine at the opening of the Winter Session. It was the first time in the history of the School that a minister of religion had been asked. The compliment was, says the *Independent* (October 4th, 1870), "a graceful recognition of his varied culture, his literary accomplishments, and his breadth of intellectual and moral view." Another pleasing illustration of the respect in which Mr. Short was held outside our own religious body appeared in the fact that he was invited by the United Free Methodists to take part in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of their new chapel in Brunswick Road (February 21st, 1870).

His ministry in Sheffield came to an end in September, 1874, owing to failing health.² The congregation presented him with an address, expressing warm appreciation of his services, as well as those of his wife and daughter, who had

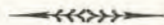
¹ Died at Cannes, March 9th, 1900, in her 79th year.

² He preached his farewell sermon from 2 Tim., iv., 7, on the 27th September, 1874.

efficiently seconded all his labours. He removed to Bath in the hope that rest and change would restore his impaired health. Here, at his residence, Ormond Lodge, he died 27th April, 1876, and was buried at Bridport.

He published, 1868, a pamphlet on "Our Mourning Customs;" 1859, "A Letter to the Churches of the Western Unitarian Union;" 1861, a sermon preached before the General Baptist Assembly; 1867, a sermon preached before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. He also edited "The Children's Hymn and Chant Book," which had a wide circulation.

In the period between the resignation of Mr. Short and the settlement of Dr. Vance Smith, the pulpit was temporarily occupied by the REV. WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING, who was a nephew of Dr. Channing. He was born 25th May, 1810, at Boston, U.S.A. He was educated for the ministry at Harvard, where he graduated in 1829. His first settlement in the ministry was in New York City. Later he settled in Cincinnati (1835), again at Nashua, and at Boston. He came to England in 1854, and occupied, first the pulpit at Renshaw Street, Liverpool (1854-1857), and then at Hope Street (1857-1861) in the same town. He went back to America in 1861, and settled at Washington (1861-1865). He retired from the ministry in 1870, and from that time he took only temporary engagements like that of Upper Chapel in 1875. He married (1836) Julia Maria Allen. Their children were Frances Maria Adelaide (died 1889; married Sir Edwin Arnold); Francis Allston, M.P. for Northamptonshire, East; Mary (died in infancy); Lisa Beatrice Johnston (died 24th October, 1860, aged 5); Blanche. Mr. Channing died 23rd December, 1884, at Kensington. He was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass. He is the author of "Memoirs of Dr. W. E. Channing," and he translated Jouffroy's "Introduction to Ethics, including a Critical Survey of the Moral Systems."



PERIOD IV.—SECTION II.—1875-1900.

UNITARIANISM.

IN July, 1875, the Rev. GEORGE VANCE SMITH, B.A., Philos. and Theol. Doct., undertook the pastorate of Upper Chapel. He was well-known at the time as a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, and had also a scholarly repute as the author of several excellent religious and theological works. His pastorate lasted only a year, for in September, 1876, he removed to Carmarthen, where for twelve years (1876-88) he acted as Principal of the Presbyterian College, undertaking at the same time ministerial duties at the Park-y-Velvet Chapel. Dr. Vance Smith's career has been one of strenuous scholastic service combined with continuous pulpit ministrations. His is the type of "learned ministry" for which our Unitarian denomination is distinguished. He was educated at Manchester College, York, (1836-9), then under the direction of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. In 1839-40 he acted also as Assistant Mathematical Tutor. In 1840 the College went back to Manchester, and under the name Manchester New College was affiliated to the University of London by Royal Warrant, dated 28th February, 1840. Here Mr. Vance Smith remained till 1841, receiving in that year the degree of B.A. from the University. In 1841 he was ordained minister of Chapel Lane Chapel, Bradford, Yorkshire, by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, Rev. Charles Wicksteed, and Rev. William Turner (formerly, 1809-27, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Manchester College, York). In 1843 he removed to Macclesfield, as minister of the King Edward Street Chapel, in that town. After three years' work there, he became in 1846 Theological Tutor at Manchester New College, then under the direction of the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A. Here he remained till 1853, when the College was removed to London. From 1846 to 1853 he was Vice-Principal of the College, and from 1851-1853 Principal. On its removal to London, the Rev. John James Tayler, B.A.,

was appointed Principal, and Mr. Vance Smith took as his subjects Exegetical Theology and Hebrew, in which capacity he acted until 1857. In that year he went to Germany, remaining there until 1858 when the University of Tübingen conferred upon him the degree of M.A. and Ph.D. Returning to England he was invited to the pulpit of St. Saviourgate Chapel, York, where he remained 1858-75. In 1870 he was invited to join the New Testament Revision Committee, much to the scandal of certain pious folk who could see only the taint of heresy in a Unitarian scholar; their surprise being turned to something like horror and alarm when he was invited and accepted the invitation, by Dean Stanley, to join the Communion Service in Westminster Abbey. In July, 1875,¹ Dr. Vance Smith was invited to Sheffield, but removed to Carmarthen in September, 1876. There his work was most efficient. He raised the standard of scholarship, and won the respect of every student who came under his care. The present writer, then minister at Swansea, used to go every year to the pleasant but somewhat sleepy little town on the Towy, to the annual examinations, and can speak with confidence of the excellent results under Dr. Vance Smith's régime. He was Principal of the Presbyterian College for twelve years. He resigned in 1888, and since that date has not had any specific engagement. He married (i.) Agnes Jane, second daughter of Mr. John Fletcher of Liverpool, (ii.) Elizabeth Anne, daughter of Mr. Edward Todd of Tadcaster. He is the author of "The Bible and Popular Theology, 1871" (3rd edition, 1892); "The Spirit and the Word of Christ" (2nd edition 1877); "Eternal Punishment," a tract for the times (5th edition, 1877); "The Prophets and their Interpreters," 1878; "Revised Texts and Margins of the New Testament affecting Theological Doctrine," 1881; "Chapters on Job for Young Readers," 1887; "Church Comprehension," 1868; "The Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians," long out of print. His sermon, "Providential Lessons in Christian Doctrine," was preached at the annual meeting of the British

¹ Inaugural sermon, 11th July, on 2 Cor., i., 24. Public meeting to welcome him, 21st July, in Albert Hall, under presidency of Thomas Jessop, Esq.

and Foreign Unitarian Association in 1865. He was also joint author with the Rev. C. Wellbeloved and the Rev. J. Scott Porter of "The Holy Scriptures of the Old Covenant, in a revised Translation," 3 vols.; 1862.

Dr. Vance Smith's connection with the New Testament Revision Committee is an interesting illustration on the one hand of bigotry and prejudice, and on the other of Christian fellowship and good sense. Dean Stanley and Dr. Thirlwall were typical of the latter; Dr. Wilberforce and the majority in the Upper House of Convocation of the former. In February, 1871, Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, moved in the Upper House, "That in the judgment of this House it is not expedient that any person who denies the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ should be invited to assist in the revision of the Scriptures; and that it is the judgment further of this House that any such one now in either Company should cease to act therewith." This was, of course, a direct attack on Dr. Vance Smith. With much unctuous eloquence the Bishop proceeded to distinguish between "sanctified" and "unsanctified" learning, and explained, according to the *Spectator* of that date, "that fellowship between such as he, and such as Dr. Vance Smith on a question of Biblical scholarship, was quite unfitting." Herein the *Spectator* agreed with his Lordship, for, it continues, "the Bishop seems entirely incompetent to discern what strict intellectual veracity in relation to such a duty as the revision of the Bible really means." The Bishop of St. David's (the venerable Dr. Thirlwall,—the most learned of all the Bishops) in a manly protest spoke out strongly in favour of comprehension. But an adverse vote was carried by 10 to 4. Accordingly the next day, the Bishop of St. David's announced his withdrawal from the post of Chairman to the Revision Committee. In the Lower House of Convocation, Dean Stanley made a noble speech protesting against the action of the Upper House, urging his brethren to reject the vote sent for their concurrence. The matter was finally postponed by a majority of 23 to 19, until the Revision Committee should have made its report. The practical result was that by this resolution the whole question was shelved. The Bishops had stultified themselves, making themselves look

not a little ridiculous. Dr. Thirlwall acted as Chairman of Committee, and Dr. Vance Smith calmly retained his place among the revisers.

The accompanying portrait of Dr. Vance Smith is from a photograph taken in 1890.

When Dr. Smith accepted the call to Sheffield, it was on the understanding that there was to be a double ministry, and accordingly the REV. THOMAS WILSON SCOTT was elected by the congregation as the junior minister. Mr. Scott studied for the Independent Ministry at Cavendish College, Manchester (removed to Nottingham as the Congregational Institute), March, 1862, to July, 1863; and further at New College, London (Dr. Halley, Principal), 1863-1868. He was elected minister at Paisley under the Scottish Unitarian Association, October, 1869, remaining there until December, 1871. His subsequent settlements were, Crewe, January, 1872, to December, 1872; Alcester, February 1873, to December, 1874; Sheffield, January, 1876, to December of the same year; Horsham, May, 1877, to December, 1879; Lydgate, January, 1887, to May, 1890. He settled at Glenarm, Co. Antrim, in October, 1894, and is still (1900) minister there. When Dr. Smith decided to go to Carmarthen, Mr. Scott put his resignation into the hands of the Committee, so that their action might not be impeded in any way; but he was asked by them to continue until other arrangements could be made. When the congregation decided to invite the Rev. Eli Fay, Mr. Scott settled at Horsham.

The REV. ELI FAY was born 8th November, 1823, in Cazenovia, Madison County, New York.¹ He was third in a family of fourteen. At eleven he had to make his own living, working now on farms, now in woollen mills. At last he found a home in the family (Methodist) of a physician, engaging to work for board and clothes. The doctor and his daughter undertook his education, and in two years' time sent him to the De Ruyter Academy. He joined the Methodist Church at the age of twelve, and it was understood that he was to be a Methodist minister. He was presented with a

¹ This account of Mr. Fay's life is taken chiefly from the *Pacific Unitarian*, September, 1899.



REV. G. VANCE SMITH, B.A., PH. & THEOL. DOCT.

colt which he was to ride when on his first circuit. But when he was thirteen years old the animal kicked him and destroyed the sight of his right eye. The house was frequented by ministers on circuit and elders of the church. A conversation he heard in his fifteenth year convinced him that "Orthodoxy" was not for him. An elder at the dinner table one day gave it as his belief that no unbaptised child could escape the wrath of God. Eli had a little sister who was unbaptised, and being assured that she was doomed if she happened to die that night, he declared he did not want to know such a God, and would have nothing to do with such a religion. Anxious research soon convinced him that he could no longer believe in the doctrine of the Trinity or of eternal punishment; and finding that he could no longer remain with the doctor, he returned home, at sixteen, to work on his father's farm. At seventeen he began teaching; and making the acquaintance of a minister of the "Christian" denomination who preached in his school-room, he was much impressed by his rational and pious teaching. He soon began to preach, and for four years he continued to teach during the winter, working on the farm in summer, and preaching gratuitously nearly every Sunday. In 1845 he was ordained into the "Christian" ministry, and took charge of the church of that denomination at Honeyeye Falls, New York, and was soon regarded as a leader. He was much interested in education, and when the "Christians" proposed to build Antioch Non-Sectarian College, for the higher education of young men and women, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, he was appointed Secretary to the Board of Trustees. Horace Mann was made President (1853). The two men became deeply attached. Their friendship strengthened Mr. Fay in his Liberal principles and fortified him for the impending struggle between the advanced and Conservative sections of the "Christian" denomination. The contest "killed Mr. Mann and it nearly killed Mr. Fay." It was Mann's wish that Fay should succeed him; a wish, however, not carried into effect. Horace Mann's death took place 2nd August, 1859. It was a great blow to Mr. Fay, in whose arms he died.

From Yellow Springs, where he had settled as pastor of the "Christian" Church in 1854, he went in 1859 to New York

to take charge of the "Christian" Church in the neighbourhood of Dr. Bellows's Church. A series of papers by Mr. Fay in *The Christian Intelligencer*, showing the inconsistency of the "Christians" in denying that they were Unitarians, led to his secession from the "Christians,"¹ and he was soon (1859) appointed minister of the Unitarian Church at Leominster, then at Taunton, Woburn, and Newton (all in Massachusetts). Twice he broke down in health and went abroad to recuperate. Then his wife's health failed. He determined to make a radical change of scene and climate. Coming to England he settled in Sheffield, preaching his inaugural sermon 12th November, 1876. During his ministry the chapel was renovated. The old square pews were taken away, and the present comfortable open pews substituted. Channing Hall was built (1881), and Mr. Fay was instrumental in bringing many new additions to the congregation. While the alterations were being made at the chapel, Mr. Fay conducted services in the Albert Hall. He gave a series of lectures on "The Old and the New Science." The first, on "The World Moves," attracted an immense audience, and the series made a marked impression in the town in favour of Unitarianism and free religion generally. Before he left Sheffield he held, 7th January, 1882, a Service of Consecration, at which 74 young people were received into membership. In 1883, his wife's health having again failed, he was advised to try the climate of Southern California. He bade farewell to his congregation on Sunday, 22nd July, 1883, preaching from the text, 2 Tim., iv., 6, "The time of my departure is at hand." He now returned to America, proceeding to Los Angeles, then to San Diego, whence, after a short residence, he returned to Los Angeles and became pastor of the Unitarian Church. Services were held in various halls and in the Grand Opera House, until Mr. Fay gave the land on which the present

¹ The "Christian" sect of his day is now largely merged in Unitarianism. Its motto was "The Bible our only creed, Christian character our only test of fellowship." It was in no way connected with what is now called the "Christian" denomination, formerly known as the "Disciples," or popularly as the "Campbellites." Cf. *The Christian Life*, September 16th, 1899.



REV. ELI FAY.

church in Seventh Street, near Broadway, now stands. During much of his pastorate his services were given gratuitously. In 1891, after eight years' labour, he resigned, and henceforth gave his services to the Unitarian Churches in Southern California. A fortunate speculation had made him rich, and his ambition on acquiring riches was to found and endow a college for women. This laudable design was not, however, carried into execution, for the fortune he had acquired departed as rapidly as it had come. He was three times married—in 1843 to Laura Johnson, of Lindonville, N.Y.; she died in 1852; in 1855 to Julia A. Hitchcock, a teacher at Antioch College; she died in 1888; in 1889 to Harriet Kelsey, of San Francisco, who survives him. Mr. Fay received the degree D.D. from Tufts University, a Universalist institution.

CHANNING HALL was built in 1881 (opened 12th January, 1882). The inscription on the foundation stone is "Upper Chapel Congregational Hall. This stone was laid by Margaret Jessop, of Endcliffe Grange, June 14th, 1881." The style is Italian renaissance. The hall is 57 feet long by 35 feet wide, 19 feet high at the walls, and 24 feet high at the centre of the ceiling. It has a frontage of 60 feet. Around the interior runs the following inscription: "Erected by the congregation of the Upper Chapel, in the year MDCCCLXXXI., for religious, educational, and social purposes, and for the same religious aims with which the chapel was founded in the year MDCC., and on the same free basis of a free and open trust." The walls are of glazed brick; the roof is partly open timbered; the ceiling is panelled; the floor is of wood $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, laid on concrete. The hall will accommodate about 400 persons. The architects were Messrs. Flockton and Gibbs. The total cost including also necessary repairs and improvements in the chapel (re-roofing and re-seating) was about £8,000. This sum was raised by subscriptions among the members of the congregation, supplemented by an "Old English Fair," held in the Albert Hall in March, 1882, the proceeds of which amounted to nearly £1,600. The hall is used for social meetings and all congregational and Sunday School purposes.

Two noteworthy names occur in the history of Upper Chapel from the time of Nathaniel Philipps to that of Eli Fay—

William Fisher, Senior and Junior. Of the former a tablet in the chapel says, "he was born in Sheffield, August 23rd, 1780, died November 29th, 1861; whilst occupied in the industrial pursuits of Commerce, the best energies of his long and honourable life were given up to the great struggles of his day for religious, civil, and commercial freedom; and to active labour for the various charitable and public institutions of his native town." In Sheffield he was known as "The Father of Reform."

His son, WILLIAM FISHER, J.P., was a worthy follower in his father's footsteps. Every good work in Sheffield, charitable, educational and philanthropic, found in him an earnest and zealous supporter. He was a member of the first Town Council of Sheffield in 1844, Alderman in 1853, Mayor in 1854. He acted as Chairman of the Free Libraries Committee for twenty years; was elected Town Trustee in 1869; was Magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire and Justice of the Peace for the borough. He was Chairman of the Mechanics' Institution for several years; member of the first School Board for Sheffield, a position he relinquished in 1876; he was also member of the Infirmary Board. When he died the local press said of him, "to mention his name is to suggest all that is upright, just and generous. Few citizens have taken a more kindly or more intelligently active interest in the intellectual elevation of the working classes." He was one among the many public men who rendered Upper Chapel distinguished in the civic life of Sheffield. He died at Tunbridge Wells, 25th March, 1880, aged 67.

His name is especially connected with THE FISHER INSTITUTION. By his will, dated 20th April, 1876, after bequeathing certain legacies and annuities, he directs his trustees to apply the clear net revenue of his personal estate, or so much of it as might then according to law be devoted to charitable purposes, for establishing a Charitable Institution in Sheffield. Unitarians, Jews, and Roman Catholics are expressly excluded from certain local charities; and it was Mr. Fisher's desire, supported by the wishes of his wife, who was a Roman Catholic lady,¹ to devote the residue of his fortune to helping

¹ Mrs. William Fisher, daughter of Mr. Edward Nanson, of Sheffield.



CHANNING HALL.

poor women of these denominations. One moiety was to be devoted "for the benefit of ladies of good character whose means have been reduced, whether unmarried, married, or widows, and who shall not be members of the Church of England or Protestant Dissenters holding Trinitarian views, but on the contrary shall be persons believing in the Unity of God (as opposed to Trinitarianism) or members of the Roman Catholic Church;" and he directed "that the unmarried recipients shall not be more than half of the total number of recipients, and that the Roman Catholic recipients shall not exceed one-third of the whole number of recipients." The above is "The Charity of William Fisher for granting Annuities to Ladies." It is obvious that Jewesses are eligible. The other moiety the testator declared to be "for the benefit of deserving single women who shall have been employed in domestic service, but who from age, infirmity, accident, or other cause are no longer fit for service." This is "The Charity of Eleanor Fisher for granting Pensions to deserving Single Women." No religious test of any kind is to be applied to applicants. Women, it will be noted, are the sole recipients.

The Governors are the trustees of Mr. Fisher's will, the Trustees of Upper Chapel, the minister of Upper Chapel for the time being, and four priests of St. Marie's Roman Catholic Church. Every person presenting a donation of £50 to the institution becomes a Life Governor, entitled to vote at all elections; and every person subscribing Five Guineas per annum, will, after three annual payments, be a Governor similarly entitled to vote so long as such subscription is continued.

Mr. Fisher had hoped that the charity would receive large additions from Unitarians and Roman Catholics throughout the country. Hitherto seven persons have qualified as Life Governors by presenting £50 to the funds. These are all Unitarians (with one exception). A legacy of £500 has

was born 8th March, 1808; died Monday, 21st September, 1885, at Bishopstowe, Bedford, leaving no family. She was brought up among Unitarian surroundings at Upper Chapel, but joined the Roman Catholic Church, being received by the Rev. Canon Scully, soon after the new Church of St. Marie, in Norfolk Row, was opened (September, 1850).

recently been bequeathed by a Roman Catholic lady to be devoted solely to paying Roman Catholic annuities and pensions. Officers (1900)—President: Mr. A. J. Hobson; Treasurer: Mr. J. S. Beckett; Clerk: Mr. W. R. Stevenson, 10, Norfolk Row, Sheffield.

A name closely identified with the history of Upper Chapel during the last half century is that of JOHN HOBSON, who died 20th February, 1889, in his 74th year. He was made a Trustee in 1837; and at the election in 1881 he alone of all those elected in 1837 survived. He was Chairman of Trustees and treasurer of the chapel, and for many years took an important part in the work and responsibility of the place. He was elected the first Chairman of the Fisher Institution. He acted as Trustee of the Rotherham, Upperthorpe, and Doncaster Chapels. The Unitarian cause generally, and Upper Chapel in particular, always had his willing and enthusiastic support. He was also a prominent public man; for more than thirty years member of the Weekly Board of the Royal Infirmary; treasurer of the Literary and Philosophical Society, once its president; for some years on the Council of the School of Art; member of the Topley Orphanage Committee; a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce, twice its president; deputy-chairman of the Sheffield Gas Company, in which he was a large shareholder; trustee of the Spooner and several other charities. He was a member of the Town Council for about ten years, and was elected (1883) to the Aldermanic Bench. He was also invited to be Mayor, but declined the honour, chiefly on account of his increasing years. His family came from Bradfield. His father, John Hobson, married the daughter of Mr. Hinchliffe, who carried on the business of scissor manufacturer in Sheffield. He succeeded to the business, and in time took his son, Mr. A. J. Hobson, into partnership. He retired from business in 1882. He was a man of sincere and unaffected piety, one of the most kind-hearted and honourable of men. He married (1858) Thyrza, second daughter of Mr. Alderman John Carr, and left four sons and three daughters. His son, Mr. A. J. Hobson, acted for some years as Secretary to the Chapel, and was elected Trustee in 1891.



MR. JOHN HOBSON.

Among the many laymen belonging to Upper Chapel who have during the last half century been distinguished as clever business men and who have served Sheffield well in a business capacity is MR. ROBERT THOMAS EADON, J.P. He was the son of Mr. Moses Eadon, who began business in 1823 as a saw, file, and edge-tool manufacturer, in Norfolk Street. When he took his two sons, Robert Thomas and John, into partnership the business went under the style of Moses Eadon and Sons. In 1850 they removed to the President Works in Savile Street. The father died in 1861, and subsequently John retired. The business then came entirely under the management of Robert Thomas, who in time associated his son, Robert Renton Eadon, in the partnership. The *Independent* in its obituary notice says:—"Mr. Eadon was one of the witnesses examined in connection with the Trades Outrages Inquiry, and gave several instances of rattening which had occurred in the experience of his firm. A man named John Staniforth, in their employ, had been secretary of a previous Saw Grinders' Union to that of which Broadhead was chief. Staniforth and several other grinders were on various occasions in arrear with their 'natty money,' or contributions, to Broadhead's union. Several times the bands of the defaulters disappeared, but on each occasion they were restored after the men had had an interview with Broadhead and paid up their arrears, with a contribution to 'Mary Ann' for expenses. Mr. Eadon stated, however, that his firm had declined to take any step in the direction of collecting the 'natty money.' In one instance a man named Bradshaw was caught by the police taking bands from Messrs. Eadon's works, and being prosecuted by the firm, was sent to gaol for six months. Several of the workmen were also examined in the course of the inquiry, but beyond the instances of rattening to which Mr. Eadon had testified it did not appear that the firm had suffered from any of the outrages into which the Commission inquired." Mr. Eadon entered the Town Council November, 1861, being returned unopposed for Brightside; so in 1864, but he was defeated in 1867. He remained outside until November, 1883, when he was again returned unopposed for Brightside, and again in 1886. In 1887 he was elected Alderman, being

re-elected November 9th, 1889. In the time between his periods of office in the Town Council he did good service on the School Board. On the passing of the Education Act, 1870, he was elected member of the *first* Sheffield Board. In 1873 no election took place, and the old members retained office for another three years. Mr. Eadon took an active part with Sir John Brown and Mr. Mark Firth and other prominent townsmen in laying the foundation of the School Board system in Sheffield which has subsequently proved so efficient. In July, 1886, he was made J.P. He was for some time on the Council of the Chamber of Commerce. He was elected Trustee of Upper Chapel 14th June, 1881. He married (1853) Ellen Simpson, daughter of Mr. Robert Renton, of Mandrake House. They had one son, Mr. Robert Renton Eadon, who was elected Trustee of the Chapel 29th January, 1891. Mr. Eadon died 22nd July, 1890, aged 67.

Another name long connected with Upper Chapel and with the public life of Sheffield is that of Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD LAYCOCK, J.P., of Stumperlowe Grange, who was born in 1815, and died 21st November, 1895. Clear-headed and energetic, he spent his life in building up and extending the business (hair-seating) which his father, Samuel Laycock, began more than a century ago in Millsands. Later on it was carried on in Portobello, and had branches in Ilminster, Crewkerne, and elsewhere. In business affairs Mr. Laycock always manifested keen and far-seeing judgment. He stood exceedingly well with his workpeople. He insisted on a high standard of efficiency, yet he was known by his employés to be absolutely fair and strictly just. During a very busy life he found time for public work. He was first elected to the Town Council for Nether Hallam 17th November, 1856, and was re-elected in 1860 and also in 1863. On 9th November, 1865, he was chosen Mayor in succession to Mr. Thomas Jessop, who, in proposing him, said truly "he was a man of good, solid, upright character, and would do his duty fearlessly." It was during his term of office that the outrage occurred in New Hereford Street, when the house of Thomas Fearneyhough was blown up. He took a prominent part in securing the appointment of the Trades Outrage Commission, through

whose labours the perpetrators of outrage and rattening were unearthed, and an effectual stop was put to their diabolical work. It was also whilst Mr. Laycock was Mayor that the Fenian scare was prevalent, and he spent one night in the streets with the Chief Constable watching the movements of suspected persons. On the same day that he was made Mayor he was elected Alderman. At the end of six years he declined re-election and retired from the Council, having devoted much time and energy to the welfare of Sheffield. He was for many years Guardian of the Poor in Ecclesall Union. He was made J.P. in 1870.

He belonged all his life to Upper Chapel, of which he was a Trustee, and was a generous contributor to its funds. He married Caroline, daughter of Mr. Isaac Burkill, of Fall-Ings House, Wakefield, by whom he had eleven children, five sons and six daughters. His son Charles Albert was elected Trustee of Upper Chapel in 1891. Mr. Laycock purchased Stumperlowe Grange about 1855. To the grounds of this hospitable mansion he invited the children of the Sunday School for many years in succession, and old teachers and scholars remember the hearty and kindly welcome he gave them. A man of lavish hospitality and kindness, he was seconded in all his generous projects by his excellent wife. She survived him five years, dying in June, 1899.

MR. HERBERT BRAMLEY (born 12th May, 1842; died 13th September, 1897, at Neuenahr) was the only son of Mr. Edward Bramley mentioned above. His education began at Wesley College, Sheffield, his father having stipulated with the head master that he was not to be taught the Wesleyan catechism. In six months' time, however, a new head master was appointed and the agreement was broken. Mr. Bramley now sent his son to Bradford as a pupil to the Rev. Dr. Dyson. Later on he was sent to Bristol, and there remained for two years under the Rev. Dr. Wreford. After that he went to Saxe-Meiningen for two years, and then for a short time to Le Mans in France. He returned to Sheffield in May, 1860, and in August was articled to his father. Three years later he went to complete his articles in London. When his father died he became partner in the firm Gainsford and Bramley.

He was elected to the Town Council in 1880; re-elected 1881, 1884, 1887; made an Alderman 1890; appointed Town Clerk 14th October, 1895. He was an active politician all his life, at first on the Liberal side. In 1874 he was political agent to Mr. Chamberlain. But subsequently he threw in his lot with the Conservatives. In 1875 he was appointed Secretary to the newly established Law Society for Sheffield, a position which he maintained until, shortly before his death, he was elected President. All through his life he was a zealous Unitarian, taking an active part in all that concerned the welfare of Upper Chapel, and giving both time and energy to outside movements as well. While still a youth he was a successful teacher in the Sunday School. At the age of 18 he was elected Secretary of the Upperthorpe Chapel. He was also Secretary of Upper Chapel for twenty years, an office which he resigned in 1885. Misunderstandings then led to a temporary withdrawal to Upperthorpe; but in 1889 he was elected on the new Committee, and took his accustomed place in Upper Chapel. He was Trustee for Underbank Chapel, Stannington, from 26th March, 1873, to his death. In 1892, and again in 1893, he was elected President of the Yorkshire Unitarian Union, and in 1895 President of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, Manchester. He acted as Chairman of the Sheffield Committee of the Triennial Conference in 1897. In all these offices he proved himself a zealous and capable worker. As a lawyer he left a reputation second to none in the annals of Sheffield. He married (1866) Amy, third daughter of Mr. William Shakespeare, of London, member of the firm of James and Shakespeare, metal brokers. He left three sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Edward, now hon. sec. of Upper Chapel, succeeded to his business. He was wont to say with some pride that his children were the fifth generation of Unitarians in his family in direct descent on his mother's side. He himself was a regular attendant at Upper Chapel to the last. The universal respect in which he was held was shown by the great gathering of persons of all classes, creeds, and parties at the funeral service held in Upper Chapel (18th September, 1897). The body was cremated at the Manchester Crematorium, the urn containing the ashes being deposited in



MR. HERBERT BRAMLEY.

the family vault in the General Cemetery, Sheffield. By his will Mr. Bramley bequeathed the following legacies:—(i.) A sum of £300 to be invested by the Trustees of Stannington Chapel, “the income arising therefrom to be strictly applied for the benefit of the minister for the time being of the said chapel;” (ii.) a sum of £250 to be invested by the trustees of his will, the income arising therefrom to be paid “to the minister for the time being of the Upper Chapel, Norfolk Street, Sheffield, in augmentation of his salary and without reference to what he may receive from the Trust Funds of the said chapel.”

The late ALDERMAN MICHAEL HUNTER (born 17th February, 1821; died 8th December, 1898) was the representative of a family which has been connected with Upper Chapel almost from its foundation. A memorial tablet has recently been placed over the “Hunter pew,” bearing the following inscription:—

“Sacred to the Memory of Michael Hunter, baptised in this chapel July 4th, 1724, died June 18th, 1771; and of Michael Hunter, son of the above, born 1759, died Jan. 29th, 1831; and of Michael Hunter, son of the last named, born Mar. 18th, 1800; Master Cutler, 1852; died Mar. 15th, 1886. Also of Michael Hunter, J.P., of Greystones, Sheffield, and Stoke Hall, Derbyshire, son of the last-named Michael Hunter, born Feb. 17th, 1821; died Dec. 8th, 1898; for 22 years member of the Town Council of Sheffield, from 1876-1898; Alderman from 1886 to 1898; twice elected Mayor, 1881-1882; Master Cutler in 1860; Trustee of this Chapel from 1864 to 1898; and a Town Trustee. The above four generations of the same name were cutlery manufacturers in Sheffield, and were esteemed and respected by their fellow townsmen. They were life-long and devout attendants at this place of worship.

“‘The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance.’ Psalm cxii., 6.

“‘They rest from their labours and their works do follow them.’ Rev. xiv. 13.

“This Tablet was erected by the widow of the last-named Michael Hunter, in the year 1899.”

The first Michael Hunter here recorded started business as a cutler in the Wicker. He married Rebecca, daughter of Anthony Chapman. She died in 1767, aged 36. Their son, the second Michael Hunter, was also a cutler. He married twice. His first wife, as explained above,¹ Elizabeth Girdler, was the mother of Joseph Hunter, the antiquarian. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Charles Smith, and widow of James Battersby. They were married in 1797. Their son, the third Michael Hunter, was also a cutler. He married, 30th April, 1820 (at the Sheffield Parish Church) Miss Mary Shaw. Their son, the fourth Michael Hunter, was the late Alderman. He was born in the Wicker, and was educated first at Spurr's school in the Wicker, and then at Milk Street Academy, under Mr. Abram. He left school at the age of 13-14, and went into the cutlery works of his father, passing through the workshop to the office; in the meantime acquiring a practical knowledge of his business. In 1844, and onwards, his father was immersed in the public life of Sheffield. Hence greater responsibility devolved upon Michael, junior, in the conduct of the business. Its rapid development evinces his practical sagacity. Not only did he carry on the family business at Talbot Works, Savile Street, but for many years he was senior partner in the late firm of Wilson, Hawksworth, Ellison, and Co., Carlisle Works. In 1860, at the age of 39, he was elected Master Cutler. In 1861 he was gazetted to a lieutenancy in the newly incorporated Artillery Volunteers. In 1876 he was elected a member of the Town Council, for Brightside, from which time to his death he was a member of the Council. He was elected Mayor 1881-2, and re-elected 1882-3. The photograph here reproduced represents him at this time with his chain of office. He was elected Alderman in October, 1883, and was thrice re-elected. He sat as a member of the Board of Guardians from 1876 to 1894, being Chairman for six years. In 1885 he was made a Borough Magistrate, and in 1887 County Magistrate for the West Riding. He was also Magistrate for Derbyshire. In 1888 he was elected Town Trustee. When made Mayor, he insisted that "Corporation Sunday" should be observed at his own

¹ See p. 86.



ALDERMAN MICHAEL HUNTER, J.P.

place of worship. It had been the custom, when a Nonconformist was elected Mayor, to observe "Corporation Sunday" at the Parish Church, a service being held at his own chapel on the following Sunday. Mr. Hunter introduced a startling innovation, at which some professed themselves much scandalised. The service was attended by a crowded congregation, and the Rev. Eli Fay preached an excellent address from the text, Rom., xiii., 1, "The powers that be are ordained of God." The Vicar of Sheffield, the Rev. Canon Blakeney, D.D., in his sermon that day deeply deplored the departure that was made from the prevailing custom. His remarks being published in the daily paper, gave Mr. Fay an opportunity for a vigorous reply and remonstrance against some of the statements and assumptions of the Vicar. The event caused no little stir in the town. Mr. Hunter's example was followed by most of the subsequent Nonconformist Mayors.

His attachment to Upper Chapel was deep and strong. He was elected Trustee in 1864, and was Chairman of Trustees at his death. His faith was that of an earnest and religiously minded man, fixed in the cardinal teaching of Christ, the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man. In business matters he was noted for thoroughness and integrity, and in public life for his staunchness to principle and independence of character. He was President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1883-4, and was a Trustee for many of our chapels. All things Unitarian had his consistent and energetic support. He married Martha, daughter of Mr. J. W. Hawksworth. They had three sons—John Henry (born 1851; died in Sydney, 15th July, 1889); Charles Stephen, M.A., LL.B., barrister-at-law (born 2nd July, 1858; died 18th January, 1892); and Michael Joseph, who is now Chairman of Trustees at Upper Chapel. Mr. Hunter acquired Stoke Hall and estate in 1884. He was buried at Stannington, 12th December, 1898.

The Rev. Eli Fay was succeeded by the REV. JOHN PINDER BLAND, B.D., who settled in Sheffield in 1884. Mr. Bland was a Yorkshireman by birth, having been born at Halifax 27th March, 1842. While still a youth he went to America and followed the occupation of a dyer in Plymouth, Mass.

Having a desire to enter the ministry, he spent one year in the Harvard Divinity School (1870-1), and received at the end of that period the degree of B.D. After some years of ministerial life in America he came to this country, and was invited to accept the pulpit of the Victoria Street Church, Loughborough. He settled there in 1883, and during his three months' occupation of it he filled the chapel with overcrowded congregations. In February, 1884, he received an urgent call to the pulpit of Upper Chapel. On February 25th a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Loughborough, at which most of the resident ministers of the town, together with large numbers of the townspeople, were present to bid him farewell. His services in Sheffield proved even more attractive than in Loughborough. He had great popular gifts, and crowded congregations filled the chapel, more especially at his evening lectures. Mr. Bland was a Freemason and a strong advocate of the temperance cause. He began his ministry on the first Sunday in March, 1884, preaching in the morning from Ps., cxxii., 1, and in the evening from Mark, xii., 28-31, an address upon Unitarianism. In 1888 he sent in his resignation. His ministry terminated August 31st, when he returned to America.

An interregnum of about twelve months followed, during which the pulpit was supplied by different ministers. On 30th April, 1889, the Trustees, with the consent of the congregation, sent an invitation to the REV. JOHN EDMONDSON MANNING, M.A., of Swansea, to become their minister. This was accepted, and between the acceptance and his settlement in October the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. T. W. Freckelton. The following notice of Mr. Manning, the present minister, is taken from the Students' Roll of Manchester College, Oxford:—"Entered the College (then Manchester New College, London) as a Divinity Student, 5th October, 1868. Left 1875. Previously Queen's College, Liverpool, 1866-68. B.A. (Lond.) 1872; M.A. (Lond.) 1876. Hibbert Scholar, December, 1873—December, 1876 (Leipzig, October, 1875-6). Minister at Swansea, 1876-89; Upper Chapel, Sheffield, 1889—. Visitor and Examiner in Hebrew and Greek, Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, 1878-88;



REV. J. E. MANNING, M.A.

Visitor Unitarian Home Missionary College, 1892-94; Tutor in Old Testament, Hebrew, and Philosophy, Unitarian Home Missionary College, 1894—.”

In 1879 Mr. Manning married Emma, youngest daughter of the late Mr. G. B. Brock, of Swansea.

Mr. Manning is the author of “Jesus of Nazareth,” ten lectures, Swansea, 1882; “On the Study of the Old Testament,” Manchester, 1895; “The Newly-discovered Sayings of Jesus, viewed in relation to the development of doctrine in early Christian Literature.” Manchester, 1897; “Jerome and the Vulgate,” Manchester, 1899 (Addresses at the opening of the Sessions of those years of U.H.M.C.); “The History of Upper Chapel;” “A Good Puritan Woman;” “The Wise Virgin” (an account of James Fisher’s book), Sheffield, 1900. Also of various pamphlets, sermons, and addresses; “The Open Door,” a sermon preached at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1896; “Seeking God and finding Him,” an address preached at the quarterly meeting of the South Wales Unitarian Association, 1885; “The Church of England, how and when it was Established and Endowed,” Swansea, 1885; “Darwin and Darwinism,” Swansea, 1882; “The Prophet Daniel;” “The Poets and the Flowers;” “Is Jesus Christ Almighty God?” “Footprints of the Creator,” &c.

In 1896 an attempt was made to revive the services at Fulwood. After the death of Joseph Evans in 1798 the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Joseph Ramsbotham (1798-1802). In 1802-3 it was again supplied (by Mr. Naylor) from Upper Chapel. In 1803 the Rev. Wm. Whitelegg became minister until 1810. From that time the following ministers occupied the pulpit in succession:—1810-17, Rev. G. W. Elliott; 1817-27, Rev. John McDonald, a Calvinist (appointed chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. James Bowdin, minister of Queen Street Congregational Chapel); 1827-73, Rev. Hugh Garside Rhodes (died 15th December, 1873). From the death of Mr. Rhodes the chapel had been closed. In 1896 the Trustees put it into thorough repair, and on Sunday, June 7th, it was opened with every prospect of a successful continuation of the services. The chapel was crowded, a fair proportion of

those present being residents at Fulwood. The services were continued every Sunday afternoon during the summer months by the Revs. J. E. Manning and John Ellis, assisted by lay preachers, but with diminishing attendances. They were renewed in 1897 and 1898. The inhabitants of the place, however, showed no disposition to support the cause, and in the autumn of 1898 it was resolved not to continue the services.

In 1897 a CHAPEL ROLL-BOOK was instituted. The want of a record of persons who have been members of the chapel had often been felt, and it was resolved to remedy the defect by procuring a Roll-book, in which all existing or future seat-holders, or any persons, not less than eighteen years old, who have attended or shall attend the services for not less than six months, were invited to sign their names, as a token of their membership of the congregation. The signatures of many past members were procured from their families or friends, and were inserted, forming thus an interesting record. The inscription at the beginning of the Roll-book runs:—"We, the undersigned members of Upper Chapel, Sheffield, desire to unite for the worship and service of Almighty God."

THE HYMN BOOK.—In the year 1893, a new hymn book, to replace Martineau's "Hymns for the Christian Church and Home," which had long been in use, was adopted, being the Berwick Hymnal, with additions and alterations, and a supplement of favourite hymns from the old book.

In the year 1897 the TRIENNIAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE of Unitarian, Liberal Christian, Free Christian, Presbyterian, and other non-subscribing or kindred congregations met in Sheffield on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of May. This was the sixth meeting of the Conference, and proved in every way a complete success. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A., LL.D., on the evening of the 6th April. His text was Luke, xvii., 21, "The Kingdom of God is within you." An immense congregation gathered to hear him. At the Communion Service on the same evening, conducted by the Rev. Brooke Herford, D.D., upwards of 600 persons partook. Between 700 and 800 attended the regular

¹ In 1808 the endowment was lost through the failure of the Messrs. Roebuck, bankers.

sessions of the Conference in the Montgomery Hall, and some 1500 were present at the public meeting in the Albert Hall. About 2000 were present at the conversazione in the Mappin Art Gallery. Mr. James R. Beard, J.P., acted as President of the Conference; Mr. Michael Hunter, J.P., as President of the Sheffield Reception Committee; Mr. Herbert Bramley, Town Clerk, Chairman of Committee and Hon. Treasurer; Rev. John Ellis and Mr. Benjamin Greaves¹ as Hon. Secretaries; Mr. G. H. Hunt, Hospitality Hon. Secretary; Mr. W. R. Stevenson, Music Hon. Secretary. The Channing Hall was placed at the service of the local committee by the Trustees of Upper Chapel, and was used as a central bureau for ministers and delegates. The total number of ministers and delegates was 431, while many others attended in a non-representative capacity. All the arrangements were admirably carried out, and the Conference was one of the most successful since its establishment at Liverpool in 1882. The following papers were read:—"The deepening of the Spiritual Life of our Churches," by Rev. W. E. Addis, M.A. (Nottingham), and Rev. Joseph Wood (Birmingham); "Ministerial Superannuation," Mr. J. Cogan Conway (Ringwood); "The means of recruiting our Ministry," Rev. J. E. Manning, M.A. (Sheffield); "The Place of Immortality in Religious Belief," Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (Oxford); "International Arbitration," by Mr. Hodgson Pratt. A conference was held on "Women's Work, Religious and Social," over which Mrs. Manning presided.

THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE CHAPEL (1700-1900)—On the 18th July, 1899, a meeting of the congregation was held in Channing Hall to consider the suggestions made by a prior Sub-Committee as to the best means of celebrating the Bicentenary of the Chapel. It was ultimately agreed (i) that a History of the Chapel, written by Mr. Manning, should be published; (ii) that the Vestry should be enlarged; (iii) that a Tablet should be placed in the vacant niche over the choir stalls containing a copy of the inscription on the tombstone of Timothy Jollie, together with an inscription referring to the Bicentenary; (iv) that special meetings should be held in the

¹ Died 26th February, 1900.

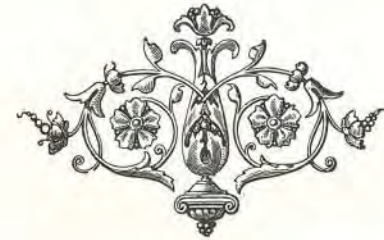
autumn of 1900 to celebrate the occasion; (v) that the necessary funds be raised by subscription among members of the congregation. The cost was not to exceed £500. These various matters are now (May, 1900) in an advanced state of completion. The History is in the printer's hands; the Vestry, under the direction and according to the designs of Messrs. Gibbs and Flockton, is almost finished; the inscription on the Tablet is being cut by Mr. Frank Tory; arrangements are being made for the autumnal meeting; and almost the whole of the necessary funds are in hand. The following is a list of subscribers to the Bicentennial Fund:—

Mr. Edward Atkin	Mrs. Gibbs.	Mrs. Manning.
Mr. Thomas Atkin	Mrs. Glossop.	Rev. J. E. Manning.
Mr. F. Barnes.	Mrs. Greaves.	Miss Matthews.
Miss Beckett.	Mr. Greaves.	Mr. H. J. Morton.
Mr. A. Beckett.	Mr John Haynes.	Mr. Wm. Nicol.
Miss A. Bennett	Mr. A. J. Hobson.	Mr. F. W. Pearson.
Mr. E. Bennett.	Mr. G. H. Hunt.	Mr. M. Pearson.
Mrs. G. E. Bennett.	Mrs. Hunter.	Mr. E. S. Robinson.
Mrs. Bramley.	Mr. M. J. Hunter.	Mrs. Slagg.
Mr. E. Bramley.	Mr. J. Hill.	Miss E. C. Smith.
Mrs. Blazeby.	Mr. H. E. Ibbitt.	Mr. G. C. Snaith.
Rev. Wm. Blazeby.	Mrs. Jackson.	Mrs. Stevenson.
Mr. A. H. Dalton.	Mr. Wm. Johnson.	Mrs. R. J. Walker.
Mr. A. Dufton.	Mr. J. Kirby.	Mr. R. J. Walker.
Miss Dunn.	Mr. E. Langton	Mr. Wm. Ward.
Mrs. Eadon.	Mrs. Wm. Laycock.	Mr. Wm. Watts.
Mr. H. Fisher.	Mr. Wm. Laycock.	Mr. H. Watson.
Mr. J. Figorski.	Mr. Jas. Laycock.	Mr. G. Wragg.

The members of the Senior Class also made a joint contribution.

The enlargement of the vestry has been done by extending one side four feet into the chapel yard, and by the addition of a large bay window, making the extreme dimensions 22 feet square (as compared with the former 18 feet square). The floor has been entirely relaid with wood blocks on cement concrete: it is over a portion of the old grave-yard, and a complete record of the graves so covered has been kept. The prevailing idea has been to give a pleasing effect in keeping with the old-fashioned surroundings. This has been successfully achieved by retaining the old sash windows with new leaded lights, and encasing the old doors with classically

moulded architraves and cornices, the chimney-piece being especially elaborated with a dentilled pediment and Pavonazzo marble slips and silvered glass mirror panel. The stove is surrounded by green tiles. The lighting is by pendant electric light globes from the ceiling, and the ventilation is by fresh air inlets in the walls and an electric extracting ventilator in the roof.



INSTITUTIONS, MONUMENTS, OFFICERS, &c.,

CONNECTED WITH UPPER CHAPEL.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.—There is a large and flourishing Sunday School in connection with Upper Chapel, but it is now impossible to say when it was first established. The early minute books have all been lost, and there is no tradition to help. No school is marked on the plan of the chapel property made in 1790. Yet the school must have existed, for there was a flourishing Sunday School in Dr. Philipps's time (1805-37), and it is known that it existed before he came to Sheffield. There is a reference to the Sunday School in the tabular analysis of statements of our anti-trinitarian congregations printed in the Debates on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, 1844 (Appendix No. 14, p. 443, note 6), where it is stated, "Schools built by present congregation where 200 children are taught. Improvements contemplated, but deferred on account of uncertainty of law." From that time onward the number of children has varied from 200 to 400, with 20 to 40 teachers. The school has educated some thousands of useful citizens, and many valuable and flourishing institutions have grown out of it. During the first half of the present century the teaching given was of a practical kind, not confined to religious subjects, but including reading, writing, &c., and many Sheffielders of a former generation owed all their education, both secular and religious, to Upper Chapel Sunday School.

A very useful adjunct to the Sunday School is the SICK AND SAVINGS SOCIETY, founded in September, 1817, and carried on with most beneficial results ever since. Any teacher or scholar of the school, or any member of any of its connected institutions, may join the society. Contributions to the Sick Fund are one penny per week, but deposits to any amount may be made in the Savings department. No member is entitled to benefit from the Sick Fund until after six

months' membership. Sick members receive 2s. 6d. per week for six weeks, and 1s. 6d. for nine weeks longer. In case of death the parents or friends of the deceased receive £2, £1, or 10s., according to the time deceased was in membership. At the end of each year the balance of the funds, after all sick and death claims have been paid, with a certain sum also kept back as a reserve, is re-distributed amongst the members, in proportion to the amount paid by each. The steady growth of the society and the magnitude of its operations may be seen from the following statistics, taken from an elaborate analysis prepared for me by Mr. Thomas Ridge, the present collector. Unfortunately the books previous to 1841 are not to be found. In 1849-50 (the club year is from October to September in the following year) the amount received from 64 boys was £10 17s. 7d.; in 1850-1, from 55 boys £9 3s. 6d., and from the girls (number not known) £11 16s. 7d., making a total of £21 os. 1d. In 1882-3, from 105 boys £87 17s. 4d., and 116 girls £104 14s. 3d.; total, £192 11s. 7d. In 1898-9, from 106 boys £85 3s. 3d., and 87 girls £55 14s. 2d.; total, £130 17s. 5d. The largest sum ever collected in a year was in 1890-1, from 128 boys £106 12s. 6d., and 134 girls £99 10s. 8d.; total, £206 3s. 2d. The dividend varies according to the amount of sickness and the number of deaths. In 1853-4 it was 4s. out of the 4s. 4d. contributed in 52 weeks. In 1898-9 it was 3s. 6d.

The first collector mentioned is Mr. Paul E. Fisher; other names are Messrs. Robert Marsden, F. Dale, E. M. Gibbs. The present collectors, Mr. Thomas Ridge (since 1872-3) and Mrs. Ridge (since 1879) have devoted themselves with unstinted zeal to the welfare of the club. The present officers are:—Mr. John K. Lister, treasurer; Mr. and Mrs. Ridge, collectors, assisted by Miss Mary Wilson; Mr. J. Dungworth and Mr. A. D. Belcher, auditors; Mr. Richard Fisher and Mrs. Ridge, visitors; Mr. E. M. Gibbs, trustee.

From this invaluable institution has also sprung the MOODY SICK AND SAVINGS CLUB, carried on for the benefit of adults, and on a more elaborate scale (upwards of 1000 members in 1900), but on the same principles of yearly distribution.

At the present time the following societies are connected with the Sunday School:—THE SENIOR CLASS, meeting on Sunday afternoons for a short religious service and discussion of papers on religious subjects. Leaders, Mr. Moody and Mr. Dungworth; hon. secretary, Mr. Walter Short. THE YOUNG PEOPLES' RELIGIOUS UNION, meeting on Wednesday evenings, also for religious service and discussion of papers, its motto being "Truth, Worship, Service." Leaders, the members in rotation; hon. secretary, Miss Constance Limer. THE GUILD OF GOOD ENDEAVOUR and BAND OF HOPE, intended for the younger children, meeting on Tuesday evenings. Leaders, Mrs. Mince and Mr. E. E. Chitty, assisted by Sunday School teachers. THE SEWING GUILD meets in the winter months under the superintendence of Mrs. Manning, and makes up left-off garments into clothes for the poorer children in the Board Schools.

In 1881 the existing accommodation of the school was too small for the various activities of the place, and Channing Hall was built for congregational and Sunday School purposes. The children assemble on Sunday morning and afternoon in the hall for a short preliminary service. The elder classes then go to their separate classrooms, while some of the junior classes remain in the hall. A systematic plan of teaching is carried on throughout the school. The lessons for each Sunday (morning and afternoon) are fixed by the President, and printed on the monthly Calendar, and once a month he holds THE MINISTER'S CLASS, to discuss with the teachers the various subjects to be taught during the month. At the end of the year an examination is held, and prizes are awarded according to merit.

The present officers of the Sunday School are:—President, Rev. J. E. Manning, M.A.; superintendents, Mr. William Laycock (temporary) and Miss Conroy; hon. secretary, Mr. Belcher; assistant secretary, Mr. Chitty; treasurer, Mr. George H. Hunt.

On the wall of the library there is a memorial tablet with the following inscription:—"This tablet was erected by the teachers and scholars of these schools in memory of the late Francis Morton, superintendent general, who 'though being



MR. FRANCIS MORTON.

dead, yet speaketh.' Died Oct. xviii. MDCCCXXXV." Mr. H. J. Morton, now living at Scarborough, son of this Francis Morton, tells me that his father was actively engaged as general superintendent as far back as he can remember (he is now 81). He says:—"Both my brothers, Charles and Francis, were teachers, and I was one up to leaving Sheffield, which was in 1834 or '35. My father used to go down to the school every Sunday." The accompanying portrait of Mr. Francis Morton is taken from a pencil drawing by William Cannon, of Wakefield, brother to the Rev. Patrick Cannon, minister of Westgate Chapel (1834-7), successor to the Rev. Thomas Johnstone.

Mr. Charles Hinde was also engaged with Mr. Morton in the duties of superintendent. In the chapel is a tablet with the following inscription:—"In memoriam of Charles Hinde who died Oct. 30. 1856 aged 56 years. He was a zealous and pious member of the Congregation, and especially useful in the Sunday School, of which he was for many years a diligent superintendent. He was interred at Stannington, to which village he extended his Christian labours. 'Go thou and do likewise.' This tablet is erected by the Congregation, Teachers and Scholars as a testimony of their respect." There is also a commemorative tablet to Mr. Hinde in Underbank Chapel, Stannington.

In addition to the Sunday School and the various institutions connected therewith, there is a LADIES' SEWING SOCIETY, which meets monthly to make garments for the poor. Subscribers receive a ticket for each half-crown subscribed, to be given to poor persons, who, upon presentation of the ticket, receive an equivalent in garments. Hon. secretary, Mrs. Manning. There is also a very successful LITERARY SOCIETY, which meets fortnightly during the winter months, when papers are read by members or lectures are given by special lecturers. A dramatic evening is held once in each session. Annual subscription, one shilling. Hon. secretary, Mr. William Laycock. THE POSTAL MISSION distributes a large quantity of Unitarian literature through the post. Advertisements are inserted in the local and other papers, and correspondents are supplied with books, pamphlets, and sermons, gratis; questions

are answered, and information concerning our literature, churches, and institutions is given. Hon. secretary, Mrs. Manning.

MINISTERS WHO HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH UPPER CHAPEL AND ITS SUNDAY SCHOOL.—The REV. JOHN CUCKSON first became connected with Upper Chapel in 1862, he being then seventeen years of age and taking much interest in the Sunday School and the Senior Class. He was born in Sheffield in 1845; educated (1865-8) at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board (as it was then called), having entered for the ministry at the Rev. Brooke Herford's suggestion. On leaving college he was appointed minister at Hamilton Road Church, Liverpool, where he remained from 1868 to 1873, and during this period he also acted (1870-1) as missionary at the Liverpool Bond Street Domestic Mission. In 1873 he removed to Birmingham, where he did good work as minister of the New Hall Hill Church (1873-81). In 1881 he settled at Bradford (Chapel Lane), where he remained until 1884. Then he removed to Springfield, Mass., U.S.A., and remained there until 1892. In 1893 he was invited to succeed Brooke Herford at Arlington Church, Boston, which he has resigned this year (1900).

The REV. WILLIAM GEORGE TARRANT, B.A., came to Sheffield in 1878 from Birmingham, where he had been connected with the Church of the Saviour (George Dawson's). His stay in Sheffield, though brief, was eventful, inasmuch as it was his connection with the Rev. Eli Fay that decided him to enter the ministry. He took an active part in the Sunday School and the Mutual Improvement Society connected with the congregation. He entered the Home Missionary College (under the Rev. William Gaskell, M.A.) in 1879, and left in 1881 for Manchester New College, London, where he remained until 1883. He was Tate Scholar, 1880-3; took his B.A. London, 1883. The same year he settled at Wandsworth, where a chapel was built in October, 1885; a schoolroom being added in 1887. By his activity and ardour Mr. Tarrant has gathered round him a zealous band of workers, and is now minister of a thriving cause. He is the author of "The

Beginnings of Christendom;" "Our Faith: Studies in Religion;" "Daily Meditations;" "Night unto Night."

MR. HERBERT JOHN ROSSINGTON, B.A., who completes his theological course at the Unitarian Home Missionary College this year, was for several years previous to his entrance to the college connected with the Sunday School, and took a prominent part in the Literary Society connected with the chapel. He began his collegiate course in October, 1894; took his B.A. (Victoria University) in 1898; held the Durning-Smith Scholarship for two years, 1897-8; was appointed Hibbert Scholar in 1900. He intends, as Hibbert Scholar, to study for a year in Germany before settling in the ministry.

LAY PREACHERS CONNECTED WITH UPPER CHAPEL.—Mention must be made of the services of MR. CHARLES WOOLLEN, an old member of Upper Chapel, who, though connected with Uppertorpe Chapel since its foundation, received the inspiration and stimulus to much useful work as lay preacher from the Rev. Brooke Herford. He died 11th April, 1898, aged 82 years. In an obituary notice in the *Inquirer*, 23rd April, 1898, the Rev. Charles Peach, the minister of Uppertorpe Chapel, who was very intimate with him, speaks of him as "one of the gentlest, purest, and noblest of men. Unfailing courtesy, quick sympathy, and ready helpfulness, speaking in every action as well as in every line of his face, marked him out in every assembly of men as a rare, refined, and beautiful soul. With the white of many winters in his hair, he carried the spring of eternal youth in his heart. Never doubting, and in a good cause never wearying, he worked on through all his long life, content always to take the lowliest place, and satisfied to see the work prosper, whoever got the praise for it." Mr. Woollen was originally a member of the Church of England, but became connected with Upper Chapel in Brooke Herford's time. He joined the lay preachers' class, and soon became a regular preacher in the chapels of Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. He was one of the founders of Uppertorpe. "It was he who, in company with Mr. Herford, found the original preaching-room out of which the present Uppertorpe Chapel has grown.

It was in January, 1859, that he and Mr. Herford assisted at the opening of the room. From that time to his death Mr. Woollen was the natural head and leader of the Uppertorpe Congregation, the warm supporter of all its institutions, the friend of all its ministers. Outside the chapel, political, educational, and philanthropic work of all kinds found in him a willing and faithful servant; and, indeed, wherever there was good work to be done, there Mr. Woollen would be found." His wife (who survives him) was his helpmeet and supporter in all good works. During the last twenty years of his life, his energies were chiefly directed to Flagg Chapel, and to his untiring zeal the cause there owes much of its vitality. "During all that period," says Mr. Peach, "he was solely responsible for the conduct of worship in that little home of our faith. Aided by brother laymen from Derby, Manchester, and Sheffield, he kept the lamp of our faith burning clearly up there in that almost inaccessible Peak hamlet. Officiating himself every second or third Sunday, he was known and beloved of every person young and old, rich and poor, throughout the district." In 1899 a memorial window was erected in Uppertorpe Chapel to his memory.

The names of other members of the lay preachers' class in Mr. Woollen's time are Robert Marsden, William Ridge, Charles Hinde, Brierly Wilde, Stephen Bacon. The following names must also be mentioned among the band of zealous lay preachers connected with Upper Chapel:—Messrs. Newman H. Hunt, Samuel Charlesworth, George C. Snaith, Joseph Dungworth, Walter Short.

UPPER CHAPEL FELLOWSHIP FUND.—The following short history of the Fund was drawn up by Mr. Edward Bramley, M.A., and read at the annual picnic held at Hardwick Hall, on the 30th June, 1893:—

"The Fellowship Fund was instituted in 1839, during the ministry of the Rev. B. T. Stannus, in order, in the words of the Minute Book, 'to give assistance to the congregation assembling at the chapel which there are no other funds to supply.' Its objects were defined shortly as the following:—(1) To pay the expenses of supply ministers; (2) to pay for

printing and advertising in connection with sermons and lectures; and (3) to assist other chapels, and aid institutions appearing calculated to support the cause of religious truth and liberty. The first two are now, and have for some time, been dealt with out of the general Chapel Fund. The first meeting was held on the 17th February, 1839; the first president was Thomas Asline Ward; the first secretaries, Alfred Osborne and William Beckett (names we have still among us); and the first treasurer, Joseph Gurney. The subscription was then, as now, a penny a week. The institution very soon had 186 members, and commenced by making grants to chapels so far distant as Aberdeen in Scotland, Ravara and Comber in Ireland, and Cirencester and Battle in the South of England. Among other grants made in the first few years succeeding its formation may be noticed £3 to the Sunday School for the enlargement of the library, £14 for erecting new pews, £10 to the proposed improvement at Rotherham, £5 to the choir, £9 9s. for the Chapel House repairs, £15 for repairing the chapel, £10 for mending the organ, and £10 for the stoves, and a payment for new hymn books for strangers. The payment of £2 to the 'Inquirer Fund' in 1846, and of the expenses incurred by Mr. T. A. Ward's journey to London to watch the progress of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, recall to us landmarks in the history of our cause. £5 voted for repairing Ashford Chapel did not permanently succeed in bolstering up the failing fortunes of this little chapel in the Peak. An interesting item is a grant of £3 in 1844 to procure a steam printing press for Joseph Barker, a well-known Unitarian lecturer and debater at that time, who afterwards embraced Atheistic opinions, and presumably continued to use the printing press in support of them. The membership fell off very considerably, and was less than sixty just before the Rev. Brooke Herford accepted the ministry in 1855. Mainly through his efforts it was soon raised to 200, with an annual income of nearly £50 to administer. It may be mentioned that up to now the collectors had been all males, but in 1863 a newer and better order of things was instituted, and lady collectors have been the rule ever since. Grants were made about this time to Poole

Chapel in Dorset, and Newbury in Berks, and £5 was given to assist in starting the *Unitarian Herald*. The only other item that need be noticed is the payment of the cost of obtaining a copy of the Chapel Register of baptisms and burials,¹ and of binding it; the original Register having, according to the requirements of the law, been sent to Somerset House. Latterly, grants, on the ground that charity begins at home, have been confined more to chapels within our own district, and have not varied much from year to year. The membership is now about one hundred, a great deal less than it ought to be, and the usefulness of the fund is somewhat hampered by the smallness of its income." Subscriptions are paid annually from the fund to the Manchester College, Oxford; the Unitarian Home Missionary College, Manchester; the Yorkshire Unitarian Union; and the local Postal Mission.

THE MONUMENTS IN UPPER CHAPEL.—Monuments have been erected to the following:—William Fisher,² Nathaniel Philipps, D.D.;² John Rutherford, surgeon, died October 3rd, 1789; a brass to Edward Bramley,² solicitor, and first Town Clerk of Sheffield, and his wife, Fanny Grace, daughter of Thomas and Ann Mason, of Hull; Richard Greaves, died April 26th, 1835; William Greaves, died May 12th, 1830, and Anne Greaves, his wife; Ann Matthews, born December 21st, 1812, died June 23rd, 1897; John H. Hunter, died 15th July, 1889; a brass to Charles Stephen Hunter, born 2nd July, 1858, died 18th January, 1892; Charles Hinde,² died 30th October, 1856; Michael Hunter² (four generations of the same name); Samuel Dalton, died September 6th, 1853, and Harriet

¹ This is Timothy Jollie's Register, from May, 1681, to July, 1702; continued by John Wadsworth, October, 1721, to December, 1744; by Thomas Haynes, from 1745 to 1758; by Joseph Evans, John Dickinson, and Benjamin Naylor, 1758-98; by Benjamin Naylor, 1799-1805; by Rev. William Whitelegg, minister of Fulwood, August, 1805, to January, 1806; by Nathaniel Philipps, April, 1806, to June, 1807; together with a supplementary register of baptisms by Joseph Evans, 1759-87. And, further, a register of funerals at Upper Chapel, 1812-36. According to the Minute Book of the Fellowship Fund, 21st March, 1869, a grant of £4 9s. was made in order to procure a copy of this Register; a sum (not stated) was also voted for binding it.

² These monuments will be found in the body of this work, under these names.

his wife; John Bagshaw. This last is a very handsome marble monument, with the following inscription in Latin:—
 "H. S. E. Johannes Bagshaw, Hochelatisensis in pago Derbiensi; religione pura, matrem erga superstitem pietate, ingenii atque morum suavitate, acumine singulari, ac supra aetatem eruditione, praeter sui ordinis plerosque, nobilitatus. Qui in academia Edinburgensi (ubi artium liberalium studiosissimus in animo magis quam corpore excolendo se exercebat) pulmonum, eheu! tabe affectus, in itinere ad suos, spe gloriae sempiternae in Jesu reposita, ex hac vita demigravit, v.n. Maii A.C. M.DCC.XXI. aet. An. xx. m. xi. d. xvi. Eliza Clark mater, Gratia Bagshaw soror atque haeres filio ac fratri unico et charissimo, H. M. M. F. C. Perge viator, maeste nova virtute esto, sic itur ad astra." Above are the arms of Bagshaw:—Or, a bugle-horn sable, garnished and stringed vert, between three roses proper. The inscription may be translated:—
 "Here lies buried John Bagshaw, of Great Hucklow in Derbyshire; distinguished above most of his rank for purity of religion, for filial piety towards his mother who survives him, for the sweetness of his disposition and manners, for rare ability, and for learning beyond his years. While at the Edinburgh University (where in earnest pursuit of the liberal arts he devoted himself to the cultivation of his mind rather than of his body) he contracted, alas, a disease of the lungs, and on his journey home he departed this life (his hope of eternal glory being fixed in Jesus) May 3rd, 1721, aged 20 years, 11 months, and 16 days. His sorrowing mother, Eliza Clark,¹ and his sister and heir, Grace Bagshaw, have erected this monument to their very dear and only son and brother. Wayfarer, pass on; improve in virtue early begun; this is the way to heaven."

MEMORIAL WINDOWS.—Over the choir stalls are two windows, the gift of Mr. Thomas Jessop and Mr. John Hobson, one representing Christ opening the eyes of the blind ("According to your faith be it unto you"); the other, Christ blessing little children ("Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.") In the gallery,

¹ See p. 65.

"The Good Samaritan," erected in 1893 by Mrs. William J. Stevenson, with the inscription, "In memory of Eliza Stevenson, born Feb. 19th, 1806; died June 1st, 1881"; and "The Good Shepherd," erected in 1895 by Mrs. N. H. Hunt, with the inscription, "I am the Good Shepherd and know my sheep—John x. 14, in memory of Newman Henry Hunt, who died January 13th, 1887. Erected by his widow." In the body of the chapel, "Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane," inscribed, "To John Hattersley, d. 20 Sep. 1875, and his youngest daughter Kate, d. Ap. 25. 1880."

In 1899 five of the ground floor windows were filled with special designs by Mr. Henry Holiday, of Hampstead; and underneath each was placed a brass memorial inscription. (i.) *The Woman of Samaria*, with the legend, "The hour cometh and now is;" and on the brass, "This window was erected to the glory of God, and in affectionate memory of her dear husband, Robert Thomas Eadon, and her beloved parents, Robert and Elizabeth Renton, by Helen Simpson Eadon, A.D. 1899. Thy will be done." (ii.) *The Sower*, with the legend, "Some came up an hundredfold;" and on the brass, "Hanc fenestram in memoriam Herbert Bramley, urbis huius scribae vidua maerens posuit, A.D. 1899. Natus 12 Maii 1842; obiit 13 Sept. 1897." ["This window was erected in memory of Herbert Bramley, Town Clerk of this city, by his sorrowing widow, A.D. 1899. Born 12th May, 1842; died 13th September, 1897.] (iii.) *Feeding the Multitude*, with the legend, "That nothing be lost;" and on the brass, "This window was erected to the memory of William Edward Laycock, J.P., and his wife, Jane Caroline Laycock, of Stumperlowe Grange, Sheffield, by their loving children, A.D. 1899. Thy will be done." (iv.) *The Child Christ in the Temple*, with the legend, "Wist ye not?" and on the brass, "This window was erected to the memory of Alfred and Susanna Beckett, of Woodside, Sheffield, by their loving children, A.D. 1899." (v.) *The Pool of Bethesda*, with the legend, "The Sabbath was made for man;" and on the brass, "In loving memory of William and Eliza Wostinholm, by their son and daughter." The remaining three windows on the ground floor, which have no central design, were presented by Mrs. Bramley in 1899. Their groundwork is constructed

of antique glass of various shades of green. These eight windows, and the five tablets of beaten brass, prepared by Mr. P. A. F. Alexander, of Hampstead, form a handsome addition to the chapel.

THE MEMORIAL TABLET in the vestibule was erected in 1862, to commemorate the founding of the Chapel (1662) and the bi-centenary of the passing of the Act of Uniformity. It is a record of the formation of the first Nonconformist Society in Sheffield, and it gives a list of ministers up to 1862.

THE ORGAN was built in 1866 by Ed. Wadsworth, of Manchester. It has three full manuals and independent pedal, 30 stops and tremulant, 4 couplers, and 6 composition pedals. Previous to the erection of this organ in the chamber behind the pulpit, the choir sat in the gallery at the opposite end of the chapel. The present organist is Mr. Geo. Wragg, who was appointed in 1875.

COMMUNION PLATE.—Two silver chalices. (i.) Chalice, silver, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. tall, bell, foot. Date letter probably London, 1682-83. Inscription on shield, between handles, "H. N." This cup is mentioned in Chaffers. It was one in the collection of Mr. R. T. Frere, who, about 1700-10, made a collection of old silver, especially two-handled cups. It is not known who H. N. was, or how the cup came into the possession of the chapel. (ii.) Chalice, silver, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. tall, bell, foot, London, date letter, 1784-85. Inscription on bell, between handles:—

SHEFFIELD
UPR CHAPEL
1785

There is no record how it came into the possession of the chapel. Two patens, electro, 10in. diameter. In centre of each, in glory:—

+
I · H · S

A flagon, electro, 11in. high, lid, beak, handle. On front, in glory:—

+
I · H · S

PRESENT OFFICERS OF UPPER CHAPEL.—Trustees: Alfred Beckett, Joseph S. Beckett, R. R. Eadon, H. Fisher, A. J. Hobson, M. J. Hunter (Chairman), W. Jessop, C. A. Laycock, James Laycock, J. G. Lowood, W. Murfin. Committee: Rev. J. E. Manning, M.A.; Mrs. William Stevenson, R. Fisher, G. H. Hunt, William Laycock, F. W. Smith, H. Watson, William Watts. Hon. Treasurer: J. G. Lowood. Collector: George H. Hunt. Hon. Secretary: Edward Bramley, M.A. Organist: Geo. Wragg. Chapel-keeper: Joseph Watkinson.

LIST OF TRUSTEES OF UPPER CHAPEL FROM 1704.—On August 28th, 1699, the ground on which the chapel is built was conveyed to Joshua Bayes and Feild Sylvester.

On July 22nd, 1701, a Justices' Order was granted that the chapel may be used for religious worship, according to the Act of Parliament for exempting Protestant Dissenters from certain penalties (cf. facsimile, p. 51). On November 25th, 1704, Feild Sylvester (survivor of Bayes and himself) conveyed the land and the chapel to the first Trustees, who were:—Thomas Hollis, junior, citizen and draper of London; John Brown, gentleman; William Stead, mercer; Samuel Shore, William Burch, Jonathan Smith, Benjamin Kirkby, Luke Winter, Joseph Fletcher, cutlers; Joseph Sanderson, Samuel Sanderson, tanners; John Croke, the younger, tallow chandler; and the said Feild Sylvester, gentleman, all of Sheffield.

On September 1st, 1743, Samuel Shore and John Croke, the surviving Trustees, appointed as Trustees:—Samuel Shore, the younger, gentleman; Gilbert Roberts, factor; Henry Hall, the younger, cutler; Joseph Turner, shearsmith; Godfry Wigfall, factor; Nathaniel Mears, shoemaker; George Croke, Samuel Kirkby, butchers; Thomas Bridges, hatter; John Millner, tinman; Nathaniel Walker, gentleman; all of Sheffield.

On December 21st, 1763, Samuel Shore, the father, Henry Hall, Godfry Wigfall, Nathaniel Mears (then of York Buildings, Middlesex), George Croke, Samuel Kirkby, and Thomas Bridges, surviving Trustees, appointed as new Trustees:—Samuel Shore, the son, of Norton, esquire; Joseph

Roberts, merchant; Samuel Hall, cutler; John Girdler, grocer; Francis Haigh, mercer; Samuel Staniforth, linen-draper; all of Sheffield.

The minister's house at this time is mentioned as being in the possession of the Rev. John Baines.

On December 27th, 1786, Samuel Kirkby, Samuel Shore (of Norton Hall), Samuel Hall, and Samuel Staniforth, the survivors, appointed as new Trustees:—John Shore, William Shore, bankers; Samuel Staniforth, the younger, linen-draper; Samuel Kirkby, the younger, Joseph Swallow, cutlers; John Kitchen, shoemaker; James Shemeld, Henry Hall, Richard Loy, cutlers.

On July 20th, 1821, Samuel Shore (late of Norton, then of Meersbrook), John Shore (then of Scarborough), William Shore (then of Tipton), and Samuel Staniforth (formerly the younger), the survivors, appointed as new Trustees:—John Shore, the younger, banker; Thomas Asline Ward, of Park House, merchant; Edward Nanson, brewer; James Kirkby, of Little Sheffield, silver plater; Samuel Lucas, junior, of Bolsover Hill, Ecclesfield, refiner of silver; William Newbould, of Broomhill, merchant; John Fox, fork manufacturer; William Fisher, haft presser; John Favell, surgeon; all of Sheffield, unless otherwise stated.

The minister's house at this time is described as formerly in the occupation of the Rev. J. Baines, afterwards of Ralph Gosling, then of Daniel Holy.

On November 30th, 1837, John Shore (late of Sheffield, banker, but then of Saint Thomas, Upper Canada, British America), T. A. Ward, E. Nanson, W. Newbould (then of Intake), William Fisher, and John Favell (then of Ackworth Moor Top, Yorkshire), the survivors, appointed as new Trustees:—Offley Shore, of Norton Hall, esquire; Luke Palfreyman, gentleman; John Ryalls, gentleman; James Fox, merchant; William Renton, tailor; John Fisher, accountant; John Hobson, scissor smith; all of Sheffield.

The minister's house was then occupied by C. Flory.

On May 24th, 1864, T. A. Ward, O. Shore, J. Ryalls, J. Fox, W. Renton, J. Fisher, and J. Hobson, the survivors,

appointed as new Trustees:—Thomas Jessop, merchant; William Fisher, merchant; William Edward Laycock, hair-seating manufacturer; John Beckett, collector; Michael Hunter, the younger, manufacturer; Robert Marsden, scale cutter; all of Sheffield.

On June 14th, 1881, J. Ryalls, J. Hobson (of Tapton Elms), Thomas Jessop (Endcliffe Grange), W. E. Laycock (Stumperlowe Grange), Michael Hunter, the younger (Greystones), and Robert Marsden (Tapton Grove), the survivors, appointed as new Trustees:—William Jessop, of Forest Hill, near Worksop, gentleman; Harry Fisher, Tapton Mount, commercial traveller; Robert Thomas Eadon, Tapton Ville, saw and steel manufacturer; Newman Henry Hunt, Norfolk Row, stock and share broker; Joseph Shaw Beckett, Green Lane, saw manufacturer; Michael Joseph Hunter, Greystones, merchant and manufacturer's clerk; William Murfin, the younger, Tapton Grove, carrier's agent; all of Sheffield, except William Jessop.

On January 29th, 1891, W. E. Laycock, M. Hunter, W. Jessop, H. Fisher, J. S. Beckett, M. J. Hunter, and W. Murfin, the survivors, appointed as new Trustees:—Alfred Beckett, Robert Renton Eadon, merchants and manufacturers; Albert John Hobson, gentleman; Charles Albert Laycock, hair-seating manufacturer; James Laycock, mechanical engineer; John Grayson Lowood, merchant and manufacturer.

Of the above, W. E. Laycock died in 1895 and M. Hunter in 1898.

The Trustees of the Westbar property have, except about 1860, always been the same as the Trustees of the chapel and the Pepper Alley estate. At that time one or two persons were appointed Trustees of the Westbar property who were never Trustees of the Pepper Alley estate, and *vice versa*.

LIST OF SECRETARIES FROM 1821.—William Fisher,¹ appointed 25th September, 1821; resigned 30th November, 1837. James Fox, appointed 30th November, 1837; resigned 14th September, 1843. Alexander Renton,² appointed 14th

¹ T. A. Ward was appointed joint secretary.

² John Fisher was appointed September, 1843, to assist.

September, 1843; died 1848. John Hobson, appointed 28th July, 1848; resigned 1st December, 1854. Edward Bramley (first Town Clerk of Sheffield), appointed 1st December, 1854; died 12th March, 1865. William Fisher and Herbert Bramley, appointed joint secretaries 27th March, 1865; the former resigned 1867; the latter, 26th January, 1885. Edward Mitchell Gibbs, appointed 26th January, 1885; resigned 16th April, 1886. Albert John Hobson,¹ appointed 16th April, 1886; resigned 10th March, 1891. William Laycock, appointed 10th March, 1891; resigned 22nd March, 1893. Edward Bramley, appointed 22nd March, 1893.

LIST OF TREASURERS FROM 1821.—John Shore,² junior, appointed 25th September, 1821; resigned 10th July, 1826. William Fisher, appointed 10th July, 1826; resigned 30th November, 1837. James Fox, appointed 30th November, 1837; resigned 14th September, 1843. Alexander Renton, appointed 14th September, 1843; died 1848. John Hobson, appointed 28th July, 1848; resigned 1st December, 1854. Edward Bramley, appointed 1st December, 1854; died 12th March, 1865. William Fisher, appointed 27th March, 1865; resigned 13th January, 1879. John Hobson, appointed 13th January, 1879; died 20th February, 1889. Michael Hunter, appointed 12th March, 1889; resigned 16th April, 1891. Harry Fisher, appointed 16th April, 1891; resigned 22nd November, 1899. John Grayson Lowood, appointed 22nd November, 1899.

¹ Resigned secretaryship of Congregational Committee 10th March, 1891, and secretaryship to Trustees 8th May, 1893, when Mr. Edward Bramley, already secretary to committee, was appointed also secretary to Trustees.

² The old minutes are very incomplete. There is a minute of Mr. Shore's appointment, and nothing is said about him afterwards. On the 10th July, 1826, T. A. Ward was appointed treasurer, and there is a note that he declined to act. In 1837 a resolution was passed thanking Mr. William Fisher for his services as secretary and *treasurer* for the past *sixteen* years. Probably while secretary he performed what work there was for the treasurer to do, and Mr. Shore's duties were nominal.

LIST OF MINISTERS OF UPPER CHAPEL.

James Fisher	1662-1666
Robert Durant	1669-1679
Richard Taylor	1679-1681
Timothy Jollie	1681-1714
Jeremiah Gill, assistant	1689?-1697
John Wadsworth, assistant	1701
John de la Rose, assistant	1714
John Wadsworth	1715-1744
Timothy Jollie, junior, assistant	1715-1720
Daniel Clark, assistant	1720-1724
Benjamin Roberts, assistant	1724-1740
Field Sylvester Wadsworth, assistant	1740-1758
Thomas Haynes	1745-1758
Joseph Evans	1758-1798
John Dickinson, assistant	1758-1780
Benjamin Naylor, assistant	1780-1798
Benjamin Naylor	1798-1805
Nathaniel Philipps, D.D.... ..	1805-1837
Bartholomew Teeling Stannus	1838-1852
Thomas Hincks, B.A.	1852-1855
Brooke Herford... ..	1856-1864
John Lettis Short	1865-1874
William Henry Channing	1875
George Vance Smith, B.A.	1875-1876
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REGISTER
OF
BAPTISMS AT UPPER CHAPEL.

ON page 184, note 1, reference is made to the copy of the Chapel Register of Baptisms and Burials which was made (1869) when the original Register was sent to Somerset House. The Register contains the names of many persons well known in the history of Upper Chapel, and in the history of Sheffield generally. The names of Bayes, Sylvester, Smith, Girdler, Simmons, Jollie, Wadsworth, Wordsworth, Shore, Bridges, and many others mentioned in the foregoing pages, occur very early in the Register. It is a unique and most valuable record, and a desire has been expressed by many who take interest in such matters to see it published. The limits of this work preclude the publication of it in its entirety, but the early portion of it is here given, viz., Timothy Jollie's Register, and its sequel by John Wadsworth, from 1681 to 1744. The names, with the variety in orthography, are given as they stand in the Register.

A REGISTER OF CHILDREN

BAPTISED BY THE REV. TIMOTHY JOLLIE, FROM APRIL 18, 1681,
THE DAY OF HIS ORDINATION, TO JULY 27, 1704,¹ 23 YEARS
AND 3 MONTHS.

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
1681	May 16	Jonathan ...	Joseph Taison...	Fulwood.
	30	Edward and Rebecca ...	Thomas Twigg ...	
	June 13	Samuel ...	Saml. Shepherd ...	Mansfield.
	Aug. 10	Josiah ...	Wm. Ward ...	Sheffield.
	18	Peter and Obadiah ...	Robert Dickenson ...	Fishlake.
	22	John and Mar- garet ...	John Trippet ...	Sheffield.
	Oct. 17	Rebecca ...	John Rogers ...	High Lee.
	Dec. 5	John ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	Sheffield.
	14	John ...	John Baker ...	
	Jan. 19	John ...	Mercurs. Shimeld ...	
	Feb. 25	Christian ...	Joseph Smith ...	
	Mar. 8	Hezekiah ...	Joseph Smith ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Ralph Hides ...	
		Mary ...	John Barber ...	
1682	April 12	Mary ...	Joseph Yates ...	
	19	James...	James Shimeld ...	
	May 3	Ruth ...	Joseph Instis ...	
	June 22	Elisabeth ...	Joshua Bayes ...	
	Aug. 31	Dorothy ...	Jno. Bormforth ...	Fulwood.
	Sep. 4	Anna ...	Edward Roberts ...	Sheffield.
	Oct. 9	Elisabeth ...	Thos. Wilson ...	
	Nov. 22	Thomas and Deborah ...	Thomas Machon ...	Crooksmore.
	Dec. 18	Jeremiah ...	John Baker ...	Sheffield.
	29	Jonathan ...	Jonathan Smith ...	
	Jan. 4	Elisabeth ...	Antho. Morris ...	
1683	Feb. 20	Mary ...	Mercurs. Shimeld ...	
	27	Anna ...	Joseph Yates ...	
Mar. 11	Deborah ...	Danl. Oates ...	Chesterfield.	
1684	Ap. 31	Anna ...	Thos. Wilson ...	Sheffield.
	(sic) May 8	Matthew ...	Matth. Wright ...	
	25	Hanah ...	Robert Ellis ...	
		Edward ...	Joseph Smith ...	
		Sarah... ...	Ralph Hides ...	

¹ The actual record goes only as far as July 30th, 1702. The other pages are missing.

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Jun. 5	Anna ...	Joseph Taison ...	Fullwood.
	8	Deborah ...	Nichs. Crabtree ...	Fishlake.
	Aug. 12	Rebecca ...	John How ...	little Sheffield.
	28	Joshua ...	Mr. Sl. Ibbetson ...	of Leeds at Hatfield.
	Sep. 10	William and Joseph ...	Willm. Turner ...	Sheffield.
	29	John ...	Jonat. Smith ...	
	Oct. 28	Elisabeth ...	Henry Oats ...	
	Jan. 25	Thomas ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
	29	Joseph ...	Mercs. Shimeld ...	Sheffield.
			Nathaniel ...	Thomas Twigg ...
1686	April 15	Henry ...	Henry Oates ...	
	(sic) June 4	Lidia ...	Joseph Yates ...	
	5	John ...	William Turner ...	
		Edward ...	John Barber ...	
		William ...	Ralph Hides ...	
		Ephraim ...	Joseph Smith ...	
	19	Sarah...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
	Aug. 2	John ...	George Car ...	Sheffield.
	10	Lidia ...	Audree Crabtree ...	Fishlake.
	Oct. 8	Hanah ...	Joseph Yates ...	Sheffield.
	Nov. 10	Hephzibah ...	Robert Ellis ...	
		Rebecca ...	Jonan. Smith ...	
		Rachel ...	John Curtland ...	
	Dec. 20	Thomas ...	Thomas Wilson ...	
1687	Jan. 26	Martha ...	Joseph Hancock ...	Stainington.
	Feb. 23	George ...	Thos. Webster ...	Sheffield.
	Apr. —	Mary ...	Saml. Hutchinson ...	
		Christian ...	Joseph Smith ...	
	May 10	Lemuel ...	John Swinden ...	Bradfield.
	23	Joshua ...	Wm. Turner ...	Sheffield.
		Elisabeth ...	Joseph Clayton ...	
	June 14	Thomas ...	John Morphey ...	Gainsborough
	15	Elisabeth ...	Wm. Hall ...	Keksby.
	22	John ...	Nics. Matthewman ...	Birly Carr.
26	Matthew ...	Matth. Clayton ...	Sheffield.	
Sep. 14	Sarah...	John King ...		
Oct. 21	Martha and Rachel ...	George Barber ...		
	Samuel ...	Wm. Clayton ...		
	Thomas ...	Arthur Mangey ...		
24	Hugh...	Hugh Hides ...		

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
		Samuel ...	Robert Darwent ...	
	Nov. 8	Ann ...	Edwd. Taylor...	Pitsmore.
	Dec. 4	Samuel ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
		Thomas ...	John Lee ...	Sheffield.
	Jan. 13	John ...	Joseph Yates ...	
		Ann ...	Samuel Hawkwo th ...	Fulwood.
	Feb. 16	Nathaniel ...	Jonan. Webster ...	Sheffield.
		Mary ...	Jno. Barber ...	
	Mar. 15	Abigail ...	Jno. Howe ...	
1688	Apr. 10	Jonathan ...	Merces. Shimeld ...	
		Samuel ...	Robt. Staniforth ...	
	May 16	Edward ...	Wm. Bates ...	
	June 21	Anthony ...	Antho. Morris ...	
	July 30	Sarah... ...	Sam. Hutchison ...	
	Aug. 1	Hanah ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Fran. Girdler ...	
	Sep. 20	Hanah ...	James Barber ...	
		Samuel ...	Robt. Ellis ...	
		Samuel ...	Wm. Hides ...	
	Oct. 10	Thomas ...	Nevill Simmons ...	
		Sarah... ...	Joseph Fox ...	
		Sarah... ...	John Curtland ...	
	Nov. 8	Elisabeth ...	John Wood ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Wm. Turner ...	
		Ruth ...	Richd. Marsh... ...	
		Hanah ...	Jona. Smith ...	
	Jan. 8	Mary ...	Jonan. Webster ...	
		Benjamin ...	Arthur Mangey ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
	Feb. 2	Hanah ...	James Oates ...	Clarkhouse.
		Jeremiah ...	Thos. Marshal ...	Sheffield.
		Moses ...	Moses Springfield ...	
	Mar. 4	George ...	Jno. Button ...	Kittons.
1689	May 2	Mary ...	Jno. Birks ...	Sheffield.
		Martha ...	Jos. Smith ...	
		John ...	Caleb Clayton ...	
	June 19	Samuel ...	Robt. Salmon... ...	
		Elisabeth ...	John Lee ...	
		Samuel ...	Ralph Hides ...	
	Aug. 12	John ...	George Hutchinson ...	
		Anne ...	Benj. Shimeld ...	
	Oct. 4	Joseph ...	Jos. Smith ...	
		John and Thomas ...	Thos. Scargell ...	
		Sarah... ...	Saml. Webster ...	

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Nov. 6	Timothy ...	Wm. Ward ...	
		21 Timothy ...	John Wood ...	
		Mary ...	Wm. Salmon ...	
		26 James... ...	James Hoole ...	
	Dec. 3	Elisabeth ...	John Curtland ...	
		11 Samuel ...	Adam Hawkworth ...	
	Jan. 2	Benjamin ...	Nat. Sadler ...	
	Feb. 6	Elisabeth ...	Jno. Swinden... ...	
		28 Martha ...	Richard Marsh ...	
1690	Apr. 14	John ...	William Hides ...	
		22 Mary ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
	May 9	Ann ...	Jos. Yates ...	Sheffield.
		Mary ...	Anthony Morris ...	
		10 Lydia... ...	James Oates ...	
		22 Timothy ...	Geo. Carr ...	
	June 17	Mary ...	Jos. Smith ...	
		William ...	Josh. Dewsbury ...	
	July 11	John ...	Fran. Girdler ...	
		Thomas ...	— Woodward... ...	
		13 Martha ...	Wm. Hall ...	Gainsborough.
		21 James... ...	James Hoole ...	Sheffield.
		23 Susanna ...	John Smith ...	Attercliffe.
	Sep. 4	Zecharias ...	John Arthur ...	Sheffield.
		22 Martha ...	Robt. Ellis ...	
		Mary ...	Thos. Wilson ...	
	Nov. 3	Elisabeth ...	Jno. Smith ...	
		12 Elisabeth ...	Andrew Hill ...	
		John ...	Saml. Roberts ...	Attercliffe.
		20 Joshua ...	Thos. Marshal ...	Sheffield.
		Hanah ...	Saml. Hutchinson ...	
	Dec. 1	Mary ...	John Lee ...	
		11 Mary ...	Nevl Simmons ...	
	Jan. 12	Elisabeth ...	Caleb Clayton ...	
	Mar. 9	Jonathan ...	Jona. Smith ...	
		22 Elisabeth ...	Geor. Fox ...	
1691		31 Alice ...	James Haugh ...	
	Apr. 7	Timothy ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	
		Mary ...	Wm. Ward ...	
	May 4	Richard ...	Richard Marsh ...	
	July 22	Sarah... ...	Wm. Woodward ...	
	Aug. 6	Nathaniel ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
		10 Thomas ...	Wm. Turner ...	Sheffield.
		Benjam. ...	John Curtland ...	
		Mary ...	Thos. Scargell ...	
		17 Hanah ...	Francs. Girdler ...	

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	29	Nathaniel ...	Nathl. Bacon ...	... Glapwell.
Sep.	1	Timothy ...	Timothy Jollie ...	Attercliffe.
	28	Anna ...	Benj. Staniforth ...	...
Oct.	9	Thomas ...	Jno. Wood ...	Sheffield.
	20	Matthias ...	Christoph. Haslem ...	...
	22	Martha ...	Moses Springfield ...	...
	31	Matthew and Joshua ...	Saml. Roberts ...	Attercliffe.
Dec.	6	Martha ...	Wm. Bate ...	Sheffield.
Jan.	26	Joshua ...	John King ...	...
	28	Sarah... ..	James Spencer ...	...
Feb.	15	Hanah ...	Jno. Mandevile ...	Glapwell.
Mar.	1	Mary ...	James Bullas ...	Skinnerthorp.
	3	Joseph ...	Joseph Yates ...	Sheffield.
		Ann ...	James Hoole ...	...
1692 Ap.	11	Jonathan ...	Adam Hawksworth ...	...
May	3	Hanah ...	Thos. Handley ...	Hall-Car.
	12	Hanah ...	— Holland ...	Sheffield.
	26	Joseph ...	Josh. Dewsbury ...	...
June	24	Hanah ...	Wm. Ward ...	...
	30	Samuel ...	Wm. Wadsworth ...	Attercliffe.
Aug.	3	Samuel ...	Timo. Shirley... ..	Rotheram.
	4	John ...	Elias Wadsworth ...	Sheffield.
	15	Alice ...	Andrew Hill ...	...
	25	Bethia ...	Robt. Ellis ...	...
	29	Hanah ...	Jos. Smith ...	...
Sep.	2	Robert ...	Wm. Marsland ...	Attercliffe.
	25	John ...	Jno. Bacon ...	Heath.
	26	William ...	Jno. Levet ...	Attercliffe.
Oct.	17	John ...	Caleb Clayton ...	Sheffield.
		John ...	Edward Windle ...	...
	22	Hanah ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
Dec.	2	Benjamin ...	Wm. Smith ...	Attercliffe.
	12	Edward ...	Thos. Marshal ...	Sheffield.
	15	Sarah... ..	Joseph Machon ...	...
	23	Mary ...	Benj. Staniforth ...	...
Jan.	16	Nevil ...	Nevil Simmons ...	...
	19	Mary ...	James Hoole ...	...
Feb.	8	Anne ...	James Wilson... ..	Tinsley.
		Samuel ...	Saml. Roberts ...	Attercliffe.
Mar.	13	Mary ...	Wm. Woodward ...	...
	16	Ruth ...	Thos. Wilson... ..	Sheffield.
1693 Ap.	20	Mary ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	...
May	1	William ...	Wm. Ward ...	...
	3	Elisabeth ...	Jno. Bradley ...	...

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	May 17	James... ..	James Bullas ...	... Grimesthorp.
	June 2	Sarah... ..	Jno. Smith ...	... Attercliffe.
	June 5	Joshua ...	Richd. Marsh... ..	... Sheffield.
	10	Anne ...	George Fox ...	...
	21	Daniel ...	Joseph Lee ...	...
July	18	James... ..	Wm. Ashford... ..	...
	31	Mary ...	Nichs. Shertliffe ...	...
Aug.	13	Samuel ...	Jno. Wood ...	...
	22	Elisabeth ...	Joseph Caladine ...	... Bolsover.
Oct.	9	Lidia ...	Jno. Holland ...	... Sheffield.
	30	Hephzibah ...	Chris. Haslam ...	...
Nov.	13	James... ..	Jno. Nettleton ...	... Attercliffe.
		Martha ...	Jno. Pinder ...	...
	15	Sarah... ..	Frans. Girdler ...	... Sheffield.
Dec.	12	George ...	Saml. Ashford ...	... Grimesthorp.
	27	Elisabeth ...	Edward Roberts ...	...
	29	Mary ...	— Crookes ...	...
		Hanah ...	— Cowdale ...	...
		Mary ...	— Cowdale ...	...
		Robert ...	Ephr. Nichols ...	...
Jan.	11	John ...	Rich. Crabtree ...	...
	25	Joseph ...	John Curtland ...	...
Feb.	12	Rebecca ...	Ralph Wildsmith ...	...
Mar.	3	Mary ...	Nat. Bacon ...	... Glapwell.
	7	Hephzibah ...	Tere. Fisher ...	...
1694 Ap.	11	John ...	Browne and ...	... Sheffield.
		Sarah his D.	...	...
		Sarah... ..	Elias Wordsworth ...	...
	26	Hanah ...	Thos. Scargell ...	...
		Mary ...	Jona. Smith ...	...
		Hanah ...	Danl. Meenis ...	...
May	24	Theodosia ...	Saml. Hallows ...	... Glapwell.
July	9	William ...	Henry Whenick ...	... Bolsover.
Aug.	30	Samuel ...	Jona. Shepherd ...	...
Sep.	10	Joseph ...	Sam. Paramour ...	...
	15	Elisabeth ...	Wm. Hunt ...	... Glapwell.
	24	John ...	James Bullas ...	... Skinnerthorp.
Oct.	5	Mary ...	Jno. Almond ...	... Attercliffe.
	20	Susanna ...	Jno. Nettleton ...	...
	22	Sarah... ..	Wm. Ward ...	... Sheffield.
Dec.	10	Mary ...	Sam. Roberts... ..	...
	26	Joseph ...	Leml. Nutt ...	...
Jan.	17	William ...	Nevil Simmons ...	...
		Timothy ...	Thos. Marshall ...	...
	23	Jeremiah ...	Josh. Oakes ..	... Attercliffe

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Feb. 21	John ...	Wm. Wallace...	Sheffield.
	Mar. 4	Andrew ...	Andrew Hill ...	
	7	Hanah ...	Ephr. Nichols ...	
	11	Samuel ...	Saml. Hunter...	
1695	29	Matthew ...	James Hoole ...	Tinsley.
	Apr. 15	Hanah ...	Thomas Wilson ...	Sheffield.
	24	Elias ...	Elias Wordsworth ...	
		Jane ...	James Hoole ...	
	May 13	Mary ...	Saml. Hawksworth ...	Crooksmore.
	27	Hanah ...	Jno. Wood ...	Sheffield.
	29	Timothy ...	Saml. Hallows ...	Glapwell.
	June 24	Elisabeth ...	Ralph Hides ...	Sheffield.
		Samuel ...	Luke Winter ...	
	July 29	Mary ...	Joseph Hawksworth...	
	Aug. 19	Lidia ...	Edward Roberts ...	
	Sep. 5	Ann ...	Ralph Wildsmith ...	
	16	Ann ...	Wm. Woodward ...	
	27	John ...	John Browne ...	
	Oct. 13	Frances ...	Jno. Morphey ...	Gainsborough.
	18	William ...	Thos. Handley ...	Hall Carr.
	Nov. 14	William ...	Fras. Girdler ...	Sheffield.
	Dec. 9	George ...	Caleb Clayton ...	
		Anna ...	Samuel Paramour ...	
	Jan. 1	Timothy ...	Jno. Heywood ...	Pontefract.
	Feb. 3	Obedience ...	Chris. Haslam ...	Sheffield.
	13	Theodosia ...	Nichs. Shirliffe ...	
	24	James... ...	Jno. Mandevil ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Allison ...	Palton.
	Mar. 8	James... ...	Gervase Bellamy ...	Gainsbro'.
1696	30	Anna ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	Sheffield.
	Apr. 2	Joseph ...	Jose. Smith ...	
	May 11	Martha ...	Jno. Wood ...	
	26	William ...	Jose. Barber ...	Darnal.
	June 22	Mary ...	— Bilby ...	Staley Wood-thorp.
	29	Rebecca ...	Wm. Ward ...	Sheffield.
	July 9	John ...	Danl. Meenis ...	
	13	John ...	Joshua Dewsbury ...	
	19	John ...	Jno. Cromwell ...	Retford.
	Aug. 24	Alice ...	Geo. Fox ...	Sheffield.
	28	Hanah ...	Jno. Warbleton ...	
	Sep. 10	Thomas ...	Richd. Crabtree ...	
		Elisabeth ...	Wm. Wallace...	
	Oct. 12	Sarah... ...	Abijah Ashton ...	
	29	Joseph ...	Jona. Dickson ...	

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Oct. 30	Abigail ...	Saml. Jenkinson ...	Sheffield.
	Dec. 7	Thomas ...	Ralph Hides ...	
	14	Hanah ...	Jona. Smith ...	
	30	Timothy ...	Jno. Almond ...	
	Jan. 1	Hanah ...	Luke Winter ...	
	18	Hanah ...	Edwd. Wyndle ...	
	22	Richard ...	Saml. Roberts ...	
	Feb. 1	George ...	David Fullilove ...	
	11	William ...	Wm. Salmon ...	
		Robert ...	Do. ...	
	Mar. 1	Ruth ...	Nevil Simmons ...	
	7	Edward ...	Ratcliffe ...	Rotheram.
	21	Tony—Dr. ...	Thos. Tyger ...	Beverley.
1697	29	Isaac ...	Edd. Hancock ...	Sheffield.
		Isabel... ...	Jona. Hunter ...	
		Christian ...	Andr. Hill ...	
	May 27	John ...	Wood ...	
	31	Dorothy ...	Hump. Ingman ...	Cherrytree hill.
		Sarah... ...	Thos. Marshall ...	Sheffield.
	June 3	Anna ...	Wm. Burton ...	Mill.
	10	Mary ...	Saml. Paramour ...	Sheffield.
	14	Mary ...	Jno. Curtland...	
	July 12	George ...	Jos. Smith ...	
	15	Ephraim ...	James Bullas ...	Skinnerthorp.
		Elisabeth ...	James Wilson...	Tinsley.
	22	Mary ...	David Gass ...	Sheffield.
	Aug. 9	Aaron... ...	Moses Springfield ...	
	25	George ...	Thomas Handley ...	Hall Car.
	30	Joseph ...	Emanl. Newton ...	Sheffield.
	Oct. 14	William ...	Willm. Wallace ...	
	17	Nathaniel ...	Saml. Baxter ...	Gainsborough.
	25	Stephen ...	Wm. Ward ...	Sheffield.
	Nov. 10	Sarah... ...	Mrs. Wyld—Posth. ...	
	Dec. 22	Sarah... ...	Dd. Waynwright ...	
	Jan. 3	Francis ...	Cowdal ...	
		Stephen ...	Saml. Hawksworth ...	
	Feb. 7	Christopher ...	William Allison ...	Palton.
	14	Jonathan ...	Chris. Haslam ...	
	21	John ...	Mrs. Holland—Posth. ...	
	Mar. 2	Jacob... ...	Saml. Roberts ...	Birley Car.
		Joel ...	Jona. Shaw ...	Wadsley.
	7	Elisabeth ...	Wm. Woodward ...	
1698	31	Elisabeth ...	Edwd. Sanderson ...	Sheffield.
	Ap. 11	Sarah... ...	Hugh Harrison ...	Palton.
	25	John ...	Jno. Warbleton ...	Sheffield.

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Chi'd of	Of
	Apl. 25	Elisabeth ...	Jno. Bamforth ...	Sheffield.
	June 13	John ...	Jno. Hough ...	...
	15	Mary ...	Robt. Hoole ...	...
	20	Joshua ...	John Browne ...	...
	22	Thomas ...	Saml. Roberts ...	...
	July 2	Thomas ...	Thos. Blenerhaysset...	Attercliffe.
	18	Samuel ...	Jos. Smith ...	Sheffield.
	Sep. 13	Hanah ...	Aldred ...	...
	25	Lidia ...	Wm. Hunt ...	Glapwell.
	Oct. 3	Elisabeth ...	Jos. Fletcher ...	Sheffield.
	6	John ...	Jos. Pierson ...	...
	24	Lidia ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	...
	26	Danl. and Mary	Danl. Twybell ...	Brightside.
	27	Sarah...	Danl. Meenis ...	Sheffield.
	Nov. 18	Joshua ...	Travis ...	...
	28	Nathaniel ...	Nathl. Hoyland ...	...
	Dec. 19	Mary ...	Jno. Staniforth ...	...
	Jan. 2	Sarah...	Jose. Sanderson ...	...
	4	John ...	Abijah Ashton ...	...
	11	Sarah...	Robt. Crookes ...	...
		Dorcas ...	Jenkinson ...	...
	23	Ezra ...	Leml. Nutt ...	...
	25	Elisabeth ...	Nevil Simmons ...	...
	26	John ...	George Carr ...	...
	Feb. 20	Mary ...	Thos. Marshal ...	...
	27	Jonathan ...	Jona. Dixon ...	...
		Elisabeth ...	Wm. Burton ...	...
	Mar. 6	Mary ...	Wm. Stear ...	...
1699	30	William ...	Ralph Hides ...	...
		Joshua ...	Luke Winter ...	...
		Ruth ...	Jona. Smith ...	...
	Ap. 9	Elisabeth ...	Robinson...	Gainsborough.
	19	Thomas ...	Jos. Pashley ...	Attercliffe.
		Sarah...	Wm. Wallace...	Sheffield.
	May 25	James...	Jno. Bright ...	...
	Aug. 7	Elisabeth ...	Caleb Clayton ...	...
	27	John ...	Jno. Mandefield ...	Stony Hough- ton.
	Sep. 25	Sarah...	Jona. Hunter ...	Sheffield.
	28	John ...	David Goss ...	...
	30	Timothy ...	Wm. Pawson ...	Glapwell.
	Oct. 9	Thomas ...	Jno. Warbleton ...	Sheffield.
	23	Esther ...	Wm. Ward ...	...
	Nov. 1	Titus ...	Jno. Almond ...	...
	2	Elisabeth ...	Jere. Waywright ...	...

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Dec. 4	Alice ...	Danl. Meenis ...	Sheffield.
	18	Rebecca ...	Jos. Fletcher ...	...
	Jan. 29	William ...	Wm. Heldrick ...	...
	Feb. 19	Joseph ...	Jos. Wilson ...	...
	Mar. 4	Edward ...	Edd. Hancock ...	...
1700	25	Elkanah ...	Jno. Staniforth ...	...
	Apr. 18	Jonathan ...	Danl. Twybell ...	...
	22	Joshua ...	Thos. Marshall ...	...
	27	Hanah ...	Wm. Woodward ...	...
	June 17	Caleb...	Hen. Warwick ...	...
	19	Euphan ...	Wm. Wallace...	...
	July 6	Susanna ...	Saml. Roberts ...	...
	26	Mary ...	John Leyland...	...
	Sep. 6	William ...	Wm. Stead ...	...
	16	Charles ...	David Fullilove ...	...
	Oct. 7	William ...	Jon. Turner ...	...
	15	Mary ...	Jos. Sanderson ...	...
	Nov. 22	Mary and Joseph ...	Jos. Smith ...	...
	23	Abijah ...	Jon. Oakes ...	Attercliffe.
	25	Ruth ...	Adam Hawksworth ...	...
	Dec. 9	Ebenezer ...	Wm. Ward ...	Sheffield.
	28	Jeremiah ...	Dd. Wainwright ...	...
	30	John ...	Jno. Bamforth ...	...
	Jan. 2	Elisabeth ...	Nich. Shertliffe ...	...
	24	Simeon ...	Emanl. Newton ...	...
	Feb. 26	Anne ...	— Simmons ...	...
1701	Ap. 7	Simeon ...	Saml. Thwaites ...	...
	9	Martha ...	Abij. Ashton ...	...
	16	Lidia ...	James Wilson...	...
	May 14	Lemuel ...	Leml. Nutt ...	...
	June 11	Mary ...	Edd. Sanderson ...	...
		William ...	Cowdal ...	...
	July 10	George ...	Geor. Lewis ...	Brightside.
	21	Ebenezer ...	Jos. Fletcher ...	Sheffield.
	24	Helen...	Danl. Meenis ...	...
	Aug. 12	Elisabeth ...	Jos. Webster ...	...
	14	Joseph ...	Wm. Wallace...	...
	Sep. 4	John ...	Saml. Shore ...	...
		Mary ...	Reb. Palmer ...	...
	10	Hanah ...	Jos. Pashley ...	...
	11	Hanah ...	Nathl. Rhodes ...	...
		Elisabeth ...	Ben. Pashley ...	...
	17	Martha ...	Dan. Twybell...	...
	19	John ...	Jos. Travis ...	...

Year	Day Baptised	Christian Name	Child of	Of
	Oct. 9	Mary ...	Jona. Dixon ...	Sheffield.
	23	Lidia ...	Jno. Brown ...	
		William ...	Wm. Hobson ...	
	Nov. 29	Samuel ...	Elias Wordsworth ...	
	Dec. 4	Sarah...	Jno. Sanderson ...	
		John ...	Jno. Staniforth ...	
	19	Mary ...	Jno. Urwin ...	
	Jan. 4	Robert ...	Fras. Radcliffe ...	
	15	Stephen ...	Turner, adult ...	
	26	Elisabeth, wife	Robt. Blackstock ...	
		Ruth, daur. ...	Do. ...	
	Feb. 26	George ...	Geo. Fox ...	Fullwood.
		Joseph ...	Jona. Woollen ...	
	Mar. 18	John ...	Chas. Fullilove ...	Treeton.
1702	26	Luke ...	Luke Winter ...	Sheffield.
		Caleb...	Caleb Clayton ...	
	Ap. 23	William ...	Wm. Woodward ...	
	May 4	Ruth ...	Jos. Smith ...	
	June 4	Mary ...	Jona. Hunter ...	
		Joseph ...	Jos. Leathley ...	
		Robert ...	Bright ...	
	8	James...	Jno. Hough ...	
	18	George ...	Thos. Marshal ...	
	July 30	John ...	Jos. Sanderson ...	
		Benjamin ...	Eml. Newton ...	

This concludes Timothy Jollie's Register—465 names in all, bringing it up to page 94, in which there are no entries. Pages 95, 96, 97, and 98 are missing. Page 99 no entries.