

# REV. WILLIAM NUNN AND THE BENNETT STREET SUNDAY SCHOOL MANCHESTER, 1817-24

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The first Sunday Schools were established in Manchester in the late eighteenth century, initially as interdenominational ventures on a town-wide plan, but in 1799-1800 the organisation split along Anglican - Dissenting lines.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, although functioning on more denominational lines, the potential for further division was not exhausted. The possibility of a Sunday School becoming virtually independent of church or chapel, or even functioning as a church within a church, was very real.<sup>2</sup> So real was the possibility of conflict between chapel and Sunday School that some were led to shun the latter's formation altogether, as a threat to the unity of the church and the purity of the gospel.<sup>3</sup> In this article such potential for conflict will be explored through consideration of the unhappy experience of William Nunn, minister of St Clement's Anglican Church, Manchester, between 1817 and 1840. His difficulties involved the Bennett Street Sunday School, attached to St Clement's in the years 1811-24. After a conflict over the management of the school, it separated from St Clement's in 1824. Nunn subsequently went on to found another Sunday School in Store Street, also in central Manchester.

## The Background of William Nunn

William Nunn (1786-1840) was brought up in an Evangelical Anglican family in Colchester. They attended the ministry of Robert Storry in St Peter's church, which fell within the sphere of influence of the leading Evangelical, Charles Simeon. When Nunn studied at St John's College, Cambridge, he attended Simeon's lectures on sermon preparation. However, Nunn came to adopt High Calvinistic views through the influence of his brother John, a curate in Shrewsbury, and through close friendship with Rev. Robert Hawker of Plymouth.<sup>4</sup> Remarkably, after two short curacies, Nunn was eventually offered the position of minister of St Clement's Church, on Lever Street, Manchester, which had been built in 1793 as a proprietary chapel by Rev. Edward Smyth, an Anglican with strong Arminian and Methodist sympathies. Smyth served as minister until forced by ill health to give up the chapel in 1817. In the pastoral settlement of a High Calvinist in a church with a tradition of Arminian preaching, lay a significant source of the Bennett Street conflict. St Clement's was a licensed chapel, and was never officially consecrated. It depended on the regular granting of a licence from the Bishop of Chester. Bishop Law was extremely reluctant to grant a licence to the Calvinist Nunn, but after pressure from Smyth and the congregation, he relented.<sup>5</sup>

## Nunn's Early Sunday School Practice

As Nunn prepared for entry to St John's College, Cambridge in 1810, he studied with Rev. W. Hurn, vicar of Debenham in Suffolk. He took a role in leading the children in singing in the church, catechising, and teaching in the Sunday School. He also began to address the parents of the children. Nunn's

commitment to such work was also demonstrated during his first curacy in the Forest of Dean, where he started a school in a village. His proceeding was simple. He stood by an ancient cross in the middle of the village, and called the children over. He started them singing, and this drew further children. Encouraged by parents he hired a room, and the Sunday School was formally commenced. During his second curacy at Foleshill near Coventry, he built up the Sunday School greatly, and raised £900 to extend the church and build a Sunday School.<sup>6</sup>

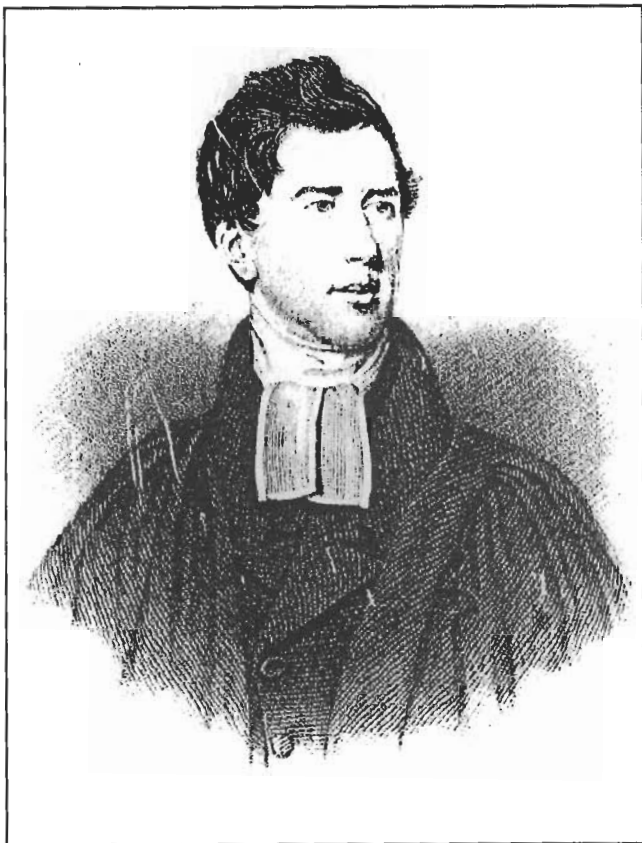
As an Anglican minister who did not itinerate, the primary methods of gospel outreach available for Nunn to those living in the immediate vicinity of his church, beyond pulpit preaching, were district visitation, and Sunday School work. Nunn combined the two. To him the Sunday School was the nursery of the church, a fruitful source of accessions from outside. The Bennett Street Sunday School, attached to St Clement's after 1811, was the largest in Manchester. On his arrival in Manchester in 1817 Nunn began work in this school. He attended the school each Sunday, all the teachers' meetings, and to small practical details connected with their efficient running. Among children he was quite at home. In 1831 he compiled his own Sunday School hymn book, containing hymns that reflected his Calvinistic sentiments.<sup>7</sup> The Sunday School became a most successful and popular part of his urban gospel outreach. As one former pupil noted:

*The desire of his heart was... leading our young minds into the truths of the word of God. Nor was he disappointed, though many were offended at the truth preached by him, and persecuted him for it. Yet the Lord stood by him and made his word the Savour of life to many young creatures.<sup>8</sup>*

The extent to which heavy reliance on Sunday School work as a means of outreach was healthy for churches has been vigorously debated amongst churches since the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> In places the Sunday School came to absorb the whole outreach effort of evangelical churches, and was associated with a decline in lay preaching — a trend lamented later in the century by R.W. Dale. Alan Gilbert has suggested that this new emphasis on Sunday School work came because of a decline in the rate of recruitment from the artisan class, a strong source of converts before 1820. It was a step of introversion — children adherent to the penumbra of church and chapel organisations became the primary mission field, rather than the 'world'.<sup>10</sup>

## The History of Bennett Street Sunday School

The Bennett Street Sunday School was started in 1808, initially in George Leigh Street, and owed much to the great popularity of the early Sunday Schools in Manchester, and the work of David Stott (whose father had been a teacher in



Portrait of William Nunn, Minister of St Clement's Church, Manchester. Source: R. Pym, (ed), *Memoirs of the Late Rev. William Nunn, M.A.* (London, 1842).

one of the original Manchester Sunday Schools). By 1808 there were six Sunday Schools attached to St Paul's church: David Stott was one of the teachers at the Primrose Street School. An excess of numbers led Stott and Henry Young to found a new school on George Leigh Street, where they served as masters with sixteen assistants and 726 children. Initially it was attached to St Paul's church, but in 1811 allegiance was transferred to the nearer St Clement's, due to convenience of location, and lack of space at St Paul's. The number of teachers had increased to thirty, and there were eighty monitors.<sup>11</sup> The direct numerical impact of the school on the congregation of St Clement's may not have been great — on 3 August 1817 just 36 teachers, visitors, and children attended service, and took the sacrament — but the link was nonetheless significant.<sup>12</sup>

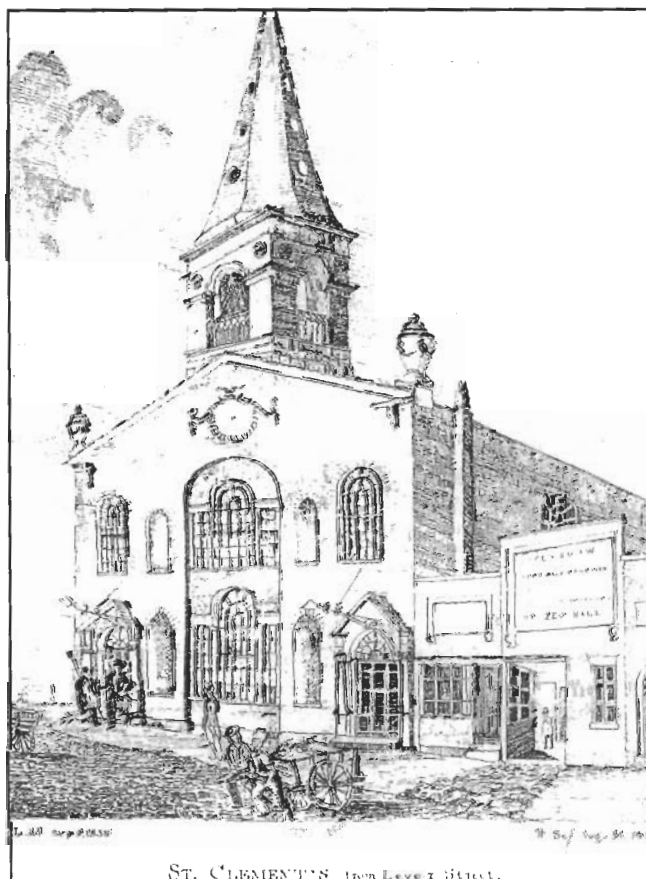
The George Leigh Street premises were far from suitable, being situated on two sides of the street, with children having to ascend dark and perilous stairs. This rendered the discipline and control of the children difficult.<sup>13</sup> Soon after the arrival of William Nunn, a decision was taken to rebuild the school on a new site in Bennett Street, to accommodate 2,500 children, at an eventual cost of £2,287. Nunn was closely involved in raising this sum, largely through subscription. The school was promoted as being for 'the religious instruction of the children and others of the labouring poor of Manchester... according to the doctrines and discipline of the Established Church of England'.<sup>14</sup> The new school, which opened in December 1818, prospered: weekly attendance was 1,693 in February 1818, and 1,766 in February 1824.<sup>15</sup> Nunn served as secretary of the Building Fund, kept the accounts, and visited the school each Sunday morning before the service, and in the afternoon.<sup>16</sup>

## The Activities of Bennett Street Sunday School

The activities of the Bennett Street Sunday School were a combination of evangelism, education, benevolent philanthropy, and social control. There is no evidence to suggest that the Evangelical Nunn did not support this wide ranging programme. The evangelistic motive in the work of the school was primary. A small pamphlet, published in 1818 in connection with the opening of the new school, and aimed at the children who would attend, indicates this:

*Youth is the best time to seek the Lord. You know not whether old age shall be spared to you, and even if it should, the time of repentance may then be past. The Judge of all the earth, even now standeth at the door... let the great business of your life be to believe in Him, to love Him, with all your heart, with all your mind, with all your soul and strength.<sup>17</sup>*

Consideration was given to the most effective means of accomplishing this purpose. During the period of Nunn's involvement meetings of visitors and teachers were convened to formulate policy, and careful timetables produced. The evangelistic thrust was never allowed to overwhelm the timetable, which was carefully broken up into small units [See Appendix]. The reading and spelling materials used were of a religious basis.<sup>18</sup> On the Sundays when the children attended the church services, the morning Sunday School was reduced by an hour, and half an hour in the afternoon. For older children who were interested, the "upper room" was open between six and seven on a Sunday evening, "for religious instruction to such boys and girls as may wish to attend".<sup>19</sup>



Source: R. Loxham, *Illustrations of Manchester Churches, Vol II, The District Churches of the Town and Townships of the Collegiate Parish Church (Manchester, 1837-8)*, p.2a.

At the time William Nunn began his involvement with the School, class sizes were large. In 1817, the twenty-eight girls' classes had between thirty and sixty registered in each; the twenty-four boys classes had eighteen to sixty registered. By 1820 these sizes were being reduced: the thirty-six girls' classes had a maximum size of forty; the maximum size of the thirty-five boys' classes was thirty-five. Classes were well supplied with teaching materials. In 1824, the 1,882 children registered had access to 428 Bibles, 682 New Testaments, 838 hymn books, 1,080 spelling dictionaries, and 750 spelling books.<sup>20</sup> The programme of instruction was backed by a system of incentives. In 1817, a total of 1,761 prize books were distributed. A subscription scheme for the purchase of Bibles was operated, to which was subscribed £31. 13s. 7d in 1817.<sup>21</sup> In 1823, probably under Nunn's influence, the prize system was reviewed, with awards made six monthly, and tracts given to promising pupils. New titles were introduced, featuring works by authors more in tune with Nunn's Calvinistic theological outlook, such as John Newton and William Romaine.<sup>22</sup>

Over a number of years of attendance a child could amass a small library of books, a considerable boost to the literary opportunities of the labouring classes. Over seven years at the school the seventeen year old George Milner received fourteen books. Spelling books were generally given after the second year of attendance, depending on need, and usually to the younger classes. In 1817 there was a bias toward the boys in distribution. The girls of classes 10 to 28 received only four spelling books, whereas the equivalent boys' classes received fourteen spelling books. There was also a noticeable decline in the giving of spelling books as prizes between 1817 and 1822. This may reflect improving literacy amongst the children, but may also be indicative of an attempt by William Nunn to give the school more of a spiritual rather than secular educational emphasis.<sup>23</sup>

One aspect of Nunn's methodology in the Sunday School was an attempt to improve the standards of the teachers. In 1823, the visitors and superintendents concluded that some of the discipline problems with the children were owing to the deficiencies of the teachers. Problems included late arrival, and failure to attend or supply a suitable deputy. The teachers were paid: in 1823 those in the lower rooms received 6s 6d per quarter. Nunn also sought to improve the spiritual standing of the teachers, and this attempt seems to have formed part of the Bennett Street conflict of 1824. Nunn emphasised that a religious teacher should have an understanding of the doctrines of the gospel, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit, as well as the "courage of a Lion, and the perseverance of an ox."<sup>24</sup>

The work of Bennett Street Sunday School was particularly aimed at children whose parents could not afford to send them to day school.<sup>25</sup> Educational work continued throughout the week. After 1816 the oldest and most deserving scholars were taught writing and accounts on weekday evenings, upon the recommendation of their teachers. The children had to find their own copy books and candles, but the school provided the other materials.<sup>26</sup> In 1817, 300 children were taught in this way, although numbers were reduced to 260 in 1819. The cost to the school in 1822 was £6. 6s. Writing classes were held on Monday and Thursday evening; accounts and writing on Wednesday and Friday; and Tuesday evening was reserved for religious instruction.<sup>27</sup> However, the teaching of writing on the

Sabbath was "utterly abhorred" by Nunn, and in 1837 he engaged in vigorous public debate with a Methodist New Connexion preacher, Rev. J. Barker, on the subject. Nunn argued that the Sabbath was a day for worship and rest, and writing was a secular employment, neither enjoined nor permitted on that day. Any activity that tended to lessen the importance of Sabbath observance in the estimation of the rising generation was considered injurious. Whilst reading was "a direct means of forwarding the moral and religious improvement of the children under our care", writing did not necessarily serve that end. Teaching writing on the Sabbath encouraged the employment of ungodly teachers, as well as provoking the indulgence of secular thoughts and occupations. Yet Nunn was no obscurantist: he supported the work of teaching poor children to write, along with other subjects, on other days or nights of the week, as practiced at St Clement's. However, William Nunn argued on the basis of his long Sunday School experience, that the teaching of writing was not essential to the success of a school.<sup>28</sup>

The work of teaching on Sundays and midweek was supplemented by district visitation on behalf of the school. In 1824, the streets around the school were systematically visited in pairs, with Nunn taking a leading role.<sup>29</sup> Much other informal visitation was undertaken by teachers and visitors. Benjamin Braidley recorded his extensive visitation on behalf of the school in his 'Diary'. His endeavours were directed particularly at the sick and the dying. Hopeful signs of spiritual interest or conversion were recorded.<sup>30</sup> At this time Braidley claimed to have spent seventy-three and a half hours in a fortnight on Sunday School work, visitation, and correspondence related to the school and other charitable work.<sup>31</sup>

### The Funeral and Sick Societies

Attached to Bennett Street School was an array of benevolent and social facilities. A library of 500 volumes was maintained, which scholars could join for a subscription of 6d, and a further 2d per month. A funeral society was open to children aged five and over. Two pence was payable on joining, and one pence on the death of a member. Benefits on death were a good oak coffin, and one guinea for every 250 members in the society; after 1825 this became three guineas if membership reached 500. A Sick Society was started in 1814, for Sunday School attenders over 12 years of age, in good health, who had

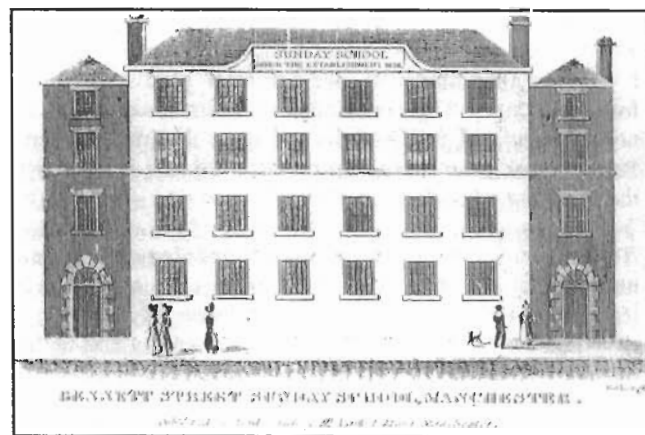


Illustration of Bennett Street Sunday School, Manchester. Source: Rules of Bennett Street Sunday School. Manchester Central Reference Library.

been attending for three months. A three pence entrance fee, and one penny per week, brought weekly benefits of four shillings for six months, and two shillings per week for a further six months.<sup>32</sup> The Sick Society was an important social welfare provision for those of the labouring classes involved: in 1821, there were 1,000 members. Provision was increased in 1824 with the extension of the payment of benefit to three years, and the introduction of a system of out-membership for former Sunday School pupils. The aggregate of relief was not insignificant: 931 received help between 1813 and 1825, including 100 cases in 1825. Nonetheless, the Society was able to yield a considerable surplus each year: in 1824, £216. 8s. 0d was received, but only £136. 8s. 0d. expended.<sup>33</sup>

The society was run in strict fashion. Late payment of subscription resulted in a fine, and if continued, ultimately the loss of all benefits. At the onset of sickness, a collector was required to visit and verify a claim, and was required to attend twice a week. Members in the fever wards, the lying-in hospital, the infirmary or poor house, were ineligible for relief.<sup>34</sup>

The prime motive for the establishment of the society, it was claimed in 1822, was to encourage social compassion among the poor, enabling the children to “render assistance to their youthful companions from Christian motives and principles”. Evangelism was not neglected in such social concern: the society saw this as the highest form of charity. Visits to the sick were not only to ascertain the genuineness of a claim, but also to seek cases “whose bodily infirmities may dispose their minds to spiritual advice and consolation”. Cases making positive spiritual testimony were reported, and indifference inveighed against.<sup>35</sup>

### Levels of Success in Sunday School Work

Sunday School work and the visitation associated with it were an essential element of Nunn’s response to the social and spiritual deprivation of Manchester. Children of the labouring poor were attracted to Bennett Street. In 1823, 58.4% of children in classes 1-10 and classes 30-34, came from the 36 streets immediately surrounding the school, an area of serious poverty.<sup>36</sup>

The school helped to increase literacy, and made significant social provision. Evangelistic success was enjoyed: cases of conversion through the work are recorded.<sup>37</sup> The school was an avenue of social progress for former pupils. Between 1822 and 1850, 78 managers were appointed, of whom 15 were former pupils, and 8 former teachers; of 8 trustees appointed, two were former pupils, and one a former teacher.<sup>38</sup> Their previous or current social status was not recorded, but this may be evidence that much Sunday School work was at least in part staffed and furthered by the working classes themselves.<sup>39</sup>

The Sunday School undoubtedly included elements of paternalism, and social control. On the part of some of the leaders of the School, there is evidence of a desire to reinforce the existing social order: merchanting and factory owning trustees were engaging in more than disinterested philanthropy. In appealing for funds in 1817, it was claimed that Sunday Schools brought a reduction of “cursing and swearing”, and in dishonesty and intemperance.<sup>40</sup> Children were encouraged to show their gratitude to God in acts of kindness, loyalty to the king, gratitude to the school’s



*Benjamin Braidley (top), and David Stott (below), leading figures at Bennett Street Sunday School. Source: G. Milner (ed.), Bennett Street Memorials, A Record of Sunday School Work (Manchester, 1880).*

benefactors, submission to teachers, visitors and ministers, diligent service to masters, and liberality to the distressed. When meeting a visitor, minister, teacher or benefactor, each child was to give “some TOKEN OF RESPECT, such

as bow or curtsy when they pass".<sup>41</sup> This reflected the relative social position of the trustees, who included five merchants, five cotton spinning manufacturers, a grocer, and David Stott who was a warehouseman.<sup>42</sup> On the Tuesday of Whit Week in May 1818, 1,400 children were taken to the trustee William Townend's grounds at Holt Town, where each was treated to a bun!<sup>43</sup> The occupations of the trustees of the Bennett Street School tend to support the thesis of M. Dick that most Sunday Schools were 'promoted by members of the gentry and the middle class and not by people from the working class'.<sup>44</sup>

However, to suggest that the school was "explicitly geared to manning the growing industries", is far too simplistic a view of the complex of factors behind such a Sunday School as Bennett Street.<sup>45</sup> William Nunn's aim in particular was to introduce the children to the gospel message, and both them and his teachers to High Calvinistic theology. It was this latter aim which resulted in serious controversy.

### The Sunday School Conflict

In 1824 the link between the Bennett Street School and St Clement's was severed, owing to a controversy ostensibly over Nunn's High Calvinism. In addition to his attempts to improve the standards of the teachers, Nunn had sought to counteract the Arminian theology of the leading figures in the Sunday School by promoting teachers who upheld his doctrine, to teach the oldest classes. The trustees and superintendents viewed this as interference, and Nunn's visits to the school began to be resented.<sup>46</sup> The trustees' chief protagonist was Benjamin Braidley, a merchant and prominent Tory in Manchester. He was involved in a number of local evangelical societies and projects, including the Bennett Street Sunday School. Braidley had been a 'stated attender' at St Clement's under the Arminian Edward Smyth, from 1812.<sup>47</sup> In 1824 he brought his evidently simmering discontent into the open. He believed that Nunn's doctrine was contrary to the formularies of the Church of England. Braidley particularly objected to Nunn preaching reprobation, that God ordained the fall of man, and his denial of general redemption and progressive sanctification. He also objected to Nunn asserting that "any man who denies any one truth revealed by the Lord Jesus cannot confess him before man".<sup>48</sup> The last complaint reflects Nunn's concern that not all teachers and superintendents were wholly evangelical in their doctrine. Braidley believed that some of the sentiments Nunn was preaching were "so very objectionable in themselves, and so much opposed to those contained in the formularies of the Church of England that he did not think the trustees would be discharging their duty if they suffered the connection between Mr Nunn and the trustees to continue as before."<sup>49</sup>

With such decided opposition, which seems to have lain not far from the surface for a significant period, Nunn saw little point in making a detailed reply to the charges. At a meeting of teachers and visitors convened by Braidley a proposal to separate the Sunday School from St Clement's was carried by 102 votes to 14. The school was then united to St Paul's church, a loose connection, under which the school continued to prosper. A proposal to join with St James' Church was dropped after objections to the proceedings leading to the separation were raised by its minister John Hollist, a friend of William Nunn.<sup>50</sup> Nunn was deeply hurt by the events. He had expended considerable time and energy to help raise much of the £1,800

required to clear the school debt, and was then rejected.

After consultation with others, Nunn began a new Sunday School. Some teachers, and about 100 children who had left Bennett Street in protest, formed the nucleus of the new work, off Store Street, a most needy area of Manchester. £600 was raised for the school through £10 shares. The venture was highly successful: by 1837, some 600 children were attending, and the facilities crowded.<sup>51</sup>

### Conclusions

The Bennett Street controversy was more than simply doctrinal. Nunn's perceived interference and attempt to exercise control over some aspects of the school's practice, appear crucial. He made the mistake of seeking to influence the running of a Sunday School, which although nominally attached to the church, was effectively an independent institution. The trustees guarded themselves against unwanted interference in the future. Whereas Nunn had chaired meetings of visitors, superintendents, and teachers, the minister of St Paul's church, to which the school became attached, did not even attend them.<sup>52</sup>

The Bennett Street experience was not unique. A survey of Anglican School administration in 1841 found that less than half of all London schools were under the immediate direction of the clergy.<sup>53</sup> The use of lay helpers within the Anglican church created tensions which could threaten to usurp the functions of the clergyman himself. Sheer necessity forced the use of the laity, but in consequence many Churchmen became estranged from the Sunday School, which could attain an independence similar to that of the Dissenting school.<sup>54</sup> The irony for Nunn was that his antagonist Braidley was a staunch Tory and defender of the Establishment. The response of Nunn was mild compared to some. When chapel appointees to Sunday School committees were rejected by one Chester school, the minister eventually resorted to bricking up the portals of the building.<sup>55</sup> Nunn adopted no such expedient, but rather invested his energy in new efforts to reach with the gospel another socially and spiritually needy area of the centre of Manchester.

### APPENDIX

#### DIRECTIONS FOR SUNDAY SCHOOL GATHERINGS, BENNETT STREET SUNDAY SCHOOL

##### Upper Room Boys and Girls

Sundays when not attending church.

##### Morning

- 9.05 Preparatory Advice, Deliver Hymn Books, Hymn.
- 9.20 Rolls called.
- 9.25 Hymn and Prayer.
- 9.40 Hymn books in, Spelling Books out, Spelling Work.
- 9.55 Collect spelling books, teaching.
- 10.05 Change divisions.
- 10.15 Join divisions, finish lessons.
- 10.25 Notices, second roll.
- 10.35 Reading books out, lessons.
- 10.50 Hymn, teaching.
- 11.05 Change divisions.
- 11.15 Join divisions, improve lessons.
- 11.25 Sit down, collect books.
- 11.30 Form divisions, teach catechism.

- 11.40 The Admonition, and hymn.  
11.50 Collect hymn books, deliver hats and bonnets, and dismiss.

#### Afternoon

- 1.25 Preparatory advice, hymn books out, hymn.  
1.40 Rolls called.  
1.45 Hymn books in, spelling books out, spelling.  
2.00 Collect spelling books. Divisions. Teach.  
2.10 Change divisions.  
2.20 Join divisions. Improve lessons.  
2.30 Second roll. Make collections.  
2.40 Reading books out. Study lessons.  
2.55 Hymns. Teaching.  
3.10 Change divisions.  
3.20 Join divisions. Improve lessons.  
3.30 Sit down. Collect books.  
3.25 Admonition and religious instruction.  
3.50 Hymn and prayer.  
4.00 Collect hymn books. Deliver hats and bonnets. Dismiss.

#### Sundays when attending church.

#### Morning

- 9.05 Preparatory advice. Give out hymn.  
9.20 Call teachers and read out rolls.

- 9.25 Hymn and prayer.  
9.40 Hymn books in, Psalters out.  
9.45 Psalters read.  
10.00 Hymn. Second Roll.  
10.05 Preparation for church.

#### Afternoon

- 1.50 Preparatory advice.  
2.00 Rolls.  
2.05 Hymn books in. Deliver reading books. Appoint lessons. Study.  
2.20 Hymn.  
2.25 Divisions. Teach.  
2.35 Change divisions. Teach.  
2.45 Join divisions. Improve lessons.  
2.55 Collect books. Roll. Collections.  
3.10 Hymn.  
3.15 Form divisions. Teach catechism.  
3.30 Sit down. The admonition.  
3.45 Hymn and prayer.  
4.00 Collect hymn books. Collect hats and bonnets. Dismiss.

*SOURCE:* Directions for Sunday School Meetings, in Minutes of the Visitors and Teachers Meetings, St Clement's Sunday School, Manchester, 20 October 1822. MCL M103/1/2.

### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> On the early Manchester Sunday Schools, see A. P. Wadsworth, 'The First Manchester Sunday Schools', in M.W. Flinn and T.C. Smout (eds.), *Essays in Social History* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 100-22.
- <sup>2</sup> T.W. Laqueur, in *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture* (1976), p. 74 comments of the Sunday School movement: "In general it was remarkably independent and so able to develop a life and spirit of its own". I. Sellers, *Nineteenth Century Nonconformity* (1977), p. 37.
- <sup>3</sup> For example, the Strict Baptist James Wells of the Surrey Tabernacle, London (1830-72).
- <sup>4</sup> As with Geoffrey Nuttall, I prefer the term 'High Calvinism' to 'Hyper' Calvinism: High Calvinism 'being less prejudiced and question begging'. It is also the phrase used by the influential Baptist Andrew Fuller in his categorisation of shades of Calvinism. See G.F. Nuttall, 'Northamptonshire and the *Modern Question: A Turning Point in Eighteenth Century Dissent*', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 16, Part I (April 1965), p. 101, footnote 4; and J. Ryland, *The Life and Death of Andrew Fuller* (London, 1816), pp. 566-7. On the difference between Calvinism and Arminianism see A. Sell, *The Great Debate: Calvin, Arminianism and Salvation* (Worthing, 1982). On High (or Hyper) Calvinism, see C.D. Daniel, 'Hyper Calvinism and John Gill', (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1983); R.W. Oliver, 'The Emergence of a Strict and Particular Baptist Community Among the English Calvinistic Baptists, 1770-1850', (unpublished PhD Thesis, London Bible College, CNA, 1986). Also on High Calvinism, and the theology and work of William Nunn see I.J. Shaw, 'High Calvinists in Action, c. 1810-60: A Study of the Response of Some High Calvinist Ministers to Religious and Secular Problems in Manchester and London, Compared With the Work of Some Evangelical Calvinists', (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1996).
- <sup>5</sup> R. Pym, *Memoirs of the late Rev. William Nunn, Nearly Twenty-Three Years Minister of St Clement's Church, Manchester* (1842), pp. 92-7, 101.
- <sup>6</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, pp. 77-80.
- <sup>7</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, pp. 126; 247.
- <sup>8</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, pp. 123-24.
- <sup>9</sup> Laqueur, *Religion*, p. 80, admits that the evidence from the first half of the nineteenth century is scanty, but suggests that only between 1.5 and 4% of total Sunday School enrolment would at any time belong to a church or chapel. This of course does not include those who later took up membership in consequence of what they had learned as children in Sunday School.
- <sup>10</sup> R.W. Dale, *The History of Congregationalism*, p. 600, quoted in A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England 1740-1914* (1976), pp. 159-60.
- <sup>11</sup> G. Milner, 'History of Bennett Street Sunday School', *St Paul's Bazaar Album, 12-15 April 1893* (Manchester, 1893), pp. 1-3. See also *Bennett Street Memorials: A Record of Sunday School Work* (Manchester, 1880), pp. xxv-xxxii, 123-36.
- <sup>12</sup> B. Bradley, *Diary of Benjamin Bradley, 1816-23*, MSS Diary, Manchester Central Reference Library (hereafter MCL) M103/18/6/2, p. 157.
- <sup>13</sup> Milner, 'History', p. 3.
- <sup>14</sup> Minutes of the Proceedings of the Subscribers and Trustees of the Sunday School under the Establishment, Bennett Street, Manchester, MCL M103/1/1/1, pp. 1-8.
- <sup>15</sup> Numbers of Children Attending Bennett Street School, MCL, M103/8/7/1.
- <sup>16</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, p. 105.
- <sup>17</sup> *A Few Words of Advice to the Children Belonging to the St Clement's and St Luke's Sunday School Manchester, Addressed to them at the Opening of the New School, Bennett Street, Oldham Road, December 13th, 1818, On Behalf of the Visitors and Teachers in General* (Manchester, 1818), p. 11.
- <sup>18</sup> Directions for Sunday School Meetings, in Minutes of Visitors and Teachers Meetings, St Clement's Sunday School, Manchester, 20 October 1822, MCL, M103/1/2.
- <sup>19</sup> Rules of Bennett Street Sunday School, MCL, M 103/3/1-2, Rule 14.
- <sup>20</sup> Numbers of Children Attending Bennett Street Sunday School, Class Sizes, pp. 10-21; Books in Classes, pp. 127-50.
- <sup>21</sup> Reward Books Given in the Years 1817-22 in the St Clement's Sunday School, MCL M103/8/10/3, pp. 56-64, 87-88.
- <sup>22</sup> Minutes of Visitors and Teachers Meetings, 27 July 1823 and 19 October 1823.
- <sup>23</sup> Reward Books, 1817-22, pp. 56-64.
- <sup>24</sup> Minutes of Visitors and Teachers Meetings. Meetings on 16 February 1823, 9 March 1823, 25 May 1823, 27 July 1823, 15 February 1824.
- <sup>25</sup> Bennett Street Building Fund Reports 1817-24, MCL M 103/6/1/1, p. 10.
- <sup>26</sup> Bradley, *Diary* 1816-23, p. 27.
- <sup>27</sup> Building Fund Reports 1817-29, p. 8.

- <sup>28</sup> *Report of a Public Discussion between Rev. W. Nunn (of St Clement's, Manchester) and Rev. J. Barker (Preacher in the New Methodist Connexion), at Mossley, near Ashton-Under-Lyne (in the New Connexion Chapel) on Thursday evening, September 21st, 1837, Regarding the Scriptural Propriety of Teaching Writing in Sunday Schools on the Sabbath Day* (Manchester, 1837), pp. 3-7, 11-24. Barker subsequently defended his views in *Teaching the Children of the Poor to Write on the Sabbath Day, Proved to be in Perfect Accord with the Word of God; with Plain and Full Answers to all Objections Urged Against the Practice*, by J.A. James of Birmingham, W. Nunn, Minister of St Clement's, Manchester, and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference (Manchester, 1837). On Barker's chequered local career, see M. Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1780-1865* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 178-9; and W.R Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850* (1972), p. 274.
- <sup>29</sup> Minutes of Visitors and Teachers, Meeting, 20 June 1824.
- <sup>30</sup> Braidley, Diary 1816-22, e.g. 26 December 1822, 31 March 1823, 21 October 1823.
- <sup>31</sup> B. Braidley, *Memoir of Benjamin Braidley*, (Manchester, 1845), p. 40.
- <sup>32</sup> *A Few Words of Advice*, pp. 8-9.
- <sup>33</sup> *Reports of St Clement's and St Luke's Sick Society*, 1817, 1821, 1824, 1825. M 103/10/24/1. The Society was renamed 'The Bennett Street Sick Society' in 1825.
- <sup>34</sup> *Rules of St Clement's and St Luke's Sick Society* (Manchester, 1821), M 103/10/24/2, pp. 5-7.
- <sup>35</sup> *Reports of Sick Society*, 1822, and 1824 which notes the cases of Elizabeth Taggart and Joseph Hughes
- <sup>36</sup> Boys Attendance Register, including Teachers' Rolls, 1822-23, M103/8/5/3; and Girls Attendance Register and List of Teachers, 1822-23, M103/8/6/3.
- <sup>37</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, pp. 124-9; Braidley, Diary, pp. 190-201; *Bennett Street Memorials* (1880), pp. 32-118.
- <sup>38</sup> List of Managers, Visitors, Trustees, Bennett Street Sunday School, 1818-1944, M103/7/1.
- <sup>39</sup> This evidence would support the view of Laqueur, *Religion*, pp. 91-4, 241-2.
- <sup>40</sup> Report of Committee of St Clement's and St Luke's Sunday School Building Fund, 30 June 1817, in Bennett Street Building Fund Reports 1817-24, M103/6/1/1, p. 10.
- <sup>41</sup> *A Few Words of Advice*, pp. 5-7.
- <sup>42</sup> An Indenture, 2 October 1818, in Minutes of the Proceedings of the Subscribers and Trustees, Bennett Street School.
- <sup>43</sup> B. Braidley, Diary, p. 189.
- <sup>44</sup> M Dick, 'The Myth of the Working Class Sunday School', *History of Education*, 9, no. 1 (1980) pp. 29-30, 34-6.
- <sup>45</sup> Laqueur, *Religion*, p. 187, citing the view of M.W. Flinn, 'Social Theory and the Industrial Revolution', in T. Burns and S.B. Saul (eds.), *Social Change and Economic Change* (London, 1967), pp. 14-7.
- <sup>46</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, p. 119.
- <sup>47</sup> Braidley, *Memoir*, pp.6-7, 46-60.
- <sup>48</sup> Minutes of Subscribers and Trustees, Trustees Meeting, 25 June 1824; Letter from B. Braidley to Nunn, 20 July 1824, MCL, M103/1/1/3.
- <sup>49</sup> Minutes of Subscribers and Trustees, Trustees Meeting, 25 June 1824.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 July 1824.
- <sup>51</sup> Pym, *Memoirs*, pp. 120-1; R. Loxham, *Illustrations of Manchester Churches: The District Churches and Chapelries of the Town and Townships of the Collegiate Parish Church* (Manchester, 1837-38), Vol. 2, p. 4.
- <sup>52</sup> Minutes of Trustees, Visitors, Teachers, Management, and School Committee, 1822-31, Records of meetings after 1824, M103/1/2.
- <sup>53</sup> 'Church of England Committee of Enquiry: Report on the Metropolis', *Sunday School Teachers' Magazine* (1841), col. 126-132, cited in Laqueur, *Religion*, pp. 76-7.
- <sup>54</sup> Laqueur, *Religion*, p. 74.
- <sup>55</sup> Rev. T. Allin, *Letters to the Rev. John Maclean Containing an Exposition of the Government of Wesleyan Methodism*, Second edition, 1835, pp. 41-5, cited in Laqueur, *Religion*, pp. 82-3.

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