Religious practice and the social worlds of eighteenth-century children, 1688 to 1800

Mary Clare Martin

Despite much new and exciting research on the history of childhood, little exists on religion and the child in eighteenth century Britain.[i] The historiography of the long eighteenth century, which associates the 'birth of the modern world' with the period from 1688, is often considered as a period of greater 'secularisation' of society. Changing practices about child-rearing have been attributed to John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile: ou l'Education* (1762) and the Romantic poets.[ii] This 'middle class ideology' has been contrasted with an alleged rise of harshness, and revival of belief in original sin, linked to the rise of Evangelicalism in the late eighteenth century.[iii] In part, the secularisation argument is due to the characterisation of the Enlightenment as a break from the superstition of the past.[iv] Yet, more recent research claims religion was a significant aspect of the Enlightenment, and emphasises affection, tenderness, Christian principles and sensibility in parenting. [v]

Arguments about secularisation have been linked to the Toleration Act of 1689, which allowed Protestant Trinitarian sects outside the Church of England to worship in licensed premises. This led to fears, not only of the 'Church in danger', and of freethinking, but of the demise of church and chapel attendance.[vi] Although the negative picture of the eighteenth century Church of England has been revised, research on childhood religion has focused mainly on Dissenters, who comprised less than ten per cent of the overall population, and particularly on Quakers and Rational Dissenters.[vii] While the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699, which promoted charity schools and distributed

religious literature, focused its efforts in part on the young, children's collective involvement in worshipping communities is usually associated with Sunday schools, from the 1780s.[viii]

The chapter will explore the differing ways in which children and young people encountered religious practice across religious denominations and demonstrate the continuing importance of Christianity in daily life, as well as the significance of religious rites of passage. It will indicate the ways meaning about religion was co-constructed by children and young people within their 'social worlds', either alone or with others. It will also suggest that children had some impact on the practices of worshipping communities across the period and might exercise some agency over these religious environments.

The term 'social worlds' draws on the history and sociology of childhood and youth and has been used to denote 'children actively involved in the construction of their own social lives'.[ix] Accessing such childhood experience is notoriously difficult, in that most sources are created by adults. Many of my sources are published retrospective memoirs, claiming to draw on original documents, and need to be treated with care. They do, nevertheless provide insights into the nature and frequency of religious practice across social ranks. While the beneficial effect of pious examples (of women as well as men, missionary wives as well as preachers and ministers, many from the labouring poor and middling sort), was frequently used to justify publication; clergyman's daughter Catherine Cappe (1744–1821), a future Unitarian, also hoped to promote understanding of 'the infant mind'.[x] The sample includes royal and aristocratic children, some attached to the court, as well as High Church Anglicans and evangelical Congregationalists.

Denominational identity was complex. 'Dissent' refers to Protestants sects who actively differentiated themselves from the Church of England from 1688. From the 1730s, many Anglicans were drawn to Methodism, which remained within the Church of England until

1792. Many Presbyterians moved towards Socinianism, then Unitarianism, which established its first church in 1774. The Evangelical Revival affected many denominations, including Congregationalism, the Quakers and the Church of England.[xi] Many individuals decided to change denomination over their lifetimes, while others acknowledged the value of the inheritance of pious parents and grandparents, remaining connected to the religion of their childhood.[xii]

Tali Berner and Lucy Underwood have analysed the relationship between childhood religion and 'age', using both 'insider' and 'outsider' sources. They argue that, since everyone has been a child, 'exploring the history of childhood through adult sources' is not as unrealistic as men writing women's history.[xiii] Naomi Pullin has highlighted the contradictions of 'age' within Quaker communities, between chronological age and spiritual authority.[xiv] In the absence of clearly defined age-related categories in Christianity, this essay will consider childhood as ending at twenty-one, the age of majority.[xv] Seven has been regarded as the 'age of reason', and often fourteen to twenty-one or older as demarcating 'youth', defined as a period of semi-dependence between leaving home and full adulthood, which might only occur in the mid-twenties.[xvi]

I. Relationships and religious practice

Despite the characterisation of the eighteenth century as increasingly 'secular' by historians of childhood, and an historiography arguing that family prayers had almost disappeared, religious practice was embedded in the everyday lives of many eighteenth-century families.[xvii] Thus, early converts to Methodism, many of whom were from the labouring poor and middling sort, had had the groundwork of early religious education sown in mainly Anglican homes.[xviii] Moreover, while the mid-eighteenth century onwards has been identified as a crucial for maternal engagement, in the accounts below, religious instruction and

affectionate child-rearing involving both parents were inextricably linked across the century.[xix] Significantly, many of these parents died young. Thus, Elizabeth Ashbridge (1713–55), an Anglican who became a Quaker preacher, recalled her mother's early education with gratitude: 'she endeavoured to imbue my mind with principles of virtue'.[xx] For John Newton (1725–1800), a mariner's son, his mother, a Dissenter, was a formative influence, but died in 1732.[xxi] The husband of the Congregational Mrs Mary Mercy Ellis (1793–1835), daughter of 'pious parents' and granddaughter of a Scottish minister and writer, argued that she never forgot her religious training, despite her mother's death when she was seven.[xxii] Another Congregationalist, Sarah Stallybrass (1785–1833) cited a memory of learning Psalm lxxiii with her mother.[xxiii] High Church Anglican mothers could also be effective teachers. Elizabeth Stuart Bowdler educated her son John (1746–1823) to a 'thorough knowledge of the Bible and every part of Christianity': her grandson also emphasised her skill a teacher.[xxiv]

Paternal instruction, usually provided after early childhood, was also valued. John Newton's father took him to sea, aged eleven, until 1742. 'He took great care of my morals' but 'he could not take my mother's place'…[xxv] More positively, John Bowdler's father educated him 'whether by precept, or by the more familiar mode of conversation'… 'beyond what most men are capable of giving'.[xxvi] This reflects Michèle Cohen's work on the ubiquity of 'familiar conversation' as a pedagogic strategy, and differing paternal educational approaches.[xxvii] The High Church Martin Routh (1755–1844), was educated solely by his father, a clergyman and schoolteacher, to the age of nearly fifteen, when he went to the Queen's College Oxford.[xxviii] Catherine Cappe (1744–1821), told a narrative of gender discrimination. Her father, an Anglican clergyman, although learned, chose not to teach her, as he had 'imbibed prejudices about the female mind'. Catherine was taught by a living-in family friend, 'I read lessons every day in the Bible, but I never considered it as a connected

history, or gained much information from it'. By contrast, she wrote, her father 'paid great attention to my brother'.[xxix]

Methodist, John Wesley emphasised the importance of religious practice for children believing that childhood was 'a particularly active area of the Holy Spirit's operation'. [xxx] Memorising, at school and at home, enabled very young children to participate in religious practices before they could read.[xxxi] John Newton's mother 'stored his memory with many valuable pieces, chapters and portions, catechisms, portions of scripture, hymns and poems'.[xxxii] James Boswell spent time with his children on Sundays in the 1770s reciting psalms and the Lord's Prayer.[xxxiii] Children might do this voluntarily: Thomas Scott, the Evangelical Anglican clergyman (1747–1821), recounted how' without anyone putting her upon it', his four year old daughter learnt many of the *Olney Hymns* by heart, and recited them first thing in the morning.[xxxiv] As a child, Mary Mercy Ellis (1785–1835) had 'an excellent memory', and aged six, memorised '150 of those in her grandfather's volume, besides an entire collection, nearly 60 in number, entitled the Walworth Hymns'.[xxxv]

Family prayers remained very important as part of religious practice with huge numbers of printed prayers published for family use in our period.[xxxvi] Children in some households were present for these religious exercises.[xxxvii] The Anglican parents of William Romaine (1714–1795) were Huguenot refugees. His father spent Sunday, 'when not at church, reading the scriptures, and other devout exercises, at home'.[xxxviii] The father of Benjamin Rhodes (b.1743) a schoolteacher, 'used family and private prayer, read the Scriptures and other books of devotion in his family daily and frequently exhorted and catechised his children'.[xxxix] John Taylor, the Baptist minister, prayed with his children and instructed them in the 1770s.[xl] Charlotte Papandiek (1765–1840), whose German father was in Queen Charlotte's service, in her memoirs mentioned communal family prayers.[xli]

Practices of reading the Bible and saying prayers with children occurred across the social spectrum and age range and were recommended by conduct book writers. [xlii] In 1701, Lady Rachel Russell advised her children to read the Bible.[xliii] George Shadford (b.1739) the future Methodist preacher, recalled that 'my mother insisted on my saying my prayers every night and morning, at least'.[xliv] Lady Charlotte Finch read 'Psalms and Chapters' with her own children at 8 a.m. in her dressing room in the mornings in 1759, and with the royal children in the 1780s.[xlv] Young people's contribution to family learning could be appreciated. For instance, in Scotland, in 1757, the Reverend Hary Spens reported of his young boarder Jean Innes, that 'Jean had read to his family from the Book of Job. & entertained us highly w[ith] her remarks on a Sunday evening'.[xlvi]

Children recorded self-directed religious practice and education at home and at school.[xlvii] The Anglicans Mary Wiltshaw (b.1763, described as Episcopalian) and Elizabeth Dart (born 1792) embraced 'secret prayer'.[xlviii] Mary Dudley, born in Bristol, in 1750, 'at school gave proof of serious thoughtfulness and love of reading Holy Scriptures, particularly the prophecies of Isaiah'.[xlix] The Congregational Mary Mercy Ellis as well as learning hymns, had a 'high estimate of the value of prayer from a very early age'.[l] Books 'and not living teachers' were considered the sources of knowledge of the Congregational John Pye Smith (1774–1851), later theological tutor of Homerton College, Hackney.[li] The High Church William Stevens (1732–1807) who became an apprentice hosier, aged fourteen, educated himself, becoming 'one of the profoundest theologians of his time'.[lii] Young people also assisted each others' religious development. In 1800, the High Church Anglican cousins Eliza Rohde and Edward Hawkins (1780–1867), son of a Macclesfield banker, recommended religious books to each other.[liii]

Instruction and advice could be provided by adults outside the immediate family. In 1703, the grandfather of the motherless Mary Norton, aged eleven, advised her to read Richard

Allestree's *Whole Duty of Man (*1640) and to 'continue your devotions', morning and evening.[liv] Olaudah Equiano (1745–97), the former slave, was helped to read the Bible, in 1762, on board a ship.[lv] On land, the Quaker Thomas Young (1773–1829), taught by his aunt and the village schoolmistress, claimed he could read the Bible twice through and Watts' *Hymns* before he was four years old.[lvi] The fourteen-year-old apprentice William Jay (1769–1851), considered his conversations with Mrs Turner, whose husband founded a new chapel, more useful than sermons.[lvii]

These experiences point to the continuing significance of domestic religious practice across the eighteenth century for different age groups, social ranks and across denominations, despite historians' assumptions that this was in decline. Practices varied from close engagement with very young children by mothers, linked to memories of early attachment, then with fathers, to peer-group contact and interactions with non-kin adults, notably teachers and ministers. Children moved from memorising, instruction and family prayer to enjoying secret prayer and Bible-reading alone, to self-education, sharing religious practice or even instructing others. References to religious practice appearing frequently in a range of sources such as "holy lives", in the context of familiar letters and other personal sources, testify to the commonplace embedding of religion into children's lives.

II. Belief

Understanding how belief was acquired is one of the most difficult questions in religious history, yet it is rarely addressed. Historians have argued that Christian belief was part of the world view of the eighteenth-century poor, and that children's salvation was a concern across all social levels.[lviii] Different representations of spirituality and theology exist in this period. One perspective is that the Deity was viewed as a God of mercy rather than justice, while the importance of natural theology should not be underestimated.[lix] On the other hand, Paul Sangster has focused on Evangelicals, and emphasised an avenging God and emphasis on sin,

as did Boyd Hilton for the period 1795 onwards.[lx] The cases below illustrate a range of children's interactions with representations of the Christian, God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, which are central to Christian belief.

Memoirs describe how ideas about God were frequently co-constructed through dialogue and responses to children's questions. Catherine Cappe remembered 'the impression of the universal presence and government of God' as the 'sole author and controller of all events'. In 1749, aged about five, Cappe asked, 'Why cannot I see him and converse with him like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?' She found her governess' advice that 'If you are good, you will see him hereafter, and dwell with him hereafter', helpful and consolatory.[lxi] The young Mary Wiltshaw (b. 1763) 'knew that God was infinitely wise and good and powerful', and would hear and answer prayer.[lxii] In London, about 1759, Equiano recalled that the Miss Guerins, friends of his master, 'took great pains to instruct me in the principles of religion and the knowledge of God'.[lxiii] Mary Mercy Ellis' mother explained the 'plan of salvation' to her, aged five, prompted by a question after a chapel sermon: 'and the blessings of his love'.[lxiv] Veronica Boswell told her father in the 1770s that she did not believe in God, because she didn't want to die and be with God, but he then engaged in dialogue with her.[lxv] It was written of the Episcopalian Mary Wiltshaw (1763–1819) 'the Lord graciously wrought upon her mind by his Holy Spirit while yet but an infant', and of the Congregational Mary Mercy Ellis (1793–1835) 'tender as was her age' [when her mother died], 'there is reason to believe that even then, the spirit of God was gradually operating on her mind'.[lxvi] Childhood memories might presage future beliefs: Cappe, who became a Unitarian, recalled difficulty in believing in the Trinity, aged about eight.

Emphasis on sin was recorded especially in Dissenting and Methodist memoirs across the century.[lxvii] It occurs frequently within conversion narratives, as part of the account of inward struggle. Berner and Underwood have argued that 'When people insist on reporting the

choices they made aged nine, ten or fourteen, as their own, their interpretations should not be dismissed'.[lxviii] Moreover, since conversion had to be an autonomous act, the perspective of the child or young person was central to the narrative. Again, adult-child communication was recalled as crucial in the lead-in to conversion. John Newton recorded that, although he 'sinned away the advantages of those early impressions from his mother'… 'they were a restraint on him, and that came back to him again and again'.[lxix] In 1738, Elizabeth Mascall, a Dissenting pewterer's wife, had tried to 'convince my children of their sinful state' and had heard them 'mourn in secret over their own sins'.[lxx] Mrs Stallybrass (1785–1833), was later grateful to her mother for putting 'restraints upon my carnal and vain propensities'.[lxxi] In the 1790s, reflected 'on her own sinfulness' to her sister, a schoolfellow. She also explained the doctrine of the atonement.[lxxii] Yet, this was given as a reason for joy rather than gloom. Elizabeth Dart (b. 1792), inquired about the age of seven or eight whether 'this or that' was sinful, but was 'saved' from inward or outward sin in 1812, and joined the Methodist Society.[lxxiii] The conversion of Mary Mercy Ellis (aged ten) occurred on Whit-Monday 1804, after a sermon in chapel.[lxxiv] Sarah Stallybrass experienced conversion, aged fourteen, also after a sermon, and conversation with an older friend about salvation. [lxxv] Although some conversions did take place during the teenage years, and some were more gradual, many others occurred in adulthood. [lxxvi]

III. Children in worshipping communities

Schools and churches or chapels were significant sites for religious practice, and children might have an impact on such worshipping communities through participating in catechising, singing and their attendance in places of worship. Charity and Sunday schools, and Methodist institutions were intended to instil the gospel and good behaviour and church buildings might be adapted to accommodate them.[lxxvii] Such schools could reach significant proportions of the population and attracted numbers of voluntary attendees.[lxxviii] Moreover, grammar schools

could be significant sites of religious practice.[lxxix] Richard, later Bishop Hurd (1720–1808), son of a 'very respectable yeoman', boarded at 'a good grammar school at Brewood', under Mr Budworth, with a classical curriculum, but with religious instruction. On Saturday, portions of 'Mr Nelson's Festivals', a key High Church text, were read out, and in Lent the boys studied their catechism.[lxxx]

Small private schools could facilitate close oversight of pupils' religious development. R. Ormerod, master of a private school in Kensington, attended by the High Church Edward Hawkins (1780–1867), was pleased that 'his mind has taken a right direction with respect to Religion'.[lxxxi] Charlotte Papandiek recalled that her teacher at an Anglican boarding school in Streatham in the 1780s was ready to fill her 'open mind' with 'lessons of piety and devotional exercises'.[lxxxii] Sarah Stallybrass, a Congregationalist, appreciated 'religious privileges' and visits from Congregational ministers, at Mrs Shepherd's seminary, in Hackney. [lxxxiii] Mary Mercy Ellis, who lived at a boarding school run by 'a Christian woman', aged ten, after her mother's death (c. 1803) attended Silver Street Congregational chapel nearby, and its first Sunday school, aged eleven. The future London Missionary Society missionary and their Foreign Secretary, the Rev Joseph John Freeman (1794–1851) was one of the first pupils at the boys' school.[lxxxiv]

Churches and chapels were social and educational centre, and young people might exercise choice over place of worship and denomination over the lifecourse.[lxxxv] For Hannah Lightbody (later Greg), a well-educated young Unitarian woman, the chapel in Liverpool was the centre of her world.[lxxxvi] The father of Sarah Stallybrass was 'a respected and exemplary deacon at the Congregational Chapel in Stepney' where she worshipped throughout her childhood and youth.[lxxxvii] Church and chapel attendance started at a young age. Anglican children might attend aged three, as did workhouse inmates aged four, and some Quaker children.[lxxxviii] The Congregational Mary Mercy Ellis (1785–1835), recalled hearing a sermon

aged five, and valued prayer meetings attended 'at a very tender age'.[lxxxix] In Hampshire, children under six or even under ten were not expected to attend the Church of England.[xc]

Religious rites of passage structured the journey from birth to adulthood. Infant baptism, the sacrament of admission of children to the Christian church, was a near universal experience, regardless of class, race or age.[xci] Although after 1689, Dissenting chapels developed their own systems of recording, or registered new births at Dr Williams' Library, many dissenters were baptised in the Church of England. [xcii] These included Robert Aspland, baptised ten weeks after birth, the Sharpe children, in Newington, Middlesex, although their mother was Unitarian and the Congregational Mary Mercy Ellis at the King's Weigh-House Chapel, Fish Street.[xciii] Olaudah Equiano had asked to be baptised from fear he could not go to Heaven otherwise, and this occurred, aged thirteen in St Margaret's Westminster, in 1759.[xciv]

Catechising was the responsibility of heads of households in order to ensure the upbringing of those in their charge in the faith. All 'youth, children and ignorant persons' were to go to church on Sunday to be instructed in the church catechism, which was a requirement for confirmation. Historians have argued that clergy were usually conscientious about this, while some parents, rich and poor, catechised their children at home.[xcv] Catherine Cappe recalled concern about not knowing it well on a visit to Archdeacon Blackburne's children, aged about five or six, as he catechised them in church on Sundays.[xcvi] One Anglican Sunday school which developed out of this obligation was taught by Theophilus Lindsay, vicar of Catterick, Yorkshire, who for ten years between 1763 and 1773 devoted an hour on alternate Sundays to catechising the children and 'expounding the Bible to the boys of a large school' of about one hundred.[xcvii] The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly was taught to some Nonconformist children at home from the 1640s onwards, and in Congregational places of worship. Thus, the Congregational minister and scholar Philip Doddridge catechised

regularly in Northampton in the 1730s and 1740s.[xcviii] Sarah Stallybrass; 'when very young […] enjoyed the catechetical instructions of the venerable Dr Brewer' in Stepney at the end of the eighteenth century.[xcix]

Public examinations also made children a focus of public worship and interest. While Spaeth argued that catechising children in church was of less interest than sermons in early eighteenth century Wiltshire, Ian Green argued that parents came to watch their children be catechised, in Dissenting chapels as well as Anglican churches.[c] At the public examination of Mary Mercy Ellis' Sunday school in 1806, 'so exact was her response given of the sermon' (when asked unexpectedly), that she was 'given a handsomely bound Bible' by a member of the congregation, illustrating the impact on them.[ci]

After the founding of the SPCK in 1699, parochial singing was supported by charity schools, and children might attract adults to church. Donald Spaeth argues that 'children's singing was an important part of popular religious culture'. At Box in Wiltshire, after the vicar taught the charity children four tunes, parents followed their example, the quality of singing in church improved and the congregation grew. In 1718, a psalm recitation contest with forty children of the parish attracted an audience of 200 or more from neighbouring parishes.[cii] Another strategy within Nonconformity and Methodism was young preachers: William Jay (1769–1853), the former stonemason was known as the 'boy preacher' , aged about sixteen.[ciii] Yet, the young could exercise agency and be disturbingly independent: in 1764, the rector of Thornhill near Wakefield complained that young people liked assembling to sing, but did not only stick to psalms, as agreed, but wanted to sing Anthems, normally only sung in cathedrals or places of similar status. [civ]

Ceremonies celebrating confirmation, the ritual of full admission to the Church of England, often attracted several hundred people. Over the century, some bishops made

strenuous efforts to improve their order and frequency.[cv] The actual age of confirmation was originally from five to ten years old, but this was raised and was at least fourteen in the diocese of London by 1798.[cvi] Charlotte Papandiek was confirmed in 1770 aged fifteen, prepared by Dr Majendie and her vicar.[cvii] The equivalent ceremony for Dissenters was church membership, usually in the mid to late teens. Elizabeth Mascall joined the Covenant at her Meeting House in 1719, aged seventeen, followed by her elder sons, aged fifteen and seventeen.[cviii] Joseph Humphreys became a church member aged fifteen and Sarah Stallybrass aged nineteen in 1804.[cix] Church membership for Baptists was preceded by adult baptism, for instance, John Ryland, a Baptist, experienced this in 1767, aged fourteen.[cx]

Children and young people might affect church services negatively through undesirable behaviour, notably playing games outside during church time.[cxi] Friends of Catherine Cappe's used to pretend to go to a daily church service but really visited a friend.[cxii] Richard Steele complained in 1714 that six o' clock morning prayers in church were interrupted by 'pretty young ladies in mobs' coming in late, gossiping and flirting.[cxiii] Yet, these examples also underline the persistence of churchgoing as an aspect of daily life. Moreover, adults could be understanding about children's behaviour. In 1788, when about eighty "Raggamuffins", or Sunday scholars, filled the church at Colford (Gloucestershire), one boy said 'I wonder when the mon wool ha don talking?' Yet Robert Raikes saw this as positive, commenting on how satisfying it would be if this boy grew up to be a worshipper, and reflected how little he and his correspondent were aware of 'the true worship of the Deity' at the same age.[cxiv] Thus, children might have an impact on adult worshipping communities through public examinations and hymn-singing as well as rites of passage, their physical presence, or even misbehaviour,

Conclusion

This essay has sought to capture ways in which religious practice was communicated to children and how they in turn influenced their worshipping communities over the long eighteenth-century. It includes neglected groups such as High Church Anglicans and permits comparisons across religious denominations. While this essay reproduces adults' accounts of childhood, often their own, it nevertheless indicates some significant conclusions. Rather than being an era of secularisation, there is persistent evidence of religious practices being embedded in the family lives of different social ranks. Parents had key roles as educators, with some mothers, and fewer fathers being recalled with intense gratitude and affection from the early eighteenth century onwards. The trope that a valuable early religious education might have lasting effects, despite the death of the parent, was repeated in cases as diverse as John Newton and Mary Mercy Ellis. Processes of discussion and explanation of religious texts, an essential aspect of the social constructivism identified by sociologists, were regarded as invaluable by autobiographers and biographers, and helpful/unhelpful models of parenting were clearly noted.

Children might struggle to understand concepts of God, while also developing their own ideas. Parental teaching about God and sin across the century raises questions about the extent to which the ethos of the eighteenth century can be regarded as 'secular'. Yet, many such interactions were reported as sympathetic to the child rather than intimidating. Significantly, the environment of an evangelical family like that of Sarah Stallybrass bore no resemblance to stereotypes of harsh treatment in the late eighteenth century. [cxv]

Worshipping communities of different kinds played important roles in children's lives. Hymn singing, catechising, public examinations and confirmations could involve large numbers, give children a place in the public sphere, and even improve church attendance,

long before the publicising of Sunday schools by Robert Raikes in the 1780s. The chapter also identifies opportunities for girls, such as relationships between small private schools and places of worship. Even though routine practices were unlikely to be recorded, there is evidence that religious practice was integral to many eighteenth-century children's lives and that children co-constructed religious meaning with others. Indeed, while nineteenth century historians generated negative views of the eighteenth-century church, it is significant that memoirists did the opposite about the religious experiences of children in this sample.

Select Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts: British Library, Hawkins Papers: Egerton MS, 3813, 3814.

Printed

Broughton, Mrs V.D. (ed), *Court and private life in the age of Queen Charlotte: being the journals of Mrs Charlotte Papendiek, assistant keeper of the wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty* (London: Bentley & Co, 1887).

Memoirs of the Life of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe, written by herself ([S.I.]: Longman, 1824).

Ellis, W., *Memoir of Mary M. Ellis (*London, 1835).

Matthews, A. W. (ed), *Elizabeth Mascall (Mrs Laugher of Worcester): Remnants of a Life*. w*ith letters by her relatives and friends* (London: Printed by the Author, 1902).

Stallybrass, E., *Memoir of Mrs Stallybrass, wife of Edward Stallybrass, missionary to Siberia with an introduction by Joseph Fletcher, D.D.* (London: Fisher & Co, 1836).

Taft, Z, *Biographical Sketches of the Lives and Public Ministry of various Holy Women, 2 vols,* 1825, 1828, (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1992 reprint).

Secondary Sources

Berner, T. and Underwood, L, (eds) *Children and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

Fletcher, A., *Growing Up in England: the Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Jacob, W.M. 'Conscientious attention to publick and family worship of God": religious practice in eighteenth-century English households', in J. Doran, C. Methuen and A. Walsham (eds), *Religion and the Household: Studies in Church History,* vol. 50 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 307–317.

Jacob, W.M., *The Clerical Profession in England and Wales in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1660–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Martin, 'M.C. 'Catechizing at Home, 1740–1870: Instruction, Communication, Denomination', in M. Ludlow, C. Methuen A. Spicer (eds), *Churches in Education*: *Studies in Church History, 55*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 256–273.

Spaeth, D. The *Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

---

[i] For exceptions, see M. Hilton and J. Shefrin, (eds) *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Texts, Practices* (London: Routledge, 2009), (hereafter Hilton and Shefrin, (eds), *Educating the Child*) chs 2 and 3; M. C. Martin, 'Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity: Church, Chapel, Home in the Long Eighteenth Century', in T. Berner and L. Underwood (eds), *Children and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 127–164; P. Sangster, *Pity My Simplicity*: *the Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children*, *1738–1800* (London: The Epworth Press, 1966); R. Bayne-Powell, *The English Child in the Eighteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1939), pp. 125–142; M. C. Martin, 'Children and Religion in Walthamstow and Leyton, 1740–1870' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 2000); L. Ryan, *John Wesley and the Education of Children: Gender, Class and Piety* (Abingdon and London: Routledge, 2018) (hereafter Ryan, *John Wesley).*

[ii] H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society from 1500 to the present,* 2nd edn, (London: Pearson Education, 2005), (hereafter Cunningham, *Children and Childhood)*, pp. 56–65; C. Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 83–95; A. Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: the Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 6–9.

[iii] M. Hilton, *Women and the Education of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine, 1750–1850* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007*)*, pp. 163–7; A. Levene, *The Childhood of the Poor: Welfare in Eighteenth-Century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 170–173; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977), pp. 464–8, 667–682.

[iv] See R. Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2000), pp. 399–400.

[v] S. Apetrei, *Women, Feminism and Religion in Early Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); B. Taylor and S. Knott, (ed.), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); A. Stott, 'Evangelicalism and Enlightenment: the Educational Agenda of Hannah More' in Hilton and Shefrin, (eds), *Educating the Child,* pp. 45–56; S. J. Barnett*, The Enlightenment and Religion: the Myths of Modernity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); J. Bailey, *Parenting in England, 1760-1830: Emotion, Generation and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), (hereafter, Bailey, *Parenting*), pp. 31–2, 71–100.

[vi] D. Spaeth, The *Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 7–16; M. A. Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts (*New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 43; W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in England and Wales in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680 to 1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), (hereafter Jacob, *Clerical Profession)* pp. 12–20.

[vii] J. Walsh, S. Taylor and C. Haydon (eds), *The Church of England*, *1688–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); I. Rivers, *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: dissenting, Methodist and evangelical literary culture in England, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), (hereafter Rivers, *Vanity Fair*) pp. 3, 19–24; D. Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), (hereafter Rosman, *Evolution)*, pp. 136–7; E. R. Royle, *Modern Britain: a social history 1750–2011,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 340–341; Martin, 'Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity', pp. 134–5; K. Gleadle, 'The Juvenile Enlightenment: British children and youth during the French Revolution' in *Past*

and Present, vol. 233, Issue 1, (2016), 143–184; R. Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians* (London: Longman, 1998); N. Pullin, '"Children of the Light": Childhood, Youth and Dissent in Early Quakerism', (hereafter Pullin, '"Children of the Light"') in T. Berner and L. Underwood (eds), *Children and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 99–126.

[viii] Rosman, *Evolution*, pp.141–3, 174–5.

[ix] A. Strhan, S. Parker, and S. Ridgely, S, 'Introduction' in *The Bloomsbury Reader in Religion and Childhood* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp. 4–5.

[x] W. Ellis, *Memoir of Mrs Mary M. Ellis, (*[S.I.]: London, 1835), (hereafter Ellis, *Memoir*), pp. 27-30; *Memoir of Mrs Stallybrass, wife of Edward Stallybrass, missionary to Siberia with an introduction by Joseph Fletcher, D.D.* (London, Fisher & Co, 1836), (hereafter, Stallybrass *Memoir*), p. 3; Z. Taft, *Biographical Sketches of the Lives and Public Ministry of various Holy Women, 2 vols,* 1825, 1828, (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1992 reprint), (hereafter Taft, *Biographical Sketches*); *Memoirs of the Life of the Late Mrs Catherine Cappe, written by herself* ([S.I.]: Longman, 1824), (hereafter Cappe, *Memoir*), pp. 3–4.

[xi] Rosman, *Evolution*, p. 136, 112–118, 146–176.

[xii] Stallybrass *Memoir*, p. 1. Ellis, *Memoir*, pp. 27–31.

[xiii] Berner and Underwood (eds), *Children and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe* 'Introduction', pp. 18–19.

[xiv] Pullin, '"Children of the Light"', pp. 101–103.

[xv] M. McCormack*, Citizenship and Gender in Britain, 1688–1928* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 23.

[xvi] Heywood, *Childhood*, p. 81; J. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations,* (New York, London: Academic Press, 1982), pp. 2, 59, and 1–94; A. Davin, 'What is a Child?', in A. Fletcher and S. Hussey (eds), *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 22–29.

[xvii] See, for example, J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home*, 1830–1914 (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 35, 37; Fletcher, *Growing Up*, pp. 101, 106; W. M. Jacob, 'Conscientious attention to publick and family worship of God": religious practice in eighteenth-century English households', in J. Doran, C. Methuen and A. Walsham, (eds), *Religion and the Household: Studies in Church History, vol. 50* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 307–317; A. Cambers and M. Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity in late Stuart England' *The Historical Journal,* 47, 4 (2004), 876–896.

[xviii] M. Watts, *The Dissenters, vol. I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 426–8.

[xix] Bailey, *Parenting*, pp. 75-77; Tosh, *Man's Place*, pp. 45, 90–91; See, for example, A. W. Matthews, (ed.), *Elizabeth Mascall (Mrs Laugher of Worcester): Remnants of a Life. With letters by her relatives and friends* (London: Printed by the Author, 1902), (hereafter, *Mascall, Memoir*), pp. 9, 20.

[xx] *Some Account of the early part of the life of Elizabeth Ashbridge …Written by Herself*. (Providence: H. H. Brown, 1831), p. 4.

[xxi] J. Newton*, An Authentic Narrative of Some remarkable and interesting particulars in the life of … communicated in a series of letters to Mr Haweis,* 7th edn., (London: John Johnson, 1790), (hereafter Newton, *An Authentic Narrative),* p. 16.

[xxii] Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 31.

[xxiii] Stallybrass *Memoir*, p. 3.

[xxiv] T. Bowdler, *Memoir of the life of John Bowdler*, *Esq,* (London: A and R Spottiswoode, 1824), (hereafter Bowdler, *Memoir*) p. 20 and note to p. 22.

[xxv] Newton, *Authentic Narrative*, pp. 18–20; D. B. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 265–270.

[xxvi] Bowdler, *Memoir,* p. 21.

[xxvii] M. Cohen, 'Familiar Conversation, the role of the "familiar format" in education in eighteenth and nineteenth century England', in Hilton and Shefrin (eds), *Educating the Child*, pp. 99–116

[xxviii] J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men* (London: John Murray, 1891), p. 5

[xxix] Cappe, *Memoir*, pp. 48, 16, 17, 59.

[xxx] W.R. Ward and Heitzenrater (eds), 'Introduction' to W. R. Ward (Journal) and R. P. Heitzenrater (eds), *The Works of John Wesley, vol. 18, Journal and Diaries, I (1735–38),* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), pp. 43, 44.

[xxxi] M. C. Martin, 'Catechizing at Home, 1740–1870: Instruction, Communication, Denomination', in M. Ludlow, C. Methuen, A. Spicer (eds), *Churches in Education*: *Studies in Church History, 55*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 256–273; Ryrie, 'Protestants', in A. French (ed.), *Early Modern Childhood: an Introduction* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020), p. 125.

[xxxii] Rivers, *Vanity Fair*, pp. 374–386.

[xxxiii] Fletcher, *Growing Up,* p. 133.

[xxxiv] Cited in Rivers, *Vanity Fair*, pp. 376–77.

[xxxv] Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 32.

[xxxvi] Rivers, *Vanity Fair,* pp. 251–6.

[xxxvii] Jacob, 'Conscientious attention' pp. 307-317; Cambers and Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity', 876–896.

[xxxviii] W. B. Cadogan, *The Life of William Romaine* (London: T. Brensley, 1796), p. 3.

[xxxix] T. Jackson, (ed.), The *Lives of the early Methodist preachers, chiefly written by themselves…,* (Stoke on Trent: Tentmaker Publications, 1998), (hereafter Jackson, (ed.), *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers)* vol. I, p. 223.

[xl] Fletcher, *Growing Up*, p. 140.

[xli] Mrs V. D. Broughton (ed.), *Court and private life in the age of Queen Charlotte: being the journals of Mrs Charlotte Papendiek, assistant keeper of the wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty* (London: Bentley & Co, 1887), (hereafter *Papendiek Memoir*), p. 67.

[xlii] Fletcher, *Growing Up*, p. 32.

[xliii] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[xliv] Jackson, (ed.), *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*, I, p. 138.

[xlv] J. Shefrin, *Such Constant Affectionate Care: Lady Charlotte Finch, Royal Governess and the Children of George III* (Los Angeles*:* Cotsen Occasional Press, 2003), pp. 13, 54.

[xlvi] K. Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 57–8.

[xlvii] Jackson, (ed.), *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers,* vol. I, p. 138. S. Whyman, *The Useful Knowledge of William Hutton: Culture and Industry in Eighteenth Century Birmingham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 29–41.

[xlviii] Taft., *Biographical Sketches*, II, pp. 201, 187.

[xlix] *Ibid.,* p. 149.

[l] Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 38.

[li] J. Medway, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev John Pye Smith; late theological tutor of the Old College, Homerton* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1853), p. 3.

[lii] [J. A. Park], *Memoirs of William Stevens, Esq, Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty,* 2nd edn., (London: The Philanthropic Society, for the Scotch Episcopal Church, 1814), pp. 8–9.

[liii] British Library, Hawkins Papers, Egerton MS, 3814, Letters and Papers of Edward Hawkins, vol. II, Letter from Eliza Rohde to Edward Hawkins, fol. 15, Oct 1800.

[liv] Cited in I. Stickland, *The Voices of Children, 1714–1900* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), p. 9.

[lv] B. Carey (ed.), *The Interesting Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2018), p. 71.

[lvi] G. Peacock, *Life of Thomas Young* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 3.

[lvii] G. Redford and J. A. James (eds), *The Autobiography of William Jay* (Edinburgh and Pennsylvania: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), p. 23.

[lviii] C. Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007*),* pp. 152–75; H. Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 100, 167.

[lix] N. Hampson, *The Enlightenment*: *An Evaluation of its Assumptions, Attitudes and Values* (1968, Harmondsworth, Repr. 1990), p. 23.

[lx] B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of Evangelicalism on social and economic thought, 1795–1865* Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1988), pp. 4–5, 177–80, 185, 188–9, 270–282; Sangster, *Pity my Simplicity*, pp. 134–7.

[lxi] Cappe, *Memoir,* p. 16.

[lxii] Taft, *Biographical Sketches*, II, p. 184.

[lxiii] Carey, (ed), *Interesting Narrative,* pp. 25, 59–60.

[lxiv] Ellis, *Memoir,* p. 31; Ellis, *Memoir,* p. 29.

[lxv] L. Pollock, A *Lasting Relationship*: *children, parents and the state over three centuries* (London: Fourth Estate, 1987), pp. 218–219.

[lxvi] Taft, *Biographical Sketches*, II, p. 184; Ellis, *Memoir*, pp. 32–33.

[lxvii] Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp. 52–4, 58–9.

[lxviii] Berner and Underwood, 'Introduction', p. 28.

[lxix] J. Newton, *Authentic Narrative*, pp. 16–17.

[lxx] *Mascall Memoir*, p. 13.

[lxxi] Stallybrass, *Memoir*, p. 3.

[lxxii] *Ibid*., pp. 2–3.

[lxxiii] Taft*, Biographical Sketches*, II, p. 201.

[lxxiv] Ellis, *Memoir*, pp. 33–40.

[lxxv] Stallybrass, *Memoir,* pp. 5–6.

[lxxvi] Taft., *Biographical Sketches* II, pp. 117–19; Jackson, *Lives of the early Methodist Preachers,* I, pp. 9–15. Martin, 'Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity', pp. 148–9.

[lxxvii] Ryan, *John Wesley*, pp. 58–126; Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 232–8.

[lxxviii] W. M. Jacob, '"The Glory of the Age we Live in": Christian Education and Philanthropy in Eighteenth-Century London Charity Schools', in Ludlow, Methuen and Spicer, (eds), *Churches and Education*, *Studies in Church History*, 55, pp. 241–255*;* W. T. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday schools and working-class culture, 1780–1850,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

[lxxix] S. Slinn, *The Education of the Anglican Clergy* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 129–69.

[lxxx] S. Brewer, 'Biography of Richard Hurd, 1739–1808' in *The Early Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd, 1739–1762,* Church of England Record Society, 3 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), p. x.

[lxxxi] British Library, Hawkins Papers, Egerton MS 3813, fol. 35, R. Ormerod to Edward Hawkins, 14 March 1798.

[lxxxii] *Papandiek Memoir*, p. 110.

[lxxxiii] Stallybrass, *Memoir,* p. 1.

[lxxxiv] Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 14. The LMS was the London Missionary Society founded in 1795, as an interdenominational organisation.

[lxxxv] Rivers, *Vanity Fair*, p. 93; Martin, "Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity", pp. 155–6.

[lxxxvi] D. Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton*: *Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill* (Stroud: The History Press with the National Trust, 2013), p. 40.

[lxxxvii] Stallybrass, *Memoir*, p. 1.

[lxxxviii] Martin, 'Children and Religion', pp. 307–315.

[lxxxix] Ellis, *Memoir*, pp. 29, 38.

[xc] Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, p. 174.

[xci] Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, pp. 194–6; Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 198. Martin, 'Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity', pp. 139–40.

[xcii] P. Clayden, *Samuel Sharpe, Egyptologist and Translator of the Bible* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co, 1883), pp. 52-3.

[xciii] R. B. Aspland, *Memoir of the Life, Works and Correspondence of the Rev Robert Aspland of Hackney* (London, Edward Whitefield & Co, 1850), p. 2; Clayden*, Samuel Sharpe,* p. 52*;* Ellis, *Memoir*, pp. 30–31.

[xciv] Carey, *Interesting Narrative*, pp. 58–9.

[xcv] Jacob, *Clerical Profession,* pp. 236–242. Martin, 'Catechizing at Home', pp. 256–273; I. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), (hereafter Green, *The Christian's ABC),* pp. 117–21.

[xcvi] Cappe, *Memoir*, p. 24.

[xcvii] G. M. Ditchfield, (ed.), *The Letters of Theophilus Lindsay (1723–1788), Volume I, 1747–178*8 (Church of England Record Society, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. xlv–xlvi.

[xcviii] Martin, 'Catechizing at Home', pp. 256–273; M. Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton, 1702–1751* (Northampton: Northamptonshire Libraries, 1980), p. 61.

[xcix] Ellis, *Memoir,* p. 1.

[c] Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 189–90. Green, *The Christian's ABC,* pp. 165–9.

[ci] Ellis, *Memoir*, p. 36.

[cii] Spaeth, *Church in An Age of Danger*, pp. 226–7, 230–1, 243–4.

[ciii] Redford and James (eds), *Autobiography,* pp. 37–43.

[civ] Jago and Royle, *Eighteenth-Century Church*, p. 5.

[cv] P. Tovey, *Anglican Confirmation, 1662–1820* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 224–351.

[cvi] S. J. Wright, ed, 'Confirmation, Catechism, Communion: the role of the young in the Post-Reformation Church', in *idem.*, ed., *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 210–217; Martin, 'Children and Religion', p. 358.

[cvii] *Papandiek Memoir*, p. 157.

[cviii] *Mascall Memoir,* p. 19.

[cix] Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, p. 83; Stallybrass, *Memoir,* pp. 5-6.

[cx] Martin, 'Childhood, Youth and Denominational Identity', pp. 152–3.

[cxi] K. Thomas, 'Children in Early Modern England' in G. Avery and J. Briggs (eds), *Children and their Books: a Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 52-6. Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 192.

[cxii] Cappe, *Memoir,* pp. 37–9.

[cxiii] C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (New York & Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co, 1906), p. 430 cited in R. Steele, *Guardian*, no. 65, 26 May 1713.

[cxiv] British Library, Hawkins Papers, Egerton MS 3813, fols 33–34. Letter Robert Raikes to Edward Hawkins, 24 June 1788.

[cxv] Bailey, *Parenting in England,* pp. 31–2. See above, note 3, for alleged harshness.