

**David Walther (1794–1871) and His Family:
With a Catalogue of Walther’s Known Publications¹**

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Little has been said about David Walther and the part he played among Brethren between about 1838 and the time of his death in 1871, but since he was the author of approximately seventy Brethren-related or other theological publications and the publisher of more by other authors, ranging from single-page tracts to a substantial volume of more than 200 pages, it seems a worthwhile task to gather together what information may be gleaned about his family connections, mind, and activities. Hence the following introductory notes which, it is hoped, may encourage others to delve further into Walther’s place in the Brethren movement during its formative and later divided years. It should be noted, however, that the focus here is not specifically or exclusively upon Walther as an early Brethren publisher,² although much of his life’s work formed part of that important aspect of Brethren activity and doctrinal dissemination, as may be assessed by reference to the accompanying Catalogue of his publications. The

¹ I would like to thank Patricia Hole for her initial encouragement in researching David Walther and for her readiness to share information, which has been incorporated into this work. Since the first publication of this paper in 2017, further information has come to hand from David Walther’s great-great-great-grandson, Robert Keiller of Dundee, which has been used to prepare this revised edition and I would like to express my sincere thanks to Robert for his very helpful correspondence. Others too have made suggestions towards this amended version of the original paper and I should particularly thank Timothy Stunt for very useful exchanges and especially for suggesting additions to the Catalogue.

² In this respect David Walther might perhaps be thought worthy of some specific mention in section 7.1.1 (‘Means to the development of a “Brethren” identity—Publishers’) of Tim Grass’s excellent *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland* (Milton Keynes, 2006) should the author produce a new or revised edition in the future.

present focus is somewhat wider, dealing with what may be gained as to Walther's biography, his personal development, and his Christian endeavour that continued to manifest itself through his family and heirs.

David Walther was born among books and was privileged to have unrestrained access to an immense library from an early age. Writing in 1851, he stated,

More than forty years ago I began my study of the Christian Evidences, with Leslie's method with the Deists. The subject fixed my interest, and my opportunities for following it up were abundant. For many years I had hardly less than 40,000 volumes within my reach. It would not be easy to name the works I looked into, *against* as well as *for*, christianity:- there was no one to fetter my liberty. I have known passing doubts; but, in general, my convictions have been kept *settled*.³

More than 40,000 volumes! Thomas Carlyle, his not-too-distant neighbour from 1834 onwards, would have seized upon Walther's library with joy and delight had he known of it, as it would surely have relieved him of his constant battle to access books he could not himself possess. Ultimately it led him to campaign with men of common interest to supply the needs of scholars by founding the London Library. But such free access to books of every description seems to have been a privilege enjoyed by Walther almost as a right of birth, with the consequence that his later writings testify to the great breadth of his reading.

On the maternal side, David Walther had for grandfather the Rev. Peter Petit (1720-1788) of Wymondham, Norfolk (and previously of Royston), another man of many books, whose extensive library was sold after his death through a London auction house.⁴ Petit was

³ David Walther, *Some Reply to "Phases of Faith, by Francis Newman"* (London, 1851), 22.

⁴ Preserved in the British Library is a copy of the *Catalogue of the library of the late Rev. Peter Petit, Vicar of Windham, and Commissary of Norfolk... containing a large collection of critical and grammatical books, in the various learned languages, together with a selection of the best English writers in divinity, history, miscellany,*

descended from Huguenots dwelling in the Protestant region of Saintonge, his maternal grandparents being Elie Buhet and Bonne Raoul,⁵ who, with his mother Frances, probably fled France around 1699-1700, possibly after Elie's arrest and release (or escape) in 1699. The bookishness of Peter Petit is attested by his memorial stone in Wymondham Abbey, which records that he was 'Commissary of Norfolk, a man endowed with many virtues, in charity exemplary, his knowledge was extensive being master of the learned languages, particularly the Hebrew.' During his lifetime he published a guide to Hebrew by self-tuition,⁶ as well as two fast sermons that we know of,⁷ though his request that his executors publish posthumously a volume of his sermons seems to have gone unheeded. As well as his widow, Ann Petit, who died in 1803, Peter Petit left thirteen living children, among whom was his daughter Henrietta (b. 21 January 1756), who married Henry Walther.

On the paternal side, David Walther was the third child and eldest surviving son of Henry (originally Johann Heinrich) and Henrietta

&c., which will be sold by auction by Messrs. King and Chapman at their great room, King-street, Covent-Garden, on Thursday, March 26, 1789, and eight following days (Sunday excepted). The phrase 'and eight following days' testifies the extent of Petit's book collecting.

⁵ Bonne was the daughter of Noah Raoul and granddaughter of Melchisedec Raoul, and Robert Keiller has discovered the 1685 abjuration records of Bonne, her parents, and brothers following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

⁶ *The Hebrew guide; or, an English-Hebrew grammar, without points: in so concise and plain a method, as to be successfully consulted without a master, etc.* (London, 1752).

⁷ *Natural occasions of terror considered as intentional warnings of providence; or, an enquiry how far we, of this nation, may be concerned to attend to the late extraordinary and alarming events. A sermon preached February the 6th, MDCCLVI (being the day appointed for a general fast and humiliation, on account of the important situation of public affairs and the late dreadful and extensive earthquake) in the parish-church of St. John the Baptist, in Royston, Hertfordshire* (London, 1756); and *The spoilers spoiled, or, retaliation denounced against the enemies of this church and nation: a discourse delivered on Wednesday the 10th of February 1779, being the day appointed for a general fast* (Norwich, 1779).

Walther.⁸ Henry, son of Charles and Eliza Walther, was a native of Hanover, one of many craftsmen of the German states who migrated to England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, driven by political and economic uncertainty, and possibly also drawn by the establishment of the House of Hanover as British monarchs. As a skilled bookbinder Henry worked for a time with John Ernst Baumgarten,⁹ described as ‘probably the first of the German bookbinders who were a feature of the West End trade at the end of the eighteenth century,’¹⁰ but he was in business on his own account as a bookbinder by 1784 at 7 Castle Street, Strand,¹¹ and became a naturalized British citizen under a private act of the House of Lords (41 George III, c. 18) in 1801. Henry Walther was described by Dibdin in 1817 as ‘a substantial, good, honest binder,’ adding rather unflatteringly that ‘without aspiring to extraordinary celebrity, or classical taste, he possesseth much that will gratify a collector who is unambitious of costly or curious book-furniture.’¹² His expertise was

⁸ By Henry’s earlier marriage in 1782, to Mary Morice (b. c. 1761), a daughter, Ann Walther, was born in 1786. On the 7th June 1790, at St. Anne’s Church, Soho, Henry Walther married his second wife, Henrietta Petit (c. 1756–1815), the daughter of Peter and Ann Petit of Royston, Herts. The children of this marriage were Henrietta Ann Martin Walther (1791–1859); Peter Henry Walther (1792–1792); David Walther (1794–1871); Marian Harvey Walther (1795–1869); Charles Davis Walther (the forms Davies, or David are also found; the form Davies is written in Peter Petit’s prayer book, now in the hands of Robert Keiller, but Davis is the second name as it appears in Henry Walther’s will) (1797–1894); and Henry Thomas Walther (1801–2).

⁹ See C. Ramsden, *London Bookbinders 1780–1840*, repr. (London, 1987), 9 f., 144 f. & plates 25 & 38, where description and illustrations of some of the different binding styles used by H. Walther are cited.

¹⁰ E. Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders 1648–1815* (London, 1950), 8 f., 97.

¹¹ Westminster rate books (as reported by Patricia Hole). The same source in 1780 listed him as a cabinet-maker in Lisle Street. A bookbinder’s ticket, dated 1760 (‘Bound By / H. Walther’ on white paper), in the Canady Library Rare Book Collection, Bryn Mawr, is noted in W. Spawn & T. E. Kinsella, *Ticketed Bookbindings from Nineteenth-century Britain* (Bryn Mawr, PA & New Castle, DE, 1999), 191, which may perhaps indicate that even as an apprentice Henry Walther had been permitted, very unusually perhaps, by his master Baumgarten to mark his work with a personal ticket.

¹² *The Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. 2 (London, 1817), 520; see also 260 & 358 for additional comments on Walther’s work.

nevertheless esteemed sufficiently by Oxford's Bodleian Library for that institution to commission from him many bindings, including the repair and rebinding of a number of incunables,¹³ and among his numerous apprentices, from 1800 to 1807, was Charles Lewis (1786–1836), who is said to have become 'unquestionably London's leading binder.'¹⁴

It was his younger son, Charles Davis Walther, rather than his elder son David, whom Henry took into partnership in his bookbinding business. This business, then located in Castle Court, Strand, was formally dissolved on 25 March 1823, on the retirement of Henry Walther, after which it was continued by Charles Walther alone.¹⁵

¹³ See K. Jensen, 'Heinrich Walther, Christian Samuel Kalthoeber, and other London Binders: Books in the Bodleian Library bound by Germans settled in London in the Eighteenth Century', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Bd. 29 (1996), 292–311; and A. Honey, 'The Repair and Rebinding History of Blockbooks Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library', in M.J. Driscoll & R. Mósesdóttir (eds.), *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 11: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Seminar held at the University of Copenhagen, 24th–25th April 2008* (Copenhagen, 2009), 105–120.

¹⁴ Lewis 'was born in London, the fourth son of Johann Ludwig, a native of Hanover whose zeal in political matters caused him suffering and loss of friends, and who was one of the many German bookbinders who moved to England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century' (M.M. Foot, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, q.v.) Since Johann Ludwig was a friend of Henry Walther, his son Charles was accepted as an apprentice in Walther's workshop and after Lewis's death an obituary notice, demonstrating the very high esteem in which his bookbinding labours came to stand among the aristocracy of his day, was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct. 1836), 439 f. The writer included in this obituary some criticism of the restrictions that Charles Lewis had been placed under by Henry Walther during his apprenticeship. These remarks received a swift riposte from Henry's son, David, in the following issue of the magazine (Nov. 1836), 450, where he defended his father, who not long before had died in his 90th year, just some months after the death of his apprentice Charles Lewis. See also E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, vol. 2 (London, 1859), 976.

¹⁵ *London Gazette*, no. 17909 (29 March 1823), 507. C.D. Walther served his bookbinding apprenticeship under John Mackinlay and later Michael Stainton, being admitted Freeman of Stationers' Company on 3 August 1817 (Ramsden, *London Bookbinders*, 145), the year in which he travelled to Paris and Belgium, where he visited the site of the recently fought Battle of Waterloo. He penned an illustrated account of these travels, the manuscript of which is now held in the John Hay Military

Meanwhile, by 1820, the elder son David had become established as a bookseller at 4 Brydges Street, Covent Garden. Before this, he had made some youthful attempts in literature, which he contributed to *La Belle Assemblée; being Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*. As the title suggests, this was a journal devoted to the promotion of fashionable culture and especially dress, in fact, what Christians would commonly dismiss as 'worldliness'.¹⁶ There was, nevertheless, one survivor of Walther's literary compositions from this period, his poem titled 'Pompeii', which he would in later life deem fit to republish as

Collection of Brown University Library, Rhode Island. Apart from its fascinating content, this volume probably represents in its binding a sample of his own workmanship. C.D. Walther showed an evident concern for combating a particular social problem of his day, so that we find him acting as an authorized collector for the Associate Institute for Improving and Enforcing the Laws for the Protection of Women (*The Female's Friend*, Jan. 1846, 2, where Charles Walther's address is given as 4 Kensington Crescent, Kensington). C.D. Walther, like his brother David as we shall notice below, was given to the writing of poetry, composing a comic song in aid of the Bookbinders' Pension Society, titled 'Bill the Binder', which was sung at a concert given 12 November 1832 in the Theatre of the Mechanics Institution. Another composition, 'Our British Oak a well tried friend in various applications', was published in editions of 1855 and 1857. Charles died in his late nineties in 1894.

¹⁶ Some heirlooms of David Walther, including a prayer book containing records of family births, marriages, and deaths, were passed down three generations to the spinster sisters Margaret, Gladys, and Susie Alexander, notes on whom are contained in the second part of the present study. Their brother's grandson Robert Keiller remembers the sisters' speaking of a writing book of David Walther's, apparently kept from his childhood and containing a poem about a family visit to the seaside entitled 'The dames of Margate', a seemingly shocking title to the three very proper spinsters, which they explained away by making, it seems, a quite extraordinary etymological link between the words 'dames' and 'dams', suggesting that 'dames' was a German or French word meaning 'wharfs'! In fact, Walther's youthful composition must have been typical of a certain kind of humorous poetastering popular in the early nineteenth century, exemplified, for instance, in William Robinson's *A Trip to Margate* (1805) and the anonymous *Adam and Eve: a Margate Story* (1824), both of these containing references to various dames. Robert Keiller also suggests that a possible influence on Walther's early attempts at poetry might have been his aunt, Elizabeth Gertrude Bayfield (*née* Petit), who, in 1805, published a volume entitled *Fugitive Poems*, to which both Henry Walther and his wife Henrietta ('Mrs. Walther / Mr. Walther', p. xxiii) were subscribers. Useful biographical information relating to Elizabeth Gertrude Bayfield has been provided at <<https://studylib.net/doc/7767798/jackson-rwp-additions>>.

an eight-page pamphlet, with somewhat reduced notes to the text. This first appeared in print, above the initials 'D.W.', in vol. 20 of *La Belle Assemblée* (1819). Other verse contributions in this volume signed with the initials 'D.W.' included 'To the Memory of a Lost Cat, written for a Monument in -----'s Garden' (p. 84 – the deceased moggy's name was Nelson, or Nell, a fashionable name in the early nineteenth century well beyond the realms of the Darby family), and 'Nuptial Song, translated from the Latin of Catullus' (pp. 273–4). He also contributed a humorous anecdote, somewhat in the manner of Addison and Steele's *Spectator* and prefatory to others promised for publication, titled 'The Disappointed Satirist' (pp. 16–18) and the magazine's editor, John Bell of Drury Lane, inserted in his prefatory comments, 'To correspondents', the following remarks: 'The Anecdotes sent us by D. W. have already been published in LA BELLE ASSEMBLEE. We have by us stores of unpublished Anecdotes, and from the pen of him who could so beautifully trace the ruined city of Pompeii, we look for matter purely original: he is too well gifted with genius to be a collector only.' Walther would, to the end of his life, publish samples of his verse, but these were clearly of a very different tenor to that which he had brought before the public in his youth: e.g. *The Lord of Glory Came to Bless, Thou Glorious God of Saving Grace*, and *God's Sabbath* (1871). Even so, Walther's Christian faith does not seem to have inhibited his respect, and perhaps appreciation, of human culture and arts. We learn, for example, from the 1861 Census report that among his household, perhaps staying as a guest, was the renowned French pianist and composer Thérèse Wartel (*née* Adrien) (1814–1865), wife of the tenor Pierre-François Wartel (1806–1882) and sister-in-law of the pioneering music and movement teacher François Delsarte (1811–1871). The wide-ranging references to be found in Walther's published works also indicate something of the extent of his reading beyond strictly theological works.¹⁷ Walther's home in 1861 must have been enlivened also by the presence in it of a

¹⁷ As one simple example, we may note that 'Mr. Walther, 42 Piccadilly' was named in the list of subscribers to W. J. Rees, *Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo, or the Ancient Register of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff* (Llandovery, 1840).

young boarder, Philip Edward Vizard, son of a Scarborough dentist, who was then serving under articles of clerkship in preparation for a legal career in the Royal Court of Justice. Vizard would also become a keen amateur astronomer and was one of the founding members of the Hampstead Scientific Society.¹⁸

In Stepney on 30 August 1823, David Walther married Isabella, the daughter of James and Isabella Hawkins (*née* King).¹⁹ Their first child, William David Walther, was born in the following year, but died, aged only 8 months.²⁰ 29 November 1826 witnessed the birth of a daughter, Isabella Julia Walther. As manuscript notes in a bound collection of Walther's pamphlets indicate,²¹ her father referred to her by her second name, Julia, no doubt to distinguish her from her mother, Isabella. A second daughter, Mary, was born on 26 November 1829. Sadly, their mother Isabella died, aged only 32, in 1831,²² leaving Walther alone to care for and bring up his two daughters, then still infants. He must, nevertheless, have received some domestic or familial assistance, since we know from his published article 'The Genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke' (signed 'Z., 42, Piccadilly', which was Walther's address at the time),²³ that he managed to visit Paris in 1833. Death struck again in 1835 with the decease of Walther's

¹⁸ See <<http://adsabs.harvard.edu/full/2011JBAA..121...13D>> and see further A *Century of Popular Science: Record of the Hampstead Scientific Society 1899–1999* (London, 1999), 5, where Vizard is described as 'amateur astronomer extraordinary, persuasive lecturer and wholehearted participant in everything he chose to support.'

¹⁹ Isabella had been baptized in Southwark on 19 January 1800.

²⁰ He was buried on 11 March 1825: W.H. Hunt (ed.), *The Register of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London*, vol. 5 (London, 1909), 286.

²¹ Kept in the Christian Brethren Archive, University Library of Manchester, CBA 1131.

²² She was buried on Christmas Eve, 1831: Hunt (ed.), *Register of St. Paul's*, vol. 5, 307.

²³ Published in *The British Magazine*, vol. 6 (1 July 1834), 1–10. See note on identification of the author in the Catalogue supplementary to this study.

father Henry Walther and it was in the following year that Walther probably came among Brethren.²⁴

In 1834, Walther had moved his bookseller business from 4 Brydges Street, Covent Garden, to new premises not far away in west London, at 42 Piccadilly, where he continued to trade until 1846. Prior to his removal to Piccadilly and to his coming among Brethren, his output as a publishing bookseller in Brydges Street had included a range of illustrated volumes, beginning in 1821 with *A Brief Account of the Coronation of His Majesty, George IV*, and followed by *Views in the Valley of Aosta* (1823?), *Twenty Views of the City and Environs of Edinburgh* (1823), *Twenty Views in the Environs of London* (1823), *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps* (1828–9), the fold-out leporello *Panorama des Rheins von Coeln nach Mainz* (1830), and *Views in the Pyrenees* (1831), all of which seem perhaps to demonstrate a desire to satisfy some of the wealthier residents of west London with the literary accompaniments of a growing tourist interest that had lain dormant during the long period covering the revolution in France and the Napoleonic Wars.²⁵

Among Walther's publications of this period were also a number of works of a spiritual nature, evidencing perhaps Walther's growing concern with the truth of Christian faith. These included in 1821 the *Compendium of the Evidences of Christianity* in 6 pocket-size volumes containing writings by Christian apologists of the eighteenth century; in 1822 *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* by the Independent minister Philip Doddridge (1702–1751), *The Christian Institutes* by Francis Gastrell (1662–1725), late Bishop of Chester, *The Great Importance of a Religious Life Considered* by the pietistic high-churchman William Melmoth the elder (1665/6–1743), and *The Private Meditations and Prayers of the Right Reverend Thomas*

²⁴ This dating is based on the title of Walther's 1856 publication, *Our Difficulties, Comprising some Notice of the Present Position of Certain Assemblies Professing to meet as Brethren, by one who has been twenty years among them*.

²⁵ These publications might also reflect a personal interest of Walther's, whose name and address at 42 Piccadilly interestingly appear in the list of subscribers to John Ross's Appendix to the *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-west passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions* (London, 1835), xcix.

Wilson; and in 1833 he attempted a work of his own composition: *Vindiciæ Biblicæ: A Series of Notices and Elucidations of Passages in the Old and New Testaments, which have been the Subject of Attack and Misrepresentation by Deistical Writers*. All these were preliminary to his commencing the English translation and publication of a work that was to become extremely popular among the British and American public, running into many editions:²⁶ J. H. Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, begun in 1838.

Walther was clearly no obscurantist. If we take his *Vindiciæ Biblicæ* as an example, we may notice in it how he applied his mind to examining the radical thought of his day, going so far as to visit in Fleet Street the shop of his fellow bookseller, Richard Carlile (1790–1843), a man whose whole life was spent in radical tractarianism, preaching republicanism and egalitarianism, republishing and distributing the works of Thomas Paine, and suffering for his endeavours more than one term of imprisonment.²⁷ Carlile was a

²⁶ For a catalogue of complete or partial editions of Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Great Reformation*, see J. B. Roney, *The Inside of History: Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné and Romantic Historiography* (Westport, CT, 1996), 198–200.

²⁷ Recording conversation with Thomas Carlyle on 28 May 1842, Caroline Fox wrote: 'He was ... amused to learn the horror which the mention of his (Carlyle's) name aroused. "I suppose they took me for Richard Carlile [jr.], but they say that even Richard has taken another turn and become a religious character. I remember when his father was a bookseller and his shopmen were constantly being taken up for selling the sort of book he kept, yet there was such an enthusiastic feeling towards him, such a notion that he was supporting the right cause, that no sooner was one taken up than another offered himself from the country, and so he was always kept supplied. Edward Irving fell in with one of them at Newgate, who appealed to him as to whether it was not very hard to be imprisoned for disseminating views which he honestly believed to be true. Irving rather agreed with him, and he afterwards paraded Irving's opinion in a somewhat mortifying manner.'" (C. Fox, *Memories of Old Friends, etc.*, vol. 1 (London, 1882), 297.) On Carlile, see further, J. H. Wiener, *Radicalism and Freethought in Nineteenth-century Britain: The Life of Richard Carlile* (Westport, CT, 1983). G.J. Holyoake starkly contrasted the two men in the words, 'Richard Carlile was all for freedom—Thomas Carlyle was all for despotism,' but he finished his account of Carlyle by commenting, 'It is common to find men who have a biting tongue, which they cannot restrain, yet possessed of instinctive tenderness and generosity.' (*Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, vol. 1 (London, 1892), 191, 195.)

natural opponent of clericalism and the church, and in his bookshop Walther would have found an extensive resource of destructive criticism of the Biblical texts. Into this ‘dragon’s den’ Walther boldly entered and brought away, as he wrote, the ‘most able and complete works on particular passages of the Bible’, which he made it his task to answer to the best of his ability, so that he might help to relieve his fellow believers’ embarrassment over the critical issues raised against the Christian Scriptures. We may take as a single example his efforts made to respond to the debate concerning the plurality of worlds that had intensified following the astronomical discoveries of William Herschel and the use made of Herschel’s observations by such writers as Thomas Paine in his *Age of Reason* (published in three parts, 1794–1807) to disparage the Christian revelation, and by freethinkers such as George Gordon Byron, who had written to William Gifford (18 June 1813), ‘It was the comparative insignificance of ourselves & *our world* when placed in competition with the mighty whole of which it is an atom that first led me to imagine that our pretensions to eternity might be overrated.’ To this remark Walther responded,

Was there nothing in conduct, that, if known, might account for this perverse deduction from the noble elements of a far different conclusion?... Does it not assume the *Omnipresent* and *Omnipotent* Creator to be liable to distraction by the greatness of His own works? Does it not measure His interest and care over His works, not by their rank or dignity of nature—but by their *mere material size*?—Allow the high probability that those heavenly orbs are inhabited by other orders of existence—what is so clear—as that we are ignorant of the conditions of their existence? *Here* only do we know of a being formed in the ‘image of God’ and made ‘a little lower than the Angels,’ struggling between inclinations to evil, and gracious invitations and assistances to that which is good.

In a footnote he adverted his readers to the thoughts published on this subject by the Scottish minister Thomas Chalmers, noting that ‘he has brought the *revelations* of the *Microscope* to bear against that perversion of the discoveries of the *Telescope*, which would persuade

us that God can not humble Himself to the things that are on earth.²⁸ The discussions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Christians regarding a possible plurality of worlds and the possibility of extra-terrestrial life, intensified as they were by the new discoveries of the telescope, are well worthy of contemporary review and updating as Christians now face the same challenge but on a larger scale thanks to the far more sophisticated methods of scientific probing at both macro-infinity and micro-infinity levels.

David Walther's focus on Christian apologetics was a concern that would be reflected in a good many of his later publications as, for example, in *Some Reply to "Phases of faith, by Francis Newman"* (1851), *The Dishonesty of Unbelief* (1861), two publications written in response to the notorious *Essays and Reviews* published in 1860—*On the Qualification for Religious Enquiry, Compared with the Trifling of Essayists and Reviewers* and *Some Notice of Profr. Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of Evidences of Christianity* (both appearing in 1861)—, his *Preface (offered as a Solemn Warning) for a New Edition of M. Renan's "Life of Jesus"* (1864), and the undated pamphlet titled *A Word to the Infidel*. If the publications of Walther mentioned in the preceding paragraphs in any way reflect his personal concerns, they demonstrate both an intellectual probing of the foundations of Christianity and a focus also on the necessity for a heart-felt faith, in fact a uniting of mind and heart in the worship of God.

It is possible that Walther obtained his new business premises at 42 Piccadilly in 1834 from the printer Richard Beckley, who is noted in the British Book Trade Index as being located at this address in 1830 and possibly in 1833. Walther's removal from Brydges Street, Covent Garden to 42 Piccadilly in 1834 probably signalled a major expansion of his business, as quite soon subsequently he had printed and offered for sale at a price of 2s. 6d.²⁹ *A Catalogue of Books: English, French,*

²⁸ *Vindiciæ Biblicæ* (London, 1833), 14 f. For fuller discussion of this subject, see M. J. Crowe, *The Extraterrestrial Life Debate 1750–1900* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. 160–355; and B. Jenkins, 'Evangelicals and the Plurality of Worlds Debate in Scotland, 1810–55', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 35 (2015), 189–210.

²⁹ 12½ pence in modern currency, with a purchasing power perhaps equivalent to approximately £8 or £9 in today's money.

Italian, and Spanish; Greek and Latin Classics, and Some Books of Prints and Picturesque Works, comprising some 223 pages and containing descriptions of approximately 4,000 works ‘in the finest condition’. The present writer has not seen this catalogue,³⁰ but a good idea of its contents may be gained from a full-page advertisement for it on the back cover of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, November 1836, where a bibliophile’s mouth-watering sample of the books listed by Walther in the catalogue comprises several multi-volume works, in fine binding, quite probably reflecting the work of his brother C.D. Walther’s bindery, offered at quite seriously high prices quoted in guineas. Only gentlemen with very deep pockets indeed could have hoped to procure such sets, and particular mention is made of French-language publications, described as ‘beautiful copies in the original French Morocco’, which perhaps sheds some light on the purpose of Walther’s visit to Paris in 1833, possibly one of several such buying expeditions made over a number of years.³¹ Walther’s personal commitment to lifelong service in the bookselling profession is reflected in the fact that he became a member of the Booksellers’ Provident Institution in 1837, the year of its foundation, and that in this institution’s *Constitution, Rules, Bye-laws, List of Donors and Members and other Information*, published in 1906, his name appears

³⁰ Only one surviving copy has been located, in Sir John Soane’s Museum, London and to this day its pages remain uncut, so that access to its contents is severely limited.

³¹ An advertisement placed by Walther in the *Foreign Review*, no. 1 (Jan. 1828), 31, particularly mentions ‘the best of modern French literature’ under the lead ‘Just imported by D. Walther, 4, Brydges Street ...’. Walther, like J.N. Darby, might well have been a frequent traveller on the continent, so that, for example, he remarked in 1862 on his having visited the town of Neuwied on the Rhine ten years previously (*Notice of Some Recent Doctrine among the “Brethren”* (London, 1862), 1). Walther’s familiarity with Brethren in Paris is probably alluded to in an entry found in volume 1 of the journal of William Collingwood for 28 June 1856: ‘arriving past midnight (Saturday) in Paris & drove to the Hotel Londres, Rue Bonaparte, kept by a Christian man known to Mr Walther, and in fellowship with “les Freres”’ (‘Copy of autobiographical notes’, W.G. Collingwood (1854-1932) family archive, Cardiff University archives 462/25. Thanks to Roger Shuff Yatol, who is transcribing W. Collingwood’s diaries, for kindly sharing this information and other details noted later in this study).

as a donor of £5.5.0 and as a subscriber of £42 (we notice again the use of guineas and, perhaps deliberately, the number '42', commemorating his business address at 42 Piccadilly), the former in the 'List of legacies, donations and special annual donations to the BPI' (p. 115) with the address 42 Piccadilly, and the latter in the 'List of deceased members of the BPI' (p. 129) with the address 14, Oxford Terrace, Bayswater, which was Walther's home in retirement.

As previously noted, Walther may have come among Brethren in about 1836 and his tract, published in 1838, expressed in its title what Walther and perhaps the majority of early Brethren viewed as the basis and rationale of their new-found ground of gathering: *A Short Account of the Recent Secession of some Christian Brethren from Various Denominations, and of their Present Union together, upon the Grounds (common to all True Christians) of Faith in the Lord Jesus and Participation of the Spirit*. It was a declaration of foundational principles which Walther would hold precious during the rest of his life, but one which with sadness he saw becoming compromised and tacitly denied in later years as some brethren became tempted to look to the leadership of certain men instead of the leadership of the Holy Spirit as the latter was exemplified in the Acts of the Apostles. For Walther office and gifts were, as he wrote in this pamphlet, entirely subservient to the Christian people's diligent study of the Bible in simple dependence on the Holy Spirit for guidance and light, and where office and gifts, bestowed upon men by the Spirit, might be lacking, Christians still had the faithful promise of their Lord to be with them where one or two were gathered in his name.

Between 1841 and 1846, Walther published a number of works by J. N. Darby,³² which evidently appeared to Walther to be in full accord with the basis of fellowship, open to all Christians and exclusive of

³² Evidence of Walther's association with Darby as early as 1841 is found also in a printed paper with a handwritten note containing notice of subjects for consideration at Parsontown, (then) King's County, 21st–22nd April 1841, signed by T. Mahon, T. Towers, and W. Sadler, with a letter written on it by T. Mahon to Darby requesting the latter's presence. This document was redirected from D. Walther, bookseller, London to Charles Coxwell of Tostock, Suffolk: CBA GB 133 JND/1/1/20.

none, that he had outlined in his own *Short Account*, but by 1846 it became clear that the climate was changing and that a new spirit of sectarianism was making headway within the movement. What was made the *cause célèbre* was, of course, perceived error in the Christology of B.W. Newton (a tract of whose was also published by Walther in 1842), which became an issue for judgment to be imposed not just with regard to keeping fellowship with Newton, but with regard to anyone or any meeting of brethren receiving persons who had fellowship with Newton. Here was a new doctrine of ‘contagion’, reminiscent of Old Testament laws of purity, which became employed by Darby and those who followed him to exclude brethren and (repeatedly through subsequent history) to divide the one body of believers in the Lord Jesus Christ. In effect, Darby’s insistence that all and every meeting should condemn the teaching of B.W. Newton in Plymouth resolved itself into a matter of ‘he who is not for me is against me’, so that when brethren from Plymouth were received at Bethesda Chapel in Bristol, Bethesda too was cut off, and when brethren from Bethesda were received at Orchard Street, west London (where Walther was in fellowship), Orchard Street too was cut off,³³ and so it went on until universally the whole movement, originally intended to uphold the only ground on which Christians could meet together in unity (faith in Christ and responsiveness to the Holy Spirit), was split asunder.

Walther, like many others, was cut to the heart and accused Darby directly of wickedness in his insistent witch-hunt. Against what he perceived to be a new ground of gathering, Walther took a firm stand, not only in print but also in direct address to Darby. In a letter written by him to Darby in August 1849,³⁴ despite as he wrote having ‘been

³³ In *Divers Weights Brought out and Broken*, published c. 1863, Walther stated, ‘It was required of brethren in Orchard Street, London [where Walther was a leading brother], that they should *refuse Christians coming from Bethesda*. They declined compliance, and were at once separated from by Mr. Darby’s followers.’ Text reprinted and cited from S.F. Kendall, *Remarks on John Nelson Darby’s Church Fellowship and Discipline* (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1871), 56; cited also in W.B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901), 177.

³⁴ CBA GVW/1/760.

almost crushed by this tyranny,' he maintained a tone of brotherly love, pleading with Darby to respect the consciences of fellow believers in the matter of Plymouth and Bethesda and to cease demanding that all should either agree with himself or suffer exclusion. Darby's actions had occasioned such fear that already Walther's meeting of Brethren in Orchard Street had become divided as, with the support of the 'Darbyite' Rawstorne Street meeting in Clerkenwell,³⁵ a number had separated and set up a new table in Davies Street.³⁶ It seems that the principal promoters of Darby's policy in London were W.H. Dorman³⁷ and G.V. Wigram, so that in an attempt to stem the tide of their destructive work, Walther printed and circulated a letter he wrote to Dorman rebuking him for his unjustified attack on A.N. Groves and on John Eliot Howard of the Tottenham meeting for their failure to side with Darby in his demand for unjustified separation from fellow Christians.³⁸

The pain caused by the division between inclusive and exclusive brethren that had become complete by 1849 was long felt by Walther and we witness his continued agonizing over the issue in some of his

³⁵ On the location of Rawstorne Street, see G. West, 'The Early Development of Brethren Assemblies in London', *Christian Brethren Review*, no. 41 (1990), 70–72.

³⁶ In a letter written 5 August 1849, addressed to 'My dear Brother' (who might possibly have been Walther), Darby sought to excuse himself from any direct responsibility for the secession of those meeting in Davies Street, meanwhile acknowledging that he shared the opinions of the secessionists: CBA GVW/1/770. An edited version of this letter was published in *Letters of J.N.D.*, vol. 1 (London, 1886), 200 f., where mention of the Davies Street meeting was removed from the original letter and Darby's determination of 'unquestionable judgment' on Bethesda and its associates was toned down by the omission and alteration of some words. The editor, William Kelly, also deleted the final sentence of Darby's letter, in which he roundly dismissed the so-called Tottenham statement of the 4th March 1849.

³⁷ In later years Dorman felt compelled to depart from his allegiance to Darby and by 1869 was found once more in fellowship among Open Brethren in London, repenting his having ever been party to the 'intolerant dogmas and immeasurable conceit' that had 'usurped to a large extent the place which was once occupied by a divine charity, and a living expression, however imperfect, of love and meekness, and a desire only for the glory of Christ': Neatby, *Plymouth Brethren*, 218–234, esp. 231, 234.

³⁸ *A Letter to W[illiam] H[enry] D[orman]; with an extract from a letter of W.H. D[orman] to J[ohn] E[liot] H[oward], in April 1849, followed by a Commentary.* [Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther].

later publications: *A Few Words on the 'Questionings' of 1846, addressed to those who are Gathered to the Name of Jesus, by Him to Believe and Wait on God* (c. 1850); *Our Difficulties, comprising some Notice of the Present Position of Certain Assemblies Professing to meet as Brethren* (1856); and *On Loving as Brethren, and the 'Binding and Loosing,' that shall stand* (1863), in the last of which he commented in conclusion, 'For myself I may say my resolution is not to belong to a clique. And to those who make divisions among Christians, by what they call the *Bethesda question*, rather than have fellowship with their actings, I would prefer to break bread with half a dozen Christians on Hampstead Heath in a shower of rain;—thankful to be clear of what I judge their *wickedness*.'

The Brethren's meeting room in Orchard Street, Portman Square, Marylebone, was first registered for worship in April 1842 and the rate book of that time indicates that the responsible person was G.V. Wigram. In 1847, however, Walther, assumed that responsibility.³⁹ It was in 1842 that John Vesey Parnell came to settle among brethren meeting in Orchard Street, 'when,' as Roy Coad noted, 'he left Teignmouth on succeeding to the title of Lord Congleton.'⁴⁰ After his conversion to evangelical faith through Count Guicciardini, Teodoro Pietrocola Rossetti was also brought into contact with the Orchard Street meeting at this date. Harold Rowdon noted that 'A west London meeting of brethren which was later to become very influential met in Orchard Street, whence it removed to Welbeck Street in 1860',⁴¹ and

³⁹ West, 'Brethren Assemblies in London', 74. It is not clear whether Wigram was, in fact, the legal owner of the property, as he claimed to be, for instance, in the cases of Raleigh Street Chapel in Plymouth, the Hall in Rawstorne Street, London, and the Room in Woolpit, Suffolk: see letter of Wigram to Mrs Murray, 9 Feb. 1869, CBA WSC/10/2. Since, however, Orchard Street, which did not go with Darby and Wigram in 1849, remained with the brethren originally meeting there until 1860, it seems likely that Wigram, and later Walther, acted merely as trustees of the property.

⁴⁰ F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement* (Exeter, 1968), 75.

⁴¹ Harold H. Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren 1825–1850* (London, 1967), 163. Cf. also William Collingwood's record of taking Sunday tea at Mr. Walther's along with H. Young, after joining in the meeting at Welbeck Street, London (20 January 1861) ('Copy of autobiographical notes' [journal, vol. 1], W. G. Collingwood (1854–1932) family archive, Cardiff University archives 462/25).

after reuniting with the former Exclusive meeting in Marble Row, Oxford Street, it moved to 1 Rossmore Road in March 1934, where the meeting room continued to be known as Welbeck Hall and more recently as Rossmore Road Evangelical Church. D. J. Beattie delighted in recording some of the notable, indeed also noble, persons who were registered members of this meeting including, apart from Lord Congleton already noted, the Earl of Cavan, Lady Queensberry, and Lord and Lady Radstock.⁴² Worth noting is the fact that it was at 70 Welbeck Street in 1853 that William Yapp from Hereford set up a Bible depot where he published many Brethren writings, being supported in this venture by a partner, James Ellis Hawkins (d. 1919), who, despite bearing the same surname as Walther's wife, was unrelated to Isabella.⁴³ Mr and Mrs Yapp were also members of the Orchard Street/Welbeck Hall meeting and we find the name of William Yapp in the imprint of a number of Walther's pamphlets between 1854, six years after Walther had retired from his publishing business, and 1870, shortly before Walther's death in the following year.

As in the Tottenham and Hackney meetings, brethren in Orchard Street evidenced a keen missionary interest, which has been described by Beattie in the following words:

It was at Welbeck Hall that the quarterly missionary meetings were held, and the names of brethren who were present at those early gatherings conjure up memories of some of the pioneers who went out from the assemblies: Arnot, Hunter, Baedeker, Hudson Taylor, Crawford, Blamire, Wigston, and others. It is worth noting that the missionary interest thus fostered has been strikingly maintained in a very practical sense, and there are many still out in "regions beyond"

⁴² David J. Beattie, *Brethren: The Story of a Great Recovery* (Kilmarnock, [1940?]), 111.

⁴³ Robert Keiller has discovered that Isabella's father, James Hawkins, was the younger son of John Hawkins of Alton, a brewer who owned several inns and public houses and married into a wealthy family that owned estates in Thursley, Surrey. James, who may have become estranged from his father, worked as a customs officer in London. Her mother, Isabella Hawkins, was the daughter of Richard King, a vintner.

in the Lord's work who spent the whole of their assembly life in the Welbeck Hall meeting.⁴⁴

Walther played a part in the home support of such missionary endeavours. Thus we find that in 1839, Walther, at 42 Piccadilly, along with Jonathan Bagster,⁴⁵ 13 Paternoster Row, were named as agents for receipt of contributions in aid of the Tinnevelly Mission.⁴⁶ This effort came, no doubt, as a direct response to the extremely positive reports brought by A.N. Groves concerning the work that was going on in that southern region of India. We also know from letters written between the years 1867 and 1870 by T.P. Rossetti that Walther was linked with a group of London brethren in disseminating news of Christian missionary work in Italy.⁴⁷

The year 1848 was marked by revolutions throughout states across Europe, and it also witnessed the division between Open and Exclusive Brethren. For Walther 1848 was perhaps also significant, since after this date we find no more of his publications bearing the address 42 Piccadilly.⁴⁸ It seems possible that on his retirement from business, Walther's premises at 42 Piccadilly and perhaps also his book stock

⁴⁴ Beattie, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Jonathan Bagster (1813-1872) was son and successor to the Nonconformist Samuel Bagster (1772-1851), the famous London publisher of polyglot Bibles and other scholarly helps to Bible study.

⁴⁶ Report on 'German Evangelical Mission Station, Suviseshapuram, in Tinnevelly', *The Inquirer*, 2 (London; Central Tract Depot; 1839), 571 f.

⁴⁷ CBA 7341/51, 53, 56, 85. The other brethren involved included William Yapp; G.F. Müller; William Thomas Berger, a member of the Hackney meeting and close friend of Philip Henry Gosse who became the first Home Director of the China Inland Mission in 1865; Lord Congleton, and Dr. John Lindsay Maclean, who was associated with *The Missionary Echo* magazine, later known as *Echoes of Service*.

⁴⁸ On 22 Jan. 1846, Walther wrote to Oliver & Boyd in Edinburgh from his address at 42 Piccadilly: 'You are aware that I am nearly out of business' and on 13 Dec. 1848 he wrote to them again, this time from 5 Conduit Street West, Westbourne Terrace: 'What I have now to say is that being I may say—out of business—with little wish to engage in more publishing, I would be willing to part with the copyright of my translation' [of J. H. Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*]: National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5000, Oliver & Boyd papers.

were acquired by the famous London bookseller, publisher, and rare book collector James Toovey (1813/14–1893).⁴⁹

We know from the 1851 Census that Walther was by that time a retired bookseller, living at 3 Dudley Place, to the north side of Paddington Station.⁵⁰ His maiden daughters, Isabella Julia and Mary, now aged 26 and 22 respectively, were also registered at that address. By 1854 Walther had removed to nearby 2 Blomfield Road,⁵¹ but by 1861 Walther and his daughters were all dwelling at 14 Oxford Terrace,⁵² this time to the east side of Paddington Station. While Walther would remain at 14 Oxford Terrace until his death in 1871,

⁴⁹ Toovey had been apprenticed to Richard Beckley, from whom, as we have previously noted, Walther had probably obtained the 42 Piccadilly premises in 1834. Toovey established his own bookselling business at 36 St. James's Street and at 192 Piccadilly by 1844. It was from the 192 Piccadilly address that he published his monumental *Lives of English Saints* in 13 volumes in 1844–5. At least two of Toovey's publications appeared with an imprint stating his address at 42 Piccadilly: Richard Redhead's *Laudes Diurnæ* (1848) and *Prayers and Devotional Exercises used at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, Berkeley Square* (1852), but from 1854 onwards his business, by this time one of major substance, was located at 177 Piccadilly. Eulogy was made of Toovey's old book stock in 1854 by J. Overton Choules (*The Cruise of the Steam Yacht North Star: A Narrative of the Excursion of Mr. Vanderbilt's Party* (Boston, 1854), 52 f.), a stock which might well have been boosted by the acquisition of Walther's former property. Toovey published John Henry Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1846) and over a period Newman made use of Toovey's address at 192 Piccadilly for the receiving and sending of letters. For additional information on James Toovey, see <<https://ashrarebooks.wordpress.com/2015/05/17/the-book-hunters-of-1888-3/>>.

⁵⁰ Dudley Place has apparently disappeared beneath the A40(M) flyover. After Walther retired from business, he dwelt for a short time at 5 Conduit Street West (renamed Craven Road in 1868), Westbourne Terrace, close to Paddington Station on the south side. (Letters of Walther to Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 13 Dec. 1848 & 7 Mar. 1850, Oliver & Boyd papers, Acc. 5000, National Library of Scotland.) From there he seems to have removed a short distance to 14 Oxford Terrace.

⁵¹ Walther signed his name with this address at the tail of his contribution on 'John xx. 23' published in *The Christian Annotator*, 22 July 1854, 202 f. His will of 2 May 1871 also referred to Walther 'formerly of 2, Blomfield Road, but late of 14, Oxford Terrace, both in Paddington'. Mention is also made of his residence in Blomfield Road in his undated pamphlet *Seed Springing after Many Days*.

⁵² Situated on the south-east side of Sussex Gardens. Oxford Terrace was razed in the 1960s and on the site was built a 24-storeyed tower.

the census year 1861 was also the year in which his two daughters, Isabella Julia and Mary, would become married, each of them to a husband employed in banking. On 11 May 1861 Isabella Julia married Henry William Alexander, a banker's clerk, of Marylebone, while on 24 September of that year Mary was married to George Wightman Brown, a banker's clerk in Manchester.

Henry William Alexander was the second child and eldest son of Samuel Alexander (1810-1883) and Mary Ann Poulton (1811-1888), who were married in 1829. Samuel was born in Horsley, Gloucestershire. For some years in the 1830s and 1840s, Samuel and Mary Ann Alexander worked as schoolmaster and schoolmistress in Chipping Camden, before removing, first to Wendover and then to London (Cranford Street, Marylebone and later Chelsea), where the Censuses of 1851, 1861, and 1871 list Alexander either as 'city missionary' or 'missionary'. Later in the 1870s, however, they had removed north-westwards to Manor Street in Berkhamsted, where the 1881 Census records that Samuel was 'ministering the gospel at Hope Hall'. During the 1860s, Brethren had met in private houses until they began a house church in a cottage in Castle Street, where their numbers increased, after which they began to use Prospect Place Wesleyan Chapel on Highfield Road and their larger meetings took place in Berkhamsted Town Hall. Samuel Alexander was recognized as an inspirational preacher and leader, who, it was reported, built Hope Hall in 1875 as the Brethren's own meeting place.⁵³ At the funerals of both Samuel and Mary Ann, the proceedings were conducted by J.E. Hawkins, probably the publishing associate of W.E. Yapp referred to

⁵³ Information provided by Robert Keiller and from the Rectory Lane Cemetery website, Berkhamsted <<https://www.rectorylanecemetery.org.uk/locations/hope-hall/>>, where can be seen a photograph and transcription of Samuel and Mary Ann Alexander's gravestone, 'erected by the Company of Believers among whom he laboured at Hope Hall'. In 1969, Hope Hall was sold, but continued as a place of Christian worship under the new name of King's Road Evangelical Church. Tim Grass mentions Samuel Alexander of Berkhamsted as an example of some men's 'full-time local ministry', referencing the King's Road Church website, accessed in 2005, which unfortunately had expired by 2020 (*Gathering to His Name: the Story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland* (Bletchley, 2006), 179).

above, and (at the funeral of Samuel) a Mr. King, and (at the funeral of Mary Ann) Mr. R. Farie, the latter perhaps to be identified with Robert Farie, born in Greenock and later of Highgate, London, who died aged 72 in 1925.⁵⁴ A collection of David Walther's publications, passed down through Henry William and Isabella Julia's descendants in the Alexander line, came ultimately to be preserved in the Christian Brethren Archive in Manchester, where it has provided an extremely useful basis for the Catalogue of Walther's known publications listed in the second part of the present study.

George Wightman Brown, who would become manager of the Whitehaven Bank in Cumberland, was the son of the Wigan Baptist and publishing bookseller, John Brown, so that the marriage of Mary Walther and G.W. Brown was one between two children of Christian booksellers. John Brown's wife, Mary Lee (*née* Wightman) was the granddaughter of the renowned Particular Baptist minister and author Abraham Booth (1734–1806). G.W. Brown's marriage to Mary Walther in 1861 was, in fact, his second marriage. His first wife Caroline Elizabeth (*née* Culverwell) (d. 1853), whom he had married on 28 October 1841,⁵⁵ bore him two daughters—Caroline (1844–1923) and Mary Louisa (1845–1918⁵⁶)—and a son, John Joseph Brown (b. 1843), who became a Middle Temple barrister. In 1842, while living in Manchester,⁵⁷ G.W. Brown, with his wife Caroline and their children, had joined in fellowship among Brethren. Caroline died in 1853, so that some eight years were to elapse before George became married to Mary Walther. George and Mary had three daughters: Lucy

⁵⁴ *Bucks Herald*, 13 January 1883; 17 March 1888. An obituary notice for Robert Farie was published in *The Witness* (1925), 59 (this information helpfully supplied in the index to Brethren obituaries prepared by Marcos Gago: *Obituarios y Biografías*).

⁵⁵ The marriage of G.W. Brown and Caroline Culverwell was consecrated at Rusholme Road Independent Church in Manchester, on which occasion one of the witnesses, a young deacon of the church, was John Rylands, in whose memory was founded the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, in which the Christian Brethren Archive came to be located.

⁵⁶ After a life spent in India, where her husband and his brother William Bowden, jr., worked in the insurance business, Mary Louisa Bowden migrated to the USA and was buried in Clay County, Florida.

⁵⁷ This place of residence is noted in the will of John Brown.

Theodora Brown (1862–1918), Edith Mary Brown (1864–1956), and Mabel Walther Brown (1867?–1925). Edith was educated at Girton College, Cambridge, after which she followed her half-sister Mary Louisa to India. In 1873 Mary Louisa had married Frederick Henry J. Bowden (1844–1922), the fourth son of William Bowden (d. 1876) and Elizabeth (*née* Folland, c. 1812–1883), both of whom had been inspired by A.N. Groves (1795–1853) to commit themselves to missionary work in India.⁵⁸ Their missionary endeavours were continued through later generations of Bowdens and Tilsleys, the latter being linked through Grace Tilsley to the African missionary, Dan Crawford. Edith Mary Brown achieved recognition for her work in the Christian Medical College, Ludhiana, India, the first medical training institution for women in Asia. For her services she was honoured with the title Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire.⁵⁹ We have little information about the youngest daughter, Mabel Walther Brown, but we do know from out-going passenger lists that on 24 December 1920, when she was 53 years old, she sailed from London to undertake missionary work in China. She died in Bromley, Kent on 3 May 1925. Thus we see how the missionary concern of Walther and the Orchard Street meeting became perpetuated through later generations.

Walther's daughters having left home ten years earlier, the Census of 1871 recorded that Walther was still living at Oxford Terrace, now aged 77, with two servants and, perhaps significantly, a nurse. He died on the 16th April of that year, carrying with him to his last days the painful recollection of the cataclysmic division among Brethren that had occurred nearly a quarter of a century previously in his experience.

⁵⁸ Paul Hyland sought to trace his Bowden ancestors' travels in India in *Indian Balm: Travels among Fakirs and Fire Warriors* (London, 1994); see pp. 88, 90, 158, 161 f., 175, 235 for references to Frederick and Mary Bowden (*née* Brown).

⁵⁹ See Charles Reynolds, *Punjab Pioneer* (Waco, 1968); R. B. Dietrick, *The Man the Church Forgot and other Early Medical Missionaries who made a Difference* (n. pl., 2007), 120; & F. French, *Miss Brown's Hospital* (London, 1954). For detailed information on John and Mary Lee Brown, please see the lead page at <<https://www.wigan.gov.uk/Resident/Museums-archives/Wigan-Archives/Collections/People-and-families/Harris-Brown-letters.aspx>>.

One of Walther's last letters was sent to S.F. Kendall in Newfoundland, who included Walther's *Diverse Weights brought out and broken* in his own publication of 1871: *Remarks on John Nelson Darby's Church Fellowship and Discipline*. Kendall prefaced the text of *Diverse Weights* by stating:

The following is from a dear friend, and justly venerated servant of Christ—Mr. D. Walther, of London,—now beyond the strife of man and party feuds. His last letter to the author, written not long before his death (only a few months since), is fraught with wisdom and godly prudence even on this present subject; in which it will be clearly seen how warmly attached he had been to Mr. J.N.D. and G.V. Wigram; yet faithfulness to God and His Christ, led him to oppose their course of action from the first. He says,

“I am resigned to the being debarred the visits and fellowship of many to whom I have been under obligation [as teachers] that I would always acknowledge. How humbling it is to see the influence of eminent gift in drawing after it those of whom we hoped better things. A mind gifted with insight in the deep things of scripture with difficulty sacrifices fellowship with such men as J.N.D., G.V.W., &c. Still let us own the dear children of God who will not bow to J.N.D.'s passionate *edicts*.

“We ought by this time to have learned the blessedness of dwelling together in unity. It is, I repeat, *humbling* to hear of one and another spiritual Christian drawn aside by *gift*; and as to *attainment in truth*, there are many blessed truths which the Lord can shew us that we have but little apprehended. Let us—you and I—and those we love, esteem it a good thing to bear the reproach cast on Christ's people, and with them to suffer affliction by unjust suspicions. *We* (and I speak for *many*) are no partizans. It were well if our 'Exclusive brethren' were as free from the dictation of J.N.D. and others as we are from 'Bethesda' and its respected leaders.

“Now, beloved brother, I bid you affectionately farewell, trusting through grace to meet when communion will be unbroken and separation not known. Yours in much affection, D. Walther.”⁶⁰

Less than one month after David Walther's death, on 12 May 1871, his daughter Mary's husband, George Wightman Brown, died in a tragic accident. An account of his death, written by an anonymous person, has been passed down the family and this touching narrative,

⁶⁰ *Remarks*, 55.

kindly supplied by Patricia Hole, is included here for the sake not only of our interest in the persons involved but also for some little light it sheds on the Brethren assembly in Keswick at that time:

Up above Lake Derwentwater, on the Whinlatter Pass was a charming cottage which the banker [George Wightman Brown] bought, to which every summer the whole family went. Here fresh air, glorious views, fine trees, and streams made a wonderful surrounding for the three little girls.⁶¹ A fascinating waterfall provided endless fun. It was here that Edith planted her silver teaspoon, hoping for a crop of spoons.

Down in the little village, at the foot of the hill, their father continued his habit of Cottage meetings as he passed through on his way from Whitehaven. And every Sunday, the whole family went in the pony carriage into Keswick, to the little Brethren's Meeting. Among those who met there were many who were admirers of Ruskin and the Lake Poets, an artist and his kindly wife, shopkeepers, who studied their Greek Testament and farmers who worked the land gathered together "over the Word" and their simple gatherings drew together many lovers of the Lord.

Just opposite the Meeting House lived Miss Frances⁶² Rolleston, the Astronomer, who wrote the story of the Gospel in the Heavens.

⁶¹ That is, the three daughters of G.W. Brown through his second marriage with Mary Walther: Lucy Theodora, Edith Mary, and Mabel Walther Brown, then aged respectively and approximately 9, 7, and 4.

⁶² 'Francis' written incorrectly in the source. Frances Rolleston (1781–1864) is a person of some fascination in her own right, an amateur scholar of the Biblical languages and publisher of several works on ancient astronomy, most notably *Mazzaroth* (1862), a fanciful Christianization of the zodiac, later taken up and popularized by such writers as Joseph A. Seiss (*The Gospel in the Stars*, 1882) and E.W. Bullinger (*The Witness of the Stars*, 1882). She also published an account of the conversion of the political writer William Hone (1780–1842), a volume of poetry, and studies of the Song of Songs and the book of Revelation. She began life in the Anglican fold and fellowshipped among Brethren (among others) at least as early as 1840 while residing in Scarborough where she knew of visits by Brethren such as Capt. W.H.G. Wellesley, nephew of the Iron Duke, and G.V. Wigram. Spending her later years in Keswick, she enjoyed fellowship among evangelicals of several stamps, including Brethren, but asserted that she should, in the end, be accounted a Baptist, since Brethren were not unanimous regarding what she had come to regard as the erroneous

She and many others joined in the worship in the little meeting house. Most of all the influence of many missionaries from India was felt.

Then came tragedy. The cottage was to be opened for the summer and the banker went first. The two elder girls⁶³ were to follow by train. As they drew up to the little Braithwaite station the girls looked eagerly for their father. But he was not there. Not there to help with the luggage. No pony carriage to take them up the mountainside. They left their things at the station, and ran up the steep road, a feeling of awful anxiety seizing their hearts. And there, at a turn in the mountain road stood the pony, the carriage overturned, and the driver pinned underneath. Slabs of slate exposed on the surface of the road had caused the pony to slip and the banker was seriously injured. A porter from the station had followed them, and a small crowd gathered. Men, with tender hands carried him back to the cottage. Two or three days of pain, and he was gone. Jack, his son,⁶⁴ who had come from Manchester, remembering his father's well-known fear of the fact of death, said to him, "Papa, are you afraid?" "No my boy", he said. "It is perfect peace, through the Blood of Jesus. It is delightful", he breathed.

His body was taken back to Whitehaven. The three little girls, in deep mourning attended the funeral and remembered the gathering of so many friends from the meeting. It meant an immediate break-up of the home in the bank. His books were sold by auction. Farmers from distant villages came to buy Greek and Hebrew tomes, in order to

practice of infant baptism. See *Letters of Miss Frances Rolleston, of Keswick*, ed. C. Dent (London, 1867), 182 f., 195, 257, 452, 514, 528. Rolleston lived and died a spinster and her will was proved by G.W. Brown on 27 June 1864 (National probate calendar, Index of wills and administrations), no doubt reflecting her closeness with the Brown family.

⁶³ That is, the two daughters of G.W. Brown through his first marriage with Caroline Elizabeth Culverwell: Caroline and Mary Louisa Brown, then aged respectively and approximately 27 and 26. In the following year on 20 March, Caroline was married to Walter Ashby at the Union Chapel, Oxford Street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester. Union Chapel, sometimes referred to as 'the Nonconformist Cathedral of Lancashire', had been rebuilt and opened at this address in 1869 and during this period was served by the general Baptist minister Alexander McLaren. It was attended by great crowds of professional and upper middle-class people. Caroline's sister Mary Louisa was one of the witnesses to the marriage. (Information supplied by Patricia Hole.)

⁶⁴ That is, John Joseph Brown, who would have been about 28 in 1871.

have remembrances of their teacher, and furniture packed by loving hands was sent to Manchester, where the family went to live with the son.⁶⁵

Mary Brown died aged 85 on 24 November 1914, three years after the death of her sister, Isabella Julia Alexander, on 12 December 1911, then aged 86. To Isabella Julia we are indebted for the volume of her father David Walther's publications, many of them apparently unique survivors, which, thanks to the careful transmission of her granddaughters and the late F. Roy Coad, may today be consulted in the Christian Brethren Archive in Manchester.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Mary and her daughters Edith and Mabel eventually moved to Croydon, where they are listed in the 1881 Census. The Alexanders, previously referred to, also lived in Croydon and the three Misses Alexander (see note in the following Catalogue) frequently referred to Dame Edith Brown as 'cousin Edith'. It may be assumed that the two families were very well known to each other. (Information from Robert Keiller.)

⁶⁶ See note on CBA 1131 in the Catalogue following.

Catalogue of Known Publications by David Walther

Sources:

N.B. This list of sources makes no claim to be exhaustive. Further locations of copies may be sought via the Jisc Library Hub Explorer website <<https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk>>.

- BL British Library
CBA Christian Brethren Archive, John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
N.B. CBA 1131 consists of a bound volume of pamphlets by David Walther originally owned by his daughter and bearing the following inscriptions: (1) Given by David Walther to his daughter Isabella Julia⁶⁷ (Mrs Alexander) and now the property of her granddaughters M. G. & S. Alexander. (2) Alexander, 40 St. James Rd, Sutton. (3) F. Roy Coad [signature] given by the Misses Alexander 14.7.1968.⁶⁸
- CUL Cambridge University Library
DB David Brady, private collection
EUL Edinburgh University Library
FG Fondo Guicciardini, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di

⁶⁷ N.B. The second item in the volume bears the signature of Isabella Julia Walther.
⁶⁸ 'Granddaughters M. G. & S. Alexander' were the sisters Margaret Grace Alexander (1903-1984), Eleanor Gladys Alexander (1905-2000), and Susie Evelyn Alexander (1910-2002), known by their names Margaret, Gladys, and Susie, the daughters of Arthur Herbert Alexander (1865-1936) and Mary Grace Harling (1873-1958). Arthur Herbert Alexander was the son of Henry William Alexander and Isabella Julia (*née* Walther). The three spinster sisters' elder brother was David Arthur Harling Alexander, the grandfather of Robert Keiller, who has kindly provided family information used in the present study. Before her marriage to F. Roy Coad, his wife-to-be lodged with D.A. Harling, to whose lot it fell to give away the bride at the wedding. This information is supplied by Robert Keiller, whose mother was a bridesmaid at the wedding and whose father also entrusted the administration of his accounts to F. Roy Coad. This perhaps helps to explain how the volume became transmitted from the Alexanders to the Coads.

	Firenze, Italy (references kindly supplied by Timothy C.F. Stunt)
GB	Google Books (www.books.google.co.uk - online copy)
GUL	Glasgow University Library
IA	Internet Archive (www.archive.org - online copy)
Hathi	Hathi Trust Digital Library (www.hathitrust.org - online copy)
JSM	Sir John Soane's Museum, London
KCL	Kings College Library, London
LUL	Leeds University Library
MPC	Methodist Printed Collections, John Rylands University Library of Manchester
NAL	National Art Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NYPL	New York Public Library
OUL	Oxford University Libraries
PTL	Pitts Theology Library, Atlanta, GA
RBLA	Roderic Bowen Library and Archives, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter, Ceredigion
WC	OCLC World Catalog (a union catalogue, frequently reporting multiple locations of individual items)
YUL	Yale University Library

* *Indicates copy examined.*

- 1821 *A brief account of the coronation of His Majesty, George IV. July 19, 1821.* (London; printed for D. Walther, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; 1821) ii+32 pp., portrait frontispiece of George IV + 7 engraved plates (at end); 26 cm. [CUL, OUL, GB*]

The plates included at the end show:

1. The crowning ceremony.
2. Ceremony of homage.
3. The procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey.
4. The grand coronation banquet in Westminster Hall.
5. The entrance of the Champion with the ceremony of the challenge [sic].
6. The new imperial crown.
7. The regalia.

- 1821 *Compendium of the evidences of Christianity, etc.* 6 vols.; 12mo. (London; printed for D. Walther, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; 1821) [BL, DB*]

Each volume has a second, engraved title-page, as follow:

Vol. 1: [William Paley, 1743–1805], *Paley's evidences of Christianity, vol. I.* With framed portrait of Paley: G. Romney pinxt., Alais sc.

Vol. 2: [William Paley, 1743–1805], *Paley's evidences of Christianity, vol. II.* With engraving depicting the conversion of Saul. Engraved by permission of Mr. Morgan from his large print, R. Cooper sc.

Vol. 3: [James Beattie, 1735–1803 & Beilby Porteus, 1731–1809], *Beattie's Evidences and Porteus's Summary.* With framed portrait of Beattie and Paley in profile. Engraved by Alais from a drawing by Craig after Sir J. Reynolds & J. Bacon R.A.

Vol. 4: [Thomas Sherlock, 1677–1761; George Lyttelton, 1709–1773; & John Jortin, 1698–1770], *1. The trial of the witnesses (to the resurrection, by Bishop Sherlock); 2. On the conversion of St. Paul, (by George Lord Lyttelton [sic]); 3. On the propagation of the gospel, (by Dr. Jortin).* With framed portrait of George Lord Lyttelton [sic], ob. 1773, Alais sc.

Vol. 5: [William Bell, 1731–1816 & James Duchal, d. 1761], *1. On the prophecies (relating to the Messiah, by a layman); 2. On the mission of John the Baptist, (by Dr. Bell); 3. On the character &c. of Christ, (by James Duchal, M.A.).* With engraving depicting the

high priest with scroll and pen, against background of burning sacrifice on altar and toppled idols, Craig del., Alais sc.

Vol. 6: ['A layman'; James Duchal; & Joseph Butler, 1692–1752], *Dissertations on the internal evidence of Christianity, (by a layman); the hypothesis of enthusiasm, (by the same); the controversies of the primitive Christians, (by James Duchal, M.A.); the genuineness & truth of the gospel, (by a layman); on the importance, evidence &c. of Christianity, (by Bishop Butler)*. With engraving of radiating cross and open Bible showing text 'If any man will do His will he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God', on garlanded pedestal on squared pavement bearing in each square a name of a philosopher. Engraved by Alais from a drawing by Craig.

- 1822 COPLAND, Samuel, *A history of the island of Madagascar, comprising a political account of the island, the religion, manners, and customs of its inhabitants, and its natural productions: with an Appendix, containing a history of the several attempts to introduce Christianity into the island.* (London; printed by R. Clay, Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate; for Burton and Smith, 156, Leadenhall-street; sold also by Simpkin and Marshall, Stationers' Court; and D. Walther, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; 1822) xvi+369+[2] pp. [IA*]
The work contains a dedication to 'William Alers Hankey, esq., the benevolent treasurer of the London Missionary Society'. Preface signed 'Stepney Green, Jan. 10, 1822.'
- 1822 DODDRIDGE, Philip, *The rise and progress of religion in the soul, illustrated in ... addresses, etc.* (London; D. Walther; 1822) viii+252 pp., 1 plate; 24mo. [WC]
- 1822 GASTRELL, Francis (1662–1725), Bishop of Chester, *The Christian institutes: being the faith and duty of a Christian: collected out of the writings of the Old and New Testament, digested under proper heads, and delivered in the words of Scripture.* (London; D. Walther; 1822) 2 vols.; 24mo. [WC]
- 1822 GASTRELL, Francis (1662–1725), Bishop of Chester, *The Christian institutes: being the faith and duty of a Christian: collected out of the writings of the Old and New Testament, digested under proper heads, and delivered in the words of Scripture.* (London; printed for D. Walther; 1822) xviii+24

- pp.; 14 cm. [WC]
 Chapters 1 and 2 of the larger publication of the same title, *q.v.* above.
- 1822 MASON, John, *A treatise of self-knowledge, shewing the nature and benefit of that ... science, etc.* (London; D. Walther; 1822) 1 preliminary leaf+190 pp.; 24mo. [WC]
- 1822 MELMOTH, William, *The great importance of a religious life considered, to which are added morning and evening prayers.* (London; D. Walther; 1822) 1 preliminary leaf+v, 7-159+(1) pp.; 24mo. [NYPL]
- 1822 WILSON, Thomas, *The private meditations and prayers of the Right Reverend Thomas Wilson, D.D. accommodated to general use.* (London; printed for D. Walther; 1822) iv+[5]+196 pp.; 14 cm. [RBLA]
- [1823] COCKBURN, James Pattison (1779?–1847) *et al.*, *Views in the valley of Aosta. (Drawn from nature by Major Cockburn and on stone by A. Aglio and T.M. Baynes.)* (London; pubd. by D. Walther, 4, Brydges St., Covent Garden, [1823]) 30 unnumbered leaves of plates (incl. engr. t.p.) dated between Jan. 1822 and Oct. 1823.; 50 cm. [BL; NAL]
- 1823 BAYNES, Thomas Mann, *Twenty views in the environs of London ... drawn on stone.* (London; Walther; 1823) 20 plates; 43 cm. [YUL]
- 1823 BAYNES, Thomas Mann & HULLMANDEL, Charles Joseph, *Twenty views of the city and environs of Edinburgh. (Sketched ... and drawn on stone by T.M. Baynes.)* (London; D. Walther; 1823) 2 prelim. leaves, 20 plates; 48 cm. [YUL]
- 1828–9 BROCKEDON, William, *Illustrations of the passes of the Alps, by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany.* (London; printed for the author ... and sold by Rodwell ... and Walther, Brydges Street, Strand; 1828–9) 2 vols.; 4to, 42.5 cm. [JSM (where see detailed bibliographical notes)]
 ‘The work, containing 109 engravings, was issued in twelve parts, from 1827 to 1829, forming when complete two royal quarto volumes.’ (*DNB*, vol. 6: 371). Each part preceded by engraved title, with vignette.

Contents: Vol. 1: The Little Saint Bernard, the Mont Genève, the Mont Cenis, the Mont Saint Gothard, the Great Saint Bernard, and the Monte Stelvio.

Vol. 2: The Cornice, the Grimsel and the Gries, the Bernardin and the Splügen the Brenner, the Tende and the Argentière, and the Simplon.

- 1830 ROSENKRANZ, Heinrich, *Panorama des Rheins von Coeln nach Mainz, nach der Natur gezeichnet von Heinrich Rosenkranz, gestochen von C.A. Helmsauer. Original Ausgabe. Panorama du Rhin depuis Cologne jusqu'à Mayence. Edition originale.* (Frankfurt a M., chez Frédéric Wilmans; Paris, chez Henry Rittner, Boulevard Montmartre; Londres, chez D. Walther, 4 Brydges Street, Covent Garden; 1830) 1 Panorama in leporello (concertina fold); 22.5 x 227 cm., folded 22.5 x 18 cm. With: *Der Begleiter auf der Rheinreise Stromaufwärts aus Holland, über Cöln nach Mainz. Guide pour le voyage du Rhin.* (40 pp.; text in German and French.) [WC]

A publication intended to serve the growing tourist traffic via the Rhine, in the genre of the 'Rhine Panorama' invented in 1811 by Elisabeth von Adlerflycht (1775–1846). The principal publisher of the present work, who in 1823 had published an earlier version prepared by von Adlerflycht, was the Frankfurt-based Friedrich Wilmans, who died on the 8th February of the year of its publication, after which his business was perpetuated by his widow. The London-based publisher was David Walther, who was associated in this venture with the Paris-based Henry Rittner (1802–1840), who has been described as 'a young German immigrant with experience in the London print trade', a description which might also have suited Walther. Rittner 'opened a print establishment in Paris in 1827. This was the beginning of what was to become the most powerful art-publishing company in the nineteenth century': Goupil & Cie., with which, of course, Theo and Vincent van Gogh were for a time associated. (J. Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, vol. 1 (London & New York, 2008), 601.) This publication consisted of a panorama of the Rhine, printed from either copper or steel plates (cataloguers are in conflict over this detail), folded concertina-wise into a volume which also contained a text

- description of the itinerary beginning in Holland. When unfolded the panorama extended to approximately 7½ feet.
- 1831 YOUNG, Robinia Elizabeth, *Views in the Pyrenees, with descriptions by the author of the sketches*. (London; printed by the author, 9, Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square; and by Henry Leggatt & Co., 85, Cornhill; Colnaghi, Son, & Co., Pall Mall East; Moon, Boys, and Graves, Pall Mall West; and D. Walther, Brydges Street, Strand. Sold also by Oliphant, Waugh, and Innes, Edinburgh; Wm. Curry, Jun., and Son, Dublin; and Galignani, rue Vivienne; 1831) [i]+32 pp.; 10 plates. [NLS, WC]
 Printed by J. Moyes, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, London. Notes from University of Wolverhampton web site: (1) T.p. epigraph: ["Qui non palazzi, non teatro o loggia; / Ma 'n lor vece un abeto, un faggio, un pino / Fra l'erba verde e 'l bel monte vicino, / Levan di terra al ciel nostr' intelletto."]; from Petrarch, *Canzoniere* 10, ll. 5–7. (2) Dedicated 'To Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent'. (3) The plates are signed R. E. Young, but otherwise the author gives very little away about her identity or sex. However, the narrative concludes with a verse extract labelled, 'MS Poetry on Chepstow Castle, by R. Young, D.D.' (her uncle), followed by a vignette depicting a lady being carried in a covered palanquin on poles, supported before and behind by two sturdy guides. (4) Reviews: *Athenaeum*, no. 227 (Sat., 3 Mar., 1832): 147; *London Literary Gaz.*, no. 795 (Sat., 14 Apr., 1832): 234.
- 1832 WALTHER, David, *The Christian religion considered in its leading evidence* [by D. Walther]. (London, 1832) 16 cm. [OUL]
- 1833 WALTHER, David, *Vindiciæ Biblicæ: a series of notices and elucidations of passages in the Old and New Testaments, which have been the subject of attack and misrepresentation by Deistical writers*. [By David Walther.] (London; R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, Fleet Street; and D. Walther, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; 1833) iv+204 pp. [IA*, BL]
- 1834 CARMICHAEL, Henry, *Hints relating to emigrants and emigration; embracing observations and facts intended to display the real advantages of New South Wales, as a sphere for the successful exercise of industry: and containing*

information whereby the emigrant may avoid the risk of failure in turning his industry or capital to profitable account. By the Rev. Henry Carmichael, A.M. Professor of natural philosophy, &c. Australian College, Sydney. To which are added tables of population; revenue; imports and exports; prices current at Sydney; returns of emigrants, etc. (London; D. Walther; 1834) 48 pp.; tables; 12mo. [WC]

Henry Carmichael (d. 1862) was one of three schoolmasters engaged as tutors for the Australian College in Sydney by the Presbyterian clergyman John Dunmore Lang on a visit to England in 1830–1. Carmichael later broke with Lang and established the Normal Institution and the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, where he put into practice his convictions regarding the priority of education—based on the liberal theories of Jeremy Bentham, George Combe, and Johan Pestalozzi—over the inculcation of doctrine. He adopted a strongly anti-clerical stance in education and in 1836 denounced his former employer, J. D. Lang, for having sown 'the seeds of Sectarianism and hateful bigotry' into the Australian national character: G. Nadel, art. 'Carmichael, Henry (?–1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 1 (1966).

1834 WALTHER, David, 'The genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke', [signed 'Z., 42, Piccadilly], in *The British magazine*, vol. VI (July 1, 1834), 1–10.

David Walther reprinted this article in Appendix B of his 1865 publication *The inspiration of the Scriptures*. He stated that in 1833 he had purchased in Paris an anonymous small volume entitled *Analyse de dissertations sur différens sujets* (Brussels, 1759), the principal dissertation of which (*Sur la généalogie de N[otre] S[auveur]*) drew his attention. He translated its main argument into English and introduced it to the High Churchman and proto-Tractarian, Hugh James Rose, editor of *The British magazine*, who duly published it above a notice to the effect that he was 'happy to lay this paper before his readers, without giving any opinion of his own on the merit of the hypothesis which it contains.' (It was known that the original French publication had drawn adverse criticism from the writer's ecclesiastical superiors in the Roman Church.) Walther summarized the argument of the *Analyse* again, first in 1851, in his *Some reply to "Phases of faith, by Francis Newman"*,

- 48 f., and again in 1855, in *The Christian annotator*, vol. II, 157 f., where he also took another swipe at the morality of F. W. Newman.
- 1836 WALTHER, David, *A catalogue of books: English, French, Italian, and Spanish; Greek and Latin classics, and some books of prints and picturesque works, on sale by David Walther, 42, Piccadilly, opposite St. James's Church.* (London; printed by G. Norman; [1836]) [4]+223+[1] pp.; 8vo, 18.8 cm. [*A Catalogue of the London Institution*, vol. 3 (1843), 359; JSM]
 Dated by the fact that the Appendix (pp. 216–223) includes some works published in 1836.
- 1837 MACARTHUR, James, assisted by Edward Edwards, *New South Wales; its present state and future prospects: being a statement, with documentary evidence, submitted in support of petitions [for a Commission of inquiry into the state of the Colony, etc.] to His Majesty and Parliament.* (London; D. Walther; 42, Piccadilly; 1837) 344 pp. [IA*]
 While the Introduction bears Macarthur's name, the publication was apparently compiled, with the exception of one chapter, by the author and librarian, Edward Edwards, who for his labours was paid by Macarthur a fee of £80. (W.A. Munford, *Edward Edwards 1812–1886: Portrait of a Librarian* (London, 1963), 25 f.) Additional details concerning the preparation and publication of this work are given in T. Greenwood, *Edward Edwards, the chief pioneer of municipal public libraries* (London, 1902), 144 f. A letter dated 24 July 1837 from James Macarthur, then living at 1 Burlington Gardens, to Edward Edwards, at 35 London Street, Fitzroy Square, indicates that the two men were currently using David Walther as a means of conveying books between each other. (Papers of Edward Edwards—GB127.M379, Archives & Local History Dept., Manchester Central Reference Library.) The Macarthur family's business relations with Walther continued from December 1839 through to December 1842, as is indicated by a number of 'receipted bills from David Walther, bookseller, Piccadilly' among the Macarthur family papers in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. The Macarthurs must have made fairly substantial purchases from Walther, as is instanced by 'one small bill of John Macarthur ... whose eldest son Edward ordered books at the cost of £14.3.0 [almost £1,000 in today's

currency] from David Walther of 42 Piccadilly, London, around 1830' (R. I. Jack, 'An Australian country-house library: the Macarthurs of Camden Park', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, 3 (1977), 52).

- 1838 *Emigration to New South Wales, with a statement of the conditions generally, on which emigrants wishing to seek employment in the service of [sic] in that colony are received; also, some account of the principles and manner of conducting a former emigration to the same place.* (London; D. Walther, Piccadilly; 1838) 20 pp.; 8vo, 18 cm. [WC]

The pamphlet seems closely connected with the emigration from south-west England and settlement in New South Wales of the well-known Macarthur family on the Belmont estate in Camden, NSW. J. A. Ferguson (*Bibliography of Australia*, 2486) located the Mitchell and National Library copies only, noting that the latter has a manuscript note confirming that the employers on the colony were to be Edward, James, and William Macarthur.

- 1838 *Extracts from the works of various authors for the entertainment and instruction of a party of emigrants, on their voyage to Sydney, etc.* (Printed for private distribution.) (London; D. Walther; 1838) xi+147 pp.; 20 cm. [KCL, WC]
Another publication apparently deriving from the Macarthur family. Copy in the Dixson Library, NSW is signed by James Burnett and inscribed 'James Burnett for this book from Major Macarthur, London ... 1838'.

- 1838 WALTHER, David, *A short account of the recent secession of some Christian brethren from various denominations; and their present union together ... By a gleaner.* [London; 1838] 12mo. [GUL]

----- [Reprint.] *A short account of the recent secession of some Christian brethren from various denominations, and of their present union together, upon the grounds (common to all true Christians) of faith in the Lord Jesus and participation of the Spirit.* [By D. Walther.] (Reprint of a tract issued about twenty-five years ago from the Central Tract Depot, etc.) [London;] (E. Allen;) [c.1863]. 4 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (5)*]
Dated by reference to the edition of 1838.

1838–1846 MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, J.H., *History of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* [Translated from the French, *Histoire de la Réformation du seizième siècle.*] 4 vols. (vols. 1–3: London; D. Walther; 1838–1841; vol. 4: Edinburgh; Oliver & Boyd; 1846) [WC]
 ----- 2nd ed., vols. 1–3 (London; D. Walther; 1840–1841) [DB*]
 ----- 4th ed., 5 vols. (London; D. Walther; 1841–1846) [WC]
 ----- 5th ed., 5 vols. (London; D. Walther; 1843–1853) [WC]

The person responsible for commencing this translation was Walther himself. (On 4 August 1845 he wrote to the Edinburgh publishers Oliver & Boyd stating, 'My translation is for the present "the only one sanctioned by the author",' who Walther remarked, had visited him personally 'within the last fortnight': Oliver & Boyd papers, Acc. 5000, National Library of Scotland. Walther's words 'for the present' demonstrated some foresight. In translating volume 3, Walther had the assistance of a neighbour, Edwin Abbott, Headmaster of Marylebone Philological School (later Marylebone Grammar School) (*ODNB s.n.* Abbott, Edwin (1808–1882), headmaster). Abbott was a close friend of Edward Edwards, the principal compiler of Walther's 1837 publication *New South Wales; its present state and future prospects*. (See W.A. Munford, *Edward Edwards 1812–1886* (London, 1963), 15 f.) The Oliver & Boyd papers noted above contain other letters of Walther addressed to Oliver & Boyd (22 Jan. 1846; 13 Dec. 1848; 7 Mar., & 2 Oct. 1850), in which Walther negotiated with the Edinburgh publishers towards granting them the right to take over the distribution of the volumes and to publish further volumes, translated by Henry Wright, following Walther's retirement from publishing. In February 1846, in his Preface to the revised edition of this work published in Edinburgh by Oliver & Boyd, J. H. Merle d'Aubigné himself explained the circumstances which caused him to revise the complete English edition, meanwhile casting no blame on either the publishers or translators of earlier volumes, since the heated debate over certain passages in the work (he particularly referred to vol. 3) were mainly matters of interpretation among American ecclesiastical groupings. He stated, 'I have revised this translation line by line, and

word by word; and I have restored the sense wherever I did not find it clearly rendered. It is the only one which I have corrected. I declare in consequence, that I acknowledge this translation as the only faithful expression of my thoughts in the English language, and I recommend it as such to all my readers.'

- 1839 *Man condemned by his own heart. Translated from the French.* (London; D. Walther; 1839) 48 pp.; 22 cm. [EUL]
- [c.1840] WALTHER, David, *Distress and its remedy.* [By D. Walther.] (London; D. Walther; [c. 1840]) [colophon:] (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.) 12 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 5618 (6)*; 1131 (1)*]
- A retelling of the parable of the prodigal son.
- 1840 WALTHER, David, *On the place that bodily sickness holds in the church of God.* [By D. Walther.] (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1840) (G. Norman, printer, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.) 24 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (2)*—this copy bears the signature of Isabella Julia Walther]
- Published also in *The Christian Witness*, vol. 3 (Plymouth, 1840), 242–251.
- 1841 DARBY, John Nelson, *Reflections on the ruined condition of the church, and on the efforts making by churchmen and dissenters to restore it to its primitive order.* [By J.N. Darby. Apparently, a revised version of *On the present ruin of the church. Originally written in French.*] (London; D. Walther, Piccadilly; 1841) (G. Norman, printer, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.) [ii]+30 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1410*]
- 1841 DARBY, John Nelson, *A dialogue of Christian perfection: comprising an examination of the use made of the Holy Scriptures in reference to that tenet. Addressed to the Wesleyan body, and all who love the truth.* [By J. N. Darby. Translated from the French.] (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1841) [colophon:] (J. B. Bateman, printer, 10 Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane) [iv]+iv+72 p.; 17 cm. [MPC (Pa1841.52)*]
- For discussion of this publication, see H.H. Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren 1825–1850* (London, 1967), 206 f. & T.C.F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession* (Edinburgh, 2000), 308.

- 1841 MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, J. H., *Staupitz and Luther*. [With note on verso of title-page:] (extracted from Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*.) (London; D. Walther; 1841) 23 pp.; 18 cm. [EUL]
 ----- [Another ed.] (London; W. Walther; 1843) 23 pp.; 18 cm. [EUL]
- 1842 DECK, James G. (comp.), *Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs: in two parts*. (London; D. Walther; 1842) 212+90 pp.; 11 cm. [EUL]
 ----- [Another ed.] (London; D. Walther; 1843) 3 pts. in 1 vol. (212+92+32 pp.); music; 12mo, 11 cm. Part I. Intended specially for the united worship of the children of God. Part II. Chiefly for private meditation. Includes indexes. Each section has a separate title-page; register is continuous. Hymns scored for two voices, high and low. [EUL]
 ----- [Another ed.] Part II. (London; D. Walther, Piccadilly; 1845) 32mo [BL]
 ----- [Another ed.] Part I. (London; D. Walther, Piccadilly; 1846) 32mo [BL]
- 1842 NEWTON, Benjamin Wills, *A letter to Richard Waldo Sibthorp ... on the subject of his recent pamphlet ['Some answer to the enquiry: Why are you become a Catholic?']*. (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1842) (G. Norman, printer, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.) 32 pp.; 20 cm. [CBA 9516*, 13851* (two differing editions)]
- 1842 *Thoughts on Matt. XVI, 18; or Rome tested by her own weapon, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church." With some additional considerations on Protestant systems*. (London; D. Walther; 1842) 28 pp.; 21 cm. [CBA 14330*; PTL (photocopy supplied)*]

Written in pencil at the head of the title-page of the PTL copy is the note, 'By Mr. Darby founder of the Plymouth Brethren' [*sic*], but a comparison with Darby's 'Matthew 16' in vol. 14 of his *Collected writings* indicates a very different approach to the text taken by Darby than we find in this document, where the reasoning is presented in a much more ordered manner. It is possibly Walther's own composition.

- 1842 *The contrast between the Jewish dispensation and the present one, in two letters to a friend.* (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly, Central Tract Depôt, No. 1, Warwick Square and at the Tract Depôt, Broad Street, Hereford; 1842) [colophon:] (J. B. Bateman, printer, 10 Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane) 23 pp.; 18 cm. [BL, CBA 5623 (10)*]
 ----- 2nd ed. (London; D. Walther, 42 Piccadilly; sold at 1, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row and at the Tract Depôt, Broad Street, Hereford; 1842) [With note on verso of title-page:] (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Elim Place, Fetter Lane.) 23 pp. [CBA 5618 (17)*; Hathi*]
- 1843 WALTHER, David, *Remission of sins; or, thoughts on John xx. 23.* [By D. Walther.] (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1843) (J. B. Bateman, printer, 1, Elim Place, Fetter Lane.) 12 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 5595 (25)*; 1131 (3)*]
- [c. 1844] *I Corinthians xii.* [colophon:] (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly. Sold at 1, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row. Printed by J. B. Bateman, 1, Elim Place, Fetter Lane.) 8 pp. [CBA 5595 (26)*]
- [c. 1844] *The surplice: who is to wear it, and when? (The seventh thousand.)* (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly;) [n. d.] 12 pp. [CBA 14783 (photocopy)*]
 ----- *(The ninth thousand.)* (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly;) [n. d.] 12 pp. [CBA 14051 (photocopy)*]
 Dated from the author's reference to 'Mr. Ward's' problem with an apparent incompatibility between the Anglican Articles and the Church of England's ritual practices, a problem identified in William George Ward's most celebrated work, *The ideal of a Christian church considered in comparison with existing practice* (1844).
- 1844 DYER, William B., *Peace with God ... [by] W. B. D[yer].* [A tract.] (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1844) (J. B. Bateman, printer, 1 Elim-place, Fetter-lane.) 8 pp.; 17 cm. [BL, CBA 5595 (21)*]
- 1844 DARBY, John Nelson, *On Ministry: its nature, source, power, and responsibility.* (London; D. Walther; 1844) 34 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 16686 (3)]

- 1844 DARBY, John Nelson, *Two warnings, and an example: being the substance of a lecture on Matthew xxvi.* (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1844) (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Elim-place, Fetter-lane.) 12 pp.; 17 cm. [CBA 5595 (33)*]
- 1844 RHIND, W.G., *The creation: exhibiting the progressive advance of creation through the six days in a series of letters from a father to his children.* (London; published by Samuel Bagster and Sons, Harvey & Darton, J. Nisbet & Co., Seeley, J. Hatchard & Son & D. Walther;) [1844] xii+396+iv pp., [6] leaves of plates, illus.; 17 cm. [OUL]
Date of publication taken from an annotation in the Bodleian Library copy.
- 1844 WALTHER, David, *The Feasts of the Lord according to their order in Leviticus xxiii., showing forth the whole purpose of God from everlasting to the renewal and perfection of all things, accompanied by the chapter above named (Lev. xxiii.) on a separate sheet, arranged as nearly as possible to correspond with the chart.* (London; D. Walther; [1844]) 2 sheets, fol. [BL]
The above was announced in *The Publishers' Circular* (London, 1844), 167, as a chart, being a recent publication produced and offered for sale by D. Walther of 42 Piccadilly. The announcement continued with the following information: 'Also (if the Lord will), A second chart, by the same author, will appear in a few months, illustrated throughout with appropriate designs, entitled A scheme of prophecy, or an outline of God's dealings with man from the creation to the end of all things. These two charts will be found to have much the same object, and, while each is complete in itself, to throw light on each other, "The Scheme of prophecy" being designed to present at one view, in a picture, the whole moral history of the world, as given in Scripture; while "The Feasts of the Lord" exhibits the same thing in type, shewing that the Chapter which it illustrates (Leviticus xxiii.) presents the whole course of time, and the dispensational ways of the Lord from beginning to end.' No evidence of the actual publication of *The scheme of prophecy* has been found.
- 1845 DARBY, John Nelson, *Brief exposition of Matthew xiii.* (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1845) [colophon:] (Printed by J.B. Bateman, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster row.) 41

- pp. [CBA 5595 (17)*]
- 1845 WALTHER, David, *A word to the children of God, on the plenary and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures*. (London; sold by D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; [1845]) iv+30 pp.; 18 cm. [BL; CBA 14112 (photocopy)*]
- 1846 DARBY, John Nelson, *Thoughts on the presence and operation of the Spirit of God in the body—the church*. (Printed by permission of the Author in answer to request.) (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1846) [colophon:] (G. Norman, printer, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.) 24 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 9778*]
- 1846 JUKES, Andrew, “*Try the spirits,*” being an examination of a tract entitled, “*Orthodoxy examined, no. 1, the Trinity.*” (London; D. Walther, Piccadilly; R.S. Cross, 31 Prospect-street, Hull; 1846) 36 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 14121*; WC]
The author of the 35-page tract “*Orthodoxy examined, no. 1, the Trinity*”, published in 1846, was identified as John Pulsford, minister of George Street Particular Baptist Church in Hull in *The Primitive Church Magazine*, n. s., 3 (1846), 100. In 1845 Pulsford left George Street with 70 other members to found a new meeting as Unitarian Baptists in Nile Street, later in South Street, Hull.
- 1846 CARTER, Agnes Paige, *Songs in the wilderness*. By A[gnès] P[aige] C[arter]. (London; D. Walther and W.G. Bartlett; [1846]) 109 pp.; 17 cm. [WC]
The author is identified as Agnes P. Carter in W. Cushing, *Initials and pseudonyms: a dictionary of literary disguises*, 2nd ser. (New York, 1888), 22. Agnes Paige Carter was born in West Alvington, Devon, c. 1811 and died in Milverton, Somerset, in 1892. In 1861 and 1881 censuses she is described respectively as ‘authoress of hymns’ and ‘authoress of sacred poems, small books, tracts, &c.’
- 1846 Y., H., *A letter addressed to the saints meeting for worship at ----- Exmouth*. [Signed] (H. Y., Exmouth, Jan. 22nd.) (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly; 1846) [colophon:] (J. Wertheimer & Co., printers, Finsbury Circus.) 26 pp. [CBA 14180 (photocopy)*]
The author was probably Henry Young, whom Neatby (*A history of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901), 176, 303) identifies as the

author of *A plea for the honour of Christ ... An extract from a letter to a friend, with additions*, containing ‘printed statements of their basis of communion from the Open meetings at Torquay, Scarborough, Tottenham, Taunton, and Bath.’ The author seeks to examine the reasons for the setting up of a separate meeting room at Exmouth by a ‘Mr. Morris’. Other Exmouth brethren mentioned are Rickards, Peters, Winsor, Loft, Clerk, and Wm. and H. Hull.

- 1847 COATES, James, *Reasons for withdrawing from the communion of the Independents, in two letters to the Church in College Chapel, Bradford, by a late member of that church; with a letter to him by a brother in the Lord*. (London; D. Walther, D. Scott; 1847) 24 pp.; 18 cm. [LUL]
- [1848] WALTHER, David, *The personality of the Comforter, briefly considered*. [London; 1848] 16mo. [BL]
 ----- [German translation] *Die Persönlichkeit des Trösters* (Düsseldorf, in Commission der J. Buddeus’schen Buch- und Kunsthandlung (Eduard Schulte), 1850) 22+[1] pp.
 Michael Schneider reports that Walther’s *The personality of the Comforter* was one of the very first Brethren writings to be translated into German, by Julius Anton von Posek and William Henry Darby, the latter, of course, being J.N. Darby’s brother, who, as J.N.D. reported in his ‘letter to Prof. F.A.G. Tholuck’ (Elberfeld, 5 February 1855),⁶⁹ ‘spent two years at Düsseldorf’ (from 1848) and ‘has been blessed to several souls in the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf. These, in their turn, have spread the light of the gospel and the truth... [so that] tracts and various publications of the brethren have been translated and largely distributed...’⁷⁰ Schneider remarks further regarding the German translation that it ‘is exceedingly clumsy’ and that ‘many sentences are almost unintelligible in German!’
- 1848 WALTHER, David, *Reflections submitted in the way of help to the attentive reader of the Scriptures*. (London; J.K. Campbell; 1848) [colophon:] (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row) [iii]+80 pp. 18 cm. [BM*; CBA 16692]

⁶⁹ The authenticity of this letter is discussed by D.H. Akenson, *Discovering the End of Time* (Montreal, 2016), 160, n. 4.

⁷⁰ *Letter of J.N. Darby*, vol. 3, repr. (Chessington, 2019), 304.

In the prefatory notice to these *Reflections*, signed 'D. Walther', he stated that 'with obligations more than I can easily distinguish, to the teaching of others, I alone am responsible for their substance, as well as for the form in which they appear.'

- [c. 1849] WALTHER, David, *A letter to W[illiam] H[enry] D[orma]n; with an extract from a letter of W.H. D[orma]n to J[ohn] E[liot] H[oward], in April 1849, followed by a commentary.* [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] [N. pl.; n. publ.; c. 1849] [4 pp. [brethrenarchive.org*]]
- [c. 1850] WALTHER, David, *A few words on the 'questionings' of 1846, addressed to those who are gathered to the name of Jesus, by Him to believe and wait on God.* [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] [N. pl.; n. publ.; c. 1850.] 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (51)*]
- In this pamphlet Walther reasserted the primacy of leading by the Holy Spirit, exemplified in the Acts of the Apostles, a primacy which he believed foundational to the Brethren movement, and he appealed against a danger he perceived among Brethren of allowing 'office' in the form of human regulation in the ordering of meetings.
- [1850?] WALTHER, David, *Letter to a friend abroad, January 1st, 1850.* [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] [London;] (John B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row;) [1850?]. 11 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (4)*]
- Walther's letter was written to correct an otherwise unidentified person whom he wrote of as 'my "Friend," correspondent, and helper in truth, for well nigh twenty years', the author of a tract, 'privately printed some years ago, under the title of "Apostolic Development",' in which the author had sought to present the thesis that 'just as Paul's was a designed *advance* on Peter's truth, so John's teaching was *designed* to develop higher and *more advanced* communion than Paul's instructions ministered.'
- 1851 WALTHER, David, *Some reply to "Phases of faith, by Francis Newman," designed to assist Christian readers who may be staggered by its tone or substance.* (London; J.K. Campbell; 1851) (J. B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row) 74 pp. [GB*; WC]
- 1854 WALTHER, David, *The Fall ... Mark vii. 14.* [By D. Walther.]

- (London; sold by W. Yapp; 1854) (Worcester; printed by Baylis, Brothers, Friar Street.) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (8)*]
- 1854 WALTHER, David, [Short notes published in *The Christian annotator*, vol. 1:]
- p. 7: 'John x. 16' (X. D.)
 - p. 7: 'Hebrews xi. 28' (X. D.)
 - p. 8: 'Jude v. 14, &c.' (X. D.)
 - pp. 18 f.: '[Jonah]' (X. D.)
 - p. 20: '1 Corinthians ix. 27' (X. D.)
 - p. 23: 'Hebrews xii. 24' (X. D.)
 - p. 42: 'John 1. 42' (X. D.)
 - pp. 50 f.: '1 Kings xi. 30–32' (X. D.)
 - p. 83: 'Romans vii. 15' (X. D.)
 - pp. 113 f.: 'Hebrews x. 20' (X. D.)
 - p. 141: 'Ephesians ii. 20' (X. D.)
 - p. 149: 'Galatians vi. 6' (X. D.)
 - pp. 149 f.: 'Joel' (X. D.)
 - pp. 166 f.: '1 Peter iv. 1' (X. D.)
 - pp. 202 f.: 'John xx. 23'
 - p. 229: 'John xvi. 23'
 - p. 257: 'Jude 9'
 - p. 325: 'John xxi. 15–17'
- In 'Notices to correspondents' at the end of the June 1854 edition of *The Christian annotator* (p.172) the editor stated, 'Circumstances have occurred which oblige us to request our Correspondents ... to give us their names and addresses. When we remind our readers that there are Jesuits in the country, we hope we have said enough ...' Consequently, in his next contribution, published in July, Walther stated his agreement with the request, acknowledged that he was responsible for 'the scraps ... under the signature X. D.', and signed himself 'D. Walther, 2, Blomfield Road'.
- 1855 WALTHER, David, *Baptism, a point of practice and a sign in theology*. [By D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp; 1855) 19 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (20)*]
- 1855 WALTHER, David, [Short notes published in *The Christian annotator*, vol. 2:]
- pp. 14 f.: 'Revelation xxii. 18, 19'

- pp. 83 f.: 'John vii. 53; viii. 11'
 pp. 157 f.: 'On the genealogy of Christ, Matthew 1. 17'
 p. 258: 'Luke xi. 9–13'
- 1856 WALTHER, David, *A few thoughts on foolish and unlearned questions*. [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] ([Followed by:] *On the reality of evil. Reprinted from an anonymous contribution in the Christian Treasury, Edin., 1856, p. 345.*) [N. pl.; n. publ.; c. 1860.] 6 pp. [CBA 1131 (35)*]
 Walther apparently published another, 4-page edition of *Foolish and unlearned questions* in 1868, as he states at the commencement of his letter of April 1869 to Andrew Jukes published under the title *A serious expostulation, etc.*, which appeared in 1869 and which included as an appendix a reprint of *A few thoughts on foolish and unlearned questions*.
- 1856 WALTHER, David, *Our difficulties, comprising some notice of the present position of certain assemblies professing to meet as brethren. By one who has been twenty years among them*. [Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp; 1856) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (26)*]
- 1857 WALTHER, David, *A conspectus of the various evidence confirming the divine authority of the gospel. With an attempt to assign their true places to the enquirer and enquiry*. (London; James Nisbet & Co., Berners Street; 1857) 39+[1] pp. 16 cm. [FG]
 The author's name is at the foot of the Preface.
- 1858 WALTHER, David, *The dishonesty of unbelief. Romans ix. 22*. (London; 1858) 19 pp.; 8vo. [BL]
 Entered as an anonymous publication in the BL catalogue, but it is advertised on p. 32 of Walther's 1862 publication *A view of the quotations, etc.* as 'by the same author'.
- c. 1860 WALTHER, David, *The fulness of God*. [By D. Walther.] [London?; n. publ.; c. 1860] 1 p.; 14 cm. [CBA 1131 (41)*]
 An oblong sheet printed in three columns on one side only. A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.
- 1861 WALTHER, David, *On the qualification for religious enquiry, compared with the trifling of Essayists and*

Reviewers. Read at the Christian Union Institute, and published by request of that association. (London; James Nisbet & Co.; 1861) 20 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (19)*]

The Christian Union Institute, headed by the Oxford graduate John Faithful Fortescue, had premises at 8, St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, where lectures in defence of Christian doctrine were delivered.

1861 WALTHER, David, *Some notice of Profr. Baden Powell's essay on the study of the evidences of Christianity.* (Oxford; J.L. Wheeler; 1861) 16 pp.; 21 cm. [CUL, EUL, GUL, NLS, WC]

1862 WALTHER, David, *Notice of some recent doctrine among the "Brethren," followed by a few remarks on the Psalms.* [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (London; printed by E. Allen, 31, Edgeware Road; 1862) 24 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (34)*; FG ('Congleton 1864' written on the title-page)]

Probably the same as *Notes of a recent doctrine*, referred to on p. 11 of Walther's *On loving as brethren* (1863). The object of Walther's attack in this publication was the teaching of J.N. Darby, mainly through articles in *The Bible Treasury* of 1858, regarding the sufferings of Christ, which on analysis was hardly distinguishable from that previously denounced by Darby as 'hateful, abominable, and blasphemous' when taught by B.W. Newton a decade previously and which had been used by Darby as the theological test with which to divide the whole Brethren movement.

1862 WALTHER, David, *A view of the quotations of earlier Scripture, occurring in the New Testament: being an attempt to elicit the principle of their application.* (London; William Yapp; 1862) 32 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (7)*]

A discussion of 'shadows', 'types', and 'allegories'.

[c. 1863] WALTHER, David, *Divers weights brought out and broken.* By D. W.

The approximate date of publication suggested for this publication is based on an internal reference to J.N. Darby's reprinting in the 1863 volume of *The Bible Treasury* of his 1858 contributions to that journal, 'containing doctrine *the most startling*, from its near approximation to the worst things charged against' B.W. Newton, and by reference being made to it on p. 11 of Walther's *On Loving as Brethren* (1863). While it

is mentioned by W.B. Neatby in his *History of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901), 177, no original copy of this apparently very rare publication has been traced, but it was reprinted, apparently in full, and published shortly after Walther's death in 1871 by S.F. Kendall⁷¹ of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia in his *Remarks on John Nelson Darby's 'Church fellowship and discipline', also his heretical doctrines on the person of the Saviour examined and exposed by several of his former associates and fellow labourers* (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1871), 56-58.

[c. 1863] WALTHER, David, *Thoughts on the teaching of the Acts of the Apostles*. By D. W[alther]. (London; James Nisbet & Co.:[n. d.] 20 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 1131 (17)]*—this copy inscribed at head of title-page: 'For my dear Julia [i.e. Walther's

⁷¹ Samuel Frederick Kendall was born in Bristol and married Emily Long of London, before settling in Sydney, Nova Scotia in 1857. In his journal, written in Liverpool, 22 August 1856, William Collingwood wrote, 'S. F. Kendall & his wife were with us & sailed for Nova Scotia' ('Copy of autobiographical notes' [journal, vol. 1], W. G. Collingwood (1854-1932) family archive, Cardiff University archives 462/25). Since Kendall was a Bristolian and since we know that George Müller was sending financial support to aid missionary work in Canada (W.T. Stunt *et al.* (eds.), *Turning the World Upside Down* (Eastbourne, 1972) 30), it might have been this background that encouraged Kendall and his wife to emigrate to that region. In fact, S. F. Kendall is credited with having founded in 1866 the Mitchell Island Union Church, located on the south-west shore of the north-west arm of Sydney Harbour, in Point Edward, Nova Scotia. He wrote quite regular reports on his work in Cape Breton, which were published in *The Missionary Echo* and these reveal his untiring labours covering long distances across deep snow and ice to preach and to encourage small groups of believers. As he grew older, he found the Nova Scotian climate increasingly difficult to endure, having repeatedly fallen through thin ice, faced death through freezing, and suffering the long-term effects of hypothermia upon his physical frame. He was compelled to spend some winters apart from his wife and two sons, back in Britain, in 1876-7 being granted use of the home of William Collingwood, during Collingwood's absence, at 60, Bedford Street, Liverpool, before moving on to Combe Down, Bath. Refusing to relent on his life's mission, he returned to Cape Breton and laboured on. He became seriously ill during the winter of 1884-5, but, as his wife Emily wrote, 'The name of Jesus never fails to soothe him'. He died 4 May 1885 and a notice of his death appeared in *Echoes of Service* (1885), 96, 98 (thanks to Marcos Gago for drawing my attention to these notices). Samuel and Emily's son, Henry Ernest Kendall (1864-1949), worked as a farmer, physician, and ultimately as the 19th Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia from 1942 to 1947 (*Wikipedia*).

- daughter]' and with manuscript correction on p. 10.]
 Dated from the fact that the verso of the title-page contains an advertisement for *On loving as brethren* (below).
- 1863 WALTHER, David, *On loving as brethren, and the 'binding and loosing,' that shall stand.* [Signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (London; E. Allen, printer, 31, Edgeware Road;) [1863] 12 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (24)*; FG (with Count Guicciardini's signature on the title-page)]
 Dated from Walther's introductory reference to the publication 'twenty-five years ago' of the 1838 document *A short account of the recent secession of some Christian brethren from various denominations; and their present union together.*
- 1863 WALTHER, David, *The Pentateuch, viewed from a Christian stand-point.* (London; Nisbet & Co.; 1863) 32 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (9)*]
 Preface signed 'D. Walther, 14, Oxford Terrace'.
- 1864 WALTHER, David, *Preface (offered as a solemn warning) for a new edition of M. Renan's "Life of Jesus."* [Signed Mnason, i.e. D. Walther.] (London; Kerby & Son, 190, Oxford St., Barthes & Lowell, Great Marlborough St.; 1864) 16 pp. [BL; GB*; WC]
 The identification of 'Mnason' with David Walther is made on the basis that on p. 2 of his publication *On the teaching of the Book of Job* (1868) he listed *Warning preface for M. Renan's Life of Jesus* among publications he offered to supply by postal request. Walther used the pseudonym Mnason again on publications of 1865, 1867 and 1869, *q.v.* The pseudonym derives, of course, from Acts 21: 16: 'Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple'.
- 1864 WALTHER, David, *The imprecatory Psalms; their dispensational place and value. (Revised and enlarged from a paper read at the "Christian Institute".)* [Signed 'D. Walther'.] (London; James Nisbet & Co.; 1864) 20 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (31)*]
- [c. 1865] WALTHER, David, *An enquiry: or, thoughts suggested by a case of mental distress connected with Matthew xii. 31, 32.* [Preface signed 'D. W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp;) [c. 1865] 12 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (13)*]
- [c. 1865] WALTHER, David, *The narrative parables of St. Luke's*

- Gospel considered in their intent.* [By D. Walther.] (London; J. K. Campbell;) [c. 1865]. 20 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (15)*]
- [c. 1865] WALTHER, David, *Thoughts in connection with the xxivth chapter of Matthew. By a disciple* [i.e. D. Walther.] [London?; n. publ.; c. 1865.] [ii]+33 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (14)*—this copy inscribed by Walther on the title-page: ‘For my dear Julia [his daughter], not forgetting advantage received by now & then suggest[ion?] and also by occasional demur—as these thoughts came to the writer.’]
- 1865 WALTHER, David, *The inspiration of the Scriptures, verbal and perfect: being a paper read before the Christian Union Institute, on January 26, 1865.* [Signed ‘D.W., 14, Oxford Terrace.’] (London; J. Nisbet & Co.; 1865) 32 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (6)*]
- 1865 WALTHER, David, *The table of the Lord. By Mnason* [i.e. D. Walther]. *Reprinted from “The Girdle of Truth.”* (London; George Morrish, 24, Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row;) [1865] 40 pp. [BL*]
- 1867 WALTHER, David, *A humble meditation on reconciliation or atonement... To which is added an exegesis of John xx. 23, Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18 refuting the pretensions of men to absolve their fellow sinners from their sins.* (London; Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street; 1867) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (29)*; FG (with Count Guicciardini’s signature on the title-page)]
- 1867 WALTHER, David, *“Salvation is of the Jews”:* *an encouragement for “the true worshippers,” in notes on John iv.* By Mnason [i.e. D. Walther]. (London; E. Allen, printer, 31, Edgeware Road; 1867) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (16)*; FG (‘Count Guicciardini with DW’s love’ written on the title-page)]
- [c. 1868] WALTHER, David, *The lepers in Israel: an instruction under the new covenant.* [Signed ‘D. W.’, i.e. D. Walther.] [CBA 1121 (30)*]
- Advertisement on p. 4 lists 23 publications, all apparently by Walther, that may be obtained by sending to ‘X. D., 14, Oxford

Terrace, W.’ Dated from known publication dates of the publications listed in the advertisement, notwithstanding Walther’s extensive use of the ‘X. D.’ monogram in his contributions to *The Christian annotator* of 1854, when of course he was still living at 2, Blomfield Road.

- 1868 WALTHER, David, *On the sufficiency of Scripture: being a paper read before the Christian Union Institute.* (London; E. Allen, printer, 74, late 31, Edgeware Road; 1868) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (18)*; FG]
- 1868 WALTHER, David, *On the teaching of the book of Job: being the substance of a paper read before the Christian Union Institute.* (London; E. Allen; 1868.) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (10)*]
- [c. 1869] WALTHER, David, *Everlasting punishment.* [By D. Walther.] [London?; n. publ.; c. 1869.] 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (28)*]
Title taken from heading above commencement of text, as there is no separate title-page. A note on the last page of *A Serious Expostulation* (1869) offers ‘on application by letter to D. W., 14, Oxford Terrace’ copies of “‘An Enquiry into Everlasting Punishment’ in 16 pp.’, which might have been the intended title for this publication, though none bearing this title has been discovered.
- 1869 WALTHER, David, *The liar from the beginning tracked in his devices against the nighness, through grace, of all true believers in the Lord Jesus. By Mnason* [i.e. D. Walther.] (London; printed by Odell & Ives; 1869) 12 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 1131 (25)*]
- 1869 WALTHER, David, *A serious expostulation addressed to Mr. A[ndrew] J[ukes] on the subject of his recent book [entitled ‘The second death and the restitution of all things, etc.’] By D. W[alther].* (London; W. Macintosh; 1869) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (27)*]
- 1869 ----- [Another ed.] (London; printed by Odell & Ives; 1869) 16 pp. [CBA 13841 (photocopy)*]
- [c. 1870] WALTHER, David, *The way of God toward fallen man.* [Signed ‘D. W.’, i.e. D. Walther.] [London;] (E. Allen, printer, 42 Warren St., Fitzroy Sq.;) [c. 1870] 26 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (31)*; FG]

- [c. 1870] WALTHER, David, *What Israel ought to do*. [Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther,] etc. [London;] (Odell & Ives;) [c. 1870] 8 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (33)*]
- 1870 WALTHER, David, *Conscience, in the darkness and in the light*. (London; Yapp & Hawkins; 1870) 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (32)*]
- 1871 WALTHER, David, *God's sabbath*. [A poem, with notes following. Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther.] [colophon:] (Printed by Odell & Ives, 18, Princes Street, Cavendish Square; 1871). 4 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (44)*]
- No date *The abuse of the Decalogue*. (London; sold by David Walther, also at the Central Tract Depot;) [n. d.] 12 pp.; 18 cm. [EUL, OUL]
To be compared with *The abuse of the Decalogue; or, are the Ten Commandments the Christian's moral rule?* (London; Tract Depot;) [n. d.] 16 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 5594; also BD 166693 (8)]
- No date JEFFREYS, Henry (1788–1849) Archdeacon of Bombay, *The everlasting circles*. (London; D. Walther, 42, Piccadilly, No. 1, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row, and at the Tract Depot, Broad Street, Hereford;) [n. d.] [With note on verso of title-page:] (J. B. Bateman, printer, 10, Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane.) 24 pp.; 18cm. [CBA 14101 (photocopy)*, GUL]
Note on title-page states: 'The scheme, ground-work, and introduction of this paper is taken from an able essay by the Archdeacon of Bombay, in the Oriental Christian Spectator, a valuable and well-conducted periodical, sold by Richardson, Cornhill.'
- No date WALTHER, David, "*All ye are brethren.*" *Matthew, xxiii, 8*. [By D. Walther.] (London; published by D. Walther, Piccadilly;) [n. d.] [colophon:] (Joseph Gillett, printer, 2, Brown Street, Manchester.) 8 pp. [CBA 14060 (photocopy)*]
In this pamphlet (p. 5) Walther pointed to 'an absence of that wide and affectionate love to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ which surely forms the proper bond of the whole beloved Church. It was this widely expansive love, equally holding out the right hand of fellowship, to all the dear members in Christ, which I vainly sought for, in the denomination to which I formerly belonged; and I confess

I do not always search for it successfully, among those who uphold far more purely scriptural doctrine; and deeply have I felt the disappointment.'

- No date WALTHER, David, *Athens, A.D. 51: a dialogue*. [By D. Walther.] (No. 47, new series.) [colophon:] (The London; Monthly Tract Society, John Stabb, 5, Red Lion Square, W.C.;) [n. d.] 12 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 1131 (38)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *Conscience before the cross, Luke xxiii. 40*. [By D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp;) [n. d.] 8 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (22)*]
Published 1862 or earlier, as it is advertised on p. 32 of Walther's 1862 publication *A view of the quotations, etc.*
- No date WALTHER, David, *The date of the Codex Sinaiticus*.
Referred to on p. 9, n. 1 of Walther's *The inspiration of the Scriptures* (1865), thus: 'See some remarks on Mark i. 1-3 in 4 pp., on, "The Date of the Codex Sinaiticus. By D. W."'72
- No date WALTHER, David, *Faith*. [By D. Walther.] [colophon:] (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row;) [n. d.] 2 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (39)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *The gospel gift*. [By D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp;) [n. d.] 8 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 1131 (40)*]
A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.
- No date WALTHER, David, *It will come!* [A tract. Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (D.W., 14, Oxford Terrace, London;) [n. d.] 1 p.; 10 cm. [CBA 1131 (46) 8*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *The Lord of glory came to bless*. [A poem. Signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther.] [N. pl.; n. publ.; n. d.] 1 p. [CBA 1131 (45)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *A missionary paper*. [colophon:] (E. Allen, printer, 31, Edgeware Road, W.;) [n. d.] 2 pp. [CBA 1131 (49)*]

⁷² If this was a genuine work by Walther, reflecting his interest in New Testament text criticism, it is probably worth noting that York Minster Library's copy of the edition of *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, edited by F.H. Scrivener (Cambridge, 1864) bears the signature of 'D. Walther', with the added note 'purchased 1876', i.e. five years after Walther's death, possibly when his personal library was being dispersed.

A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.

No date WALTHER, David, *Pompeii. By D.W[alther]. Reprinted from 1819.* (London; E. Allen;) [n. d.] 8 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (42)*]

This poem first appeared in print, above the initials 'D. W', in vol. 20 of *La Belle Assemblée* (1819). Its opening words, 'I stand within Pompeii ...' and the author's later repeated refrain, 'Pass we ...' (*sc.* the visible relics at Pompeii) might at first glance suggest Walther's actual visit to the site, but since his footnotes (fuller in the 1819 publication) indicate his sources in Pliny the Younger and J.C. Eustace's *A Tour through Italy*, 2 vols. (London, 1813; expanded to 4 vols. in the 1814 edition titled *A Classical Tour through Italy*), the words quoted might merely reflect the imagination permitted by poetic license.

No date WALTHER, David, *Proud or happy? The dry land or the good land?* [A tract by D. Walther.] (London; E. Allen;) [n. d.] [2] pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131(47)*]

No date WALTHER, David, *Salut par grace.* [colophon:] (G. Norman, printer, Maiden Vale, Covent Garden;) [n. d.] 4 pp. [CBA 1131 (36)*]

A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.

No date WALTHER, David, *Seed springing after many days.* [By D. Walther.] [London;] (J.B. Bateman, printer, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row;) [n. d.] 4 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (21)*]

The narrative relates how an unnamed person (who can be identified with Walther; see below) came to minister to a dying young man, referred to by the initials 'E. S.', a carver by trade who had been at work in Buckingham Palace, and whose sister was the wife of a bookseller in 'P----- Street'. Reference appears to be made to Walther's former addresses in 'D----- Place' (Dudley Place in 1851 Census) and Blomfield Road (see Walther's will, 1871), and his former shop premises in Piccadilly.

No date WALTHER, David, *Seeing & believing.* [A tract, signed 'D.W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (D.W., 14, Oxford Terrace, London;) [n. d.] 1 p.; 10 cm. [CBA 1131 (50)*]

No date WALTHER, David, *The sign of the prophet Jonah.* [Signed 'D.

- W.', i.e. D. Walther.] (London; W. Yapp;) [n. d.] 8 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (12)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *Spiritualism, worthless and much worse*. [By D. Walther.] [colophon:] (E. Allen, printer, 31, Edgeware Road, W.;;) [n. d.] 2 pp.; 16.5 cm. [CBA 1131 (37)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *The temptations and sympathy of Christ*. Advertised on last page of *The lepers of Israel* (c. 1868) and adverted to by Walther in his *Divers weights brought out and broken* (reprinted in S.F. Kendall, *Remarks on John Nelson Darby's church fellowship and discipline* (Charlottetown, 1871) p. 56, where Walther stated that copies might be obtained from the published E. Allen, 31, Edgeware Road; no copies found.
- No date WALTHER, David, "*Thou art Peter*": *a word for all who are alive from the dead, whether Romanist or Protestant*. [By D. Walther.] [London;] (printed by J. B. Bateman, 1, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row;) [n. d.] 4 pp.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (23)*]
- No date WALTHER, David, *Thou glorious God of saving grace*. [A poem, by D. Walther.] [N. pl.; n. publ.; n. d.] 1 p.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (48)*]
Printed on blue paper. A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.
- No date WALTHER, David, *Three great questions*. [N. pl.; n. publ.; n. d.] 2 pp. [CBA 1131 (35)*]
A tract included in Julia Walther's bound volume of her father's publications.
- No date WALTHER, David, *A word to the infidel, who tries to rob his fellow-creatures of their faith in God, and gives them nothing but notions in return*. [By D. Walther.] (E. Allen, printer, 42, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square;) [n. d.] 1 p.; 18 cm. [CBA 1131 (43)*]