

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

From Puritanism to Nonconformity, 1660 - 89; a study in the  
development of Protestant Dissent, with special reference to  
Yorkshire

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree

of

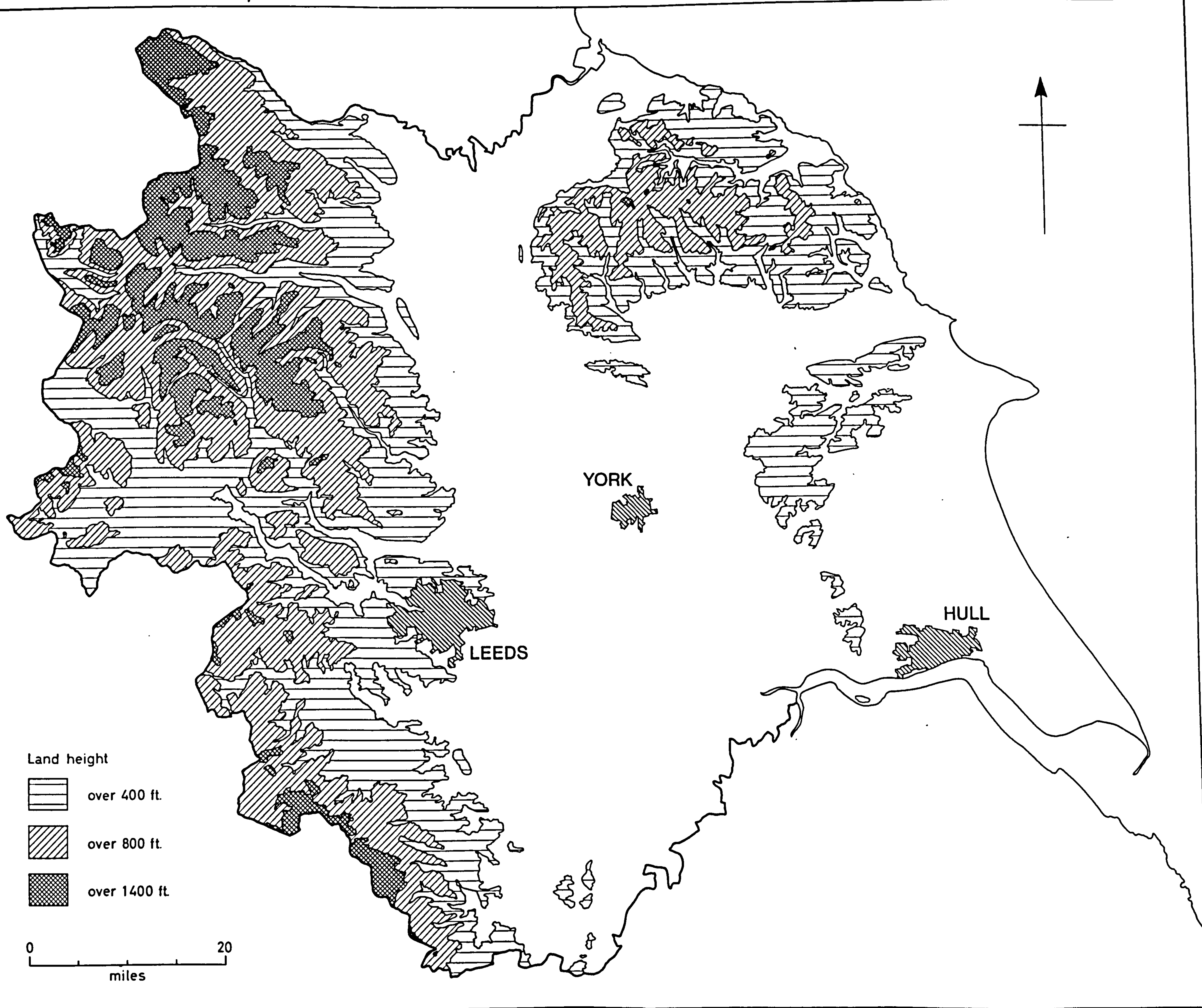
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by

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Calamy                             | - Edmund Calamy, <u>An Abridgement of Dr. Baxter's Life and times, with an account of the Ejected Ministers</u> , second edition, 2 Volumes, I and II (1713) and <u>A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers</u> , 2 Volumes, III and IV (1727). |
| Dale                               | - B. Dale, <u>Yorkshire Puritanism and early Nonconformity</u> , ed. T.G. Crippen. (Bradford 1917).  |
| Heywood                            | - The Rev. Oliver Heywood, 1630-1702; an <u>Autobiography, Diaries, anecdote and event books</u> , ed. J.H. Turner, 4 Volumes. (Brighouse, 1882-5).  |
| Jolly, <u>Notebook</u>             | - <u>The Notebook of Thomas Jolly, with an abbreviated copy of the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses Congregational Church</u> , ed. ed. H. Fishwick, Chetham Society, No.33 (1894-5).  |
| Lyon Turner                        | - <u>Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence</u> , ed. G. Lyon Turner, 3 Volumes (1911-14).   |
| Matthews                           | - A.G. Matthews, <u>Calamy Revised</u> . (Oxford, 1934).   |
| Miall                              | - Rev. J.G. Miall, <u>Congregationalism in Yorkshire</u> (1868).   |
| Thoresby                           | - <u>The Diaries and Correspondence of Ralph Thoresby</u> , ed. J. Hunter, 4 Volumes (1830-2).   |
| <u>NRQS</u>                        | - <u>Records of the North Riding Quarter Sessions</u> , ed. J.C. Atkinson, North Riding Record Society, 2 Volumes, Nos. 6 and 7 (1889).  |
| <u>CSPD</u>                        | - Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.  |
| <u>DNB</u>                         | - Dictionary of National Biography.  |
| <u>HMC</u>                         | - Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.  |
| <u>NRA</u>                         | - National Register of Archives.   |
| <u>Yorks. Arch. Soc.</u>           | - Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society.  |
| <u>Trans. C. and W. Arch. Soc.</u> | - Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society.   |
| <u>TRHS</u>                        | - Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.  |
| <u>Camb. Hist. Journ.</u>          | - Cambridge Historical Journal.  |
| <u>Hist. Journ.</u>                | - Historical Journal   |
| <u>J. Mod. Hist.</u>               | - Journal of Modern History.   |



<u>BIHR</u>	- Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
<u>EHR</u>	- English Historical Review.
<u>AHR</u>	- American Historical Review.
<u>VCH</u>	- Victoria County History

N.B. All books cited in references were published in London if not otherwise Stated.

## INTRODUCTION

The nature of English puritanism and the history of the Protestant Dissent which developed from it have been studied and discussed at great length by historians, with varying and often opposing conclusions. No effective definition of 'puritanism' has yet emerged. So widespread were puritan tendencies and so variable the views of the minority who were committed and whole-hearted 'puritans' that no single definition has been able to comprehend all while giving proper weight to the characteristics and commitment of some. The majority of 'puritans' were, and remained, members of the Anglican Church before 1660 and within that institution they represented and expressed a variety of shades of opinion concerning both the Calvinist theology to which they claimed the Church subscribed and the practical expressions of that theology in ceremonies, the use and extent of formal prayers, the discipline and hierarchy of the Church and the place and purpose of preaching. Outside the Church there were groups of puritans who can be labelled Separatists, but these also varied in the extent of their separatism, the place, if any, that they gave to a national Church and even, by 1660, in their acceptance of Calvinist theology and especially the theory of Predestination.

The definition of Protestant Dissent is a much easier matter, for Dissent was defined in 1660-2 by the refusal of some puritans to accept the new settlement of the Church and their decision to seek their religious life elsewhere. In a very real sense Protestant Dissent was defined by the Act of Uniformity. Nevertheless, as might be expected of any movement which developed from puritanism, variation of opinion was wide and disputes over both theological and practical issues were common. Some Dissenters rejected the whole concept of a national church in favour of the gathered Congregation of believers, voluntarily contracted to accept the teaching and Discipline of that Congregation, and entitled to membership only as long as they did so. Others remained attached to the idea of a national Church, while objecting to varying number of the teachings and practices of that which existed. The Dissenters were



never united, except in being Dissenters.

The following dissertation seeks to study and explain the development of Protestant Dissent in the county of Yorkshire over the thirty years of persecution from 1660 to 1689. It was in this period that 'puritanism' developed into the Separate Churches which constituted English Non-conformity, and it was in this period, of difficulty and struggle, that many of the characteristics of the latter were formed, not least its very structure as congregational Churches. The subject of this study, Dissent in Yorkshire, was chosen with regard to several factors. A detailed study of the Dissenting Churches on a national basis would be impossible, for consideration must be taken of local conditions, both geographical and social, and of course the extent and effectiveness of persecution which varied greatly with both time and place. The county of Yorkshire, with its wide variety of geographical and social environments, seemed an excellent region to examine. The wild and barren moorlands of the North and West Ridings, and the Wolds of the East Riding, the gentle and agriculturally rich area of the Holderness plain, the prosperous port of Hull and its environs, the semi-industrialised clothing areas of the West Riding and the great administrative centre in the city of York, provide a variety of conditions and environments which comes close to reflecting that of England as a whole. In addition the county has the advantage of being far from London. A great deal of the history of Dissent has been written with regard to conditions in London, and the dominant voice has been that of the leaders in London, concerned in this period with the theoretical issues of Dissent as much as and perhaps more than with the practical matters of the daily exercise of worship. One purpose of this study has been to see whether the Dissenters in Yorkshire shared such preoccupations.

Protestant Dissent in Yorkshire consisted of three recognised denominations, Quaker, Independent, and Presbyterian, the Baptist groups being so few, scattered and short-lived as to have no influence other than, possibly, as a radical wing of Independency. Although all three denominations had developed from

puritanism, the nature of the Quaker movement and the mutual hostility which characterised its relationship with other Dissenters made it an entirely separate entity, whose history has been well documented and described by numerous historians. I have therefore not dealt in detail with the Yorkshire Quakers, except where their activities had a bearing on those of the Presbyterians and Independents, who are the main concern of this Dissertation. This occurs mainly in relation to numbers and geographical distribution, since some of the sources deal with all types of Dissenters without distinguishing between denominations, and I have therefore included a survey of Quaker strength in Appendix I, which is useful for purposes of comparison, and for similar reasons some references to the Quakers occur in Chapter III, which is concerned with those matters. The Presbyterians and Independents, the direct descendants of the puritans, who had much more in common, I have dealt with together and have denoted by the title 'puritan Dissent' in order to distinguish them from the greater body of all those who found themselves outside the established Church, although when concerned with one denomination only, I have used the traditional titles of Presbyterian and Independent. The term 'Congregational', often used as synonymous with Independent, I have used in a more limited sense, to describe a type of organisation rather than a denomination.

The dissertation attempts to study and describe the life and development of Dissent in Yorkshire, to examine the reason for and means of its survival after 1662, and to show how and why the Dissenters developed their particular institutions and forms of organisation. It asks who were the Yorkshire Dissenters, from what geographical and social groups they came, and why they chose to be Dissenters. It asks how, having made that decision, they survived and developed in a period of persecution, and how they expressed their religious views in their daily worship. It examines why their achievement was not greater and attempts to explain the limitations and weaknesses of the Nonconformist Churches as they emerged into a period of Toleration in 1689. Finally it



attempts to examine the nature of Dissent, the relationship between different groups of Dissenters, and whether or not, in view of both their common characteristics and their differences, the Dissenters constituted a unit or unity; whether or not there was a movement which can meaningfully be called Dissent.

In the first chapter I have described, in outline, the history of the puritan Dissenters in Yorkshire in this period, from their defeat in 1660-2, through a battle for survival in the 1660s, to the development and organisation of Dissent in the 1670s and eventually legal recognition of Nonconformity in 1689. The second chapter describes in more detail the means of their survival and the expression of their religious life in the congregations through a period of persecution. The third chapter examines the number of Dissenters, their geographical distribution, the influence of geographical and social factors, and the changing patterns which emerged over the period. The fourth chapter and the conclusion attempt to describe and explain the nature of Dissent in Yorkshire, its strengths and weaknesses, and the characteristics of the Nonconformity which found a legal place in English society in 1689. Finally, in the appendices at the end, I have tried to gather and organise the numerous and scattered pieces of evidence from which the previous interpretations and conclusions have been drawn, to provide brief descriptions of the various groups which existed and of their main supporters, and to describe in outline the Chapels which survived, to constitute congregational Nonconformity in Yorkshire in 1689.

## CHAPTER I. The Rise of Puritan Dissent

In May 1660, when Charles II returned to England, the puritan movement lay divided and uncertain, its position precarious and unclear. The puritan leaders had failed to secure any realistic safeguards for their followers and their religion before the King's return, and were to spend the ensuing two years in an unavailing struggle to remedy this omission, while puritan strength in Parliament was countered by its general unpopularity and puritan strength in the Church depended on a possession of benefices which was clearly open to attack. The Yorkshire puritans were well aware of their weakness, and feared what the future might bring. Oliver Heywood rejoiced at the fall of the Independents, who had troubled him locally and whose power in the State he saw as leading to anarchy, but feared that the Church might go 'from Scylla to Charybdis', that the newly restored Anglicans would 'obstruct the work of reformation, set up again the abrogated ceremonies, subject us to tyranny under an insulting hierarchy, corrupt God's pure worship and turn gospel discipline into courts of formality'. Nevertheless, he, like other Presbyterians, welcomed the Restoration and, in political terms, gave it his whole-hearted support.<sup>1</sup> Edward Bowles, preacher at York Minster and at All Hallows in the Pavement, York, had played an active part in the events leading to Monck's assumption of control and the recall of the King.<sup>2</sup> John Shaw of Hull travelled to Breda to greet the King, was appointed Royal Chaplain, and was the first to sign the Petition sent by the borough of Hull to welcome Charles on 9 June 1660. Signed by the Aldermen, officers and burgesses of the town, this Petition began with a fulsome welcome to the King, begged forgiveness for past misdemeanours, and looked to him and his government for 'growing neighbourly love ..... moral honesty, humanity, true Justice promoted, vice and profaneness discountenanced .....

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1. Heywood, I, p. 174; Heywood, The Works of Oliver Heywood, ed. R. Slate, 13 Volumes (1827) Vol. I. pp. 74, 75.
  2. Calamy, II, pp. 778-9; C. R. Markham, Life of the Great Lord Fairfax (1870) pp. 376-84.



... your Majesty's Ministry encouraged and those various sects procreated of the corruption of religion ceasing to sting and molest them'.<sup>3</sup>

This petition from a strongly, if moderately, puritan borough is instructive of Presbyterian attitudes. The Restoration was an act of God, restoring England to sanity after the madness of sect and army. Politically they accepted it totally, and would give to Charles the loyalty due to a ruler appointed by God. In terms of a religious settlement they hoped for the preservation of at least something of the Presbyterian approach, if not of its organisation and methods, but looked above all for the restoration of order.

Given the events of the previous decade, it is not surprising that the Presbyterians should have supported the Restoration, whatever their reservations. The attitude of the Independents, however, would be more doubtful. There is no sign among the Independent Churches or among the ex-officers in Yorkshire of any relief or welcoming of the event, and they had been infuriated by Booth's rebellion only a year earlier.<sup>4</sup> Captain John Hatfield, a member of James Fisher's gathered Church in Sheffield, had left Lambert in 1660 and joined Monck on his march to London, but few behaved likewise.<sup>5</sup> Captain John Hodgson a member of Henry Root's gathered Church at Sowerby, near Halifax, held a commission under Monck in 1659-60 and was present during the march into England, but seeing Lambert at Newcastle, confessed that he 'had no heart to fight against him'. Hodgson was never a theoretical Republican, but had supported the execution of Charles I and served in various civil and military offices during the Interregnum, and in October 1660 was reluctant to take the Oath of Allegiance until the King 'declared what government he would maintain'. When faced with the penalties of refusal, he took the Oath.<sup>6</sup> For the most part

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3. Calamy, II, pp. 823-9; Hull Record Office, Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VI, pp. 299-300.

4. Heywood, I, p. 174; Dale, p. 128.

5. The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Soc., No. 54 (1869) p. 13; Miall, p. 348.

6. The Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson of Coley Hall, ed. J. H. Turner (Brighouse, 1882) pp. 22, 49, 53.



the Independents in Yorkshire were silent, leaving no record of their feelings, which in itself suggests that they regarded the event with some dismay. Nevertheless they gave no sign of opposition, and had apparently accepted their defeat. In January 1660 the presence of Lord Fairfax and his refusal to accept a Declaration in favour of the Commonwealth was sufficient to cause the desertion of some 1200 of Lambert's men and officers.<sup>7</sup> Whatever their feelings the Independents were in no position to oppose the King's return, and were well aware of that fact.

If the puritans were fearful in May 1660, the extent of their weakness became increasingly apparent in the months that followed. Dr.R.S.Bosher has described the policy of the government at this time as operating on two levels.<sup>8</sup> On the one hand the King and Clarendon sought to placate and pacify the puritan interest by keeping alive its hopes of concessions, while on the other hand proceeding with the restoration of the Anglican Church and its episcopal hierarchy with essential powers intact. By September 1660, when the Act for Settling Ministers<sup>9</sup> confirmed in their benefices all incumbents whose sequestered predecessors were not alive and wishing to return, the vast majority of Crown livings had been filled with men of unspotted Anglican beliefs and the Cathedral Chapters had been revived and filled with Laudians, as had other key positions of power and influence in the Church establishment.<sup>10</sup> In the autumn of 1660 the episcopal order was re-established, in June 1661 the Bishops were legally restored to the House of Lords, and in the same month the Bill restoring their ordinary jurisdiction passed the House of Commons. More

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7. Markham, Life of Fairfax, p.382.

8. R.S.Bosher, The Making of the Restoration Settlement; the influence of the Laudians, 1649-62 (1951) especially pp.149-50.

9. Passed by Parliament in September 1660, it restored sequestered ministers to their livings, but otherwise confirmed the rights of the present incumbents, most significantly, without any test of loyalty to Anglican forms, acceptance of the Prayer Book or episcopal ordination; see Bosher, pp. 167,170-9.

10. Bosher, pp.159-61.

than a year before the Act of Uniformity came into effect the Laudians had won the battle for control of the Church, and this victory was not fortuitous, but the result of careful planning by the King, Clarendon and the Laudian party at court.<sup>11</sup>

Bosher's view has been challenged,<sup>12</sup> and it has been argued that Charles and Clarendon at least were sincere in desiring some accommodation and compromise in the religious settlement; that the failure to achieve this was the result, not of government duplicity, but of the ineptitude of the puritan, and especially Presbyterian, leaders. Whether or not this was the case, in the year from May 1660 to May 1661 the government did allow the Laudians to launch an attack on puritan power in the Church and permitted, even if it did not encourage, the harassment and ejection of many loyal and worthy puritan ministers. The two levels of policy discerned by Bosher were real, even if they were not premeditated as he claimed. In addition, government policy always had to be operated at a third level - a local level, administered by the local justices who, appointed by the King, were solidly Royalist and Anglican, were not constrained by the considerations of political tact which influenced Clarendon, and often had many old scores to pay off. Thus at local level harassment and persecution were always liable to be more stringent and vindictive than the government intended, and royal generosity to individuals who sought help did little to counteract the effect of this. The King's Declaration of the first of June 1660 was often ignored or interpreted in decidedly strange ways, as was the Worcester House Declaration, and with the restoration of the Bishops

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11. Bosher, pp.180-4,186-9,199,222-3,226-8.

12. Notably by G.R.Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-63', in Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, No.55,Pt.2 (1965); a useful survey of the different interpretations of the Restoration settlement is provided by Dr. Anne Whiteman, 'The Restoration of the Church of England', in From Uniformity to Unity,1662-1962,ed.G.F.Nuttall and O. Chadwick (1962) pp.19-88. More recently the subject has been re-examined in I.M.Green, The Re-Establishment of the Church of England,1660-1663 (1978) which also challenges Bosher's view.



and their jurisdiction, opportunities for persecution mounted steadily. Moreover, in the prevailing atmosphere of insecurity and fear of plots, the cry of sedition could easily and effectively be raised against any puritan.<sup>13</sup> Against all this the apparent strength of the puritan faction in the Convention Parliament proved illusory and their solitary success, the Act for Settling Ministers, of limited and temporary value. In Yorkshire, as elsewhere, the puritans lay naked before the storm.

In some cases persecution began immediately. The swiftness with which it began apparently depended on the notoriety of the sufferer and the attitude of the local royalists. Though the legislation of the Clarendon Code had not yet been created, there were numerous ways of attacking members of a suspect and often unpopular minority. As an ex-officer and J.P., Captain Hodgson was a prime target. In October 1660 he was arrested, without warrant, on a charge of treasonable words and thrown into Bradford gaol until the Assizes. The moving spirits behind this attack were Daniel Lister and his brother, Joseph, secretary to Sir John Armitage of Kirklees. Lister had already threatened Hodgson that, 'now the sun shines on our side of the hedge', he would repay past slights and Jeremiah Brooksbrank, a member of Heywood's congregation, testified at the Assizes that he had heard Lister say that he would 'sit on Hodgson's skirts' if the opportunity arose. The prosecution was clearly vindictive, for Hodgson was acquitted after taking the Oath of Allegiance. In the ensuing two years, before his troubles over the Yorkshire Plot, Hodgson was arrested on four other occasions at the instigation of Armitage and the Listers, with no charge proven on any occasion, as well as being physically threatened by 'Mr Peebles, John Hanson and other royalists'.<sup>14</sup>

A known Independent, Hodgson was naturally suspect, but Oliver Heywood, a moderate man in his attitude to the Anglican Church, also suffered considerably

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13. Boshier, pp.164-5; see following pages for examples in Yorkshire.

14. Hodgson, Autobiography, pp.52-3,54-8.



before the Act of Uniformity. By 1661 his joy at the Restoration had dissipated somewhat, and as a prelude to his early troubles he wrote, 'but behold, a black cloud thickens up on us in this congregation, my old adversaries have now got that advantage against me they have long been seeking'. He had indeed gone from Scylla to Charybdis, for 'another sort of people enter upon the stage to be our rods, and urge us to conformity to their humours in ecclesiastics as the former (Independents) did in politics'.<sup>15</sup>

In August 1661 the Churchwarden, Robert Gibson, encouraged by one Stephen Ellis and other Anglicans, offered Heywood the Prayer book while he preached in Coley Chapel. Heywood laid it aside and continued preaching. On 13 September he was cited to appear at St. Peter's, York, to answer charges and on the advice of Elkanah Wales and James Sale, Presbyterian Ministers at Pudsey and Leeds, he attended the Court, only to be told to return three weeks later, and was denied any knowledge of the charges. As he left the Court, he records that he was approached by a 'Dr. Whitty'<sup>16</sup> who told him that as yet the Court had no authority, but was expecting it from Parliament, that he was the first minister in Yorkshire to be cited, but that he would not be the last. He advised Heywood to fight the charge, as an example and precedent for others.<sup>17</sup>

Heywood was not the man to fight the charges in court, but as a gesture of defiance, on the advice of Lady Watson of Leeds, he did not attend the court at the time ordered, or when he was cited for a second time. He seemed, however, to have little hope, and on 10 November 1661, when celebrating Communion with

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15. Heywood, I, p.178.

16. Probably Joshua Whitton, at this time Vicar of Thornhill, from which he was ejected in 1662. An influential and wealthy man, he had been appointed to various administrative posts in Yorkshire and elsewhere by Lord Fairfax, and probably had some knowledge of the law. After ejection he moved to York, see App.I,Pt.A,List III,York.

17. Heywood, I, pp.179-80; the power of the Bishops to enforce Anglican forms at this time was indeed open to argument, as Whitton suggested, (see Bosher,pp.232-7) and his remarks concerning an authority expected from Parliament probably refer to the Bill of Uniformity, which passed the House of Commons in July 1661, but which was not taken up by the Lords until 1662, and finally emerged in an amended form as the Act of Uniformity in May 1662.

his congregation, he 'took his leave of them'. He was now cited a third time and went to York, but was again put off without hearing the charges. By the end of the year he was convinced of the imminence of the Act of Uniformity and settled himself to preach and serve as long as he could, while waiting patiently for the end to come. He did not have to wait until August 1662, as in June of that year his enemies, who included Dr. Hook, Vicar of Halifax, procured an order for his suspension. Advised by his friends not to appeal, he took leave of his congregation on 29 June and quietly left Coley Chapel. Despite his acceptance of his fate, he was excommunicated, the writ being read in Halifax Church on 2 November 1662, and at his native Bolton on 7 December.<sup>18</sup>

The story of Heywood's troubles illustrates the gradual decline of puritan hopes. Though willing at first to defend himself, by 1662 he was quietly accepting his fate. Most ministers did not leave detailed accounts of their troubles as Heywood did, but what evidence does exist gives no sign of large-scale resistance to ejection, even before the Act of Uniformity delivered the final blow. The ejections in Yorkshire which preceded the Act were surprisingly numerous compared to those of August 1662. The statistics vary with the sources, but the most reliable figures seem to be those compiled by A.G. Matthews in his Calamy Revised. Matthews finds that in Yorkshire, of 127 ministers ejected, thirty-eight occurred in 1660 and twenty at some uncertain date. There were also some young unbeneficed ministers or students who were 'silenced' in 1660.<sup>19</sup> Thus something between one third and a half of the ejected ministers in the county had lost their places before 1662. Some of these ministers, including the four at York and Edward Richardson, Dean of Ripon, were removed from places of importance in the Church hierarchy, and this was not unexpected. The four ministers of York Minster, Edward Bowles, Richard Perrot, Peter Williams, and Thomas Calvert were barred from preaching there in 1660, but permitted to continue at All Hallows in the Pavement until 1662.<sup>20</sup> Gamaliel Marsden, ejected

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18. Heywood, I, pp. 180-2.

19. Matthews, Introduction, pp. XII-XIII.

20. Calamy, II, pp. 778-9, 783-4, 784-5.



from his fellowship at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1660, returned to Yorkshire and after finding shelter with friends, received the curacy of Chapel-le-Brears, Halifax, from which he was ejected in 1662.<sup>21</sup> Mr John Gunter was removed from the rich living of Bedale in 1660 and replaced by Dr. Samwaies, who was not the former incumbent.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Henry Fairfax, uncle of Lord Fairfax, resigned from the living of Bolton Percy in 1660, without waiting to be ejected. He was an old man, and died shortly after.<sup>23</sup>

The majority of the early ejections were, however, within the conditions of the Act for Settling Ministers, passed in September 1660, and took place because the former incumbent was alive and wished to return. Few were resisted in any way, although not all were carried out in a reasonable manner. At Halifax, Eli Bentley, the Vicar in 1660, was preaching in the parish Church when the former incumbent, Dr. Marsh, arrived and demanded the return of his benefice by the simple expedient of physically removing Bentley from the pulpit, without any prior request for him to leave.<sup>24</sup> Bentley apparently endured the assault quietly. Most of the resistance which did occur came in cases where there was no legal basis for the ejection, as in the case of Heywood, or that of Richard Frankland at Bishop Auckland, who was simply locked out of his Church in 1660, and unable to obtain redress. He applied to the Quarter Sessions, but his case was dismissed on a technical flaw in the indictment.<sup>25</sup> The reaction of most ministers was characterised by patient endurance, and where they resisted it was only, as in Frankland's case, by application to the law. In August 1662 Clarendon was to be fearful of puritan resentment and resistance to the Bartholomew-day ejections, and it has been suggested that the ministers acquiesced quietly only because they were deserted by their lay allies and leaders,

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21. Heywood, IV, p.36.

22. Calamy, II, p.460.

23. Dale, p.54.

24. Dale, pp.17-18.

25. Calamy, II, p.177; Dale, p.188.



and by their congregations,<sup>26</sup> but the evidence of events in Yorkshire in 1660-1 already foreshadows such acquiescence. Resistance, even to most obvious injustices, had already proved futile, and the hopelessness of the puritan position was further demonstrated by some few bolder spirits who fought their removal to the bitter end. Two such cases, those of John Shaw of Hull and Joseph Wilson of Hessle and Hull, provide interesting illustrations of the situation in which the puritans found themselves and of the additional problems created by their own internal divisions.

In 1660, John Shaw had reason for optimism. The appointment of himself and other Presbyterians as Royal Chaplains, the part played by the Presbyterians in the Restoration, and the Declaration of Breda, seemed to augur well. By 1661, however, the situation had changed radically, and for none more than for Shaw himself. In June 1661 the Hull Bench received a letter from the King, ordering the removal of three Aldermen and of Shaw from his position at Trinity Church, and 'that you shall likewise discharge and inhibit Mr. Shaw (represented for a person of unsound principle) from officiating as a minister or lecturer among you; he being one whose doctrine hath been seditious and scandalous as we are credibly informed'.<sup>27</sup> Shaw was immediately barred and on 13 August dismissed from his Mastership of God's House Hospital. He did not, however, accept his dismissal. Though William Ainsworth was appointed to replace him in both capacities, Shaw apparently refused to leave God's House Hospital and continued to preach there to all who would attend. He had some reason for his stubbornness. On receipt of the news of his dismissal he had travelled to London to protest, and discovered that his troubles had begun with a complaint made by the garrison of Hull to Sheldon, which Sheldon had then passed to the King. In an interview with Sheldon, Shaw protested his loyalty to the King, but the Bishop remained obdurate, mainly because of Shaw's known views on

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26. Boshier, pp. 266-8.

27. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VI, p. 350; Letters to the Corporation, 1654; CSPD, 1661-2, p. 6.

Prelacy. Finally Shaw had obtained an audience with the King, who had treated him kindly and told him that he might retain his Mastership, though not his Lectureship. In his memoirs, Shaw records that the people of Hull flocked out to hear him, despite harassment by the garrison. On one occasion, the soldiers kept three hundred people imprisoned in the Hospital all night after a sermon, and on another, they locked the town gates early, preventing his hearers from returning to their homes. The civil authorities of Hull do not appear to have treated Shaw harshly. Though Ainsworth was waiting to take up his appointment, the Bench was patient with the recalcitrant Shaw (though they finally petitioned Parliament against him), and as late as 1664 entries in the Bench Books show that they were careful to pay him all his arrears. Nevertheless, the combined influence of the garrison and of Sheldon was too much, and finally Shaw was forced to give up the fight. In June 1662, being barred from entering Hull and aware of the imminence of the Act of Uniformity, he at last left the God's House Hospital and returned to Rotherham, where he had once held a benefice, and where he now assisted his friend Luke Clayton until 24 August, after which the two ministered to such followers as would attend them.<sup>28</sup>

The boldness of Shaw's character which had caused him to fight so hard to retain his place could not prevent his defeat, and indeed had gained him many enemies, not all of them Anglicans. The State Papers for the year 1660-1 contain a letter, written from Yorkshire, which, though unsigned, was clearly from William Styles, ex-Vicar of Hessle and Hull. Styles had no sympathy for Shaw, and begins by expressing surprise at 'the impudence of those who seek what they have no right to'. He continues, erroneously, by declaring that it was generally known that Shaw was a Republican, that he had promoted a petition in favour of the execution of Charles I, which the writer had refused to sign, and that 'all in Hull know how furious Shaw was for Oliver'.<sup>29</sup> Styles was in fact a

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28. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol, VI, ff. 367, 388, 394, 444, 590; Calamy, II, pp. 827-8; Matthews, pp. 434-5; The Memoirs of John Shaw, with extracts from his sermons and notes, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Society, No. 65 (1875).

29. CSPD 1660-1, p. 456.



Presbyterian himself, at this time Vicar of the Old Church, Leeds, though he died before ejection in 1662.<sup>30</sup> His intense dislike of Shaw stemmed from their past quarrels over Shaw's desire to establish a full-blooded Presbyterian system in Hull, and his ambition, as Styles saw it, to be the dominant spiritual force in the town. The two supposedly 'presbyterian' ministers were divided by both personal and philosophical antagonisms.

Such divisions are shown even more clearly in the dispute between Styles and Joseph Wilson. Styles had been Vicar of Pontefract under the Laudian regime, and had been prosecuted by the High Commission for not using the sign of the cross in baptism, only escaping through the intervention of a local gentleman, Alexander Cook. In 1642, after the death of the Rev. Andrew Marvell, he had come to Hessle as Vicar of Hessle and Hull, a position from which he was ejected in 1651 for refusing the Engagement. He was replaced at Hessle by Joseph Wilson and in Hull by Henry Hibbert, who conformed in 1662. In 1660, when the King returned, Styles was Vicar of Leeds, where he had replaced the previous (Anglican) incumbent, John Robinson.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, with the passing of the Act for Settling Ministers in September 1660, he at once began proceedings to have Wilson and Hibbert removed. Wilson, a bold rousing preacher, resisted the proceedings, and had to be summoned by the Hull Bench several times before he finally appeared on the first of November, when he was ordered to quit Hessle vicarage by 28 December. Styles was to be restored and Wilson was to pay him the value of the last year's tithes.<sup>32</sup> At this stage in the proceedings a further complication appeared in the shape of Thomas Micklethwaite, minister of Cherry Burton, whence he was ejected in 1662. In a letter written on 28 October Micklethwaite claimed that, when Styles was ejected, he had resigned

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30. Miall, p.37.

31. Ibid, p.37.

32. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VI, ff.312,317,319,320,321; Letters, 1642; Misc.Docs., M287.

33. Hull Corporation Records, Letters, 1643; Calamy, II, p.821, IV, p.951; Heywood, III p.213; Dale, pp.108-9; Matthews, p.349.



the living to him. Micklethwaite's claims do not appear to have been treated seriously by the Bench.

Wilson had been ordered to appear before the Bench on 8 November to decide what sum he should pay Styles. When he did not appear the Bench fixed on a sum of forty pounds, and ordered him to attend them with the payment on 12 November. Again he did not appear, and a warrant was issued to prevent him from removing goods from Hessle vicarage until payment was made. On 19 November the Bench received a letter from Styles demanding payment, but by 17 December Wilson had clearly made no move, for a warrant was issued to the constables to apprehend him to answer for his contempt. On 18 December, a further warrant was issued to the Town Sheriff, to put Styles into possession of the vicarage. There is no extant record of Wilson ever having made the payment to Styles, nor of his leaving Hessle, but it seems likely that he was removed from the vicarage by 29 January 1661, when Styles formally resigned the living.<sup>34</sup>

This dispute, with three Presbyterian ministers involved in an unpleasant wrangle, is an important example of the bitterness and the divisions which existed, not merely in the puritan ranks, but within one supposedly united denomination. It was clear that Styles, not the Hull authorities, initiated the proceedings.

It is equally clear that he did not desire the living, as he willingly resigned it in 1661 in order to facilitate the Hull authorities' attempt to separate the Church of Holy Trinity from the vicarage of Hessle, a transaction which was completed in 1661 and which received the King's assent in May 1662.<sup>35</sup> His suit may have been motivated by money, but since payment was not automatic in such cases, this seems unlikely. The most feasible explanation is that he retained bitter feelings against Wilson himself. Wilson was a zealous puritan and a bold preacher. According to Calamy he declared in 1660 that 'I durst tell the

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34. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol VI, ff. 321, 324, 329, 330, 334, 337.

35. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol VI, ff. 335, 426.

proudest prelate of them all, that if they bring anything into the worship of God without the authority of his word for it, it is no better than Nehushtan, a piece of dead brass'.<sup>36</sup> He fought Styles bitterly and succeeded in avoiding any payment to him, not least because of the sympathies of the Hull Bench, who had no choice but to proceed against him, but appear to have been reluctant to arrest him or to distrain his goods on Styles' behalf.

Wilson's defeat at Hessle was not the end of his struggles against the prevailing Anglican climate. In the summer of 1661 he appears to have been preaching at 'Anlaby Chapel' near Hull (possible Tranby Church). At some time in the next year a vacancy arose at Beverley, where he had been Vicar of St. Mary's until 1652, and he was apparently elected to the 'pastorship' by the congregation there. When he went to Beverley is not known, but in May 1662 the State Papers record a riot taking place at Beverley Minster, when the burgesses refused to admit a minister licensed by the prebend at York and tried to force the doors for Wilson. The rioters were indicted, and one Alderman Colson, refusing to give bond to appear at the Quarter Sessions, was taken to prison. Calamy also tells the story, placing it at St. Mary's, Beverley, and it seems likely that his placing is correct.<sup>37</sup>

Despite Wilson's bold efforts, he was finally silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. It is uncertain whether he was actually ejected from Beverley, since it is doubtful whether he had been officially appointed to the living (election by the inhabitants not being recognised by the Anglican authorities), but he was certainly preaching there in August 1662, after which he retired to the village of Newland. Wilson struggled for longer than many of his contemporaries, but finally he too was defeated, and appears to have been exhausted by the struggle. Unlike many ministers, he did not preach openly

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36. Calamy, IV, p.952.

37. CPSD, 1661-2, p.379; Calamy, II, p.822, IV, p.952.



for some time after 1662, but wrote his sermons and sent them to be read among the Hull Presbyterians. Possibly he had made himself too notorious. Under the Declaration of Indulgence he was licensed to preach in his own house at Newland, at the house of Richard Barnes in Hull, and, when it was completed, at the 'new built meeting-house' in Blackfriargate, Hull. After this, he continued to preach until his death in 1678.<sup>38</sup>

In August 1662 came the final blow to what was left of puritan hopes. The number of ministers ejected under the Act of Uniformity varies with the sources. According to Matthews' research, there were 1,760 Ministers ejected in England from 1660 to 1662, of whom 936 were ejected by the Act. There were also another 171 who later conformed and 129 whose ejections cannot be precisely dated. In Yorkshire he finds that, of 110 ejections, fifty-two took place in August 1662 and twenty are of uncertain date. There were seventeen other ministers who later conformed, some not until much later. According to Brian Dale there were some 155 ministers ejected in Yorkshire from 1660 to 1662, of whom sixteen later conformed. He also adds 25 ministers who were ejected elsewhere, but who came to Yorkshire shortly afterwards. Calamy mentions some 17 ministers who, having been ejected in Yorkshire, later conformed.<sup>39</sup> Whatever the precise numbers, the ejections came as a great, though not unexpected, blow to the Yorkshire puritans. Removed from their benefices and separated from the national establishment in which many of them believed, the ministers now had to find a new place for themselves in English society. For those who believed in a national Church, there was a very real dilemma. They had felt a call and been ordained to preach the Word and care for men's souls, and this call, they believed, having come from God, they could not give up their work upon the word of man. Some, at least, of their erstwhile parishioners continued to seek their ministrations, and to deny them would be sin. Many ministers felt a real loyalty

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38. Dale, pp.168-9.

39. Matthews, Introduction, pp.XII - XIII; Dale, pp.6-10; Calamy, II p.837.

For further discussion of the number of ministers ejected in 1660-2, see below, pp.143-6.

to the Church of England, continued to recommend their followers to attend Church, and did so themselves where they could.<sup>40</sup> Thus each minister faced a deep personal dilemma, and had to make his decision according to his own conscience. Many never preached after the Act of Uniformity, and presumably believed that the creation of schism was the greater sin. Others came gradually, and with many murmurings of conscience, to resume the work of the gospel. They did so as individuals, guided and persuaded perhaps by friends among the ministry and puritan laity, but as a result of a personal decision, and in their own individual time and manner.

In 1662 the majority of ministers had no clear conception of how they intended to continue their work. In a few Independent Churches, worship continued virtually uninterrupted by the Act of Uniformity. At Hull the Independents of Dagger Lane continued to meet with their Pastor, Robert Luddington, ejected from Sculcoates, until his death in 1663. Thereafter they lacked a minister until 1669, but apparently held together, probably leaving the preaching to their Elder, Edward Atkinson.<sup>41</sup> At Woodkirk, near Leeds, the ejected minister, Christopher Marshall, continued his work as pastor to his gathered Church, simply moving his meeting-place from the parish Church to the remote Topcliffe Hall, home of Captain John Pickering, one of his members. In 1666 the Five Mile Act drove Marshall to Horbury, the home of his Elder, John Issot, but he soon returned to Topcliffe and remained there until his death in 1673.<sup>42</sup> At Leeds, Christopher Nesse had gathered a congregation to whom he continued to preach until forced by persecution to fly to London in 1675. After the Five Mile Act he had to move to Morley and then Clayton, but he continued to come to Leeds to minister to his followers, as well as holding conventicles in the surrounding area.<sup>43</sup> Other Independent Congregations were apparently less fortunate, Kipping

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40. Heywood, III, pp. 21-3.

41. MS. Records of Dagger Lane Chapel, (kept at St. Ninian's Church, Hull), Vol. I, pp. 10, 11.

42. Dale, pp. 104-7; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, ed. W. Smith (1888) p. 1.

43. Calamy, II, pp. 799-800; Dale, pp. II-IV; Matthews, pp. 361-2.



being without a settled pastor until 1673. For some months in 1669 John Ryther, ejected from North Ferriby, was preaching there, but otherwise that function had to be fulfilled by the Elders, John Long and George Ward, with the aid of various visiting ministers.<sup>44</sup>

These few Churches apart, there was no organisation among the Yorkshire Dissenters in 1662, only a desire among the ministers to preach 'for the good of souls' and a considerable amount of personal loyalty among the laity who had known and benefited by their ministry. Jonathan Priestley, friend of Oliver Heywood, described the feelings of these laymen when he declared that no Act of Parliament could break the bond formed between a good minister and his people.<sup>45</sup> Hence, in the early years, much of the preaching was carried out on a personal basis, the minister preaching in his own house to his family and to such friends and neighbours as wished to attend. From these small beginnings the Dissenters gradually re-emerged, until by 1668 they were meeting frequently and in considerable numbers. Nevertheless, this practice cannot be called a system, as it tended to be haphazard, and remained based on personal friendships and reputations, rather than on anything remotely resembling an organisation.

The available evidence concerning the activities of Puritan Dissent in these years is concentrated in two areas, that around Hull, and the greater part of the West Riding, areas where Dissent was strong and firmly established. In Hull, the Bench Books of the Corporation and a number of scattered references provide an outline picture of the situation. Although Dissenters were numerous in the borough, there were apparently no settled ministers there from 1663 to 1669. Hence an anonymous correspondent wrote to Williamson in August 1663 that 'the Presbyterians continue to meet, but will be at a non-plus'. In October, however, he wrote of a visiting minister, Mr Rider (probably John Ryther), a 'great fanatic priest' who 'came to town and preached at Mr Lockwood's house, to a great concourse

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44. The Autobiography of Joseph Lister of Bradford, ed. A. Holroyd (Bradford, 1860) p.29.

45. Heywood, I, p.61.

of people'.<sup>46</sup> The local Dissenters were also in receipt of Mr Wilson's written sermons. Another minister who paid at least one visit to the town was Jeremiah Marsden, ejected from East Ardsley near Wakefield, who was involved in the Yorkshire plot in 1663 and thereafter spent some time as a fugitive in Yorkshire before fleeing to London, where he preached for many years under the name of Ralphson.<sup>47</sup> In February 1669 Colonel Anthony Gilby was writing to Williamson concerning the continued Dissenters' meetings, and their expectation of an Indulgence. In July 1669 he was telling the Secretary that large numbers had attended a meeting, led by an 'illiterate Scotchman', which was broken up by the soldiers. In December of the same year Charles Whittington wrote that conventicles were more frequent and 'untroubled by the Corporation, which is a great encouragement to them'.<sup>48</sup> Clearly, then, the Hull Dissenters had continued to meet, though lacking settled ministers, with the tacit support of the civil authorities in the borough. The extent of Dissenting sympathies on the Bench can be seen from an incident which occurred in 1670. It was reported to Williamson in a letter dated 23 May 1670, that not only were the Dissenters still holding private meetings, but that on the previous day a Dissenting minister had entered the pulpit of Holy Trinity Church and launched into a sermon. This had been arranged with the connivance of the Mayor, John Tripp, but the design was prevented by Alderman George Crowle, with the support of the Garrison. As a result of his interference, however, Crowle was abused and threatened by two other Alderman, John Acklam and George Empringham. The minister in question was apparently John Billingsley, ejected from Chesterfield. The matter was pursued on the orders of the Privy Council, and in August affidavits were taken by Mayor Tripp. Nothing, however, seems to have been done, as the Dissenters continued to meet openly, and in October 1670 Acklam was elected mayor for the ensuing year.<sup>49</sup>

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46. CSPD, 1663-4, pp. 256, 300.

47. Calamy, II, p. 794, IV, pp. 943-4.

48. CSPD, 1668-9, pp. 179, 396, 623.

49. Hull Corporation Records, Letters, L 801; CSPD, 1670, pp. 233, 240, 249, 267, 289, 309, 366, 388, 454, 477.



In the West Riding, the wide connections and active life of Oliver Heywood, recorded in his diaries, provide a much fuller picture than that of Hull, full enough to show the process of revival and the means by which it was attained. With the addition of Calamy's accounts, many of them furnished by Heywood, the more recent research of Dale and Matthews, and the scattered records of persecution, a good deal can be known of the lives and activities of the West Riding ministers.

For a while after his ejection, Heywood lived quietly at Coley, with apparently no intention of establishing a congregation outside the Church. He frequently visited, and was visited by, friends, and such meetings naturally became occasions for prayer and religious discussion. Nevertheless, he encouraged his friends to attend the established Church, going to Coley Chapel himself when possible, despite his excommunication. His friends, however, were not satisfied by the new order, and Heywood, considering his duty as a minister, found himself responsible for a good part of their religious instruction. In June 1663 he noted that 'hitherto I have lived quietly at home', but that his house was being watched, and that it was known that 'I have preached at times'.<sup>50</sup> Occasionally there arose an opportunity for more public work. Desiring to take Communion, but being barred from Coley Chapel, Heywood visited the Dissenters' sanctuaries at Penistone and Bramhope and being invited to preach there, eagerly seized the opportunity.<sup>51</sup> In June 1664 he was invited to preach at Mottram Church by the conformist Vicar.<sup>52</sup> In Lancashire his father-in-law, John Angier, had remained at Denton Chapel without conforming, and Heywood took the opportunity to assist him when visiting his Lancashire relations.<sup>53</sup> Religious meetings also occurred through the friendships of ejected ministers. In his immediate neighbourhood Heywood had Joseph Dawson, Eli Bentley

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50. Heywood, I, p. 183, 184, 192.

51. Heywood, I, p. 188; at Penistone and Bramhope the puritan incumbents had been able to remain in their places, which made those Chapels something of a centre for other less fortunate Dissenters. See App. I, Pt. A, list II, Bramhope, list III, Penistone.

52. Heywood, I, p. 189.

53. Heywood, I, p. 197.

and Henry Root, and Thomas Jolly often visited his friend Captain Hodgson.

Further afield, but still within a convenient distance, were Jonas Waterhouse and Thomas Sharp at Bradford and Joshua Kirby, Thomas Hawksworth and Thomas Smallwood at Wakefield.

The common problems of these men created a natural inclination to draw together and their mutual interests made religious discussion inevitable.

Moreover, all had a certain number of lay followers, who would invite one or more ministers to their houses for special occasions - days of Thanksgiving, fasts, or

other matters of family worship.<sup>54</sup> By 1665 these various duties had developed

into something of an occupation, so that Heywood had again taken up the work of

the ministry, holding regular meetings at Coley and occasionally visiting friends

elsewhere. Nevertheless, the work was on a very small scale and rather haphazard,

dependent on personal invitation and involving small numbers, often only one family.

In August 1664 Heywood records preaching to 'a considerable number' which amounted

to eight people apart from his own family. In September 1665 when he was holding

a meeting, the house was searched by constables, but there were only four people

present besides the Heywood family. The work was not without danger, private

though it was, and small numbers were probably a necessity.<sup>55</sup>

Among Heywood's friends a similar pattern seems to have been followed.

Joshua Kirby was preaching in his own house to a few friends, and had gone so far

as to erect a pulpit, although he continued to attend the Parish Church and

preached only in the evenings, after the Anglican service had finished. In

November 1662 this had led to his imprisonment in York Castle, but he continued

to preach after his release.<sup>56</sup> At Bradford the ejected Vicar, Jonas Waterhouse,

also preached privately on Sunday evenings, and attended the Parish Church, in

which he apparently had some interest, for in 1667 he was involved with Lady

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54. Heywood, I, pp. 195, 199.

55. Heywood, I, pp. 186, 190, 195-6, 198.

56. Dale, p. 94; J.W. Walker, Wakefield, its History and People (Wakefield, 1934) p. 306.



Maynard in presenting a new incumbent.<sup>57</sup> A few ministers, often those of Independent leanings, were bolder. Thomas Smallwood, ejected from Batley in 1660 and silenced at Idle in 1662, continued to preach there in the vacant Caapel on several occasions from 1662 to 1666.<sup>58</sup> Thomas Hardcastle, later Minister of Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol, preached regularly in the vacant Chapel at Shadwell and was several times arrested and imprisoned for so doing. While he was imprisoned, other ministers, including Heywood, filled his place, not without risk.<sup>59</sup> Such public preaching was, however, rare and the majority of ministers contented themselves with private preaching to known friends in their own homes, punctuated by occasional visits further afield. Even rare examples of public preaching before 1666 resulted from personal friendships, not from any regional or even local organisation.

In 1665 there occurred an important event in the development of Dissenting activities, in the shape of the Five Mile Act. Some ministers were forced to move to different areas, while others had to leave their homes, at least for a while. By necessity they became more mobile and the Act had the effect of spreading their activities, with new contacts being established and the old ones strengthened. For some the move meant isolation. Eli Bentley had to move from Halifax to Bingley, where he found no kindred spirits and where Heywood, visiting him in May 1666, noted that 'his condition is sadder than mine, because he is in the same house with some, because of whom he cannot comfortably serve God, nor hath he the free exercise of his religion as he desires, and wisheth for any house of his own'.<sup>60</sup> The majority, however, seem to have been stimulated by the Act, contrary to its intention. Christopher Nesse was forced to leave Leeds, but he continued to visit his flock there and extended his activities by holding conventicles at Clayton when he moved there, by preaching to the many Dissenters in

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57. Dale, p.164; Matthews, p.512.

58. Calamy, II, p.804; J.H. Turner, Nonconformity in Idle (Bradford, 1876) p.19.

59. Calamy, II p.810, IV, p.947; Heywood, I, p.198.

60. Heywood, I, p.225.

Morley when he moved there, and also holding meetings with other ministers and friends in nearby Tong. By 1669 he was able to move nearer Leeds, buying a house in Hunslet, but continued to preach to his newly won adherents in Morley and Tong, as well as to his old friends in Leeds.<sup>61</sup>

For Oliver Heywood, and apparently for some of his friends, the Five Mile Act marked the beginning of an itinerant ministry which lasted about a year, and which resulted in a permanent expansion of their activities. In March 1666 he was forced to leave his home and, with his father-in-law, John Angier, spent some time wandering and preaching in Lancashire and Cheshire. In April he returned to Yorkshire and, visiting Jonas Waterhouse in Bradford, there met Elkanah Wales of Pudsey and Thomas Johnson of Painthorp, who had also temporarily left their homes, and Thomas Sharp of Horton. On 3 May 1666 he returned home for a brief visit, before setting off again, this time visiting Bramley, Hunslet, Wakefield, Penistone and Slaighwaite. Returning home on the first of June, he left again on the nineteenth. For almost a year Heywood lived in this manner, lodging with other ministers and lay friends and preaching wherever he went, and his meetings with other ministers suggest that many were in a similar position.<sup>62</sup> Elkanah Wales, indeed, had to leave the county and travel to Newcastle, preaching as he went, to stay with his wife's family.<sup>63</sup>

By the end of 1666 Heywood's journeys had become shorter, and were apparently now undertaken by choice rather than necessity. There were also signs of a new approach to his travels, for by January 1667 he appears to have been organising a schedule in advance. Having visited a place and preached successfully, he would agree to return. On 31 January 1667 he set out to preach 'according to promise' at Boulin, Bradford, Pudsey, Bramhope, Leeds and Rawdon, returning to

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61. Calamy, II, pp. 799-800; Dale, p. 113; Lyon Turner, I, p. 162.

62. Heywood, I, p. 223-235

63. Heywood, I, p. 230; Dale, p. 162.





Coley on 8 February. At the same time there were signs of greater boldness at home, for he notes that his hearers at Coley now often numbered up to a hundred people.<sup>64</sup> From 1666 to 1669. Heywood's diary is essentially an account of the life of a travelling minister, visiting and preaching, upholding Dissenters' meetings wherever he could, meeting other ministers and their hearers for Fast days, Thanksgivings and other family occasions, and preaching at home, usually once a week, to evergrowing numbers. The spur to this considerable expansion of activity had been that which was intended to isolate the ministers, the Five Mile Act, and although not all ministers reacted in precisely the same way as Heywood, a similar trend can be discerned over much of the West Riding.<sup>65</sup> A further sign of growing confidence can be seen in the significant increase of public preaching. In November 1667 Heywood preached in Bramley Chapel, having previously worked there only in private houses. He returned on several occasions, in June, July, November and December 1668, and in April 1669, on Easter Sunday, when he preached to 'a vast multitude of people'.<sup>66</sup> Other isolated Chapels, of which there were many in Yorkshire, were used in the same way, notably those at Idle, Pudsey, Hunslet, Morley and even at Coley itself on occasions.<sup>67</sup>

This growing activity, though stemming from the Five Mile Act, was greatly encouraged by a relaxation of persecution from 1667 and especially by the lapsing of the Conventicle Act in 1668. In April 1667 Heywood was preaching at home in Coley to large numbers, 'both neighbours and strangers', and remarks that 'indeed 'tis the admiration of all that there (be) such companies meeting and no notice taken thereof, blessed be God for our protection'. In the same month he records that on another occasion he 'had above an hundred people for mine auditory, openly, and hitherto there hath been no danger'.<sup>68</sup> The threat of persecution was ever

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64. Heywood, I, pp. 249, 254-5.

65. This can be seen from Heywood's Diary of this period (Vol. I, 1666-9) in the numerous examples, too many to cite individually, of other ministers who travelled with him, preached with him, preached in the same places on other occasions, or met him on chance visits.

66. Heywood, I, pp. 247, 255, 256, 259, 260, 262.

67. Heywood, I, pp. 248, 253, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268.

68. Heywood, I, pp. 239, 240.



present, and Heywood had some narrow escapes, while others were arrested and imprisoned. In January 1668 he was on his way to preach at Bramley and Pudsey when Mr Hardcastle was arrested at a meeting in Leeds, and when Heywood went on to Holbeck to visit Robert Armitage he was warned to avoid Leeds, where the officers were waiting for him. In March 1668 he preached at Coley on Easter Day and heard that the Constable had a warrant for his arrest, but apparently chose not to use it. In May when he was preaching at William Thompson's house in Headingley the meeting was interrupted by the Constables, but Heywood and many others escaped.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, there had been a distinct slackening of the efforts of the persecutors. In May 1668, Henry Root, Joseph Dawson and others came to Heywood's house for a day of Thanksgiving for the recovery of the family from illness, and they 'sung Psalms and feared nothing'. In August he preached at Idle Chapel, and remarks 'no danger, abundance of people'.<sup>70</sup> This relative safety would soon be lost, with the passing of the Second Conventicle Act, but for three years it enabled the Dissenters to extend their activity and influence enormously.

By 1669, then, the Dissenting preachers had become busy and bold, spreading their sermons over a wide geographical area and on numerous occasions actually preaching in public. Their work was, however, still based entirely on personal contacts, and lacked anything that could be called a system. Occasions for preaching outside their own homes arose from friendships, usually with other ministers, and were by personal, individual invitation only. Such means inevitably led to mistakes. In August 1668 Heywood set off, as arranged, to preach at Pudsey and Idle, only to find others preaching there already. In November 1669 he went to Slaighwaite to preach and found that he had mistaken the day, having been expected on the previous Sunday.<sup>71</sup> Clearly the system and arrangements were somewhat haphazard at times. Nevertheless, the ministers' devotion to duty and

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69. Heywood, I, pp. 249, 254-5.

70. Heywood, I, pp. 254, 258.

71. Heywood, I, pp. 257, 266.



desire to preach had brought about a considerable change since the dark days of 1662. This would have been totally impossible without the loyal aid of their lay followers, but together they had brought Dissent through its most difficult years, those following upon the great puritan defeat of 1660-2. By 1669 the battle for survival had clearly been won. The anxious efforts of the Anglican party to pass a new Conventicle Act, constant complaints of Dissenting activity, and Sheldon's great survey of Dissenting meetings in that year testified to the fact that Dissent was not only alive, but kicking. From Yarmouth Richard Bower, Williamson's correspondent in the town, wrote with growing hysteria of the numbers and power of the Dissenters there,<sup>72</sup> and similar complaints from Hull led Archbishop Sterne to write to the Bench concerning the unsuppressed and unhindered conventicles which were being held in the borough.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless the Dissenter still faced enormous problems, and the meetings, based upon personal contact and friendship, lacked the organisation and structure which were so necessary to secure their future prosperity. There were a few organised, Independent Churches in Yorkshire, at Kipping in Bradford Dale, at Topcliffe, at Sowerby near Halifax, in Sheffield, in Hull, and probably at Cottingham and at Swanland,<sup>74</sup> but for the most part the Dissenters' meetings in 1669 were more fluid, irregular, and indistinct. They were, in fact, no more than meetings, of ministers who were known and available to preach, with hearers who were eager and willing to listen to the Word as and where they could. The great survey of Conventicles undertaken on Sheldon's

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72. CSPD, 1667-8, pp. 17-18, 85, 88, 97, 145, 186, 232, 250, 277, 1668-9, pp. 10, 77, 95, 99, 111, 159, 221, 243, 277-8.

73. CSPD, 1668-9, pp. 179, 396, 623; Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VII f. 212, Letters, L801, L807; for complaints from other places see CSPD, 1667-8 1668-9, for examples too numerous to cite.

74. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, under individual place names.

orders in 1669<sup>75</sup> presents a confused and incomplete picture, partly because of the flaws and inefficiencies of the returns,<sup>76</sup> but partly as an accurate reflection of the situation upon which it had to report. The best example of this can be seen from the returns for Sowerby and Halifax.<sup>77</sup> A report from Sowerby describes conventicles of Presbyterians and Independents at Croston Chapel and Quarry Hill in Sowerby, in Coley and, separately, at Captain Hodgson's house in Coley, the ministers being Mr. Root, Joseph Dawson, Oliver Heywood, Christopher Nesse, and John Ryther, while that from Halifax mentions two groups led by Root. There were, in fact, three main meetings involved, one of Presbyterians at Coley, one of Independents at Coley, and one of Independents at Sowerby. The Presbyterians at Coley were gathered around Heywood, but his friend Joseph Dawson also attended the meetings and preached occasionally, thus releasing Heywood to preach elsewhere, for example at Morley, where he was also named as a conventicle-leader. At the same time, Dawson was preaching to Presbyterians and Independents in the vacant chapel at Cleckheaton in the nearby parish of Birstall, with the vicar's knowledge and connivance.<sup>78</sup> The Independents of Coley had no church organisation, but refusing to attend Heywood's sermons at this time, looked for spiritual succour to Root's church at Sowerby, and to visiting ministers like Nesse and Ryther. Nesse led a group of Independents in Leeds, but, having been forced out of Leeds by the Five Mile Act, was living and preaching in Hunslet, preaching in Morley, and also held conventicles at Tong in Birstall parish, where he was reported as preacher in this same survey.<sup>79</sup> Ryther was preacher, if not Pastor, to the Independent Church at Kipping, but, according to these reports at least,

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75. The Episcopal Survey of 1669. The returns from this survey are collected and indexed in Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, ed.G.Lyon Turner, 3 Volumes (1911-14); the returns are listed in Vol.I, indexed in Vol.II, and commented upon in Vol.III.

76. See below, Chapter III pp. 132-3.

77. All reports of conventicles mentioned here and below are taken from Lyon Turner, I, pp.153,160-3.

78. See below, App.I, Pt.A, List III, Birstall/Cleckheaton.

79. Lyon Turner, I, p.162; Calamy, II, pp.797-8; Dale, pp.111-14; Matthews, pp.361-2; Heywood, I, pp.263,276.



also preached to other groups in need.<sup>80</sup> Root's Church at Sowerby had been gathered and organised, but in 1669 Henry Root died and his son Timothy was able to serve as pastor for a short period only, being driven away by incessant persecution.<sup>81</sup> It is unclear whether the Mr Root referred to in these returns was Henry or his son, and it is therefore possible that Ryther and Nesse may also have been serving the Sowerby Independents. To add to the confusion, some of the Coley Independents, for example Captain Hodgson, were members of Root's Church, but some were not, while some of the Sowerby Independents, lacking the personal enmity felt by their Coley counterparts, also attended the sermons of Oliver Heywood. Hodgson was a close friend, and Heywood's nearest neighbour. The result was that not only did ministers preach in more than one place, but some of the hearers might well attend more than one meeting.

What is clear, therefore, from the 1669 returns is the scattered, fluid and ill-organised nature of puritan Dissent in Yorkshire at this time. In addition to the gathered Churches mentioned above there were perhaps four groups, at Bridlington, Rotherham, Hickleton and Holbeck, of the thirty described in the returns, which constituted organised groups with a settled minister. The Yorkshire Dissenters relied heavily upon a small band of devoted ministers, prepared to travel considerable distances to uphold Dissenters with their preaching, and both ministers and laymen found their religious fulfillment as and when they could. The general meeting of Dissenters, the preaching of the Word to those who would hear, was only a part, albeit a vital part, of the Dissenters' religion and for a decade after the Act of Uniformity the majority had been denied all else. Dissent needed an independent organisation, the establishment of organised, disciplined Congregations and a regular and sufficient supply of Ministers to lead these Congregations. In the decade after 1669, steps were to be taken to provide both.

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80. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Bradford/Kipping.

81. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Halifax/Sowerby.

By 1669 the growing confidence of the Dissenters, and the increase in the number and regularity of their meetings, were leading to the consideration of greater organisation, and although this process received a definite set-back with the passing of the second Conventicle Act in 1670,<sup>82</sup> by October of that year its worst effects were over, and the Dissenters were again active and bold. In November 1671 Heywood mentions for the first time 'the sealing ordinance of the supper at my house', when some forty communicants took the Sacrament which designated them members of his Congregation rather than simply auditors of his preaching.<sup>83</sup> This was a step of great importance, marking a distinct move towards the separatism which the Presbyterians had so far eschewed, and this development was to receive an enormous stimulus in the following year, with the Declaration of Indulgence. The Declaration, generally recognised by both historians and contemporaries as the turning point in the development of English Nonconformity, provided the opportunity and incentive for regular organised meetings, and after three years<sup>84</sup> of the free exercise of their religion in their separate meetings, the Dissenters would never revert to the private 'ad hoc' arrangements of the 1660s.

Certainly it was from the time of the Indulgence that organised Congregations appeared on a large scale in Yorkshire, as the previously fluid and scattered groups resolved themselves into more permanent entities. The process did not occur quickly, nor was it complete by 1689. In some cases, as at Morley, the groups which existed in 1672 were not properly organised until 1689, and in others it seems unlikely that they were ever firmly organised, as they apparently disappeared with the death of the minister or of leading members. Where Congregations were properly organised, as at Coley, the process may have begun

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82. Heywood, I, pp. 269, 270, 273.

83. Heywood, I, p. 283.

84. Although the Indulgence was withdrawn in 1673, the licences issued in its name were not officially recalled until 1675, and afforded a considerable measure of protection until that date.



before 1672, but continued for many years thereafter. Nevertheless the beginnings of organisation can be seen in 1672, in the emergence of several Congregations which existed well into the eighteenth century with a reasonably continuous succession of pastors.<sup>85</sup> The undeniably complex pattern can probably be best illustrated from a general survey, with a more detailed study of one or two examples. According to Lyon Turner's research, licences were taken out in 1672-3 for ninety-one teachers in 111 meeting places.<sup>86</sup> Of these, twenty groups can be called organised Congregations from 1672 onwards, while seven others existed in 1672 and were organised from 1689. In ten other cases there is insufficient evidence to decide when and how the groups were constituted, while the remaining 34 discernible groups appear to have been simply that, groups gathered by active ministers or influential families, which remained in existence for as long as those who led them.<sup>87</sup>

The process and extent of the new organisation can be seen in its different aspects from different examples. In some cases little can be known, as at Hull and Leeds. In both cases there had long been Presbyterian (and partial conformist) groups, who in 1672-3 took the step of building permanent Chapels. At Leeds the Chapel at Mill Hill, which was the earliest built in the county, became the meeting-place of a permanent Congregation, with Richard Stretton, ex-chaplain to Lord Fairfax, as its first pastor. In 1675 he went to London, and was succeeded by Thomas Sharp of Horton, Bradford, who remained pastor until

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85. These Congregations constitute the bulk of the Chapels whose histories are briefly described in App.I,Pt.A,List III.

86. Lyon Turner,III,p.720.

87. The discrepancy in these numbers, between the discernible groups and the total number of licences, is explained by the fact that in some cases more than one minister was licensed to preach to a group, while in others the group had no regular minister. Frequently, more than one meeting-place was used. For full lists of these groups and the Congregations which emerged from them see, App,I,Pt.A.



his death in 1693 when he was replaced by the Rev. Timothy Manlove. Before 1672 there had been no pastor to this group, though preaching was regular, being carried out by visiting ministers, including Heywood, Joseph Dawson and Cornelius Todd, who continued as guest preachers during the Indulgence, although centred elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> At Hull, Joseph Wilson, who had remained in contact with the Presbyterians of the borough since 1662, was licensed to preach in the house of Richard Barnes as well as at his own house at Newland, and in 1673 at the newly-built Chapel at Blackfriargate. When the licences were withdrawn Wilson continued as pastor until his death in 1678, when he was succeeded by Samuel Charles, ejected from Mickleover, Derbyshire.<sup>89</sup> In both of these cases, however, there is little extant evidence concerning the details of organisation, though both had distinct 'members' in that in both Churches the Sacrament was regularly administered.

The process by which the fluid groupings of the 1660s became settled and crystallised by the operation of the Indulgence can be seen clearly in the area, near Leeds, which covered the parish of Birstall, and the villages of Morley and Topcliffe in the parish of Batley. Throughout the 1660s there were Dissenters in the various villages of the parish, and ministers such as Dawson and Heywood visited and preached in the houses of these men. In 1669 a conventicle was reported as meeting in the stone quarry at Tong, which was attended by Dissenters from the whole area. Several ministers lived in the vicinity, one of the most active being Christopher Nesse, and other facilities for meetings existed in the vacant Chapels at Cleckheaton and Morley. A conventicle had long been held in the former, led by 'Ralph Winterbotham, an illiterate person, a linsey-woolsey webster' in 1669, and in 1671 the Vicar of Birstall was permitting Joseph Dawson

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88. Calamy, II pp.676-8, 811, 813; Dale, pp.139-41, 153-5, 205-6; Matthews, p.434; Lyon Turner, I, pp.354, 366, Heywood, II, p.39; Thoresby, III, pp.268-70, 272-3.

89. Lyon Turner, I, pp.321, 395, 534; Calamy, II, pp.182, 822, IV, p.952; Dale, pp.168-9, 180-2; Matthews, pp.110-11, 537.

90. Lyon Turner, I, pp.159, 162, 163, 165; Calamy, II, pp.801, 813, IV, pp.946, 948; Heywood, I, pp.263, 276, III, p.193; H.C.Cradock, History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall (1933) pp.62-3, 287-8, 302-5.



to preach regularly in the Chapel, to a mixed congregation of Presbyterians and Independents. At Morley, the Chapel had long been leased from the Earl of Sussex by a group of Presbyterian Trustees, and the ecclesiastical Authorities had been unable to reclaim it. In 1669, a conventicle was reported to be held there by Oliver Heywood, with Christopher Nesse a frequent visitor. At Topcliffe the Church gathered by Christopher Marshall was already an organised body, but his sermons were attended by visitors from Morley, and Heywood and other ministers also preached occasionally at Topcliffe Hall. In addition there lived at Tong the ejected minister, Richard Coare, who had ceased to preach after 1662.<sup>90</sup>

With the Declaration of Indulgence this complex situation became far more settled and clear. At Cleckheaton the mixed congregation divided, the Independents petitioning for use of the Chapel and inviting Josiah Holdsworth to become their Minister. Holdsworth was probably a native of Birstall. He had been ejected from Sutton-upon-Derwent and had been chaplain to Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Towers in Lancashire, but was a member of Topcliffe Chapel from before 1660 and was certainly familiar to Birstall Dissenters. The application to use the Chapel being refused, as most of such applications were, he bought a house in nearby Heckmondwyke, where in 1674 an Independent Church was formally constituted and Holdsworth, released from membership at Topcliffe, called as its Pastor.<sup>91</sup> As a result of the Chapel's use thus being brought to official attention, Dawson was also forbidden to preach there, whereupon he established a Presbyterian Congregation at his house in Cleckheaton, 'the Closes'.<sup>92</sup> Both of these Congregations were now permanently established, and maintained a regular pastoral succession. When Holdsworth died in 1685, he was succeeded by David Noble, who in 1672 was teaching in Morley, where Heywood's sons attended

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91. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 261, 268, 289; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp. 62-8.

92. Lyon Turner, I, p. 542; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp. 62-8, 305-7.

him for a short while before going to Frankland's Academy. In the 1670's he apparently preached to a small group of Independents in Morley, before being ordained in 1680. He then spent a short time as a private chaplain in Derbyshire, before being called to Heckmondwyke.<sup>93</sup> Dawson remained at Cleckheaton until 1689, when he became pastor to the newly-organised Congregation at Morley and was succeeded by his assistant, John Holdsworth, son of Josiah, who was assisted by John Ray, preacher at Pudsey.<sup>94</sup> At Topcliffe, Marshall's church remained in existence, with a regular Pastoral succession. When Marshall died in 1673 he was succeeded by Samuel Bailey, who had been licensed in the previous year to preach at Morley. Bailey, however, died in 1675, and was followed as Pastor by Gamaliel Marsden, ejected from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1660 and from Chapel-le-Brears, near Halifax, in 1662. Marsden had joined the Church in 1673, as a teacher. He died in 1680, and for three years the Church lacked a Pastor, relying on visits from local ministers like Josiah Holdsworth, until Mr Thomas Elston was called in 1683.<sup>95</sup>

If the situation in this area thus demonstrates the emergence of settled Congregations, it also shows the limits of this organisation. At Tong Richard Coare was licensed to preach in 1672, as an Antinomian, but upon the withdrawal of the Indulgence in 1673, he retired once more into private life.<sup>96</sup> At Morley, though the Dissenters were strong and numerous, they remained ill-organised, continuing to use the Chapel when preachers were available, and otherwise attending services elsewhere, especially at Topcliffe. In 1672 an application was made for the use of the Chapel for preaching by Samuel Bailey. When this was refused despite the fact that the applicants were the Chapel Trustees, and had the support of the majority of the village, Bailey preached in his own house until

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93. Dale, pp.81-3; Matthews, p.272; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp.307-8; Heywood, I, p.289, II, pp.199-200; The Northowram Register, ed. J.H. Turner (Brighouse, 1886) p.131.

94. Calamy, II, p.818, IV, p.949; Matthews, pp.159-60; Cradock, History of Birstall, p.309; S. Rayner and W. Smith, A History of Pudsey (1890) p.205.

95. Dale, pp.104-7; Matthews, pp.339, 340-1; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.1-11; Heywood, I, pp.294, 295, 297, 340, II, pp.9, 55, 231-2, III, p.156, IV, pp.36, 306; Northowram Register p.131.

96. Lyon Turner, I, pp.385, 496; Dale, pp.43-4; Matthews, p.135; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp.287-90.



called to Topcliffe. For some years there was no minister in the village, until the arrival of Robert Pickering, who preached in the Chapel until 1681. Thereafter there was again no regular minister until 1689, when the Congregation was at last properly constituted and Joseph Dawson was called from Cleckheaton to be Pastor. At this time the ecclesiastical authorities finally gained possession of the Chapel, and Dawson's congregation had to extend the Vicarage, which they still owned, and meet there. During the periods when no minister was settled at Morley they had relied on supplies from elsewhere. As a public place the Chapel formed an attractive platform, and Heywood, Holdsworth, Dawson, Marsden and Elston are known to have preached there. At the same time, however, another distinct group had existed in the village, gathered around the schoolmaster, David Noble, but never forming a properly 'gathered' Church, and apparently hostile to the local Presbyterians.<sup>97</sup> Clearly, then, the Declaration of Indulgence stimulated a great development in Dissenting organisation, but, until their freedom was secure, and in the face of lingering divisions and hostilities, the organisation could not be complete.

As a stimulus to organisation, the Declaration of Indulgence was obviously of most importance in relation to the Presbyterians, but it was not without effect on Independency. At Dagger Lane, Hull, the organisation, with its definite membership and Eldership, exercise of discipline, collection of stock and keeping of records, was already instituted, but developed in leaps and bounds under the freer conditions.<sup>98</sup> In Cleckheaton it led to the division of a mixed group into two distinct Congregations and the formation of a new Independent Church at Heckmondwyke. At Leeds there had long been a group of Independents, led by Christopher Nesse, Lecturer at the Old Church, Leeds until 1662. The Five Mile Act had forced Nesse to leave Leeds, and, although he had remained in contact with the group, much of his preaching had been elsewhere, especially in Morley, and

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97. Dale, p.117; Heywood, I, pp.292,298, II, pp.150,252, III p.114; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.28,30; W.Smith, Morley, Ancient and Modern (1886) pp.19,20, 21,227-9,239,240,241.

98. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I.

he had joined Marshall's Church at Topcliffe. With the Declaration of Indulgence he was able to return to Leeds, and was licensed to preach in the Main Riding House, where two years later his Church was formally gathered, in a ceremony in which he was released from his membership at Topcliffe and officially called as Pastor to the new Congregation. The ceremony was attended by George Ward, Elder at Kipping, and Richard Hargreaves and Robert Gledhill as representatives from Topcliffe. Nesse's Church continued to experience the difficulties which had prevented its institution in the 1660s, for persecution was continual, and Nesse himself was excommunicated three times between 1673 and 1675. On the fourth occasion, in 1675, a writ 'de excommunicato capiendo' being issued, he had to leave Leeds and move to London for safety. His relationship with the Church had deteriorated, several members complaining that he had failed in his duties as pastor, while he felt that they had failed to stand by him in his difficulties. The importance of the period of Indulgence and of the formal constitution of the group can be seen from the fact that the Church survived this difficult period, with Nesse being replaced by Thomas Whitaker, a young minister trained by Frankland, and was later able to erect a permanent Chapel in Call Lane.<sup>99</sup>

At Sheffield an Independent Church had been gathered prior to 1660 by James Fisher, the vicar of the town, but during the 1660s the situation had become decidedly fluid. Fisher's Church apparently continued to exist, although he was imprisoned several times, until his death. For some years the group met secretly, until a successor was found in Robert Durant, and the Church was apparently reconstituted in 1669 with Durant as Pastor, John Barber as Elder, and Richard Paramour as Deacon. As an urban area which was not a corporate borough, Sheffield had become a place of refuge for a number of ministers, and a number of conventicles were reported there in 1669, including one at Attercliffe led by Thomas Birbeck, Edward Prime, Roland Hancock, Richard Taylor and Matthew Bloom, all

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99. Dale, pp. 111-14; Matthews, pp. 361-2; Thoresby, II, pp. 129-34; Lyon Turner, I, pp. 269, 456; Miall, pp. 302-4; Heywood, II, p. 9, 52, 101, 108, IV, p. 306; D.H. Atkinson, Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer; his Town and Times, 2 Volumes (Leeds, 1885-7) I. pp. 52, 230-1, 276-7.



ejected ministers. In 1672 licenses were issued to Durant, Prime, Birbeck, Hancock, and Bloom, Taylor moving to Swathe to preach at the house of John Wordsworth. The Indulgence brought benefits to both groups, for Durant's Congregation flourished and in 1677-8 was able to build a new meeting place at Snig Hall, while from the second group, new Independent Congregations were formally constituted by Hancock and Bloom at Attercliffe and Shirecliffe Hall. In 1676 these merged, and worked together for two years, until a personal quarrel between the two ministers over the site of a new joint meeting-place caused a split. After considerable efforts by Heywood and Jolly, the two were reconciled in 1681, and continued in amity, though with separate Congregations, until the death of Hancock in 1685. The groups re-merged after Bloom's death a year later, when Edward Prime, who had remained in the area without an official Pastorate, became minister but not Pastor to the joint Congregation. Durant's Church had continued its separate existence after his death in 1678, and in 1681 called Timothy Jolly as Pastor. Hence, in 1689, there were two Independent Churches in Sheffield, one founded before, but benefitting by, the Indulgence, the other resulting from it. After 1689 Jolly's Congregation adopted more Presbyterian principles, and built the Upper Chapel, in Sheffield itself, while Prime's group remained as Independents at Attercliffe. In 1714, on Jolly's death, the Congregation split over the right of electing the new pastor, and a group of more strictly Congregational seceders left, to form the Nether Chapel, to which the Attercliffe group, now without a minister, became attached.<sup>100</sup>

For the Dissenters, then, the 1670s were a period of development and expansion, even after the withdrawal of the Indulgence. The failure to recall the indulgence licences until 1675 prolonged the period of freedom, for in practice,

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100. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 160, 365, 372, 388, 496, 516, 517, 518, 541; Miall, pp. 347-52; Calamy, II, pp. 448, 785-6, 786-7, 787-8, 793, IV, pp. 688-9, 940, 941; Heywood, I, pp. 230, 233, 305, 306, II, pp. 24, 98, 99, 199-200, 201, 208, 238, 259, IV, pp. 164-5; Dale, pp. 19-20, 20-1, 57-60, 64-6, 119-200, 184-6; Matthews, pp. 58, 61, 173-4, 198-9, 246, 399, 477.

Justices were reluctant to persecute those who still held the royal licence to preach, and in Leeds, for example, the authorities agreed not to proceed against the Mill Hill Dissenters provided that they would promise to cease meeting publicly if the licences were recalled. In 1675, when this occurred, the Mill Hill Presbyterians carried out their part of the bargain by closing the Chapel, although they continued to meet in private houses. At Coley, Oliver Heywood virtually ignored the withdrawal of the Indulgence, but in 1675 he 'took leave of my people' when his licence was recalled, although he was soon preaching again in private houses.<sup>101</sup> Thereafter the Dissenters had no special protection, but the growing opposition to royal policies and the fear of the King's Catholic leanings led to a considerable softening of the attitude of many conformists towards Protestant Dissent. The organisation which began in 1672 proceeded apace for some years thereafter. In May 1672 Heywood had formally established and instituted his Coley Congregation, which had recently moved to nearby Northowram when their pastor bought a house there, but this was only the beginning of the process. In January 1673 he arranged the first of the 'young people's meetings', which became a regular feature in the next few years. By 1677, when he surveyed the results of the previous five years' work, the Northowram Congregation was meeting each Sunday and on one week-day for preaching by Heywood, a Friday evening fast was held in preparation for the Sunday Communion, now held weekly, and each month they met for a fast 'for the nation'. In addition, the young men held a fortnightly prayer-meeting, to help and uphold those members who found it difficult to travel to the meetings in Northowram.<sup>102</sup> Heywood's work had also achieved results in other ways, for in the 1670s he was responsible for the establishment of two new Congregations, at Warley and in Craven. In 1672 a group of Warley inhabitants who had long attended his sermons requested that he should come and preach there, at John Butterworth's house, preferably once in

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101. Heywood, I, pp. 303-4.

102. Heywood, III, pp. 121, 126-7, 127-8, 141, 145-6, 147, 173.



each week. By 1676 he was preaching fortnightly in Butterworth's house, monthly at nearby Norland, and monthly at Soyland in the same parish. Significantly, this Congregation was organised from its inception, as was that in Craven. From the beginning Heywood speaks of 'my meeting-place' at Warley, and not, as in the 1660s, of 'the house of ...', and shortly after he had begun to preach there, he had arranged and established regular prayer-meetings and conferences, as at Northowram. For their Communion, the Warley Dissenters were permitted to join the Dissenters at Northowram once in each month, as a sister-church.<sup>103</sup>

By 1677 then, the Yorkshire Dissenters had clearly made great strides in the organisation of their religious life in the Congregations, a development stimulated almost entirely by practice and opportunity. At the same time, however, a further step had been taken, concerning the provision of ministers to lead and serve these Congregations. By 1669 the demands of regular meetings were clearly outstripping the capacity for work of even the most devoted ministers, and with a number of active ministers in Yorkshire recently dead, the shortage was growing acute.<sup>104</sup> The recent failure of the attempt by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, John Wilkins and Sir Matthew Hales to obtain Comprehension within the Church had shown that, for the immediate future at least, Dissent must look to its own resources for the provision of replacements. The result was the foundation of Frankland's Academy, eventually to become the major source of Dissenting Ministers in the North of England. Richard Frankland had been ejected from Bishop Auckland in Durham, and returned to his family estate at Rathmell, where he preached privately to friends. His abiding interest, however, had long lain with education, (he had been chosen in 1656 as a Tutor for Cromwell's projected University of Durham),<sup>105</sup> and in 1669 he was persuaded to accept Henry, son of Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, as a private student. With Liddell's

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103. Heywood, I, pp. 290, 291, 292, 293, II, p. 39, III, pp. 108, 146, 147.

104. In 1674 Heywood drew up a list of those who had died since ejection in 1662. At that time it numbered 22, of whom most had preached after ejection, and who formed a significant proportion of the active Dissenting ministers. Heywood, I, p. 305.

105. Calamy, II, p. 284, III, p. 452; Dale, pp. 187-8.



encouragement Frankland then expanded this work into the foundation of an Academy, and in 1670 Henry Liddell was joined by Anthony Proctor, son of the Anthony Proctor who was ejected from Well, near Bedale, and who owned a substantial estate near Kirby Malzeard, and by Thomas Whitaker, later to become Pastor to the Independents of Leeds at Call Lane. By 1674 he had twenty-two students, including the sons of Christopher Richardson of Lassell-Hall, and of Oliver Heywood. Two of his students at this time were already partially trained for the Ministry, their studies having been interrupted in 1662.<sup>106</sup> Samuel Bailey, who entered the Academy in 1670, was licensed to preach at Morley in 1672, and became pastor of Topcliffe Church on the death of Christopher Marshall in 1673, being formally called in 1674.<sup>107</sup> John Issot had been ejected from Nun Monkton in 1662, not being ordained, and had lived in Horbury with his father, an Elder of Topcliffe Church. He was licensed to preach at Horbury in 1672, but on the withdrawal of the Indulgence, entered the Academy to complete his studies. Shortly after, he became Frankland's assistant, a reflection of the expansion of the establishment, and remained so until 1678 when he was ordained and became Pastor to Heywood's group at Craven.<sup>108</sup>

The ordination of Issot and his move to a Pastorship points to the main, although not the exclusive, purpose of the Academy. The education provided was that which was suitable for young Dissenters, but above all was intended to lead to the provision of a capable, trained ministry to serve Dissent.<sup>109</sup> The vital step in this process was that of Ordination, a step which was also vital for the development of separate Nonconformity. In the face of considerable difficulties caused by persecution,<sup>110</sup> Frankland sought to provide young men trained to the high standards required of their ministers by the Dissenters, and to a considerable

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106. Heywood, II, pp. 9-10, IV, pp. 306-9.

107. W. Smith, Morley, Ancient and Modern, p. 239; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, p. 4; Lyon Turner, I, p. 261; Heywood, I, pp. 292, 295, 297, 340, III, pp. 147, 156, 212.

108. Calamy, II, p. 818, IV, p. 950; Dale, pp. 85-6; Matthews, pp. 289-90.

109. Dale, p. 189; Heywood, III, pp. 174-5; Thoresby, III, p. 111.

110. Calamy, II, p. 284, IV, p. 452; Dale, pp. 190-5; Heywood, III, p. 161; Thoresby, III, pp. 172-5, 176-8.



extent, succeeded in achieving this. By 1678 he felt able to present his achievement, and suggested to Heywood that 'some provision might be made for a succession of fit persons in god's way to do god's work in aftertimes, (since so many were dying) that might be regularly set apart by examination and imposition of hands'. He had in mind Issot, who had been invited to become pastor to the Craven group, but the need for such a step was quickly demonstrated when two other preachers, John Darnton of Ripon and Richard Thorp of Hopton Hall, applied also for Ordination. Both had, in fact, been preaching regularly for some time, and Darnton had been ejected in 1660, in Northumberland, but both sought to regularise their position, an example of the importance attached by many Dissenters to Ordination for Ministers and the maintenance of standards. On Monday, the eighth of July, 1678, the Craven Congregation met at Richard Mitchell's house, and in a careful and exacting ceremony, lasting three days, the three candidates were ordained by Heywood, Frankland and Joseph Dawson.<sup>111</sup>

With this ceremony the Yorkshire Dissenters had taken a step of immense importance. In the first ordinations to be held in Yorkshire since 1662 they had moved significantly along the road to separatism, and more importantly from their point of view, towards independence and self-sufficiency. The need for new ministers was pressing, as Frankland recognised, for without ministers to lead and serve, the increasingly strong and effective Congregations would avail them little. The first step having been taken, the number of ordinations quickly increased. In 1680. Heywood, Thomas Jolly, Frankland and Ralph Ward of York ordained Timothy Hodgson, son of Captain Hodgson of Coley, who had been acting as private chaplain for Sir John Hewley of York since leaving Oxford in 1671. In April 1681 Timothy Jolly, son of Thomas and an ex-student of Frankland, was ordained before receiving a formal call to be pastor in Sheffield, where he succeeded James Fisher and Robert Durant. Ordained with him were David Noble,

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111. Heywood, II, pp. 194-6.

112. Heywood, I, pp. 241, 279, II, pp. 197, 199, 202-4; Jolly, Notebook, pp. 41, 42, 44, 45.

former school-master at Morley, and Robert Dickenson, Elder of the Sheffield Church, who was now preaching at his own house in Fishlake, near Doncaster. In August 1681 Heywood's elder son, John, was ordained with certificates of approbation from Coley, Morley, Warley and Lidget, where he preached with his father, and thereafter, ordinations of young aspiring ministers were held regularly.<sup>112</sup> By the time of Frankland's death in 1698, the Academy had provided between 112 and 132 new ministers. The number was insufficient, since these had to serve the whole of the North of England, and compared with the 110-139 ministers ejected in Yorkshire alone was small enough, but it was, nevertheless, a major contribution to the survival and development of Dissent.<sup>113</sup> Without this work, much less would have been possible.

Within a few years of Issot's ordination the new Dissenting organisation would be severely tested by the onslaught of a persecution far worse than anything yet experienced. In the aftermath of the Exclusion crisis the Dissenters suffered, not only for their own sins, but for those of their Whig allies, and as the easiest and most obvious of targets, they bore the full brunt of the Tory reaction. Everywhere they were harassed and hunted, and in Yorkshire the situation was no different from anywhere else. In July 1682 those presented at the Rotherham Sessions included Mr Bloom, under the Five Mile Act, Mr Benton under the Conventicle Act, and John Wordsworth of Swathe Hall, for absence from Church, while two other ministers, Mr Clark and Mr Shuttleworth, were, according to Heywood, being 'violently persecuted'. Heywood himself was safe for the moment, and in August 1682 held a Day of Thanksgiving at Northowram for 'this ten years liberty', but others were less fortunate. The Congregations at Kipping, Cleckheaton, Heckmondwyke, Leeds, Morley, Topcliffe, Alverthorpe and Lidget were constantly harassed and forced to meet at night. 'At Craven they have been fined, in Sheffield summoned to the Sessions, and watched, at John

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112. Heywood, I, pp. 241, 279, II, pp. 197, 199, 202-4; Jolly, Notebook, pp. 41, 42, 44, 45.

113. Heywood, II, pp. 9-16, IV, pp. 306-21; for a comparison of these numbers with the ejections, see above, note 39.



Armitage's they meet at night, at Robert Binns' they are unable to meet ... and scarce any place free in this county, except Hull'.<sup>114</sup> Even in that strongly puritan borough the freedom was about to end, when Monmouth was replaced as Governor by the Earl of Plymouth. As soon as he arrived in Hull, Plymouth complained to the Bench of the frequent conventicles in the area, and although one Alderman, Mr Humphrey Duncalf, declared to his Lordship that 'by many years observation he found the Dissenters who lived among them were pious, peaceable men, and loyal subjects to the King, and therefore he, being an old man and going into another world, would have no <sup>hand</sup> in persecuting them', the Bench were forced to send for the two ministers, Richard Astley and Samuel Charles, along with their leading adherents, and warn them of the consequences of their activities. Shortly afterwards, still under pressure from Plymouth, the constables were sent to arrest them. Astley was warned, and escaped, but Charles was brought before the Bench, where he defended himself stoutly, showed not the slightest intention of ceasing his work, and was imprisoned for six months under the Five Mile Act. He was released when a fine of forty pounds was paid on his behalf.<sup>115</sup> At York, Ralph Ward was hunted and harassed, a writ 'de excommunicato capiendo' being issued against him, and finally brought before the Bench, fined forty pounds, and refusing to pay, was committed to the foul Ousebridge prison, where he remained until 1686 when he obtained a pardon from King James.<sup>116</sup> As the persecution mounted, even Heywood's long immunity came to an end, and in 1684 he was imprisoned under the Conventicle Act, spending almost a year in York Castle, where he was well treated, his wife allowed to join him, and where he enjoyed the 'good society' of Thomas Whitaker, the Independent Minister of Leeds, imprisoned in the adjoining room with his wife.<sup>117</sup>

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114. Heywood, III, pp. 214-17; Thoresby, I, pp. 133, 135, 151, 152, 212-17.

115. W. Whitaker, The History of Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, Hull (1910) pp. 56-7, 61; Calamy, II, pp. 182-8; Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VIII, ff. 18, 19, 20.

116. Calamy, II, pp. 505-10, 659; Dale, pp. 211-13; Matthews, p. 509; Heywood, III, p. 214; CSPD, 1686-7, pp. 97, 116; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J. H. Turner, No. III (Bingley 1893) pp. 126-9.

117. Heywood, II, pp. 346-7, III, p. 360, IV, pp. 110-112, 113-15, 116-19.

It was in these difficult years that the gains made in the previous decade proved so valuable, for, despite the pressure, the organised Congregations did continue to meet and hold together, even when their ministers were unable to preach for months on end. Had Dissent remained as it was in the 1660s., it is doubtful if it could have survived as anything other than doomed and scattered remnants. As it was, the Dissenters were able, when relief came from James II, to resume a full religious life and consolidate their development in the building of Chapels and permanent meeting-places. It would be erroneous to suggest that organisation was complete, that all Dissenters met in organised and disciplined Congregations, served by a settled minister. The situation was far less satisfactory than that, and the Common Fund Survey,<sup>118</sup> conducted by the United Brethren in 1690-2, would reveal many groups which were small, poor and often lacking a minister at all. The Dissenters had established organised Congregations, but they had failed to create any system to link these Congregations and to provide mutual aid and succour in times of difficulty. The issue of James II's Indulgences and the advent of Toleration found the Dissenters involved in the maintenance and consolidation of their achievements rather than in expansion, and the great attempt at further development, the establishment of the United Brethren in 1690-1, failed abysmally.<sup>119</sup> The Dissenters had their problems, but they also had their achievement.

That achievement was the creation of organised Nonconformity, through thirty years of problems and persecution, and it was an immense achievement. In 1662 the puritans had been defeated and shattered, ejected from the Church to which many of them were loyal, and denied the right to exercise their religion in any other fashion. They had no concerted plan or idea of how to meet

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118. The survey has been collected and edited in Freedom after Ejection; a review (1690-2) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales, ed. A.Gordon (Manchester, 1917); the returns for Yorkshire are on pp.129-40, and are discussed more fully below in Chap.III.

119. These problems, the limits of Dissenting organisation and the reasons for those limits, are discussed more fully below, in Chapter IV.



and cope with this, no aims, no hopes, and as Dissenters, no rights. The Ministers, however, refused to deny their services to those who required them, and many laymen remained loyal to those whose past services they had enjoyed and from which they had benefited spiritually. On this basis they continued to meet, at first occasionally and privately, and then in growing numbers and with growing confidence. From these small beginnings, puritan Dissent was born, and the Dissenters waged a battle for survival which, by 1669, was clearly won. Aided by the King's sympathy and policy, and then by the growing opposition which he had created, they then entered a period of development and expansion, which, incomplete and flawed as it was, enabled them to withstand the onslaught of persecution in the 1680s to emerge in 1687-9 as organised, congregational Non-conformity, a permanent factor in English life and society.

CHAPTER II.      Dissenting Life and Institutions.

The first, and most important, fact of Dissenting life in Yorkshire in this period was that of persecution, an ever-present and all-pervading threat, if not always a reality. The simple fact of Dissenting life was that it was illegal. The reality of persecution was patchy and variable, and while some Dissenters escaped relatively lightly, others suffered considerably. The Quakers undoubtedly suffered most severely. Their refusal to meet in secrecy or disguise their activities made them easy and obvious targets, and their distinctive attitudes and habits aroused a measure of hostility far greater than that directed towards any other group. In addition, their refusal to pay tithes, their recusancy, their private marriages and funerals and their inability to take oaths created a whole area of persecution which applied only in part, or not at all, to puritan Dissenters. The history and sufferings of the Quakers have been thoroughly documented and described,<sup>1</sup> and it is not intended to discuss them in any detail in this dissertation, but their activities were not without effect on puritan Dissenters, for, in a sense, their notoriety helped to relieve the latter. On more than one occasion a meeting of puritan Dissenters escaped arrest because the constables were busy with the Quakers. In 1665 Oliver Heywood was able to preach without interruption at Shadwell Chapel when bailiffs, sent to break up his meeting, turned aside to 'bring in a meeting of Quakers, most of whom they have imprisoned'.<sup>2</sup> In Bridlington in 1682 a local Justice, William Osbaldeston, set in motion a fierce persecution of the Dissenters, mainly because he was in need of money at the time and found a useful income from the Dissenters' fines. The attack was directed, however, at the Quakers, who met at a public meeting-house and were therefore easy to find and arrest. The result was that the Congregation of puritan Dissenters in the town, led by

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1. The best general history of Quakerism in this period is probably W.C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, second ed. (1961).
  2. Heywood, I, pp. 159, 161.



William Luke, was left relatively undisturbed.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless the puritan Dissenters also lived under the shadow of persecution, and often suffered in reality. The ministers probably suffered most, not only because they were active and often well-known, but also because they were regarded as the most important of Dissenters. Without the leadership of the ministers, it was felt, Dissent could not survive. 'If you have their Ministers, you have all', wrote one of Secretary Williamson's correspondents in 1671,<sup>4</sup> and in 1665 Sheldon's first attempt to survey Dissent and establish the task of persecution was directed at the ministers. The result was the Five Mile Act, and for a year at least this was generally enforced. Gradually, however, the Act was to be less frequently invoked, and by 1667 the journeys away from home that Heywood, for example, was undertaking, were made by choice rather than by necessity.<sup>5</sup> By 1669 Christopher Nesse, who had been forced to move from Leeds to Morley, had returned to live in Hunslet, close to the town.<sup>6</sup> In the 1670s there appears to have been little use made of the Act, but in the revival of persecution after 1681 it was again used extensively, for example against Matthew Bloom at Sheffield.<sup>7</sup> It is significant, however, that in the 1660s many of the most harassed ministers were persecuted, not under the laws of the Clarendon Code, but by more general means, by arrests upon suspicion of plotting or simply as 'dangerous persons'. James Fisher of Sheffield was arrested in 1663 in connection with the Yorkshire plot, and remained in prison until 1664. He was never proved guilty of plotting, despite appearances at Quarter Sessions in Rotherham, Doncaster, Wakefield, and Pontefract, but was imprisoned in York Castle, from where he was twice taken to the Assizes but returned to prison because he would not promise to cease preaching. Released in 1664, he

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3. East Riding Record Office, Records of Kelk M. M., Sufferings Book (D.D.Q.R.16) pp.175,182.
  4. CSPD, 1671,p.496.
  5. See above, Chapter I,pp.26-7.
  6. Calamy, II,pp.799-800; Dale,p.113.
  7. Whitaker, History of Bowl Alley Lane Chapel,pp.56-7,61; Calamy,II,pp.182-8; Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol.VIII,ff.18,19,20; Heywood,III pp.214-17.

was re-arrested upon a charge of speaking treasonable words in a sermon, but escaped imprisonment because the charge could not be proved. In 1665 he was again arrested, on suspicion of plotting, and again imprisoned at York, being released in 1666. Unable to return to Sheffield because of the Five Mile Act, he took refuge with his brother-in-law, Anthony Hatfield of Laughton, and died there in 1667 as a result of illness brought about by his various imprisonments.<sup>8</sup> His successor at Sheffield, Robert Durant, was arrested in 1668 while travelling with John Ryther of Ferriby and Kipping, the two being seized on the road as 'dangerous persons' and imprisoned in York Castle, apparently without trial.<sup>9</sup> Similar means were used to drive Timothy Root away from Sowerby and his father's Congregation, and later, to imprison him in chains in a deep dungeon in York Castle.<sup>10</sup>

It is doubtful if such means were used because the laws of the Clarendon Code were ineffective, for in the 1680s the persecution was the harshest yet known in Yorkshire, and was operated almost entirely from the basis of the Five Mile and Conventicle Acts. It seems likely that political means were used because of genuine political fears, and it is significant that the majority of ministers who suffered in this manner were Independents, pastors of gathered Churches and men with a suspect political past. The use of laws against treason and sedition did, however, have the advantage of providing flexibility of punishment, and made it possible to imprison men for long, and even indefinite, periods, and perhaps provided a justification for the imposition of the harshest of conditions during imprisonment. The mere suspicion, let alone proof, of such disloyalty was a potent weapon against Dissent, and especially, although not exclusively, against the ministers who led and spoke at meetings, travelled the county to preach, and met also with adherents on other, private occasions.

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8. Calamy, II, pp. 785-6; Dale, pp. 57-60; Matthews, pp. 198-9.

9. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Sheffield, Ferriby and Bradford/Kipping.

10. Heywood, I, pp. 198, 233, 272, 305, III, pp. 346-7, 360, IV, pp. 110-12, 113-19.



Persecution of the Dissenting laity relied upon the Conventicle Acts, and therefore required some proof of attendance at a meeting. The frequency of such persecution is almost impossible to assess, for the records of the Quarter sessions include only those cases which actually came to Sessions, and many did not. In 1670, after the passing of the second Conventicle Act, a meeting led by Heywood was broken up and he and some others were taken before a local Justice. Heywood was fined ten pounds, but neither he nor his hearers appeared at the Sessions.<sup>11</sup> The laity could also be prosecuted for recusancy, as was John Wordsworth of Swathe in 1682, but this did not apply to those who attended Church occasionally, and these were many. In the 1660s, a number of laymen, like the ministers, were arrested and imprisoned upon suspicion of plotting, but by the late 1660s such prosecutions were becoming rare. Moreover, only those of some standing and influence, like Captain Hodgson of Coley, seem to have been detained for long periods, presumably because, like the ministers, they were considered to be leaders and therefore worth special attention.<sup>12</sup>

The pattern of persecution is remarkably complex and hard to describe, because variations occurred both in time and place, and according to the notoriety of individual Dissenters and the zeal of local Justices. In Hull, for example, there was virtually no persecution until the Tory reaction of the 1680s. The Independent Churches of Kipping in Bradford Dale and at Topcliffe Hall near

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11. Heywood, III, p. 107; in addition, the Quarter Sessions records for the East Riding in this period, are missing.

12. See Hodgson, Autobiography, numerous references; evidence of the gradual decline of such arrests and prosecutions can be seen in the Records of the North Riding Quarter Sessions (NRQS) ed. J.C. Atkinson, North Riding Record Society, 2 Vols., Nos. 6 and 7 (1889) especially No. 6; evidence of a definite policy of detaining those of influence and importance can be found in Hodgson, Autobiography, in the descriptions of those who shared his imprisonments, and in Depositions from York Castle, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, No. 40 (1861) especially Preface, pp. XI-X-XX, and pp. 102-26, Depositions CXV-CXXXIII, which describe the aftermath of the Yorkshire Plot and the varying terms of imprisonment inflicted upon many of those arrested. The longest were served by men like Hodgson, William Stockdale of Bilton (M.P. 1679-81) and Thomas Lascelles of Mount Grace (see App. II, Pt. A), against none of them could anything be proved, and whose major fault was apparently their social standing.

Leeds seem to have been virtually untouched until the 1680s , probably because they met in isolated places, while Fisher's Church at Sheffield suffered incessant harassment. At Bramhope and Great Houghton the presence of socially powerful families and the advantage of holding meetings in a family chapel provided much protection, although Robert Dinely of Bramhope was prosecuted in 1666 and 1674 for housing conventicles, escaping punishment on the first occasion because the informer was drunk and unable to prove his assertions, and on the second through the intercession of the Duke of Buckingham.<sup>13</sup> Probably the best means of examining the extent of persecution is provided by the diaries of Oliver Heywood, which display fairly accurately both the variations of time, and the means by which the Dissenters were often able to escape the consequences of their actions. It should be noted that Heywood was a Presbyterian, and a widely respected man, and may therefore be expected to suffer less than some others, but his accounts also include numerous references to other ministers. Heywood's Diaries do not, of course, provide anything approaching an exhaustive survey, and it is perhaps unfortunate that so much reliance should be placed upon a single source, but the lack of other evidence makes this a necessity. A few scattered references to persecution can be found among the works of various local historians and antiquarians, and Calamy's accounts of the ministers' lives often refer to persecution, but many of these accounts were in fact furnished by Heywood. Heywood's eminence, his extensive acquaintance among ministerial and lay Dissenters, and his frequent travels, gave him a unique knowledge of events concerning Dissent in the West Riding at least, and his habit of recording, not only daily events in his diaries, but also events and anecdotes concerning Dissent and Dissenters in general (in the Anecdote and Event books included in the published version of his Diaries, and in the separately published Northowram Register) makes that single source one of immense importance and variety. Moreover, an account of this kind has certain advantages over a general survey, even

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13. For all places named above, See App.I, Pt.A, Lists II and III, under individual place names.



if the latter were possible. What mattered in the history of Dissent was not how many Dissenters suffered persecution in some form but, first, the existence of persecution at all, the ever-present threat, and secondly the variations of time, and to a lesser extent of place, which permitted some hope of avoiding the rigours of the law and provided some scope, some periods of relative ease, during which the Dissenters were able to gather strength, to enjoy the fulfilment provided by their religious practices and further the development of the forms and institutions that they so greatly valued. It is this pattern and process, above all, which is so clearly described in Oliver Heywood's Diaries.

From 1662 to 1665 Heywood was acutely aware of danger from the authorities and although he preached, he generally kept the number of his hearers small, 'a considerable number' in 1664 being eight people. In June 1662, when he had already been forced out of Coley Chapel, he recorded that his house was being watched, and on June 10, when Thomas Jolly was preaching at Coley Hall (probably in the section rented by Captain Hodgson rather than that rented by Heywood) troopers broke up the meeting, took some of the company to prison, and searched Heywood's house, 'but nothing found'. In March 1665 he again mentions that his house was being watched, but no meetings were actually disturbed, although in September of that year his house was searched while a meeting was in progress, but there were only four hearers present besides his family. In March 1666 the Five Mile Act forced Heywood to leave home for some months and the ensuing year was occupied largely with an itinerant ministry, although he continued to preach at home. His avoidance of trouble thus far seems to have been possible through a combination of circumspection, luck, and a lack of determination on the part of the authorities to maintain a consistent attack on him. By 1667 there are distinct signs that the situation was easing, although at this time the Conventicle Act was still in force. In January 1667 he mentions an auditory of one hundred people at Coley, and in April of the same year he 'had above an hundred people for mine auditory, they came openly and hitherto there hath

been no danger'. By now Heywood was frequently preaching elsewhere, and often in public places like the vacant Chapels at Bramley, Pudsey, Idle, Morley and Shadwell, and although there were threats of interruption, and Thomas Hardcastle and David Dury were arrested and imprisoned for preaching at Shadwell, Heywood himself was not disturbed. In January 1668 he even preached in the now vacant Chapel at Coley, apparently without hindrance. From 1668, when the Conventicle Act ran out, his sense of freedom greatly increased. In May of that year Henry Root, Joseph Dawson and others came to Heywood's house for a day of Thanksgiving, and they 'sung Psalms and feared nothing', and it appears that their enemies were by now finding it difficult to proceed against them. In June 1668 Heywood was preaching at William Thompson's house in Headingley when the constables attempted to arrest him. They went for a warrant to Justice Wade, who refused to grant it, and so they went to Justice Foxcroft, who accompanied them with the warrant to Thompson's house, but by the time they arrived, the meeting was breaking up. Heywood escaped by hiding in a barn, and the majority of those who had attended 'rushed out and went away' as the constables came in. A few who stayed refused to give their names and, after being held in the house for an hour, were apparently allowed to go home. The account suggests that the authorities were in some measure confused about their powers of prosecution at this time, although Justice Wade's refusal to grant a warrant may simply have been a reflection of some sympathy with the Dissenters. Certainly there were occasions when the Dissenters escaped because of the sympathy of Justices. In June 1669 Heywood was preaching at Morley Chapel when the Vicar of Batley, in which parish Morley lay, arrived and ordered him to leave the pulpit. When Heywood refused, the Vicar went to Justice Copley for help, but he refused to interfere. There could be no doubt, in this case, that Heywood's actions were illegal, since he was preaching in a public Church, so that the Justice's attitude could only have sprung from sympathy, or idleness.

The freedom now enjoyed seems to have continued until 1670, when the



second Conventicle Act was passed, as a result of which the atmosphere changed again. On 8 May Heywood records that he 'preached at Coley Hall, we had a large auditory and a sweet day, making account it was a farewell because the Conventicle Act took place 10 May'. In the following week he kept two fasts, and on both the following Thursday and Sunday, preached, but on both occasions 'kept the number'. On 22 May he preached in Coley Chapel, which would suggest that he had recovered some confidence, and several names were taken by the Churchwarden, Stephen Ellis, but no further proceedings were taken. For the next few weeks Heywood 'preached several times in the week at home, admitting only the number of four', in June he was preaching 'four or five times a week, because of our paucity', and in July he 'preached to my number on the text, Hebrews, 10<sup>34</sup>'. This practice of limiting numbers apparently continued for a few months, although he intermittently preached in public Chapels to a greater audience, but by October 1670 the worst effects of the new Act seem to have been over. By the end of the year the Dissenters were again meeting in large numbers, and by November 1671 Heywood had so much recovered confidence and optimism as to institute the sacrament of the Communion at Coley and thus take the first step towards the proper organisation of a Congregation.<sup>14</sup>

From this time the conditions in which the Dissenters met changed radically, first as a result of the Declaration of Indulgence (a period of freedom extended until 1675 by the failure to recall the Indulgence licences), and later as a result of the widespread suspicion of the King and his policies and a resultant sympathy for Dissent. Heywood's diaries and event books for this period contain few references to persecution, either involving himself or others. The withdrawal of the Indulgence made virtually no difference to his activities, although the recall of the licences in 1675 led him to cease preaching for a short time. The reason, however, seems to have been a desire to demonstrate his loyal and peaceable intentions in the hope of winning sympathy

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14. Heywood, I, pp. 183, 186, 190, 236, 240, 247-9, 253-5, 260, 262, 263, 268-70.



in Parliament and support for a Parliamentary Toleration, rather than fear of immediate arrest,<sup>15</sup> and the cessation of preaching was short-lived. In 1678 he was in some trouble while preaching in Lancashire, and was required to give sureties for his appearance at the Quarter Sessions there (which he does not seem to have attended, apparently without retribution) but in Yorkshire, examples of persecution are scattered and relatively few.<sup>16</sup>

This long and invaluable period of freedom came to an end in 1682, when persecution mounted in the aftermath of the Exclusion crisis. It is clear from Heywood's account of this period that the attack now launched was of a different order from anything previously experienced,<sup>17</sup> and even the Dissenters of Hull were drawn into the maelstrom. Again, it is impossible to describe the exact extent of suffering, but several Dissenters who left records appear to have been arrested for the first time. In Leeds Ralph Thoresby was indicted for riot after housing a conventicle in 1684, and at York Ralph Ward was hounded by writs of excommunication and finally imprisoned in the Ousebridge prison, along with Andrew Taylor, a long-time friend and supporter who had often housed conventicles. Heywood himself was finally imprisoned at York in 1684, along with Thomas Whitaker, Pastor of the Independent Church in Leeds, although both seem to have been well-treated during their year's incarceration. Certainly persecution was widespread and, probably for the first time, constant, and in these conditions the relief offered by James II was gratefully seized. Ralph Ward obtained a King's Pardon in 1686, resentful of the necessity, but convinced that he had no choice.<sup>18</sup> Hence the Indulgence of 1687 was greeted with joy and fulsome

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15. Heywood, I, pp. 30-4.

16. Heywood, III, p. 91. One of the exceptions to this relatively light persecution was in the borough of Leeds, where the Presbyterians were being carefully watched and where Christopher Nesse was constantly harassed. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Leeds.

17. See above, Chapter I, pp. 43-4.

18. Calamy, II, pp. 505-10, 659; Dale, pp. 211-13; Matthews, p. 509; Heywood, II, pp. 346-7, III, pp. 214, 360, IV, pp. 110-12, 113-15, 116-19; CSPD, 1686-7, pp. 97, 116; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H. Turner, No. III (Bingley 1893) pp. 126-7.



gratitude, clearly expressed in the Address of Thanks sent to the King by the Dissenters of Leeds. One of two hundred or so such Addresses sent in 1687-8, it may suggest that the reaction to James first Declaration, at least, was more favourable than later Whig historians would wish to imply. The Leeds Address presented 'our grateful acknowledgement to Heaven and to your Sacred Majesty for your Royal Benignity in the ample Indulgence and Indemnity vouchsafed us by your most Gracious Declaration; a noble testimony of your Majesty's deference to Almighty God in asserting his immediate Dominion over conscience as a thing no force can or ought to violate ..... We adore that wise Providence which in this hath made your Majesty such a generous leading pattern to the Princes of other People and a Father to your own; ----- And from our very Souls we implore the Divine Goodness to return a thousandfold to your Majesty's bosom for the honour put upon us in taking our Persons and rights into your favourable Protection'. The Address was signed by the ministers of several Churches in the Leeds area, including Thomas Sharp of Mill Hill, Thomas Whitaker of Call Lane, Thomas Elston of Topcliffe, Peter Naylor, and Richard Whitehurst of Lidget Green, with a number of their leading members as representative of the rest. Thoresby was a signatory, as were his friends, Samuel Ibbotson, Ralph Spencer, Thomas Wilson and Elkanah Hickson, and Captain John Pickering, ex-Cromwellian officer and owner of Topcliffe Hall.<sup>19</sup>

The terms of this Address make it clear that the persecution in the 1680s had reduced the Dissenters to near desperation, and to something approaching the condition of fear in which they had lived in the 1660s. Fear was, in fact, the most potent weapon of the persecutors, for whatever the extent of persecution, the fear of it was ever-present, and was a vital factor in moulding the character

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19. 'An Address from the Dissenters of Leeds to King James II, 1687', Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp. 442-3, (taken from the Thoresby MSS); re. the number of Addresses sent to James in 1687-8, see M. Ashley, The Glorious Revolution (1966) p. 88. Several Addresses were sent from Yorkshire both by institutional bodies such as the Corporation of Hull, and by private groups of Dissenters. A list of all such Addresses is provided by D. Marshall in his Ph.D. Dissertation 'Protestant Dissent in England in the reign of James II' (1976 Ph.d. Dissertation kept in Hull University Library), Appendix II, pp. 601-615. Dr. Marshall agrees with Burnet and

Some later historians in arguing that these Addresses were very much the result of pressure from agents of the Court, and do not represent any large-scale support for James' religious policy. While this is broadly true, it should be said that there is some evidence that, in 1687 at least, a significant number of Dissenters in Yorkshire were prepared to put aside any political reservations and thankfully grasp at the freedom offered to their religious activities. According to Heywood, they were expecting even harsher persecution, but instead came the Indulgence, 'whereupon the Ministers and people generally accepted this liberty, addressed the King with gratitude', and used their freedom to the full. Thoresby feared 'a snake in the grass', but was prepared to wait and see. Jolly signed an Address, travelled to Chester to meet the King, and was greatly impressed by his manner and kindness. Two, at least, of these three men were conservative and moderate in their attitude to the Church, while the signatories of the Leeds Address were, likewise, neither radicals nor social nonentities. There is, unfortunately, no evidence as to who drew up the Addresses from Yorkshire, nor evidence of any Court pressure, or the lack of it. The Leeds Address was, however, apparently regarded as 'genuine' by Richard Stretton, now living in London, for he was sufficiently aroused by it to reprove his old acquaintances for signing it and to try to persuade them to change their attitude. J. R. Jones has pointed to a considerable difference between the widespread gratitude with which the 1687 Declaration was received, and the stony silence which greeted James' attempts in 1688 to turn this into positive political support, and this seems to be borne out by the evidence relating to Yorkshire. In relation to this Dissertation, the two most significant points seem to be the effects of the preceding years of persecution in disposing Dissenters to grasp at any relief, regardless of source, and the difference in attitude, as Stretton's anger seems to suggest, between the Dissenters of Yorkshire and those of London, a difference arising, perhaps, from variations in awareness of and emphasis given to political affairs. See, Heywood, III, pp. 227-8; Thoresby, III, pp. 11-12, 13-14, 22-7, 33-6, 88; Jolly, Notebook, pp. 76, 77, 78, 82-5; J. R. Jones, 'James II's Whig Collaborators', in Hist. Journ., No. 3 (1960) pp. 65-73.



of Dissent in this period. Even in the 1670s, when persecution was absent for considerable periods, the Dissenters lived with the threat of it and adjusted their outlook and behaviour accordingly. In two periods, however, in the 1660s and the 1680s, the reality of persecution was such as to raise the question of their very survival as Dissenters, and in view of this, it is important to examine the ways and means of their survival. No matter how often it was avoided, persecution constituted an enormous problem for Dissent, and threatened the very existence of their meetings, of the ministers as ministers and of the Dissenters as Dissenters. How was it, therefore, that they were able to emerge from the defeat of 1660-2 and develop into a permanent part of English society? How were they able to meet, and how did the ministers, often without visible means of support, find themselves able to continue in that office and to devote their time to the care of souls and the preaching of the Word?

The answer lies in two important facts. In the first place, persecution was never complete and, as has been demonstrated, was never undertaken with total enthusiasm for a long period. In addition to the vagaries of local justices, those who wished to destroy Dissent by persecution were unable to rely upon total support in that key area, the King's wishes. For reasons of their own neither Charles nor James were prepared to concentrate upon the destruction of Dissent, and while Charles' known sympathy hindered the efforts of the persecutors and encouraged the Dissenters in a general sense,<sup>20</sup> the issue of Indulgences at vital moments gave real and effective relief in a more specific way. Only in the 1680s did Charles give anything approaching whole-hearted support to the attack on Dissent, and by then the Dissenters had improved their organisation to a point where they were able to withstand, albeit with difficulty, the relatively short period given to the persecutors before James began to undermine their efforts.

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20. The best example of this is probably provided by Lyon Turner's work on the ecclesiastical survey of 1669, in comments included in the returns of Volume I, and in Turner's own comments in Volume III, especially pp.35-59.



In the second place, and perhaps more important, was the fact that Dissent always had a measure of support and sympathy outside its own ranks, among socially influential and powerful men and women, and within its ranks also stood a core of powerful and wealthy supporters who encouraged and sustained the ministers and their meetings in both theoretical and practical ways. It was above all to the help of these people that Dissent owed its first survival in the 1660s, when a shattered defeated and ill-organised remnant struggled to maintain and express something of their religious life.

The Act of Uniformity, strict though it was, did not destroy puritanism within the Anglican Church. The development of the Latitudinarian group, which was influential at the University of Cambridge and whose members were to fill the positions of power in the Church after 1689, reflects at a higher level the continued existence within the Church of ministers who sympathised with the general outlook of puritanism, and, although able to conform themselves, often admired and respected those who could not. To some extent their existence was a threat to Dissent, in that they attracted to conformity men who might otherwise have swelled the ranks of the Dissenters,<sup>21</sup> but, at the same time, they offered sympathy and encouragement to Dissenting ministers and occasionally connived at their activities in more practical ways. In June 1664 Heywood preached at Mottram Church at the invitation of the Vicar,<sup>22</sup> and in 1671 Joseph Dawson was preaching regularly in the vacant Chapel at Cleckheaton with the full knowledge and support of the Vicar of Birstall, in whose parish the Chapel lay.<sup>23</sup> At Howden a Nonconformist Chapel emerged after 1689 from a group of Dissenters who had for thirty years attended the parish Church, and met outside, with

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21. The clearest example of this in Yorkshire was the final conformity of Ralph Thoresby, see below, Chapter IV, pp. 207-8, 210-11.

22. Heywood, I, p. 189.

23. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Birstall/Cleckheaton. Further evidence of the survival of puritan ideas and influence within the Anglican Church can be found in I. M. Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663, Chapter VIII 'The character of the Parish clergy after the ejections of August 1662'.



the encouragement of the Vicar. In 1662 the Rev. Stephen Arlush had been ejected from Howden and, being a wealthy man, had used his wealth to support preaching in the parish, both within and without the Church. In 1670 his son Nicholas was appointed lecturer in the parish, and in 1672 no licences were taken out under the Declaration of Indulgence because it was unnecessary. When Arlush's successor died in 1687, Timothy Root, who had recently and to the horror of some Dissenters, conformed, was appointed in his place and the arrangements apparently continued. In 1689 Root died, and his replacement by a less sympathetic Vicar, coupled with the advent of Toleration, led to the foundation of a separate Chapel, the strength and organisation of which make it clear that Dissent in the parish was not of recent foundation. The inescapable conclusion is that the combination of sympathetic Vicars and the wealth and interest of the Arlush family permitted, and even supported, the existence of Dissenters in the parish, protected and encouraged throughout the period of persecution. The result, in this case, was not to keep these men within the Church, but the foundation of a Nonconformist Chapel.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, not all of the more strictly puritan ministers were ejected from the Church in 1662. At Bramhope the Chapel had been built and endowed by William Dinely and, since it was used for family worship, he managed to keep control of it in 1662. The curate, Jeremiah Crossley, remained in the Chapel until his death in 1665, and other Dissenters often attended services or preached there, some travelling from considerable distances, especially in the 1660s, when the opportunity to take Communion was rare and precious. In September 1664 Oliver Heywood records that he visited the Chapel at Bramhope, since he was not permitted to attend at Coley. When Heywood arrived, Dinely invited him to preach, and he did so; ~~he returned~~ for further visits on 28 January 1665, when a Mr Ord, 'a North country Minister who was lately imprisoned in York Castle for preaching publicly in a York Church', was preaching, and on 30 January, when

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24. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Howden.



Heywood himself preached for the public Fast in honour of Charles I.<sup>25</sup> Possibly the strangest case in Yorkshire was that of Henry Swift, minister at Penistone Chapel.<sup>26</sup> Swift was officially ejected in 1662, and in the returns of the Ecclesiastical Census of 1669 his services at Penistone were described as conventicles taking place in the parish Church. In fact, after his ejection, the living was never filled, and Swift continued to act as minister to the parish. In June 1663 he was arrested for preaching, and imprisoned for three months in York Castle, during which time Peter Naylor, Dissenting minister at Pontefract, preached in his place. When Swift was released, he returned to Penistone and continued his work. In 1666 he was imprisoned again under the Five Mile Act with James Fisher of Sheffield, John Issot of Horbury, and Timothy Root. It seems that Lord Arlington heard of their case and intervened on their behalf, to whom the Sheriff replied that they were 'factious obstinate Ministers'. As Swift took the oath enjoined by the Five Mile Act in 1666, it seems likely that it was this which secured his release. Returning once more to his parish, he continued to officiate, not taking out a licence in 1672, probably because it was unnecessary. In 1674 he was cited to the Ecclesiastical Courts in York for not observing the ceremonies of the Prayer Book, and in 1682, while acting for Mr Savil at Holmfirth, for not baptising with the sign of the Cross. On neither of these occasions does he appear to have been in serious trouble, and these prosecutions were significant, in that Swift was being treated as a legally beneficed minister of the Church of England rather than as a Dissenter. Finally, according to Calamy, he 'read some few prayers to keep his place', but never made any subscription to the Act of Uniformity, nor carried out the full

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26. Swift's position in retaining his place was something of a rarity in Yorkshire, but John Angier was also able to remain in Denton Chapel, Lancashire, and such cases were apparently more common there, especially in the remote Chapels of Ease like Denton, with a small endowment, or even none at all. In Yorkshire a number of such Chapels - Idle, Cleckheaton, Coley and others were left vacant, and were sometimes used by Dissenters, but always illegally, and such meetings were liable to be broken up and those attending prosecuted as conventiclers. For the Yorkshire Chapels, see App.I, Pt.A, Lists II and III, for those in Lancashire, see VCH, County of Lancaster, Vol.II, pp.67-8. For other examples, further afield, see I.M.Green op.cit, which covers three dioceses in the south-east.



ordinances of the Established Church.<sup>27</sup>

Swift's position made Penistone Chapel something of a centre for Dissenting ministers in the West Riding. It was, like Bramhope, a place where they were able to preach publicly and to take Communion at a time when they were not sufficiently organised to do so in their own congregations. Heywood mentions numerous visits to Penistone, often with other ministers, all before 1672. After that date, with better organisation elsewhere, the ministers had less need of the Penistone platform.<sup>28</sup> Swift was apparently able to retain his living, not as a Dissenting minister but as a parish Priest, because of a peculiar combination of circumstances. According to Calamy, the living was small and poor, and hence not coveted by conformist ministers. More important was the influence of the local gentry, whose presence in fact casts some doubt on Calamy's assertion. The Bosviles of Gunthwaite claimed the right of presentation to the living, a right which was disputed, but which prevented the presentation of any other minister. Within the parish there were also other puritan families of some substance, the Cottons, the Wordsworths of Waterhall and the Riches of Bull-house. It was the combined efforts of these families which enabled Swift to stay in his place without conforming, and all four attended his services until his death in 1689, when they finally left the Established Church and repaired instead to the newly built Chapels in the area.<sup>29</sup>

The influence and activities of these puritan families, repeated by others all over Yorkshire, points to the importance of the support and help given by the puritan laity in crucial areas and at crucial times. Not all of those who offered help were Dissenters themselves. The Corporation of Hull, which provided such protection from persecution for twenty years, included some active Dissenters, but others were apparently sympathetic without ever attending a conventicle themselves. The Corporation Act was

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27. Calamy, II, p. 791; Dale, pp. 149-51; Matthews, p. 472; Heywood, II, pp. 153, 178.

28. Heywood, I, pp. 188, 194, 200, 230.

29. Calamy, II, p. 791; Dale, pp. 149-51; Matthews, p. 472; Heywood, II, pp. 153, 178.



certainly enforced in Hull in some measure, and an examination of the Aldermen and officers of the borough over a thirty year period reveals only a few who can be classed as active Dissenters. Gilead Gooch, who served as Town Chamberlain, a relatively minor office but one described as 'the first step to the mayoralty',<sup>30</sup> was a member of Dagger Lane Chapel, and John Acklam, Alderman, and Mayor in 1671, may have joined the Chapel in 1672, but other leading members, John Robinson, Michael Bielby and John Yates, held office only in the remodelled Corporation set up by James II in 1688. Of the Presbyterians, Anthony Iveson and Christopher Fawthropp were Aldermen, and in 1680 Alderman Daniel Hoare was removed from the Bench for failing to take the Sacrament. In 1670 the Mayor, John Tripp, and Alderman George Empringham were involved in an attempt to enable a Dissenting minister to preach in Holy Trinity Church, but there is no further evidence to connect them with Dissent. In 1685 Alderman Thomas Johnson was removed from the remodelled Corporation because of his connections with Dissent, but these few seem to represent the sum total of active Dissenters on the Hull Bench. Moreover, Iveson, Fawthropp, Tripp and Empringham certainly, and Hoare probably, were partial conformists, and were sufficiently interested in the Church to sign a petition in 1667 for the replacement of the lecturer, William Ainsworth, by a better preacher. The strength of Dissent in Hull lay, not in a large number of Dissenters in office in the borough, but in an alliance between those men and the greater number of sympathetic conformists with whom they worked.<sup>31</sup> A similar situation appears to have existed in Leeds, although at both Leeds and York the anti-Dissenting interest in the Corporation appears to have been much stronger, a fact which was reflected in the harsher persecution experienced in those boroughs.<sup>32</sup> Another example of such an alliance is

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30. VCH, County of Yorkshire and the East Riding, Vol.I, Kingston upon Hull, p.33.

31. For the Dissenters named above see App.II, Pt.B, under individual names; see also VCH, County of Yorkshire and the East Riding, Vol.I, Kingston upon Hull, pp.118-122; for members of Dagger Lane Chapel, see also Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, pp.1-11, and below, App.I, Pt.A, List III, Hull/Dagger Lane.

32. See below, App.I, Pt.A, List III, York, Leeds.



described in the letters of Secretary Williamson's correspondent at Yarmouth, Richard Bower, who reported that the Dissenters ruled the Corporation through an alliance of moderate conformists, Presbyterians who held office through occasional conformity, and Independents who held no office but exercised indirect influence.<sup>33</sup>

The most important factor in the survival of Dissent in these early years was, however, the nature of the Dissenting laity itself. The majority of Dissenters are unknown figures, ordinary men of no great fame, but within the ranks of Dissent were included a number of men and women of social rank, wealth and power, who used that power to protect Dissenters, as at Bramhope and Penistone, and who were prepared to welcome ministers and people into their houses. They housed meetings, gave refuge to ministers in times of trouble, provided positions as family chaplains, lodged and fed the ministers as they travelled the county to preach, and gave both financial help and general encouragement to the ministers in their tasks. They were, moreover, in close contact with one another, linked by friendship and often blood relationship as well as by religion, and as such, they formed a county wide community upon whom the Dissenting ministers could, and did, place great reliance.<sup>34</sup> Their existence provides at least part of the answer to two vital questions concerning Dissent in Yorkshire in the 1660s - how the ministers managed to live and preach when barred from their profession, and how they managed to hold meetings and preach in a time of danger and persecution.

Surprisingly few of the ministers ejected in Yorkshire were forced to follow any trade in order to live. Thomas Wait, ejected from Wetwang in 1662, was forced to farm for a living. His wife also took in scholars,

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33. CPSP, 1667-8, pp. 17-18, 85, 88, 97, 145, 186, 232, 250, 277, 1668-9, pp. 10, 77, 95, 99, 111, 159, 221, 243, 277-8.

34. The nature and extent of this community, showing the numbers of such families, their work for Dissent, the extent of intermarriage and the contacts between them and with the wealthy urban families, are described in App. II. The Appendix also shows the gradual decline of Dissenting influence in the county families, which is discussed below in Chapter III. Included in the Appendix is Map IV, which shows the geographical distribution of these families, and demonstrates that they covered the whole county.

with whose education Wait assisted, and to whom he preached on Sunday evenings. His farm was clearly not prosperous, for in addition to this income he was given five pounds a year by Lady Dorothy Norcliffe of Langton, and in 1691 he was listed as in need of help from the Common Fund set up by the United Brethren in London.<sup>35</sup> William Benton of Thurnscoe was also forced to take up farming in 1662, and later to become a maltster. He lived near Barnsley, where he was visited by Heywood in 1669, and where he apparently kept out of trouble, being on good terms with the local gentry. His work gave him few opportunities for preaching, but he did so occasionally. In 1669 he was named as one of the leaders of a conventicle at Lady Rhodes' house, Great Houghton, and in 1682, a Mr Benton was prosecuted at Rotherham Sessions on July 18th for keeping conventicles.<sup>36</sup> In 1672 Benton was licensed to preach in his own house. Matthew Bloom of Sheffield also became a maltster after his ejection, but not until the years of severe persecution in the 1680s. He had been licensed at Sheffield in 1672, and had gathered an Independent Church, which in 1676 was united with that of Roland Hancock at Attercliffe, though they quarrelled and broke up again two years later. His licence in 1672 was listed as for a Presbyterian, but this seems to have been a mistake, since he had been assistant to the Independent, Fisher at Sheffield Parish Church until 1662, and his unity with the definitely Independent Hancock lasted two years, being broken by a personal quarrel, not matters of doctrine.<sup>37</sup>

The majority of ejected ministers, however, had no need to rely on such arduous trades for their livelihood. Some, like Joshua Whitton, had substantial private incomes or family estates to which they could return. Thomas Sharp, the minister at Mill Hill, Leeds, from 1675 to 1693, lived in his family home at Horton Hall, Bradford, where he also preached, and was wealthy enough to buy another house in Leeds to facilitate his work there. His father, John Sharp,

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35. Calamy, II, p. 834, IV, p. 955; Matthews, p. 505.

36. Calamy, II, p. 791; Heywood, II, pp. 91, 293; Lyon Turner, II, pp. 395, 507.

37. Calamy, II, p. 787; Dale, pp. 20-1; Lyon Turner, II, p. 365, 490, 574.



was a substantial clothier in Bradford, to whom Joseph Lister, Elder of the Independent Church at Kipping, had been apprenticed, and an uncle of John Sharp, later Archbishop of York. From 1662, after his ejection from Adel, to 1672, Thomas lived at home, occupying his time in study and preaching privately to friends.<sup>38</sup> Christopher Richardson was apparently wealthy enough to buy Lassels Hall in 1648, and to return there to live after his ejection from Kirkheaton.<sup>39</sup> Richard Thorpe, ejected from Hopton Chapel, had inherited the estate of Hopton Hall, where he lived and preached after 1662, and was wealthy enough to found a Free School in Mirfield in 1667. Though preaching in 1662, Thorpe was not ordained until 1678, at the first Presbyterian ordinations in Yorkshire after the Act of Uniformity, by Jolly, Heywood, and Richard Frankland.<sup>40</sup> From the wills investigated by Dale and Matthews it would appear that a considerable number of other Yorkshire ministers owned some property, which would at least have contributed to a comfortable living after 1662. Stephen Arlush, ejected from Howden in 1660, had property in nine Yorkshire parishes and is described as 'having a good estate, and he did good to many with it'.<sup>41</sup> Mr Robert Inman, ejected from Hoyland in 1662, is described in his will, of 8 August 1688, as 'Robert Inman gent., of Crawshaw, Emley,' and had other property at Barnsley and elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> Nathaniel Jackson, who died shortly after ejection in 1662, had property at Tadcaster, and left a charity to be distributed by John Denton of Stonegrave, Thomas Wait of Wetgang, and Stephen Arlush, thus encompassing all three Ridings.<sup>43</sup> Mr John Milward, who had been Vice-President of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, before coming to Darfield in 1655, whence he was ejected in 1661, left legacies of ten pounds to Corpus library, twenty pounds for the Vice-Chancellor to buy books for the public library at Oxford, ten pounds to the poor

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38. Calamy, II, p. 813; Dale, pp. 139-41; The Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J. H. Turner, No. IV (Bingley, 1893) pp. 46-51; The Autobiography of Joseph Lister of Bradford, ed. A. Holroyd (Bradford, 1860) pp. 3, 9.

39. Calamy, II, pp. 795-6; Dale, pp. 121-2; Matthews, p. 410.

40. Calamy, II, p. 899; Dale, pp. 152-3; Matthews, p. 485.

41. Matthews, p. 15.

42. Matthews, p. 289.

43. Matthews, p. 291.

of Shepton Mallet, Somerset, where he was licensed in 1672, ten pounds to the poor of Darfield, and fifty pounds to ten ejected ministers, five in the West Riding and five in Somerset.<sup>44</sup> Mr George Wilson, ejected from Easingwold, lived on his estate there until his death in 1671, and left five acres of land for the use of the poor.<sup>45</sup> James Creswick, ejected from the living of Freshwater in Hampshire, used his considerable fortune to buy the Manor of Beeghall, near Pontefract, worth three hundreds pounds a year, where he lived and preached privately until 1689 when Beeghall Manor was registered as a Nonconformist meeting-house.<sup>46</sup> Thomas Johnson, ejected from Sherburn in Elmet, retired to the family estates in Painthorpe, from where he preached at Sandal Magna and, after 1689, at Flockton.<sup>47</sup>

The possession of an estate, however, did not always mean a life of comfort and plenty. Nathaniel Baxter, who lived at Sheffield, held the position of Chaplain to Sir William Middleton of Aldwark Hall, Ecclesfield, preached for Mr Pegg at Beauchief Abbey, Derbyshire, for which he was paid sixteen pounds a year, and had property of his own at Handsworth, but was nevertheless in need of help from the Common Fund in 1691.<sup>48</sup> Nor did it always mean that the minister in question did not take up some profession. Thomas Bendlows, ejected from Mitford, Northumberland, returned to his family estate at Howgrove near Ripon, and became a barrister and later a J.P. He held the position of Court Keeper to Lord Wharton.<sup>49</sup> Ministers who held a significant private income were often less active in preaching than those who did not, but this was not always the case. Sharp, Thorpe and Richardson were devoted ministers and many others seem to have preached to local adherents around their estates. Nevertheless, perhaps because of their need, the most active ministers described by Heywood and Jolly, and those whose work most often led to the foundation of permanent Dissenting

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44. Matthews, p.351.

45. Dale, p.167.

46. Dale, pp.183-4.

47. Dale, pp.88-90; Matthews, p.300.

48. Matthews, p.38; Dale, pp.176-8.

49. Dale, p.178.



Congregations in Yorkshire, seem to have had very little, if any, independent income.

There were, in Yorkshire, a number of these ministers, who had no visible source of private income, but who seem to have lived without any trade or profession. Among them were a number of Heywood's close associates, Joseph Dawson of Halifax and Morley, Joshua Kirby of Wakefield, Josiah Holdsworth of Cleckheaton, Luke Clayton of Rotherham, Edward Prime of Sheffield and Heywood himself. Other such ministers included Christopher Nesse of Leeds, Richard Whitehurst of Kipping and Thomas Jolly of Altham and Wymondhouses, Lancashire. Most of these men apparently owned their own houses,<sup>50</sup> though Heywood did not until 1671, leasing part of Coley Hall while Captain Hodgson leased the other part. In the years after the Declaration of Indulgence, with the rise of organised Congregations, they would have received some regular income as pastors, and in the case of the Independents like Nesse and Jolly, would have something from this source in the 1660's. Nevertheless, congregations were often small and poor, and such sources would probably be insufficient.<sup>51</sup> The means available to many of these men must remain a mystery, but in two cases, those of Heywood and Jolly, their private diaries provide some information as to how they managed.

Thomas Jolly was more fortunate than many ministers, being Pastor to a gathered Church throughout the period of persecution. He had a small income from provision made by his father<sup>52</sup> and would also have received some stipend from his congregation. There were times, however, when this stipend would have been small. In 1662 he was forced to leave Altham, and did not settle until he bought a house at Wymondhouses in 1667. As the Altham Church Book is uninterrupted during these years, it must be assumed that he kept in touch with his followers during his wanderings, but there can be no doubt that their numbers were affected,

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50. Heywood, III, p.212.

51. Freedom after Ejection: a Review (1690-2) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales, ed. A. Gordon (Manchester, 1917) pp.177-8.

52. Jolly, Notebook, Introduction, pp.v,vi.

for in 1667, when he came to Wyndhouses, he was preaching to only two women.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to buy a house there, though at this time he had two sons to provide for. From 1667 his Congregation was again growing, and his income improved. By 1684, when he was presented at Preston Sessions for keeping Conventicles, he was able to put up a bond for himself of one hundred pounds.<sup>54</sup> He was also able to pay for his son Timothy to be educated for the Ministry at Frankland's Academy. He was, however, often short of money. The costs of persecution were borne by the congregation as a whole,<sup>55</sup> but since Jolly was persecuted almost continuously from 1662 to 1687, the costs incurred by him alone, without those of his followers, would have been considerable. As a result, he was glad to receive occasional gifts from friends, the only other source of income that he mentions. In 1673, when he sent his son Timothy to Frankland's Academy, he notes that there was 'a good Providence of God also in supplying me as to the increase of my charge in educating my younger son', when a friend visited him with a gift of money.<sup>56</sup> In January 1676, when he visited London in the course of his work for unity among the Dissenting Churches, he records that he was 'in some straits in the want of money towards the disposal of my elder son' when Alderman Ashurst, friend of Baxter, happened to send him a gift, because, he said, 'it may be such a one, naming me ... is in want, and it's a pity he should be so'.<sup>57</sup>

Clearly then Jolly was able to manage, but on a very tight margin, and there is no question of his being described as prosperous. The position of Oliver Heywood, of which his diaries provide a full account, was even more precarious. Looking back in 1672 on the decade since his ejection, Heywood records that when ejected he was thirty pounds in debt, and for years 'I never had twenty pounds of my own, but now God has sent many presents'. At this time, the lease on his house at Coley having run out, he was having to buy a house at Northowram, and

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53. Jolly, Notebook, Introduction, p.xxi.

54. Jolly, Notebook, p.68.

55. Jolly, Notebook, p.132.

56. Jolly Notebook, p.12.

57. Jolly, Notebook, pp.27-8.



thanks to these presents he was able to do it ' borrowing no more than five pounds and have not had to touch my wife's portion'.<sup>58</sup> His income was made up from various sources. He had little help from his family, his father having run into difficulties just at the time of the ejections.<sup>59</sup> He was paid a certain amount for his preaching, in the form of collections among his auditors and voluntary gifts, but this income ~~was in no way~~ organised and far from regular. In January 1672 he records preaching at Heckmondwyke, 'but had no reward from men as I sometimes have'.<sup>60</sup> In July 1676 he received 17s.3d. from two Mottram men who remembered his preaching there in 1662-3.<sup>61</sup> In March 1664, when he lacked the money to pay his rent, a friend came with a gift of five pounds from an anonymous hearer who had been impressed by his preaching.<sup>62</sup> From 1671 the regularity of his income improved slightly, with the organisation of his Congregation at Coley, though the amount he received still varied. According to the survey carried out in 1690 by the United Brethren, he was then in receipt of about twenty pounds a year and 'wants nothing, not now'.<sup>63</sup> In earlier years, however, when he had two sons to support and educate, this sum had not been sufficient. In 1676 he recorded that he was in great need, especially for paying Frankland for his sons' education at the Academy, and gave 'but a modest hint of my necessities' to his congregation, who proceeded to make a special collection and produced eight pounds to help him. In that year he received 'a far greater sum than usual', £78 2s.11d., consisting of £28 9s.10d. from his congregation and £49 13s. from friends elsewhere.<sup>64</sup> From 1672 Heywood also received ten shillings weekly from Justice Horton of Sowerby, for preaching in his newly-built meeting-house at Quarry Hill, until Horton's death in 1679.<sup>65</sup> In 1682 he had another good year, receiving £34 11s.6d. from his congregation

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58. Heywood, III, p.181.

59. Heywood, I, pp.22-4.

60. Heywood, III, p.103.

61. Heywood, III, p.146.

62. Heywood, I, p.185.

63. Freedom after Ejection, ed. Gordon, p.129.

64. Heywood, III, p.144.

65. Heywood, II, p.189.

and £34 13s.5d. from gifts and legacies.<sup>66</sup>

It would seem then, from these scattered references, that Heywood could rely on an income of about twenty pounds a year and at times received more. He had three main sources from which to look for help. Throughout the period he could earn a variable amount from his occasional preaching, and after 1669 he received a regular income of twenty pounds from his own Congregation. There is no real evidence to enable the historian to ascertain upon what basis this was paid, whether a set sum was paid upon a particular date, or more likely, whether it was taken in the form of collections at meetings, regular or random. There is, in fact, surprisingly little discussion in the records of Dissent of how and why a minister should be paid, but the example of Heywood, and of others cited below, suggests that responsibility for the minister's salary was generally accepted by the Congregation, at least after they were properly formed and organised. The varying amounts paid, however, and the lack of reference to such payments, even in records such as those of Dagger Lane Chapel which include careful accounts of the collection and disbursement of Church stock and funds for poor relief, suggest that the means were informal and the amounts basically what the members could afford. It seems likely that collections were taken regularly at meetings and that the minister might ask for a special collection in times of particular need, as Heywood did at Northowram, but there is simply insufficient evidence relating to this period for any certainty to be possible. Where a minister had another, or more specific, source of income, it is impossible to tell how far the Congregation in general also contributed to his salary. At Dagger Lane, for example, Richard Astley received twenty pounds a year from

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66. Heywood, II, p.189. For the purposes of comparison, some figures of wages are provided in C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth Century Kent; a Social and Economic History (1965) p.191. According to Chalklin, the average stipend for a curate who was paid by an absentee Vicar would be about £20-£25p.a. The majority of livings in Kent ranged in value from £50-£100p.a., and although about one quarter were worth less than £50, few if any brought in less than £30. In this light Heywood's £20p.a., was very meagre, similar to the income of a Kent 'husbandman' or small-holder, and only a little above the £15-£18p.a., earned by labourers in Kent. The extra income provided by gifts and legacies etc, was thus very important.



Lady Norcliffe of Langton, and there is no way of knowing whether she in fact undertook to pay his salary in the name of Congregation, or whether he received this as an extra, personal gift. Whatever the exact nature of such stipends, their full source, or the means of collection, it is clear that most ministers who fulfilled Pastoral functions could expect, like Heywood, some kind of regular income from their Congregations.

Heywood's third source, that of gifts and legacies, points to the importance of influential supporters, who consistently disbursed money to help deserving ministers. In 1682 he received £2 10s. from Lord Wharton, who regularly sent money to his agent, John Gunter, for the Yorkshire ministers. In 1687 Heywood notes that for some years he had received five pounds a year from Lady Hewley, and three pounds a year from Wharton.<sup>67</sup> Such gifts and legacies from the laity played an important part in helping many ministers to survive. Wharton was one of the most generous of these benefactors. He gave eight pounds a year to Cornelius Todd of Helaugh, and allowed him to live rent free at his Helaugh residence from 1662 until Todd moved to Ellenthorpe, where Lady Brook had donated five hundred pounds for a Chapel and a Minister. As a result, Todd was able to preach at Helaugh, Leeds, and Tadcaster.<sup>68</sup> He also gave yearly allowances to Edward Prime of Sheffield and Jonas Waterhouse of Bradford, as well as to Heywood. In 1690 he set up a Bible Charity for the instruction and education of poor children, and at his death in 1696 left a considerable sum for the aid of poor ministers. Heywood was sent thirty-eight pounds of this money, to be shared among himself and others, including Joseph Dawson of Morley, William Hawden of Wakefield, and Peter Naylor of Pontefract.<sup>69</sup> Other such benefactors included Lady Mary Armine, who gave Calamy five hundred pounds to distribute among the ejected ministers in 1662, and at her death in 1674 left rents worth forty-four pounds a year to be used for poor mininsters in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and

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67. Heywood, I, p. 185, III, p. 277.

68. Calamy, II, p. 811.

69. Heywood, III, p. 274, IV, p. 148; Thoresby, III, pp. 106-8, 118-19.

Huntingdonshire.<sup>70</sup> This fund was administered by Richard Stretton, chaplain to Lord Fairfax until 1671, then minister at Mill Hill, Leeds, and later in London, who also organised collections among the London merchants and had the money distributed in Yorkshire by Heywood and Ralph Thoresby.

In 1684 he sent eight pounds to Thoresby, of which Mr. Armitage of Holbeck was to receive one pound, Mr Benton of Thurnscoe thirty shillings, Timothy Root thirty shillings, Mr Nathan Denton thirty shillings, and Thomas Johnson of Painthorp one pound.<sup>71</sup> Money was not given only to ejected ministers. Matthew Smith, preacher at Warley and Mixenden, a young minister educated by Ralph Ward at York, wrote to Thoresby in 1702 pointing out that he received insufficient income from Mixenden and that his yearly stipend had been made up to twenty-six pounds by the congregation at Warley, who paid him ten shillings a day for preaching there. This money had come from Lord Warton's trustees and Smith asked Thoresby to ensure the continuance of the grant, or he would be unable to preach at Warley, having to earn the money elsewhere if not available there.<sup>72</sup>

Such financial aid was undoubtedly important in enabling ministers to devote themselves to the work of preaching, but it was only a small part of the support given by the laity in Yorkshire. In the difficult and dangerous years of the 1660s especially, Dissenting families provided ministers with positions and with places of refuge, without which it is hard to see how the movement could have survived. After ejection, numerous ministers fled to the security of private chaplaincies or simply lived with a wealthy family, preaching to them and to others who would come to hear them, and the passing of the Five Mile Act increased the tendency. Thomas Birdsall, ejected from Selby, became chaplain to Mrs Dorothy Hutton of Poppleton, sister of Lord Fairfax, and was licensed at Poppleton and York in 1672.<sup>73</sup> Lady Dorothy Norcliffe, daughter of Sir Thomas

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70. J. Wilkinson, Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and district (1875) pp.259,263.

71. Heywood, I, p.185, III, p.277.

72. Thoresby, III, pp.49-50, 412-13.

73. Calamy, II, p.793.



Fairfax of Gilling, was a member of the Dagger Lane Independent Chapel at Hull, gave twenty pounds a year to its Pastor, Richard Astley, and forty pounds as a basic stock for the Chapel, and had Mr William Oliver, ejected from Glaphorn, Northants, as her chaplain, paying him twenty pounds a year and providing for the education of his children.<sup>74</sup> Lord Fairfax employed Richard Stretton as his chaplain from 1662 until his death in 1671, when he left to Stretton the tithes of Bilbrough for sixty years provided he or a deputy preached there, as well as ten pounds to Stretton's son and one hundred pounds to be distributed among poor ministers.<sup>75</sup> Sir John and Lady Hewley of Bell-House, York, took in Ralph Ward as their chaplain after his ejection, and when he was able to leave and preach in his own house, attended his ministry as well as employing Timothy, son of John Hodgson of Coley, in Ward's erstwhile position.<sup>76</sup> Lady Barwick, daughter of Walter Strickland of Boynton, whose own daughter married Lord Henry Fairfax, had Thomas Calvert, ejected from York, as her chaplain, when he was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave York.<sup>77</sup> Sir William Strickland of Boynton, and later his son, Sir Thomas, employed Calvert's nephew James in the same capacity.<sup>78</sup> Noah Ward, a student silenced by the Act of Uniformity, became chaplain to Sir John Wentworth, and, after Wentworth's death in 1671, remained as chaplain to Lady Catherine Wentworth until she married Lord Winchelsea, who dismissed the Dissenter from the household.<sup>79</sup> In south Yorkshire the Hatfields of Laughton gave refuge to James Fisher of Sheffield, who had married Elizabeth Hatfield and who died, after several imprisonments, in 1667; and to Richard Whitehurst, ejected from Laughton, until he went in 1672-3 to become Pastor to the Independents of Kipping.<sup>80</sup> At Hickleton Sir John Jackson and his wife Catherine, sister of Lord Delamere, had their ejected Vicar, Hugh Everard, as family chaplain and also used their influence to enable Nathan Denton, ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearne, to preach in

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- 74. Miall, p.289; Calamy, II, p.834, IV, p.955.
  - 75. Calamy, II, p.677; Matthews, p.466.
  - 76. Calamy, II, pp.507, 659; Heywood, I, p.279.
  - 77. Calamy, II, p.783; Matthews, p.99.
  - 78. Calamy, III, p.472.
  - 79. Calamy, II, p.835.
  - 80. Heywood, I, p.233.

Hickleton Church until the summer of 1663, after which they housed his conventicles at Hickleton Hall.<sup>81</sup> The Rhodes of Great Houghton sheltered and employed several ejected ministers, including Richard Taylor, ejected from Long Houghton, and Jeremiah Milner.<sup>82</sup> Taylor later became chaplain to John Wordsworth of Swathe.<sup>83</sup> Mr Sylvanus Rich of Bull-house near Penistone attended the services of Henry Swift, but also gave refuge to Roland Hancock of Sheffield after the passing of the Five Mile Act.<sup>84</sup>

Not all of these ministers preached outside the families with whom they lived. Thomas Calvert occupied himself with theological study and the writing of (non-controversial) tracts. The majority, however, held conventicles, and many later became pastors of organised Congregations. The help and protection of these wealthy families cushioned them against the shocks and suffering of the years immediately after ejection, years when they were neither prepared nor organised for life as religious exiles. Though this help was available and important throughout the period from ejection to Toleration, it was in these early years that it was vital, enabling the ministers to recover their faith and courage, to preach and extend their activities, and to create the preconditions for that development of organisation and institutions which occurred after the Declaration of Indulgence. Nor was their help limited to the type outlined above. In numerous other ways, by providing meeting-places and constant support the Dissenting laity, especially those of wealth and influence, aided and encouraged the emergence of an active, if ill-organised, religious life by 1672.

A complete survey of the meetings held in Yorkshire, even of those held in the houses of wealthy and influential families, would be impossible here, although a glance at the diaries of Oliver Heywood provides some clue as to their scale and variety; but it was in the holding of these meetings that the core of Dissenting life lay, and it was in the provision of places for meetings and of some measure of protection from persecution that the network of socially

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81. Calamy, II, p. 790, IV, p. 950.

82. Calamy, II, pp. 793, 796

83. Calamy, II, p. 793.

84. Calamy, II, p. 786.



influential Dissenters made its second great contribution to the survival of Dissent in Yorkshire. Not only this, at a time when a small number of ministers were attempting to satisfy the needs of Dissenters in a large number of places and were prepared to travel considerable distances in order to do so, it was mainly, although not exclusively, the wealthier Dissenters who enabled them to do so, by providing food and lodging on their journeys. For example, in the 1660s Oliver Heywood was preaching regularly in Slaighwaite, at the house of Robert Binns, but the Slaighwaite group were apparently poor, and on his journeys to that area Heywood found his dinner and lodging with one of the wealthier adherents in South Yorkshire, usually the Rhodes of Great Houghton or the Rich family at Bull-house. Their hospitality enabled him to serve, not only themselves, but some of their poorer brethren as well.<sup>85</sup>

The full extent of this wealthy lay network and the functions that it fulfilled are set out in Appendix II, while the histories of many of the groups and Congregations thus supported are to be found in Appendix I. The two Appendices demonstrate that the network covered most of the county, and the majority of groups and meetings which existed in rural Yorkshire owed their existence to it. In the East Riding the meetings of puritan Dissenters were mainly clustered about Hull, but the Independent Church at Dagger Lane, Hull, had the support and financial aid of the Norcliffes of Langton, while the Congregation at Bridlington may have benefited from the presence of the Strickland family at nearby Boynton, although there is no direct evidence of this. At Beverley they could rely upon the help of Sir Henry St. Quentin of Harpham, and later of his son, Sir William, whose town house in the borough was registered as a Presbyterian meeting-place in 1672.<sup>86</sup> In the North Riding the puritan Dissenters were few and scattered, but where meetings did exist they tended to be grouped around a wealthy individual, or family. At Alne a group of Presbyterians met for a while in the

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85. Heywood, I, numerous references, eg. pp. 226, 237, 249, 273, 275.

86. For details and references concerning the families mentioned here and below, see App. II, Pt. A, under the family names, and for the histories of the meetings they sustained, see App. I, Pt. A, Lists II and III, under individual place names.



house of the widowed Lady Bethell, at Northallerton they had the help of the Lascelles family of nearby Mount Grace, at Osgodby that of Sir William Ayscough of Osgodby Grange, and at Stonegrave the Presbyterian minister, John Denton, was the friend and brother-in-law of Mr William Thornton of Newton Grange. In Swaledale the influence of Lord Wharton was paramount. By 1689, or shortly after, Dissenting Chapels had emerged at Scarborough, Whitby, Malton, Ayton and Thirsk, which apparently owed little or nothing to any wealthy individual or family, but it is impossible to be sure, since no evidence can be found concerning their origin and inception.

In the West Riding, where the majority of puritan Dissenters and meetings were to be found, a number of other families were active and important. In the hills of Craven lay the estates of the Listers of Thornton and the Lamberts of Carlton, of whom Mrs Lambert was an active Dissenter, a close friend of Oliver Heywood and Thomas Jolly, and the upholder of a meeting at Winterburn, while Miall also refers to the unnamed owner of 'the Bracewell Estate' in Horton, who apparently encouraged a meeting there. Further east lay Ellenthorpe, where Lady Brook, widow of Sir James Brook, ex-Mayor of York, endowed a Presbyterian Chapel with some five hundred pounds a year, Knaresbrough, where Dissenters were helped and encouraged by Lady Hewley of York, Poppleton, the home of the Hutton family, and Tadcaster, where regular preaching was carried out by John Gunter, ejected from Bedale in 1660, employed as an agent by Lord Wharton and living at Wharton's house at nearby Helaugh.

In the area to the south of this, around the valleys of the Aire and Calder, the influence of wealthy families was less important and less noticeable, for these urbanised and semi-industrial clothing areas were strong in Dissenters of all classes, and the concentration of population provided a solid base for numerous congregations. Nevertheless there were some Dissenters of social influence whose contribution was crucial to some meetings. At Sowerby the meeting was upheld by Justice Horton, who was a member of Henry Root's Independent Church, and when Root's death led to the disintegration of the Church, he led a number of



its members to join Oliver Heywood's Congregation at Northowram. At the same time, however, he built a meeting-house in Sowerby and paid ten shillings a week to Heywood, Joseph Dawson, Eli Bentley and Timothy Root for preaching there in four-weekly rotation. He thus ensured the continuation of Nonconformist preaching in Sowerby until his death in 1678, when the practice apparently ceased. In Bradford Dale the Independent Church owed its origin to John Hall, a wealthy clothier and owner of Kipping House in Thornton, where he had a considerable estate. In Bradford itself the Presbyterian Chapel which eventually emerged owed much to the Sharps of Horton, of whom John Sharp was a wealthy clothier and his son Thomas a Presbyterian minister, later pastor at Mill Hill, Leeds. At Topcliffe, near Leeds, the Independent Chapel was housed and supported, both morally and financially, by Captain John Pickering, owner of Topcliffe Hall.

In South Yorkshire, from the Aire valley south to the borders of Derbyshire, a large number of wealthy families were important in upholding the great strength of puritan Dissent in the area. It was here that much missionary activity was carried out by Heywood and others in the scattered villages north of Sheffield, and a number of groups licensed meeting-places in 1672, for example at Saddleworth, Cawthorne, Brodsworth, and Greaseborough, without naming a minister, which suggests that they relied upon visitors from elsewhere. At Great Houghton, in the midst of these villages, Lady Rhodes and her son Godfrey had created a famous centre for conventicles, and in 1669 were reported to be housing meetings led by William Benton, Jonathan Grant, Mark Trigot, Richard Taylor and Nathan Denton, all living nearby. Other ministers from further afield lodged and preached there, including Heywood from Coley, Joshua Kirby and William Hawden from Wakefield, and Christopher Richardson of Lassel-Hall. The house was also licensed in 1672. A similar centre was created at nearby Swathe Hall, the house of John Wordsworth. Several other families in the area, who offered similar hospitality to visiting ministers, not only held meetings in their own houses but also attended the meetings and joined the Congregations of the active

ministers in Sheffield and Rotherham. The Hatfields of Laughton and Hatfield, who housed James Fisher until his death in 1667 and who employed Richard Whitehurst, ejected from Laughton, as family chaplain until he moved to Kipping in 1673, were also attached to the ministries of Hancock and Bloom in Sheffield and of Luke Clayton in Rotherham. In 1666, on a visit to South Yorkshire, Heywood dined and lodged with Anthony Hatfield at Laughton. Others whom he visited included the Stanniforths of Firbeck, of whom Jonathan Stanniforth, was the son-in-law of John Shaw, ejected from Hull and living in Rotherham, the Gills of Carr-house and the Riches of Bull-House, both of whom attended Henry Swift's services at Penistone. At Hickleton Hall Sir John Jackson housed a conventicle of sixty to eighty Presbyterians, to whom Nathan Denton preached, and further south the Taylors of Wallinwells, the Knights of Langold, and the Westbies of Ravenfield attended the meetings led by Shaw and Clayton in Rotherham, and later employed John and Eliezer Heywood, the sons of Oliver, as their respective family chaplains. At Kirk Sandal, further east, a congregation was gathered around the Rokeby family, and, as late as 1692 in the Common Fund Survey, was described as being upheld by and dependent on the support of Mrs Rokeby, widow of Sir William.

The above account, although not exhaustive, is sufficient to demonstrate the importance of wealthy Dissenters in upholding the movement in the rural areas of Yorkshire,<sup>87</sup> but in the towns also, adherents who exercised some power and social influence were of great importance. If their financial contribution was sometimes less vital, the protection they afforded from persecution was, if anything, more so, and like their rural counterparts, they housed conventicles and offered hospitality to local and visiting ministers.

In York Lady Watson, widow of Stephen Watson, Lord Mayor of the city, opened her home for meetings for many years, with Ralph Ward preaching on Tuesdays and Peter Williams on Thursdays. According to Calamy, Williams was much disliked

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87. The geographical distribution of the families mentioned above can be seen in App.II, Map IV.



by the Anglican authorities in York, but the influence, first of Lady Lister, widow of Sir William Lister of Thornton in Craven, then of Lady Watson, was sufficient to protect him, and when the latter died in 1679, she left him her house. Ward was licensed to preach there in 1672, and Heywood also preached there on his visits to York, as well as at the house of Sir John Hewley.<sup>88</sup>

Hewley was a lawyer, and M.P. for York from 1679 to 1681, and Lady Hewley was devoutly attached to the ministry of their chaplain, Ralph Ward. They regularly housed conventicles, and provided Heywood and others with food and lodging when they came to town. Other upholders of Dissent in York included Mistress Rokeby, mother of Sir William of Kirk Sandal and of Thomas Rokeby, Judge of the King's Bench after 1689, and Andrew Taylor, a citizen and merchant, who was imprisoned with Ralph Ward in 1684, having long housed conventicles. In 1689 there was one Dissenting Congregation in York (apart from the Quaker meeting) with a Chapel in St. Saviourgate, and to whom Ward was Pastor. There can be little doubt that, but for the efforts of those lay men and women in the 1660s, that Congregation would never have emerged.

Not all of those who aided the ministers in their work were men of great eminence. In Leeds there were a number of merchant families, like the Taylors of York, who housed the preachers and their conventicles, and everywhere there were men of no more than moderate substance who did what they could to encourage the cause. One of the Leeds families, the Thoresbys, produced the famous diarist and topographer, who left records of those with whom he worshipped in the conventicles. Thoresby married Anna Sykes, daughter of Richard Sykes of Ledsham Hall, a great Dissenter and son-in-law of Colonel Thomas Scott, the Republican regicide. Others mentioned by him included the Dixons, the Idles (his cousins) the Hicksons, the Boyeses, the Dickensons, Spencers and Milners, all substantial families, of whom several were Aldermen (and partial conformists). Many of these had inter-married with other leading families, and with the

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88. Families mentioned here, and below, are listed, and their activities described, in App. II, Pts. A and B.

Dissenting ministers themselves. In Pudsey the Dissenters were led and succoured by James Moxon and Richard Hutton, whose family was a junior branch of the Huttons of Poppleton. Heywood also mentions many such families in Leeds, Halifax, Wakefield, and other West Riding towns, while the work of powerful Dissenters in Hull has been described above, in the freedom from persecution which they afforded their brethren.

It is, moreover, no exaggeration to speak of a network, covering almost every part of the county, for the families mentioned above were all linked and interwoven by ties of blood and marriage as well as by their common religion.<sup>89</sup> At the head of the network was the powerful Fairfax family, of Denton and Gilling. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the Lord General, who employed Richard Stretton as his chaplain, had no male issue, but his cousin and heir, Henry Fairfax of Oglethorpe, was the son of that Henry Fairfax who resigned the living of Bolton Percy in 1660, and had married Frances Barwick, daughter of the Lady Barwick of Tolston who had employed Thomas Calvert as her chaplain, and who was herself the sister of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, which family was linked with that of St. Quentin of Harpham. One sister of Lord Fairfax was Dorothy, wife of Richard Hutton of Poppleton and mother of the Richard Hutton who led and upheld the Dissenters of Pudsey, and another, Mary, was the wife of Henry Arthington of Arthington. Another branch of the Fairfax family, the Fairfaxes of Gilling, produced, as well as a number of Catholic recusants, one Dorothy, wife of Sir Thomas Norcliffe of Langton, and a member of Dagger Lane Chapel, Hull. Dorothy Norcliffe was not the only member of her family to adopt puritan views, for her sisters, Katherine and Margaret, were the wives of Sir Matthew Boynton of Barmston and Sir John Hotham. Of her own six daughters, two at least married Dissenters. Catherine, her eldest daughter, married, first, Christopher Lister, son of Sir William Lister of Thornton in Craven, who died in 1666, and then Sir John Wentworth, who employed Noah Ward as his chaplain until his death in 1671.

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89. For details of the relationships described below, see App.II, under family names.



Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Sir John Bright of Badsworth and Carbrook, whose first wife had been Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Hawksworth, widow of Sir William Lister and mother of Christopher.

Through these marriages, then, the wealthy Dissenters of the East and West Ridings were linked, and through Sir John Bright, the links were extended into the numerous puritan families of south Yorkshire. Bright's connections there were extensive.<sup>90</sup> His mother was Barbara Hatfield, daughter of Ralph Hatfield, sister of Anthony Hatfield of Laughton and of John Hatfield of Hatfield, and sister-in-law of James Fisher. As her second husband she married Thomas Westby of Ravenfield, whose sister Faith had married her brother Anthony. Thomas' daughter, Frances, married John Hatfield, who was some years younger than Barbara and Anthony. Another sister of Thomas Westby, Sarah, had married into the family of Spencer of Attercliffe, which had also inter-married with the Gills of Carr-house, of whom John Gill, nephew of William Spencer, married Martha, daughter of Justice Horton of Sowerby. Through another of Barbara Hatfield's sisters, Isabel, the Hatfields were also linked with the family of Stanniforth of Firbeck. These in turn had inter-married with the Wordsworths of Swathe, of whom John Wordsworth married Mary Rhodes, daughter of Sir Edward Rhodes of Great Houghton. In turn, the Rhodes were linked with the Wilsons of Leeds, the Riches of Bull-House and the Sykes of Ledsham Hall, of whom Anna Sykes was the wife of Ralph Thoresby, the diarist and topographer of Leeds. The Hatfields of Hatfield were also linked with merchant families, through the marriages of John Hatfield's daughters into the Spencer and Ibbotson families of Leeds.

Through this complex pattern of marriage and intermarriage were forged strong and enduring links between the Dissenting gentry of Yorkshire, and also between that gentry and the wealthier citizens of towns like Leeds. Hence the

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90. Bright also had wider connections. His third wife was Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, County Durham, whose son Henry was the first student at Frankland's Academy and who married Bright's daughter, Katherine. His fourth wife was Suzanne, daughter of Sir Michael Warton of Beverley, a conformist, but Whig M.P. for Hull from 1679 to 1681.

Dissenting network was a concrete reality, its religious views reinforced by ties of blood and marriage which often extended into the Dissenting ministry itself. Elizabeth Hatfield was the wife of James Fisher of Sheffield, Richard Hutton of Pudsey married Beatrice, daughter of James Sale, who was ejected from Leeds and became minister to the Dissenters of Pudsey, and their son, also Richard, married Mary Thorpe, daughter of Richard Thorpe of Hopton. The Huttons of Poppleton were connected by marriage with Edward Bowles, puritan preacher at York Minster until 1660, and the Stanniforths of Firbeck with John Shaw. Through marriage, friendship, and religious views, a Dissenter could feel part of a county-wide fellowship, which did much to ensure the survival of Dissent in a difficult period.

This sense of fellowship and of community was not, of course, peculiar to the Protestant Dissenters of Yorkshire. Dr. Bossy has demonstrated that in this, as in many other aspects, there were marked similarities with the Catholic recusants.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, questions should be raised as to whether this situation existed in other counties, or indeed, whether there existed anything approaching a national network. Few studies of this kind have been carried out, but the evidence which exists suggests that the Yorkshire community was not generally repeated elsewhere, and that it was merely a county community, and not a part of some greater whole. Yorkshire was not unique in the extent of inter-marriage among its gentry, nor in the sense of community thus created. C.W. Chalklin has found a similar situation in Kent, but he believes that such communities were confined to the more remote, and sizeable, counties. He contrasts, for example, the extent of inter-marriage and the lack of London influence in Kent with other southern and midland counties, and suggests that 'probably in only a few other counties, such as Cornwall, and perhaps Devon, and one or two northern shires, were the gentry so closely bound together by blood and marriage'.<sup>92</sup> In Cornwall, however, as in Kent, the gentry had been solidly royalist in the Civil War, and Dissenters of that class were few. In some other

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91. John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (1975) Chapter V, pp.77-107.

92. C.W.Chalklin, Seventeenth - Century Kent, pp.194-5.



counties, such as Wiltshire for example, encouragers and supporters of Dissent can easily be found,<sup>93</sup> but there is no evidence to suggest that the same sense of community existed although in some cases this may be only because the subject has not been thoroughly examined. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Yorkshire community extended significantly beyond the county boundaries. Certain families did indeed have connections outside the shire, Sir John Jackson's wife, for example, being Catherine Booth, sister of Lord Delamere, the Presbyterian leader in Cheshire, while the Rokeby family had intermarried extensively with that of Bury of Grantham, Lincolnshire,<sup>94</sup> but these were far from extensive enough to constitute a network, and could at most have served as links between a series of county communities. It would seem, therefore, that the Dissenters of Yorkshire were peculiarly fortunate in having the support of a sizeable and close-knit community which occupied some, at least, of the positions of power and influence in the region. Dissenters elsewhere had the support of some members of this class, certainly, and centres of influence in some boroughs, but the combination which existed in Yorkshire, of the number of powerful Dissenters and their close connections with one another seems to have been unusual, and rather less than representative of the nation as a whole. Yorkshire Dissent must have benefited psychologically from the sense of community this engendered, as well as from the more obvious practical and financial aid so frequently given.

It is hard to assess with precision the importance and effects of the help received from the Dissenting gentry. In many cases it is impossible to judge what would have happened without help which was in fact given. Nevertheless it is significant that when the support of Dissenting gentlemen was lost, puritan Dissent in the rural areas collapsed. By 1689 the support for Dissent among the gentry was clearly declining, and rural congregations were declining in proportion.<sup>95</sup> Of the 59 groups listed in Appendix I, List II as having died out

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93. VCH, County of Wiltshire, Vol.III, pp.105-6,108,119-20.

94. See App.II,Pt.A, Jackson of Hickleton, Rokeby of Kirk Sandal and York.

95. For a full examination of this development, see below, Chapter III, pp. 166, 172-3, 176-8.

before or shortly after 1689, sixteen were rural meetings grouped around a family which either conformed or died out, and as many more were groups which had no minister but relied upon itinerants like Heywood who were also aided by the gentry. Of the forty-nine permanent Chapels which emerged throughout Yorkshire, twenty-nine were essentially urban Congregations, and many of these had received direct and important help from the gentry at crucial times, as well as the support given and maintained by the substantial urban families. Of the rural Congregations, nearly all had been upheld and maintained by a wealthy gentleman, or lady, for many years before becoming independent of such help. Only at Thurnscoe did an essentially rural congregation arise and survive without such help, and this had moved to Barnsley before 1689.<sup>96</sup>

Such figures demonstrate clearly the massive importance of the lay network in helping Dissent to survive, and they are reinforced by the fact that such help was given to, and needed by, Independents as well as Presbyterians. The majority of the wealthy families listed in Appendix II were, of course, Presbyterian in inclination, but no clear line was drawn as to whom they aided and to whose services they turned. The Hatfields of Laughton and Hatfield housed the Independents, James Fisher and Richard Whitehurst, attended the Independent Chapel at Attercliffe, and went to Rotherham to hear the preaching of the Presbyterians, John Shaw and Luke Clayton. They entertained the Presbyterian Oliver Heywood, as did the Presbyterian Rhodes of Great Houghton, in company with the Independent Thomas Jolly. Two factors are important in this - first, that in the 1660s and for much of the period, the line between Presbyterian and Independent was not clearly drawn, and denominational labels were not always relevant, and secondly that, in most cases, whatever forms they preferred in their own worship, the wealthy Dissenters sought to give help to good ministers, and to encourage the preaching of the gospel, definitions which easily included men of both persuasions.

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96. See App.I,Pt.A, Lists II and III.



It is also significant that, for the most part, these families sought to do this by helping Dissent, not by prolonging puritanism as it had existed within the Anglican Church. Attempts to protect incumbents and retain puritan influence within the Church of England were relatively infrequent, and even more rarely successful. At Hickleton Sir John and Lady Jackson were unable to keep the incumbent Mr Everard in his place, but did manage to protect Nathan Denton, who preached in the Chapel for a year until the new incumbent was appointed. At Bramhope, where the Chapel had been built and endowed by the Dinely family, Jeremiah Crossley was able to keep his place in 1662 without conforming, and remained there until his death in 1665, but thereafter the Chapel was reclaimed by the Anglican authorities and future meetings were held in Dinely's own house. Only at Penistone, which was isolated and where all the local gentry seem to have been of puritan tendencies, was Henry Swift able to keep his place for any length of time, and even that situation ended with Swift's death in 1689, for his successor was a High Anglican. It seems that, in peculiar circumstances, powerful families could occasionally enable the incumbent of 1662 to keep his place, but in no case were they able to influence the appointment of a successor sufficiently to protect Dissent within the Church. Their power in the locality was great, but in relation to that of the Church establishment, it was puny. Many of these families were occasional conformists, and probably helped to gain appointments for men of low rather than high Anglican views,<sup>97</sup> while some, like Lady Mary Armine, retained close contact with their local parish Church and provided gifts and endowments for Anglican as well as Dissenting ministers, but even where a family had direct patronage, their choice was supervised and limited by the authorities. In 1673 Anthony Proctor, ejected from Well, near Bedale, conformed, and was presented to the Curacy of Ravenstonedale by Lord Wharton. Wharton had

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97. An interesting example of this comes from Sowerby, where Justice Horton, a member of Henry Root's Independent Church was sufficiently interested in the Anglican Chapel at Sowerby to grant the curate £8 p.a. and where the three curates of this period, Mr Booker, Mr Etherington and Mr Hoole were all late conformists, respected by Heywood and therefore presumably somewhat puritan in their views; see Dale, p.22.

some trouble in persuading the Bishop to accept Proctor, and though he finally succeeded, Proctor was refused a licence as a lecturer because the authorities regarded him as having 'some kind of non-conformist' views despite his legal conformity.<sup>98</sup> In 1678 Jonas Waterhouse and Lady Maynard sought to present John Hide, an ejected minister who had conformed in 1671, to the position of Vicar of Bradford, but the Bishop boggled at him, as a too-recent conformist'.<sup>99</sup> Certainly the wealth and influence, and rights of patronage held by these families did not enable them to obtain Vicars and Curates of sufficiently puritan views to keep themselves within the Church, and their major interest and influence lay in the support of puritanism outside the Church, in the form of separate Dissent.

One further point which should be mentioned in relation to the Dissenting network is the role of the wealthy Dissenters in the congregations, and their effect on the development of organised systems and institutions. It has been argued by both contemporaries and later historians that 'gentlemen of purse, piety and parts' tended to dominate the minister and exercise undue influence in the congregation, and that they often worked against any organisation, especially links between Congregations, which would in any way reduce their power.<sup>100</sup> Some of this is certainly correct, in that wealthy Dissenters did exercise power in any meeting of which they were members. Given the nature of seventeenth-century society, however, this is hardly surprising, quite apart from the fact that they often housed the meeting and paid the minister. The fact of their influence is not open to doubt - how and in what ways they used it is a different matter. In many cases, it is simply impossible to tell. At Great Houghton, for example, the Rhodes family housed the meetings, employed or entertained the ministers, and clearly dominated the group. This group was never organised into

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98. See App.I,Pt.A, List II, Kirby Malzeard.

99. Dale, p.257.

100. Giles Firmin, Weighty Questions, cited by Gordon, Freedom after Ejection, p.153; R.B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of the Religious Leaders (1966) p.103.



a proper congregation, and died out when the family conformed, but there is no evidence to indicate whether or not the responsibility for this lay with the family or whether, in fact, adherents outside the family were so few as to render an organised Congregation unviable.<sup>101</sup> At Mill Hill, a Presbyterian Chapel with no official Elders, power was exercised by a group of Trustees, with whom the minister consulted over matters of policy. Little is known of their influence in many ways, but Heywood's account of a meeting held in 1675 to discuss policy in the face of the recall of the Indulgence licences, and to concert that policy among the different Congregations, does not suggest that they were against some kind of inter-Congregational organisation, at least on an 'ad hoc' basis.<sup>102</sup> In the Independent Churches the wealthy laity generally exercised their power through the official Eldership, like John Pickering at Topcliffe and John Hall at Kipping,<sup>103</sup> so that there was no apparent conflict between their social position and the organisation of a Congregation, and again, there is no evidence to suggest that they, in particular, were against inter-Congregational organisation. Where social influence and power was exercised in less formal ways, as in the case of Lady Norcliffe at Dagger Lane and Mistress Lambert in Craven,<sup>104</sup> there is nothing to suggest that they hindered the development of an internal structure or of inter-congregational links. Certainly it was not the wealthy laity who brought about the collapse of the United Brethren. Nevertheless, much remains unknown in this area, and certainly the various attempts to establish some inter-Congregational organisation in this period were failures. There were many reasons for this failure<sup>105</sup> which have nothing to do with the power of wealthy individuals, but it does remain possible, and perhaps likely, that they would not regard such developments with great enthusiasm. It is, however, certain that, whatever the attitude of the wealthy laity towards organisational development,

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101. See App.I,Pt.A, List II, Great Houghton.

102. Heywood,I,p.336.

103. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Bradford/Kipping, Topcliffe.

104. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Craven, Hull/Dagger Lane.

105. See below, Chapter IV,pp. 192-8, 201-9.

without their help and sustaining activity in the 1660s; there would have been much less with which to create any organisation in the ensuing decades.

The survival of puritan Dissent against a background of persecution leads naturally to questions concerning what it was that survived and developed, what form the Dissenters' activities took, and what, in practice, it meant to be a Dissenter. The Dissenters were Dissenters because of their religious views and feelings. How then, did they express these views, and how were their feelings expressed and their needs fulfilled in their illicit activities? Much must, unfortunately, remain unknown. Many hundreds of Dissenters in Yorkshire are completely anonymous to historians, while others are known only by name, and we remain ignorant of their lives, fortunes, relationships and trades, or lack of them. Many meetings are known only by a brief report which provides, at most, the name of the minister or teacher, if there was one, and the name of the house-owner.<sup>106</sup> Even where more detailed accounts are available from the diaries of men like Heywood and Thoresby, surprisingly little can be gleaned of the nature of Dissenting services and of the modes of worship adopted. Heywood records the times and dates of meetings, notes that he, or another minister, preached, occasionally refers to the text upon which the sermon was based, and sometimes records the numbers who attended. Thoresby is even less informative upon these matters, as are the few collections of Church records available concerning Yorkshire.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, some information can be extracted, and some conclusions can be drawn about the lives of Dissenters in Yorkshire and the institutions they created.

A good deal is known about the frequency, extent and types of meetings held by Dissenters, and about their main pre-occupation, preaching. Heywood is rarely informative concerning the content of sermons, but something of this can be discovered from the diary of Ralph Thoresby, who took notes from Sharp's

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106. See Lyon Turner on the reports of conventicles in 1669 and the licences issued in 1672.

107. These records, and the nature of the information they impart, are discussed more fully below in Chapter III, pp. 140-3.



sermons at Mill Hill.<sup>108</sup> The two sources also reveal a certain amount of information about the life of a Dissenter, the importance of his Dissent in the practical terms of the time given to his religion and the role that it played in his life. More can be discovered of this matter from the Chapel records. The most informative of these is the Church-book of Altham and Wymondhouses, which was actually situated in Lancashire, but which maintained close connections with Dissenters in Yorkshire, especially with other Independent Churches, through the work of its pastor, Thomas Jolly. These sources, and other scattered references, also tell us something about the development and importance of Dissenting institutions, the nature and importance of Congregational organisation, and the role of the minister. While many of the personal details which would give life and breath to the picture must remain obscure, at least a sketch can be drawn of the lives and institutions of Yorkshire Dissenters in this period of persecution. The period itself is divided into the time before and the time after which organised Congregations became the rule, but there were numerous exceptions on both sides of the line, and what is perhaps most significant is the extent to which certain practices were common to both periods. It can be argued that the main value of the development of Dissenting institutions was that they permitted a better and fuller expression of the religious life already in existence, with important consequences for the future.<sup>109</sup>

The core of Dissenting life and the main expression of the Dissenters' views and feelings lay in the meetings, conducted throughout the period in various forms. The most important of these were the general meetings, at which the minister or teacher preached a sermon and his adherents listened. It was these meetings that Heywood recorded so assiduously and frequently, and it was here that the main pre-occupation of Dissent lay. The nature of these meetings

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108. There are also some records of sermons in the British Library, see Add.Mss. 45675, ff.1-392, Hall MSS. Vol.VII (notes of sermons by various Yorkshire Ministers) and Add.MSS.45981, ff.49-102 (Heywood Papers, Vol XIX, sermons of James Fisher of Sheffield).

109. Further discussion of the nature of Dissenting organisation and its value is included below, in Chapter IV.

varied with the times, but they were never strictly Congregational. In the ill-organised period of the 1660s it is impossible to say who attended such meetings, but they were often public, and drew large numbers of auditors, numbers much greater than the membership of the Congregations when they became organised. In the late 1660s, when persecution had become a less immediate threat, Heywood often mentions preaching at Coley to more than a hundred people, but his Congregation when it was formed, and for some years thereafter, numbered no more than sixty.<sup>110</sup> In his journeys elsewhere, when he often preached in private houses, the impression given, and it can only be an impression, is that numbers were often small, but he also preached on numerous occasions in the many vacant Chapels in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in these cases, large numbers seem to have attended. Moreover, these meetings persisted through the 1670s, well after Congregational organisation was achieved.<sup>111</sup> Even where Congregations were organised, attendance at general meetings was not apparently restricted to the membership. The Independent Chapel at Topcliffe was fully organised from 1662, but the sermons of its Pastor, Christopher Marshall, were also attended by Dissenters from nearby Morley, including the local Presbyterians who avoided such organisation themselves.<sup>112</sup> At Kipping one of the complaints against Richard Whitehurst in 1678 was that he drew too distinct a line between members and non-members, objected to the attendance of non-members at sermons, and declared that non-members were 'in the devil's-kingdom'.<sup>113</sup> In 1676, and much later, Heywood was still referring to 'hearers' as well as 'members'.<sup>114</sup>

The activities involved in these general meetings, preaching and praying, were also carried out throughout the period in a more pastoral form, at private Fasts, Days of Thanksgiving and visits to the sick and dying, and at these, attendance was restricted. This work was very important to Dissent, and indeed it was from such private occasions that the general meetings had first developed

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110. Heywood, I, pp. 236, 239, 240, II, pp. 17-37.

111. Heywood, I, pp. 189, 247, 248, 253, 255, 259, 260, 262, 263, 268, II, p. 86.

112. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Morley, Topcliffe.

113. Heywood, II, pp. 240-3.

114. Heywood, e.g. III, pp. 145-6.



in the early 1660s. In this work the pastoral and Congregational element was always present, even before the proper organisation of Congregations. In the 1660s Heywood fulfilled these functions for close friends and neighbours, and accompanied other ministers, like Joseph Dawson, for the same purpose. In Coley itself he refers to frequent occasions of this nature with the Brooksbanks, Kershaw, Tetley and Priestley families, all of whom had been among his parishioners before 1662 and who became full members of his Congregation when it was formally instituted in 1672. Elsewhere he carried out similar work, both alone and in the company of other ministers. In October 1665 he was 'sent for to keep a fast at Wakefield with Mr Wales and other ministers for a young man thought bewitched', and in April 1667 he was similarly occupied in several places, his journey on this occasion culminating in a visit to Lassel-Hall, where a fast was kept for Christopher Richardson's daughter, thought to be on the point of death.<sup>115</sup> After the organisation of his Congregation in 1672 he continued this work for his members, and indeed such occasions greatly increased, but he was also prepared to hold such meetings for non-members, in Coley and at other places. In the first two weeks of August 1678 Heywood attended a funeral in Halifax, went to Horton, Bradford, to advise on a 'weighty, matrimonial business', baptised two children, held a day of Thanksgiving for Isaac Balme's wife in her 'safe deliverance from childbirth', preached at Kipping, and visited 'Mr Gill's daughter' at New House, in south Yorkshire. On all of these occasions he was involved in what was essentially pastoral work, and none of the persons mentioned were actually members of his Congregation.<sup>116</sup>

In these two vital areas the Dissenters' meetings were never strictly Congregational or exclusive, and the Dissenters displayed a busy and active religious life outside and beyond the limits of congregational organisation. In this way ministers like Heywood upheld Dissent on a far wider basis than the relatively small number of organised Chapels which emerged by 1689. Not all ministers were

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115. Heywood, I, pp. 199, 240-3.

116. Heywood, II, pp. 69-70.

as active as him, and many were significantly less so, but the presence of other ministers on many of these occasions suggests that he was far from alone in this work. In this sense, the network of Dissenters, linked by personal knowledge and friendship, which supported Dissent in the 1660s, continued in an active and important form throughout the period. What the advent of organisation contributed was an extension and development of this life on what was to prove a firmer and more lasting basis. It is also significant that, throughout the period, there existed an important part of Dissenting life which was relatively free from direct persecution, for the numbers who attended private family occasions would usually have been small enough to conform with the terms of the Conventicle Acts. Persecution remained important, for the larger meetings with their expression of communal worship formed an integral part of the Dissenter's religion, as well as providing much of the income upon which ministers, and therefore their pastoral work, depended, but these relatively safe private occasions were a vital area in the religious life of a Dissenter, and both reflected and upheld the place of his religion in the centre of his personal and family life. They did so, moreover, throughout the period and for all Dissenters, regardless of whether or not they were fortunate enough to have obtained the support of a Congregational organisation.

Such organisation was important, however, for with its growth in the 1670s two new elements were added to the religious life of Dissent - the regular taking of Communion, and the organisation of prayer-meetings and conferences among members. The sacrament of Communion was of great importance to the puritan Dissenters. In the 1660s Heywood had greatly lamented his inability to receive this comfort, and was much helped by its possibility on visits to Bramhope and Penistone. For the puritan Dissenter the taking of the Sacrament not only signified his full membership of a Congregation, with all the support therein implied, but was the public expression and regular renewal of his covenant with God, the centre of his religion. It did not merely involve attendance at the



Sunday meeting, but a preparation in which he examined himself and was examined by others (at Coley/Northowram this took the form of a Friday evening fast) and a period of private prayer and meditation in which he privately renewed his covenant before proceeding to Sunday service. It was not the only occasion of such renewal, but it was important in that the occasion was regular and public. It was, for Heywood, 'the sealing ordinance' of all their activities, and he viewed its re-establishment at Coley with great joy. With the development of his work in Warley and Craven, one of his first concerns was to establish the Communion, held at Craven on his monthly visit, and at Warley by monthly admission to the service at Northowram. The establishment of the Communion was a vital step for the Dissenters, and it was never again abandoned, even in the worst years of persecution.<sup>117</sup>

It was, moreover, a strictly Congregational exercise. Although some aspects of the Dissenters' services were and remained open to non-members, the taking of Communion was limited to, and became the badge of, full membership. At Coley/Northowram there is no doubt that this was the case, and even the Warley Dissenters, followers of the same Minister and regular attenders of the same sermons, were admitted by special arrangement only. The evidence is less certain in relation to other Congregations, but that which exists implies a similar attitude. At Mill Hill the new pastor, Timothy Manlove, was finally moved to object to Ralph Thoresby's conformist habits when he began to take the Anglican Communion regularly, and he demonstrated his non-recognition of Thoresby as a member by refusing to hold the Communion service in his presence.<sup>118</sup> With the widespread development of regular Communion-taking, the concept of membership greatly increased. For the first time Heywood began to provide certificates of release from membership at Coley for those who were moving away, since without them they could not join another Church, and at the establishment of new

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117. Heywood, I, p. 283, II, p. 39, III, pp. 111, 113, 145-6, 153; for examples of the Dissenters' habits of renewing Covenant, see I, pp. 307-32.

118. Thoresby, III, pp. 268-70, 272-3.

Independent Congregations at Leeds and Heckmondwyke, the Elders of Topcliffe Church were present to formally release the pastors, Nesse and Holdsworth, from their membership at Topcliffe.<sup>119</sup> Congregational membership never became totally exclusive and all-embracing, but it did become increasingly important and formal, and the Sacrament of the Communion played a vital part in this process.

The second development resulting from more congregational organisation was the establishment and increase of conferences and prayer-meetings held by the membership. This was also of great importance, for it provided something which had often been missing in the less organised period, the element of participation by the ordinary lay Dissenter. The extent of these activities in many Congregations is unknown, but at Coley/Northowram they became considerable, and form something approaching a Presbyterian equivalent of the strong element of lay participation which always existed in the Independent Churches. In 1673 Heywood, always concerned with future generations of Dissenters, established the first of his 'young people's meetings' at Northowram, which quickly developed into the 'young Men's conference', attended by William Clay, Anthony Lee, James Tetley, John Kershaw junior, Samuel Nicholl, Samuel Holdsworth, Timothy Holt, John Rhodes, Samuel Drake, John Hanson, James Oates, James Bland, John Gill and Timothy Crowther. The meeting was held fortnightly, and apparently did not depend upon the minister's presence, although Heywood tried to be there as often as possible. 'These' he wrote 'are our young stock, besides the old stock', and their activities were clearly a great joy to him. The encouragement of these youths seems to have been considered as of great importance, for he later established similar conferences in Cromwellbottom where Captain Hodgson then lived, and in Warley. Similar conferences were also set up for older members. In 1676 Heywood summarised the developments of the past few years,

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119. Heywood, II, pp. 30, 31; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp. 62-8; see also App. I, Pt. A, List III, Birstall/Heckmondwyke, Leeds/Call Lane.



and this provides a useful picture of the various Dissenters' meetings. The Congregation at Coley/Northowram held meetings on Sunday and upon one week-day, where Heywood preached and prayed and which were not restricted to members. In addition, there were five more strictly Congregational meetings - a Friday fast held in preparation for the Communion, and the Sunday Communion meeting itself, a fortnightly prayer-meeting kept in turn at the different houses of those who attended, the young men's conference, now held monthly, and a monthly conference in Southowram led by Hodgson and James Brooksbank, which seems now to have included both older and younger men. At Warley, in addition to Heywood's preaching, there were three meetings for prayer and conference, one, at the houses of 'John Butterworth, or James Waddington, or Thomas Bentley, by Harewood Well', held fortnightly, one held monthly at Norland, and 'now lately since I began to preach at Samuel Hopkinson's, another set up in Soyland, at Timothy Stansfield's.<sup>120</sup>

The arrangements for discussion and the content and nature of the discussion at these meetings must remain unknown, but discussion there was, and this was important. For the first time for years the ordinary lay Dissenter had a formal opportunity to question the minister, to hear his views, to suggest his own interpretations of Scripture, and to express himself publicly in prayer. If the preaching of the minister stimulated and upheld religious views, these meetings provided the mechanism of development and a real part for the individual to play. The Independents had, of course, long provided such opportunities and the most bitter and damaging of the accusations against Whitehurst at Kipping was that he had attempted to stifle this kind of discussion and deny his members these real and important rights.<sup>121</sup> It is generally accepted that the laity played a greater part, and had considerably more power, in Independent Churches than in Presbyterian groups, and while this is undoubtedly true, the

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120. Heywood, III, pp. 121, 127-8, 141, 145-6, 147, 173.

121. See App. I, Pt. A, List II, Lidget Green, List III, Bradford/Kipping.

differences seem to have lain mainly in the area of power and authority, in the exercise of Discipline, rather than in the area of religious discussion and instruction. If Heywood's arrangements at Northowram are a typical example, and we cannot be sure that they are, then the followers of Presbyterian ministers were well served in the latter area.

The strength of lay participation in the Independent Churches lay in its formal organisation through the election of Elders and the administration of Discipline, and in the less authoritarian role of the minister.<sup>122</sup> In terms of meetings and discussion this was apparently reflected in a greater willingness to criticise the views of the minister and less dependence upon his leadership. Christopher Nesse of Leeds was condemned by his Congregation for alleged weakness in the face of persecution.<sup>123</sup> Presbyterian ministers like Heywood and Dawson may have had similar experiences, but there is not the slightest evidence of any such occurrences. The best example of the independence of thought which existed among the laity lies in the attack on Richard Whitehurst by some of the Kipping Congregation, led by the Elders, John Hall and George Ward. They accused him of having said that Israel lived under a mixed and mutable Covenant, that faith was not a condition of Justification, and of having spoken against a public ministry, 'the ministry of the law'. These were matters of essential doctrine, and the Kipping rebels were, in fact, criticising their minister on basic theological grounds, and were quite prepared to take issue with him on matters which were often regarded by Presbyterians as the particular province of the Ministry. Heywood, in fact, disapproved of their behaviour, regarding it as the result of allowing too much freedom to the judgements of 'private men', although he himself would have been horrified by any of the remarks attributed to Whitehurst. The latter was also accused of more practical faults, of

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122. These issues, and the differences between Presbyterian and Independent organisation are discussed more fully below, and in Chapter IV, pp.196-7, 199-209.

123. Dale, p.113; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp.304-5.



administering the concept of Church membership in a very narrow sense, and of refusing to discuss matters of doctrine, telling members to read their Scriptures and not bother him. Too many questions, he said, 'had been the ruination of the Churches of New England'. Clearly, the Kipping Independents expected help and instruction from their minister, but they did not accord him the automatic reverence, and his views the special respect, which Heywood apparently enjoyed at Northowram.<sup>124</sup> A similar example can be seen at Topcliffe in 1674, when Samuel Bailey, the new Pastor, was prevented from taking ministerial ordination as well as being called by the Elders, because a significant number of the Congregation objected to it as a denial of their rights, and threatened to split the Church. Although Bailey himself wished to be ordained, and had the support of Thomas Jolly, the determination of some of his members won the day and the two ministers gave in.<sup>125</sup> In some ways, therefore, the Independents demanded much more of their ministers, and could certainly put over their own opinions with some force, but the difference appears to lie in the relationship between minister and people, not in the extent and number of meetings, for worship or discussion of theological matters. There is no evidence that these were more formal or more meaningful than at Northowram at least.<sup>126</sup>

The frequency and extent of the meetings outlined above points to one very important fact in Dissenting life - to be a devout Dissenter took up a great deal of time. Moreover, attendance at meetings was only a part, albeit a vital part, of the Dissenter's religion. At least as great an emphasis was placed upon his private spiritual condition, upon private reading, prayer, the state of his soul and consideration of this by constant meditation and renewal of his covenant with God. The clearest example of this among the ministers, as in so many other areas of Dissenting life, is provided by Heywood, but in this case there is evidence of similar activities by others. Heywood's diaries show

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124. Heywood, II, pp. 101, 112, 240-3; Joseph Lister, Autobiography, p. 28.

125. Jolly, Notebook, p. 14.

126. Cf. Jolly, Notebook, passim.

the amount of time he spent in private prayer and meditation. In the same two weeks of August 1678 during which he has been described above as so active in preaching and pastoral work, he also spent at least some part of every day in private communication with his conscience and God. On Thursday, the first of August, he 'talked with Mr Issot (Pastor of the Craven Congregation), did some studying, time in private prayer', on Saturday the third, he was 'home all day, god helped in study and prayer', on Wednesday, the seventh, he 'stayed home, studied and prayed, only visited Jeremiah Baxter's wife', and on Saturday, the tenth, he 'stayed home and studied, my wife and I found time in the afternoon for prayer together.'<sup>127</sup> The fruits of this meditation and prayer can be found in his Anecdote and Event books, at least as long as his diaries and full of 'Memorials of Mercy', 'Providences relating to myself and others', and not least, 'Solemn Covenants'. In these he expresses his views on, and fears for, 'the state of the nation', his considerations of his position as a Dissenter and the continuing need to justify his activities outside the Church of England, his joys and apprehensions concerning the condition and development of his sons and his apparently besetting sin of pride, especially in his abilities and success as a preacher.<sup>128</sup> In relation to all of these matters he examines himself and his conscience, prays for the forgiveness of his own sins and those of others, and solemnly renews his Covenant with God. For Heywood all events in his own and others lives, all joys and sorrows, related to his religion, to the relationship between man and God in both an individual and more general sense. The Notebook of Thomas Jolly reflects similar preoccupations, although in somewhat less detail.<sup>129</sup>

As ministers, it might be expected that Heywood and Jolly would spend a great deal of time in such pursuits, but the evidence that exists concerning laymen reflects a similar, although perhaps less intense, devotion. Ralph

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127. Heywood, II, pp. 69-70.

128. e.g. Heywood I, Event Books 1672-5, especially pp. 307-44, III, Anecdotes 1660-70, especially pp. 18-23, 61-2.

129. Jolly, Notebook, passim.



Thoresby was a merchant, and was also greatly interested in a most secular occupation, the study of topography and the collection of antiquarian items and artefacts. Nevertheless he found the time each day for private meditation and prayer, and was greatly upset if these periods were interrupted. Any particular event in his own life or in the life of the nation was the occasion of such private prayer, as in 1682, when the Leeds Presbyterians were locked out of Mill Hill Chapel, and he was 'much affected in meditation of the inexpressible loss of our public liberties, which cost me multitudes of tears and sighs'. In 1696, when Thoresby was having troubles with Timothy Manlove at Mill Hill over his regular attendance at Church, he was greatly comforted by a letter from Heywood which advised him that, whatever form his public profession took, he should 'be sure you keep close to God in secret, wherein much of the life of religion consists'.<sup>130</sup> Much less can be known of other laymen, who did not keep such detailed diaries, but that busy lawyer, and later Judge of the King's Bench, Sir Thomas Rokeby, left behind a private journal which consisted of daily self-examinations and renewals of Covenant.<sup>131</sup> More generally, the extent of the practice of private prayer and meditation is reflected in the frequent requests for advice, both written and verbal, which Heywood received from members of his Congregation, and others, on matters of doctrine, personal behaviour and reaction to events, and in the equal frequency with which he was requested to lend out copies of his own and others' works or to write private treatises on such matters. In two lists covering such loans from 1668 to 1680, Heywood mentions over 300 different people, many of them on more than one occasion, and he often refers to requests that he visit a person and advise on such matters privately.<sup>132</sup> These occasions did not simply arise in the course of a visit, although many others must have done, but were specifically requested, and must

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130. Thoresby, I and III, numerous examples, especially I, pp.126-7, III, p.386.

131. A brief memoir of Sir Thomas Rokeby, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, No.37 (1860).

132. Heywood, numerous examples, especially II, pp.211-16, III, pp.51-7, 66-73, 75-6.



have resulted from the private prayers and meditation of the many lay Dissenters in question.

The exercise of religion among Dissenters was not, therefore, merely a matter of attending meetings, but also of expressing their faith in every part and in every corner of their daily lives, or at least of relating these to their spiritual state. It was, moreover, a part of their social life. The numerous visits undertaken by Heywood were not merely religious, but also social occasions, to be enjoyed as such. The Dissenters' churches fulfilled a social and community as well as a more strictly religious role, and the ministers were not unaware of the value of this. Religion was not merely a matter of struggling with conscience and fear of sin, it was also a positive influence and something to be enjoyed. In 1692 Thomas Sharp of Mill Hill was complaining that this fact appeared to be forgotten, that a growth of formality was leading to a spiritual decline, and that some parents were turning their children away from (the Dissenters') religion by 'setting an ugly face' upon it, 'by sourness, moroseness, fanaticalness'.<sup>133</sup>

Just as religion was to lie at the core of the Dissenter's life, so the Congregations, when organised, expected to exercise a considerable measure of control over the lives of their members. There is little written evidence of this in relation to the Presbyterians, probably because discipline was exercised by the minister and therefore often privately and informally. Its exercise in a more public fashion related to acceptance at the Communion service, as when Manlove refused to hold the Communion in Thoresby's presence, but Heywood never mentions expelling a member from this, although he does record the 'falling off' of some. In the Independent Churches, however, where Discipline was administered by the Congregation as a whole, there are interesting examples of

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133. Thoresby, I, pp. 221-4. The Dissenting Churches were not of course unique in this respect, but the extent of lay participation perhaps provided a more satisfying social outlet than was available to the ordinary person in the Anglican Church. A similar role was fulfilled by the Methodists in later years.



how far it was expected to extend. In 1678 two members of Topcliffe Church quarrelled over the sale of a horse and, because the Congregation felt it to be its duty to arbitrate, a serious general quarrel broke out.<sup>134</sup> The Church-book of Altham and Wymondhouses shows the Congregation exercising discipline over wide areas of behaviour and claiming the right to approve or forbid marriages. When Jolly's own son, Samuel, wanted to marry a conformist the Congregation declared against it and he was dissuaded. Later he married 'of his own choice', but with the consent of the Church obtained beforehand. Jolly was always greatly concerned that discipline should not be exercised too harshly, and that a member, even one who had been expelled, should always be forgiven upon repentance. The extent to which he was successful in ensuring this varied, and judgements could sometimes be harsh. Forgiveness was often forthcoming, however, as when John Tipping refused to house a meeting for fear of the fine, and when his house was burnt down shortly afterwards he believed that this was a judgement from God, repented, and was forgiven to such an extent that the congregation helped him to rebuild it.<sup>135</sup> The organised Congregations did, in fact, offer help and support to members in difficulty wherever they could, although they were nowhere near as efficient and organised in this respect as the Quakers. The records of Dagger Lane Chapel, Hull, show that the Church had a 'stock' from which money was drawn to help members and that this was placed in the hands of the Deacons, helped upon occasion by other leading members. In 1681 some of the Church stock was used to free Mr John Kirkhouse from 'captivity', presumably for attending conventicles, although possibly for debt, and in 1682 five pounds was set aside to be used for poor members of the Church. In 1674 Edward Andrew, the Deacon, and Michael Bielby, 'merchant', entered bonds of thirty pounds for the indenture of Jabez Carter as apprentice to John Crispin, 'master mariner'. Jabez was the son of Samuel Carter, who had been elected Deacon of the Church in 1659, and who had died in 1670 leaving

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134. Heywood, II, pp. 243-4.

135. Jolly, Notebook, numerous references, especially pp. 75, 79, 133-5.

the family in some straits.<sup>136</sup> Whether such organised aid was offered in the Presbyterian Congregations is unknown.

Throughout the period from 1662 to 1689, then, Dissent was an active and powerful force in the lives of its adherents, influencing and guiding every aspect of their lives. The life of the Yorkshire Dissenters was demanding, and, since so many remained faithful, presumably rewarding in many ways. This life was expressed in public and private forms, within and outside the organised structure of the Presbyterian and Independent Congregations. Reference has been made above to the development of organised Dissenting institutions, and its effect upon the Dissenters' lives. It remains to examine the structure of these institutions, the organisation of the Dissenters' Congregations, and the role of the ministry within them.

The extant records of the Dissenting Congregations in this period are few. The records of Topcliffe Church have been published by W. Smith in his Topcliffe and Morley Registers, but are very scanty, containing, for this early period, little more than lists of baptisms and burials. The records of Dagger Lane Chapel are fuller, at least from 1669, and provide some evidence as to structure and organisation. The records of Altham Chapel are full, although it was not, of course, in Yorkshire. It is significant that all of these Churches had been gathered and organised before 1660. A certain amount of information regarding Kipping Chapel, organised in 1663, is available in the autobiography of one of its leading members, Joseph Lister, but this information is of a personal rather than an institutional nature. There are no records of any Presbyterian Congregations other than those provided by the diaries of Ralph Thoresby and Oliver Heywood.

The theoretical and philosophical implications of the organisation of the Congregations, especially concerning the issue of Separatism, are discussed below, in Chapters Four and Five, but it is also important to examine the structure

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136. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol. I, pp. 1, 2, 11, 19.



of these institutions, and to demonstrate the extent of uniformity and variation. The four Independent Churches for which records are available were separatist in theory and practice, and were fully Congregational. This was expressed in the rules included in the Church-book of Altham and Wymondhouses, where membership was defined by acceptance at the Communion table, contacts with the established Church were frowned upon, arrangements were made with regard to the relationship with 'sister-Churches', i.e. other Independent Congregations, which relationship was to be formal and limited, and Discipline was to be exercised by the whole Congregation and by the Elders as its delegates. No rule excluded non-members from the general meetings of the church, but they were not permitted to attend the Communion, nor the meetings called to exercise Discipline or to decide upon matters of policy affecting the whole Church. The children of members were to be baptised by the minister, but were not permitted to take Communion until they reached an age (not defined) where they could take on the responsibilities of adult membership, and then not until they had solemnly and publicly renewed their baptismal covenant. The baptism of non-members' children was not permitted unless some members would vouch for them. Discipline was to be administered by means of admonition, and only if this was ignored should expulsion be considered. If repentance was shown, re-admission was possible, by a decision of the whole Congregation. Within this framework a special respect was accorded to the Pastor, and to the Elders as his assistants. A Deacon was also to be elected, to assist at the Communion and to organise poor relief.<sup>137</sup>

The fierce independence of the organisation thus established, despite the inclusion of some 'Presbyterians' among its first members, may well have reflected the time of its inception, in 1651, for the rules themselves include the comment that the Church 'could not look to other Churches for advice', and noted that the Elders were elected entirely within the Church because of this, implying that had it been available, the presence of the Elders of other

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137. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 121-4.

Churches would have been sought. Moreover, there was a slight softening of the apparent rigidity of outlook in the comment that 'terms of difference amongst God's people, as Presbyterians and Independents' would be ignored. This is no doubt reflected in the nature of the early membership, but the desire to show goodwill to others of 'God's people' apparently survived, for in 1665 it was agreed that 'the truly godly of other persuasions' might occasionally be admitted to Communion.<sup>138</sup> In view of Thomas Jolly's later work for Dissenting unity<sup>139</sup> this desire may well be attributed, at least partly, to his influence. Certainly, however, any Presbyterian influence which may have existed faded quickly as the attitude of the Church to mixed marriages and occasional conformity<sup>140</sup> clearly demonstrates. The content and tenor of the rules of Altham Church were classically Independent, and the Church-book for this period makes it clear that these rules were followed closely in daily practice, and in an Independent spirit. Discipline was administered by the whole Congregation, and the issues concerned, apart from general matters of bad behaviour and immorality, centred largely on such matters as marriage with conformists, contacts with or attendance at Church, and relationships with other Congregations where these things were permitted.<sup>141</sup>

No such rules are recorded for the Churches at Dagger Lane, Topcliffe, and Kipping, but the evidence of their practice suggests that they must have been similar. At Topcliffe there is no reference to a Deacon, but there were certainly Elders, one of whom was Captain John Pickering, owner of Topcliffe Hall.<sup>142</sup>

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138. Jolly, Notebook, pp.123,130.

139. See below, Chapter IV pp.192-8.

140. Reference has been made to mixed marriages above, and attitudes to Occasional Conformity are discussed below in Chapter IV.

141. Jolly, Notebook, passim.

142. W. Smith, Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.1-21; see also App.I, Pt.A, List III, Topcliffe. Topcliffe Chapel also appointed, in 1674, a 'teacher', Gamaliel Marsden, who was, in fact, an ordained minister, and later succeeded the then Pastor, Samuel Bailey. There is no other example of such an appointment in Yorkshire, and the reason for it in this case is unknown. It may have been an attempt to find employment for Marsden, or it may possibly have been a sop to those who were worried because Bailey was not ordained - see below, and App.I.



At Kipping the Elders for most of the period were John Hall and George Ward, later succeeded by Joseph Lister, although again there is no evidence of a Deacon.<sup>143</sup> At Dagger Lane there were two Deacons, John Bethell, elected in 1656, and Samuel Carter in 1659, although the Church had been founded as early as 1643. By 1669 Bethell was dead, having been succeeded by John Robinson, and in 1670 when Carter died, Edward Andrew was elected to the office. At some time between 1674 and 1677 Andrew died, and with Robinson having moved on to the Eldership, the two were replaced by Michael Bielby and Thomas Goodlad until 1710. At this point the office of Deacon seems to have lapsed, and there is no evidence as to the reason. Significantly perhaps, the Eldership seems to have been less strong in this Chapel than elsewhere. In 1659 Edward Atkinson was Elder, and he was succeeded in 1674-7 by John Robinson. A second Elder was now chosen, in the person of Bernard Scott, but upon Robinson's death sometime between 1688 and 1699, the Church reverted to one Elder, Bernard Scott. It may be that the Deacons performed some of the offices fulfilled by the Elders elsewhere, and that one Elder was therefore deemed sufficient. From 1663 to 1669, when the Church lacked a Pastor, Atkinson appears to have fulfilled the preaching function, which perhaps made the help of two Deacons necessary, and it is possible that in this Chapel something of this practice continued, with administrative tasks undertaken by the two Deacons and the office of Elder retaining something of a preaching role and probably a disciplinary role. For this office one person might be deemed sufficient, or indeed fit. Such conjectures are supported by the fact that in the eighteenth century, as the office of Deacon diminished in importance, the role of the Eldership was strengthened by the election of two such officers. What is perhaps more significant for the period from 1662 to 1689 is that in this Chapel, where the Eldership was relatively weak, the minister appears to have had greater power than in other Independent Churches, for alone among the Independent pastors of Yorkshire, Richard Astley appears to have had no difficulties or restrictions placed upon him by the Congregation, and alone

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<sup>143</sup>. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Bradford/Kipping.

among these Churches, the Chapel at Dagger Lane was not rent by internal disputes in this period.<sup>144</sup>

Despite these variations, however, the structure of these Churches was remarkably similar in a period of persecution and difficulties of communication. So, apparently, was the exercise of Discipline. No evidence is available for the Churches at Topcliffe and Kipping, but at Altham and Dagger Lane the pattern of admonition, often more than once, and of expulsion only as a last resort, was carefully followed, and the causes of admonition seem to have been similar. General bad behaviour, especially drunkenness and absence from meetings, appear to have been the most common problems, but there is much less evidence at Dagger Lane of strictures involving contacts with the established Church and marriage to non-Independents. Whether this was because they were less severely regarded or because they simply did not occur, is unclear, but the latter seems unlikely, as names of Dagger Lane members appear in the lists of borough officers, which appointments presumably involved some form at least of occasional attendance at Church.<sup>145</sup>

There appears, then, in this period, to have been a clear and widely accepted structure of Independency, by which the Independent Churches of Yorkshire may be grouped and defined. Given the situation in which Dissenters operated, the variations in practice were relatively slight, and those which occurred may as well be attributed to differences of personality and variations of circumstance as to any theoretical or philosophical cause. In contrast, there is no evidence of any such structure at Mill Hill, in Oliver Heywood's Congregation at Coley/Northowram, or in any of the other Presbyterian Congregations.<sup>146</sup> Thoresby does not mention the office of Elder, or that of Deacon, and when a meeting was convened to discuss reaction to the

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144. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, especially p.10.

145. See Jolly, Notebook, and Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, p.19.

146. The labelling of Congregations as Presbyterian raises the issue of the difficulties of defining a Presbyterian in this period. In the cases of Mill Hill and Coley/Northowram the extent of the evidence and the self-definitions provided in the diaries of Thoresby and Heywood leave no doubt. A discussion of the general problem is included below, but has been deferred until after some account of the characteristics of the indentifiable Presbyterian groups and ministers has been provided.



recall of the Indulgence licences in 1675, it consisted of Richard Stretton, the minister, Michael Idle, a sympathiser whose family attended conventicles but who was not himself an active member, and other 'leading men'.<sup>147</sup> In the Presbyterian Congregations, apparently, eminence depended upon social standing and length of membership; not upon any office other than that of minister. Such considerations were not, of course, absent from the Independent Churches. Captain Pickering of Topcliffe, Ward and Hall of Kipping, Robinson, Bielby, Scott and Atkinson of Dagger Lane were all men of considerable substance and standing in the community, but the important difference was that in the Independent Churches eminence was attached to the office, and the eminence of the person was a separate, although undoubtedly contributory, factor.

The records left by Oliver Heywood tell us even less of the structure of his Congregation, but this in itself implies that there was little formal organisation and discipline, beyond that created and operated by him. The records of Northowram are peculiarly valuable in that they contain what was probably the equivalent of the Altham declaration of rules, in the declarations made by Pastor and people when the Congregation was formally established in 1672. The Congregation met and Heywood made a declaration of his duties as Pastor, 'to give myself to the Lord's work among this people, in studying the scriptures, preaching the Word in season and out of season, praying with and for them, watching over them, instructing, admonishing, exhorting them publicly and privately, endeavouring to convert sinners, to confirm, comfort and quicken Saints, to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, exercise discipline according to the rules of the gospel, so far as I am convinced from the Word, to walk before them in holy example', and in return the members subscribed to three declarations, one concerning the essentials of faith, another consenting to membership and to take Communion there, and a third accepting Heywood as Pastor and of their duty to 'maintain communion with one another'.<sup>148</sup>

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147. Heywood, I, p. 336.

148. Heywood, II, pp. 20-22.



The contrast between this and the long and careful rules of the Altham Church-book is enormous, and suggests a very different structure. Decisions were to be taken by Heywood, discipline was to be exercised by him according to his interpretation of the gospel, and would not necessarily be public. The work of conversion is mentioned, whereas it is never referred to at Altham. Heywood's formal inception of the Congregation was concerned with articles of faith and the duties of the Pastor in a religious community, with the membership playing a largely passive role. The Altham Church-book described the rules for a selfgoverning Church. In terms of meeting, preaching and praying, practical differences were probably not very great. In terms of the role and position of the minister and control of the Church, the contrast was significant. The theoretical implications of this and the problems it caused between the denominations are discussed in Chapter IV. The practical implications are demonstrated in the daily life of the two Congregations, in the exercise of discipline and above all in the power of the minister to take and make decisions.

One excellent example of the different positions of Oliver Heywood and Thomas Jolly lies in their reactions to persecution, for in this instance both faced the same dilemma - how far to continue their activities when danger threatened. In 1673, when the Indulgence was withdrawn, Oliver Heywood decided to continue with meetings, despite a certain apprehension. In 1675, when the Indulgence licences were recalled, he decided to cease preaching and announced this to his Congregation at the Sunday meeting. His reason was a desire to prove his peaceable intentions and his loyalty to the King, and he had consulted other ministers, particularly Stretton of Leeds, by whom he had been advised to exercise extreme caution. His announcement was greeted with 'tears and regrets' and this may have influenced him to resume his work fairly quickly, but again, in this reversal of his decision, the paramount reason was, by his own account, the example and advice of other ministers.<sup>149</sup> In contrast, at Altham, Thomas Jolly

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149. Heywood, I, pp. 139-40, III, pp. 303-4.



did not seek advice from other ministers on these matters, but discussed them in a formal meeting with his Congregation. On one occasion, at least, the decision went against his clearly expressed wishes, a decision which Jolly accepted and obeyed. In 1674 the Church was worried that Captain Nowell, Jolly's bitter enemy and chief persecutor, planned to break up the meeting and arrest Jolly, and met to decide what to do. Jolly wished to carry on with the meetings, 'as being most honourable to our progression in those circumstances', and promised to bear his own fine, but 'through the discouragement of the master of the house and distraction of the people at first, they inclined to depart, and so I was constrained with much trouble to yield to the dismissing of the assembly'.<sup>150</sup> In fact the Congregation soon changed its mind, but the significant point is that on both occasions the decision was taken by the Congregation, and the minister's power was limited to persuasion and prestige.

There was, then, an important difference in the relative positions of Heywood and Jolly within their respective Congregations, a difference which constituted one of the major areas of dispute between Presbyterian and Independent persuasions. It would be misleading, however, to accept the formal and theoretical difference without some reservations, for in practice its effects were softened by the personal and official prestige of the Independent minister on the one hand, and by the Presbyterian minister's awareness of and concern for the feelings of his Congregation on the other. In the incidents described above it is significant that, in the end, both groups chose the same path, and that in reversing his decision Heywood was to some extent influenced by the needs of his Congregation while Jolly was able to use his persuasive powers and the respect accorded to his views as the minister to bring his Congregation to his own way of thinking. The difference in their power was real, and significant, but it was not as rigid as the structure of the two Churches might imply. Moreover there were always variations in practice and differences within as well

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150. Jolly, Notebook, p.13.

as between the two denominations, so that, over the spectrum of puritan Dissenters' opinion, the two denominations tended to shade together. In many matters, at this time, it is hard to draw a clear and unbroken line between them. Heywood was a man of immense prestige, and, although not personally autocratic, had clear views on the position of the ministry. He condemned unequivocally all preaching by those whom he considered insufficiently learned, and insisted, for example, that his own sons serve a long apprenticeship between the end of their formal training and their ordination into the ministry. Though records are scarce it does appear that some other Presbyterian ministers were more likely to consult the lay leaders of their Congregations on matters of discipline and policy. At Mill Hill there was a body of Chapel Trustees with whom Stretton met to discuss such issues, and he appears to have taken notice of their views. The same practice, by then not apparently confined to the official Trustees, was followed by his successor, Thomas Sharp.<sup>151</sup> At Dagger Lane, on the other hand, the Independent Richard Astley seems, although again the evidence is not clear enough for certainty, to have played a significantly more authoritative role than did Jolly at Altham.<sup>152</sup> While there clearly was a difference between the denominations on this issue of the minister's power, it should not be exaggerated, nor either group seen as totally uniform in practice. Moreover, there can be no doubt of the importance of the minister in both persuasions. Neither Presbyterian nor Independent Congregations would survive for long without one. Large numbers of groups died out because no regular minister was available, and although the Independents often fared better in such situations, having Elders to act as partial substitutes, they were badly affected by the lack of a Pastor. In 1702 Accepted Lister was persuaded to return to Kipping because the Church was dying out for lack of a minister, and the problems of Topcliffe Chapel as described in the Common Fund show how deleterious could be the effects of instability in the pastoral function.<sup>153</sup> The role of the minister differed in the

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151. Heywood, I, p. 336; Thoresby, I, pp. 112, 153.

152. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol. I, pp. 1-11.

153. See Appendix I, Pt. A; List II contains a number of groups who died out for lack of a minister, and List III describes the difficulties of Kipping and Topcliffe.



Independent Churches from that of the Presbyterians, but the difference was one of degree rather than one of type.

In the same way did views and practice vary on the important matter of Ministerial ordination and the calling of a Pastor. For the Presbyterian the minister was granted the power of his office through the ceremony of ordination and though called to the Pastoral office by the Congregation, did not depend upon any such call for his essential status, that of an ordained minister, fit to preach and administer the sacraments, and blessed by God for that work. Hence the initiation of such ceremonies in 1678, hence the strictures directed at Thorpe and Darnton for having acted in a ministerial capacity before the ceremony, and hence their desire, after some sixteen years of service, to regularise their position through ordination.<sup>154</sup> For the Independent the issue was more variable. All Independents agreed on the importance of the calling of a Pastor to his office by the Congregation, and insisted on the holding of a ceremony to express this. Walmsley Church, the sister Church of Altham, had been much concerned by the fact that Jolly had set up a Congregation rather than been called by them, and, in the end, accepted the irregularity because of the conditions of the time and the inability of Altham to obtain the help of other Churches at the time of its inception in 1650.<sup>155</sup> While some went as far as to argue that such a call was all that was necessary, that in fact it was this which conferred upon the Pastor his ministerial as well as his Pastoral power and that ministerial ordination was to be avoided as detracting from this, others, including Thomas Jolly, believed that both ceremonies were necessary.<sup>156</sup> In Yorkshire, in this period, the practice seems to have varied considerably. Most of the Independent ministers were, in fact, ministerially ordained, and most who entered the ministry after 1678, when ordination was available, chose to undergo the ceremony. Thomas Whitaker at Call Lane, Leeds, Timothy Jolly

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154. Heywood, II, pp. 194-5.

155. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 124-5.

156. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 14, 44.

at Sheffield, Accepted Lister at Kipping, all received Ministerial ordination, and even such an old Independent as Robert Dickenson, Elder of Fisher's Church at Sheffield, who preached to that Church and to friends at his own house in Fishlake for many years, eventually sought to undergo the process in 1681, along with the new Pastor, Timothy Jolly.<sup>157</sup> At Topcliffe, however, a major dispute arose in 1674, when Samuel Bailey was called as Pastor and desired also to be ordained. Bailey himself and Thomas Jolly, who was present, wanted him to be ordained by ministers and called by the Elders of Topcliffe and other Churches in one ceremony, but so adamant were their opponents that, in the end, they had to accept a Pastoral calling by Topcliffe Elders alone as sufficient, or split and destroy the Church.<sup>158</sup> At Sheffield Timothy Jolly achieved the kind of compromise sought by Bailey. He received a preliminary call from the Chapel in 1680, and acted as Pastor for a probationary period of one year before being ordained as a minister and called by the Elders in a joint ceremony in 1681.<sup>159</sup> By the end of the period this does, in fact, appear to have been the commonly accepted compromise, and satisfied all but the most extreme of both denominations.

The Dissenting Ministry was closely linked and intertwined with the Congregation, and was, in part, defined by the type and pattern of congregational organisation. Nevertheless, the Ministry did constitute a distinct institution, with a life and vigour of its own, above and beyond the limits of the Congregation. In this area, again, there were important differences between Presbyterian and Independent, but again the extent of these differences varied, and there was much common ground. For the strict Independent there existed no ministerial function apart from that of Pastor, and no-one who did not fulfil a pastoral function could be accepted as a minister. Hence Jonas Waterhouse of Bradford, Edward Prime of Sheffield, and many other ejected ministers were not recognised as such in Independent theory, for, though they continued to preach after 1662,

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157. Heywood, II, p.199.

158. Jolly, Notebook, p.14.

159. Heywood, II, p.199.



they never accepted the position of Pastor to any Congregation. In fact, however, few carried theoretical logic to such extremes, and in 1670 John Owen himself declared that the Congregation did possess 'the power of the keys', so that, necessary as was the formal calling of the Pastor by the Congregation, it did not alone confer upon him the status of minister and should be supplemented if not preceded by some form of ministerial ordination.<sup>160</sup> This major declaration was apparently unknown to, or ignored by, Topcliffe Church in 1674, but it was in line with Bailey's and Jolly's attitudes upon that occasion, and was widely accepted by the end of the period.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, in the 1690s, when the Independent Church at Attercliffe found itself without a pastor, the services of Edward Prime were found acceptable for some years, although he never formally accepted the position of Pastor.

The Presbyterians also were apparently moving towards the idea that a minister's status depended on two sources, his ordination and his acceptance of some kind of pastoral role. While never retracting their insistence upon ministerial ordination, they do seem to have come to lay increasing emphasis upon the importance of the pastoral function. From 1672 onwards an increasing number of Presbyterian ministers sought to organise their hearers into Congregations, and to take upon themselves the role of Pastor, much as described in Heywood's declaration of 1672 at Northowram, and by 1689 few ministers sought to preach without such responsibilities. There is no real evidence to suggest that this involved any major theoretical adjustment, for practical incentives were quite sufficient to explain the development. The organisation of a Congregation and the fulfilling of pastoral duties by the minister provided a more regular and reliable religious life for Dissenters of all persuasions, as well as a more regular and reliable source of income for the minister. Moreover, ministers were scarce<sup>162</sup> and Heywood, for example, insisted that his sons should

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160. Calamy, I, pp. 327-8.

161. See above.

162. See below, Chapter III, pp. 145-56 for a discussion of the numbers of ministers.

take on a pastoral function rather than spend their lives, however comfortably, as private chaplains, on the basis that their talents and gifts should not be put to such limited use, to the aiding and upholding of the wealthy few, while so many went spiritually hungry.<sup>163</sup> By 1689, then, despite continuing differences in theory, and in practical emphasis, both Presbyterians and Independents seem to have envisaged the institution of the Ministry as containing two distinct but inter-related parts - that of the Minister, called by God and ordained by other ministers, and that of the Pastor, called or chosen by his people - and expected these parts to be combined in the same person.

As an institution the Dissenting ministry was both strong and weak - strong apparently in its educational and professional standards, and weak in numbers. The two conditions were not entirely unrelated, for one reason for the scarcity of ministers was probably the insistence upon maintaining and upholding the high standard of education and professionalism, the long process of preparation and the severe examination of candidates for the ministry. The Yorkshire ministers of this period came from two main sources - the dwindling ranks of the ejected, and the increasing number of candidates emerging from Frankland's Academy.<sup>164</sup> The emphasis upon the maintenance of standards can be seen in the training of the latter, and significantly, these were of both Presbyterian and Independent persuasions.

After spending some early years at a private school, the young Yorkshire Dissenters would proceed to Frankland's Academy at Rathmell, where standards were high and courses would include Logic, Metaphysics, Somatology, Pneumatology, Natural Philosophy, Divinity and Chronology. Lectures were given in Latin, strict discipline was maintained, and, in addition, much time was spent in religious exercises, prayer and preaching. Those who wished to graduate, like Heywood's sons, proceeded to the Scottish Universities and were promoted to a degree after only one session's attendance.<sup>165</sup> At this point the aspiring

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163. Heywood, IV, p. 307.

164. There were a few exceptions, such as Matthew Smith of Warley and Mixenden (see App. I, Pt. A, List III) who was privately educated by Ralph Ward at York, and Timothy Hodgson, who attended Cambridge University, but these were few.

165. Dale, p. 189; Heywood, III, pp. 174-5; Thoresby, III, p. 111.



minister would probably embark on a long practical apprenticeship, during which he would preach publicly, under the guidance of an experienced minister. He might do this while remaining at the Academy, preaching under Frankland's supervision to the Dissenting groups in Craven and Swaledale,<sup>166</sup> or he might leave and work under the guidance of another minister, as did Nathaniel Priestley when he preached from 1689 to 1694 in the Halifax area under the supervision of Oliver Heywood. Heywood's own sons, John and Eliezer, preached for many years in the Halifax and Craven areas under their father's supervision, before proceeding to ordination.<sup>167</sup> Alternately, or indeed in addition to this experience, the young candidate might spend some years with a wealthy family, preaching and perhaps acting as tutor to the children, but this experience was more commonly offered after ordination.<sup>168</sup>

Having gained some practical experience, the aspiring minister could then proceed to Ordination, in itself a testing experience. Only one detailed account of a Dissenting Ordination in Yorkshire survives from this period, and that was the first one carried out, in Craven in 1678,<sup>169</sup> but there is no reason to believe that it was in any way untypical, especially in the care taken to examine the candidates thoroughly and to ensure that the ceremony was in every way valid. Three candidates were ordained, John Issot, Richard Thorpe, and John Darnton, all of whom had been preaching for many years. The longevity of their previous ministry led to some searching questions about its validity and their fitness for ordination, but it was finally accepted that peculiar circumstances and the unavailability of ministerial ordination in the previous sixteen years were sufficient to excuse their irregular activities.

The ceremony was held in the house of Richard Mitchell in Craven. On Monday the eighth of July, 1678, there assembled the Craven Congregation led by Mitchell and John Hey, and three ministers, Oliver Heywood, Joseph Dawson, and

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166. See App.I,Pt.A, List II, Rathmell, List III, Swaledale.

167. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Halifax/Northowram and Halifax Town.

168. The Hewleys of York employed Timothy Hodgson as their private chaplain in 1671, immediately after he left Cambridge. He was not ordained until 1680 - see App.II,Pt.A, Hewley of York.

169. See Heywood,II,pp.194-6,197,199,202-4 for an account of the first ordination and references to others carried out later.

Richard Frankland. Some debate was held over whether this number of ministers was sufficient, five having been originally invited, and it was finally decided that such a number was valid. On Tuesday, July the ninth, the Congregation met again, and Heywood preached and administered the Lord's Supper, after which the examination of the ordinands commenced. On the Wednesday this was continued, their certificates of recommendation examined, and then each had to argue a thesis on some theological point. Each ordinand was questioned on this thesis, and then on more general points, such as their attitude to the ministry and diligence in private prayer and study. Finally the three Ministers 'prayed over them, laid on hands, and owned them as brethren'.<sup>170</sup>

By such ceremonies, then, the young candidate was finally accepted into the ministry. At this point he might now take on the function of Pastor, or he might extend his practical apprenticeship for some time. In general it can be said that the Independents took the former course and the Presbyterians the latter, but variations were considerable. John Issot, for example, was ordained by the ministers and then immediately called to the Pastorship at Craven, while Timothy Jolly was both ordained and called at Sheffield in one joint ceremony. In Hull, however, at Dagger Lane, Jeremiah Gill was asked to serve as a probationary pastor in 1694, when Richard Astley died, and although already ordained, was not called as Pastor until 1697. In the case of the Presbyterians, apprenticeships were often even longer. John Heywood preached with his father for some years, was ordained in 1681, and then became private chaplain to the family of Westby of Ravenfield, where he remained for more than ten years, preaching occasionally also at Rotherham, before becoming the regular minister at Rotherham. Not until 1694, when he was called to Pontefract, did he take on full Pastoral functions. His younger brother Eliezer had become tutor to the Taylor family at Wallinwells in 1678, was ordained in 1682, and remained with the family as chaplain for some years before finally becoming Pastor to a

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170. Heywood, II, pp. 194-6.



Congregation in Dronfield, Derbyshire.<sup>171</sup> Few if any ministers of the Independent persuasion could have accepted such a period of non-pastoral activity, but many accepted some form of probationary period, and many Presbyterians, like Nathaniel Priestley at Halifax, accepted Pastoral functions within a few years of ordination.

As with the structure of the Congregations, there were marked differences of belief and practice between ministers of the Independent and Presbyterian persuasions, although there was, to a much greater extent than with the Congregations, a unity in the institution of the Ministry which transcended denominational boundaries. John Issot was an Independent, son of an Elder of Topcliffe Church, and Pastor to the Independent Congregation in Craven, but he was ordained by three Presbyterian ministers, and throughout the period the relationships between ministers of different persuasions in Yorkshire were marked by friendship and fellow feeling rather than by hostility. Nevertheless, differences there were, and these raise the question of whether it is necessary to define the two denominations, and how this may be done. Where the Independents are concerned, the matter is relatively simple. They believed in the concept of the gathered Church, a group of believers voluntarily contracted to meet, worship and submit to the Discipline of the Church as exercised by their chosen Minister and their elected Elders, and their practice corresponded with this concept. Variations in the power of the Minister, in the attitude to attending the established Church to hear sermons,<sup>172</sup> and in relatively minor matters of practical organisation, such as the appointment of Deacons to administer poor relief, do not conflict with the general uniformity of practice and belief, and therefore with the definition of an Independent. Defining a 'Presbyterian' however, is a far more complex and difficult matter. Where the term has been used above, it has been taken from the minister's own self-definition, usually

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171. For all the ministers and Congregations mentioned above, see App.I.Pt.A, under the relevant place names, and for Westby of Ravenfield and Taylor of Wallinwells, see App.II,Pt.A.

172. See below, Chapter IV, pp. 206-7.

in the application made for a licence in 1672. While this is valuable, especially in talking of individual ministers, it is not entirely reliable, and will not serve as an adequate definition of the denomination as a whole, partly because the applications do not state reasons for the use of the term. Moreover, not all the applications are available to the historian, and what is often known, the term used on the licence when it was issued, was not always correct. There are several examples where the historian can prove the term 'Presbyterian' or 'Independent' to be erroneous, although it is significant that most of these errors occurred in labelling Independents as Presbyterians, possibly because the latter had often been used as general description of puritans, while the term Independent was more specific and required more specific understanding and knowledge of the complexities of puritan views and usage.<sup>173</sup> For example, the licence issued to Matthew Bloom of Sheffield described him as 'Presbyterian', but any knowledge of Bloom's career, both before and after 1662 makes it clear that he was an Independent.<sup>174</sup> The greatest danger in these errors lies, not with those such as the description of Bloom which can be detected and corrected, but with those involving more obscure figures, about whose activities little is known, and which therefore cannot be seen. Many of the ministers and groups mentioned in Appendix I, especially in List II, are known to the historian only through one or two scraps of evidence, of which the licence issued in 1672 is often the most important, and any possible errors may therefore pass totally undetected. Moreover, as the period progressed, an increasing number of ministers were of a new generation, not ejected in 1662 and often not licensed in 1672. The criterion of the licence terminology cannot apply to them at all, and a definition based on this must therefore ignore a significant section of both denominations.

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173. The licences, as issued, and some of the applications can be found in Lyon Turner, Vol.I.

174. Lyon Turner, Vol.I, pp.365,490,574. The point concerning the usage of 'Presbyterian' as a general term, referring to all Dissenters, is also made by G.F.Nuttall in his article 'Dissenting Churches in Kent before 1700', in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History, No.14(1963) pp.175-89.



How then are we to define a 'Presbyterian' after 1662? A theoretical definition is not difficult. They believed in and desired a national Church, purified and reformed on a Calvinist model (the tendency exemplified by Baxter towards a more Arminian position on predestination was only slight at this time) with ceremonial reduced to a minimum, with the emphasis on preaching and extemporary prayer rather than a set litany, and with the proper exercise of Discipline, particularly in relation to the Communion sacrament. Unfortunately, their practice could not correspond with this, and herein lies the problem. Although the Presbyterians could and did operate outside the national Church, the lack of a theoretical basis for their activities meant that they did not develop a coherent code of practice to govern their separate existence. Their development of organised Congregations was stimulated by practical needs and opportunities and, without the formal organisation of the Independents, they left few records to describe how they operated. Such records as do exist, in the writings of Baxter and Calamy and in the diaries of men like Heywood are far more concerned with explaining and justifying why they met outside the established Church than with describing how they did so. Again, moreover, the historian is faced with a whole body of names, obscure figures, who left no real records at all.

The result, therefore, is that in seeking for a definition of the 'Presbyterian' Dissenter, we are reduced to examining a disparate body of evidence in search of common characteristics, and attempting to create some kind of definition from that. The validity of such a definition must always, however, be limited by the fact that the records, and therefore our certainty of the characteristics, apply to only a few of the many apparently Presbyterian groups in Yorkshire. A second problem is that the definition must be, in some sense, a negative definition. The positive defining of a Presbyterian lies in two fields, in his theoretical position and beliefs,<sup>175</sup> and in the fact of

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175. These are discussed more fully in Chapter IV, since the issue here is one of daily practice rather than basic theology.

his Dissent, his choice to be a Dissenter, in relation to which there is a wide area of evidence concerning his activities in meeting and preaching. This area however, is common to both Presbyterians and Independents. When examining the particular characteristics of Presbyterianism we are forced to emphasise those which differed from Independency, to be concerned in fact with what they did not do as much as with what they did.

The Presbyterian Congregations were, in fact, voluntarily contracted bodies, with a distinct and defined membership, over whom discipline was administered. At Coley/Northowram the Sunday sacrament was preceded by a Friday evening fast, when members were examined as to their spiritual state and their readiness to receive the sacrament. When the Warley group came to take Communion it was on a different basis from that of the full members, for they were admitted only once in each month, as a sister-Church, distinct and separate from Northowram.<sup>176</sup> Heywood has left no record of any disciplinary measure that he chose to take, but when a member moved from the district he had to be formally released from his membership, and note was taken of which church he sought to join in his new home.<sup>177</sup> There can thus be no doubt that the membership was strictly and carefully defined, and although there is no similar evidence concerning Leeds, Hull, or any other of the organised Congregations, it is likely that the situation was similar. Certainly by 1696, when Ralph Thoresby was forced to choose between membership at Mill Hill and attendance at Church, a strict relationship between membership and the taking of communion was enforced, as Manlove refused to hold the Sacrament in Thoresby's presence, claiming that he could not regard Thoresby as a member of the Chapel.<sup>178</sup> It is important to remember, however, that many groups were not fully organised in this period, and the vast majority of these were 'Presbyterian', in that the licences issued to their ministers in 1672 and to the house-owners concerned, described

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176. See above, pp. 93-4.

177. Heywood, II, pp. 17-32.

178. Thoresby, III, pp. 268-70, 272-3.



them as such. A particularly interesting group of meetings are those which were clearly organised to some extent, but not necessarily completely. At Holbeck a group of Presbyterians met regularly from 1662 to 1689 to hear preaching by Robert Armitage, the ejected minister. The regularity and longevity of their meetings implies some organisation, but there is no evidence to describe how much. In 1689, when Armitage died, the group apparently dispersed, which suggests that organisation was limited, for had they been in receipt of regular Communion or had a defined membership, one could expect that some attempt would have been made to find a new minister and that the group would have held together for a while at least.<sup>179</sup> In Bridlington, similarly, a group met throughout the period to hear preaching by William Luke, who had lived in the town since 1660 when he had been ejected from Kirby Moorside. In 1669 they were described as Presbyterians and in 1672 as a mixed group of Presbyterians and Independents, although Luke himself was licensed as a Presbyterian. In 1690 when, Luke died, he was succeeded by Mr. John Humphreys, a Presbyterian from Oxfordshire, and on his death the new Pastor was Richard Whitehurst of Bradford, an Independent who had been pastor at Kipping and who had been accused of Fifth Monarchist views.<sup>180</sup> There can be no doubt that the Bridlington Congregation was, and had long been, organised and defined, but how, and in what ways their practices corresponded to Presbyterian or Independent practices must remain a mystery. It can be concluded that, where Presbyterian groups were properly organised, they had a concept and definition of membership similar to that of the Independents, but in this period many groups were not, or cannot be seen to be, properly organised.

An important point concerning the difficulties of defining groups such as the Bridlington congregation has been raised by Dr. Nuttall in his article on the non-conformist Churches of Kent, cited above in note 174. He points out the importance of large numbers in making possible a division between the denominations

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179. See App.I,Pt.A,List II, Holbeck.

180. See App.I,Pt.A,List III, Bridlington.

and the establishment of distinctly Presbyterian or Independent Congregations. In Canterbury, for example, where the number of Dissenters was large, it was possible to organise two Congregations, one of Independents and one of Presbyterians. Elsewhere, however, in smaller towns or rural areas, where numbers were much smaller, two Congregations would have been unviable; hence Presbyterians and Independents often had to overlook their differences and join together in a single unit, adopting such practice and forms as could be agreed upon, which would frequently involve a mixture of those belonging to 'Presbyterian' or 'Independent' philosophies. This point certainly applies to the situation in Yorkshire. At Hull, for example, as in Canterbury, numbers were large enough to support two distinct Congregations. Similarly in towns like Leeds and Sheffield and in the semi-industrialised valleys of the Aire and Calder, distinctly Presbyterian and Independent Congregations were possible. At Bridlington they were not - hence the mixed and undefined group led by Luke. Oliver Heywood's Congregation also contained both Presbyterians and Independents, but in that case the authority, eminence and determination of the minister himself ensured the adoption of Presbyterian forms. Many more groups, however, for example at Hickleton, Rotherham, Holbeck and Wakefield, and probably numerous others in the small towns and villages of rural Yorkshire, corresponded more closely to that at Bridlington. They contained both Presbyterians and Independents among their members, and the forms adopted were probably mixed. In general they tend to be labelled 'Presbyterian', for two reasons. In the first place, such labels often rest upon the terminology of the Indulgence licences, in which, as has been described, 'Presbyterian' was often used as a general term, and secondly, where forms and practices had to satisfy both persuasions, it is likely that a minimum of organisation would be adopted and the situation left as open as possible. This, of course, corresponds more closely with the practices of those Congregations, like Mill Hill and Northowram, which can accurately be defined as Presbyterian, than with the more extensive



organisation found in truly Independent Chapels like Topcliffe, Altham and Dagger Lane. Hence an extra problem arises in constructing any practical definition of 'Presbyterianism' in this period, as some at least of the Congregations which bear that label were not specifically Presbyterian at all, and should, perhaps, in the interests of accuracy, be left as undefined and undefinable other than as puritan Dissenters.

The one area where Presbyterian groups can be seen to differ from the Independents was that of lay power and participation in the governing of the Church. The Presbyterians did not appoint or elect lay Elders, the authority of the Minister was clearly paramount, and he had to be properly and ministerially ordained. The preceding pages, describing the position and practice of Presbyterian ministers at Northowram, Mill Hill and the few other Congregations concerning which evidence exists, and the Presbyterian insistence upon Ordination place this beyond doubt. What is in doubt is how far they had a substitute for the Eldership in 'Trustees' or 'leading members'. It is clear that most Presbyterian groups contained lay members who exercised some power and influence. At Northowram it appears that some special deference was paid to Jonathan Priestley and Jeremiah Brooksbank, who had been friends and auditors of Heywood since 1662 and were men of some prosperity, if not wealth. At Mill Hill the Chapel Trustees met with the minister to discuss policy; at Hull in 1682 the Bench summoned not only the minister, Samuel Charles, but lay members who were regarded as of particular importance like Anthony Iveson and Richard Barnes, whose house had been licensed as a meeting-place in 1672; at Pudsey administrative functions such as the registering of the meeting-houses in 1689-90 and the purchase of land for a Chapel were undertaken by Richard Hutton; and at places like Great Houghton and Bramhope the families of Rhodes and Dinely held sway, as did the heir to Bramhope, William Dinely, at Wakefield where he lived until 1689.<sup>181</sup> All of these men, however, were influential outside the meetings as well as within, for they were men of position and wealth

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181. For the above places see Apps. I & II, under individual place names and names of families.



in society as a whole, and this must have contributed greatly to their power within the Congregation, if it was not the sole cause. Moreover, their activities as Dissenters were not necessarily limited to the Congregation to which they belonged. Leonard Chamberlain of Hull, who was imprisoned in 1685 in the aftermath of the Monmouth rebellion, was a member and Trustee of Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, Hull, but also made significant gifts and endowments to the Presbyterian Chapel at Selby and became a governor of the Chapel school there.<sup>182</sup> The evidence suggests that these Trustees and leading members were men of social stature, influence and often longevity of attendance, who contributed greatly to their Congregations and who were accorded the deference belonging to their power and position. They cannot be regarded as representatives of the laity or, in any real sense, as a substitute for the Independent Eldership. In this area Presbyterian theory on the position and power of the Ministry and their practice in the Congregations were in accord, and the existence of 'leading members' was a reflection, not of any theological or philosophical view, but of the hierarchical society in which the Congregations lived.

If the lack of an Eldership constitutes a negative characteristic of the Presbyterians, a positive characteristic may be discerned in Occasional Conformity. The theoretical justification of this is discussed in Chapter IV. What is important here is the question of how widespread the practice was, and how far it constituted a genuine Presbyterian characteristic. As in so much else, it is impossible to be precise as to the extent of the practice, since there were so many Dissenters, laymen and ministers, about whom there is simply no evidence. Where evidence does exist, however, it suggests that the practice was widespread among 'Presbyterians' and rare among those who can be defined as Independents.<sup>183</sup> Certainly a large number of ministers who can be labelled Presbyterian justified the practice and appear to have followed it themselves. Heywood attended Coley Chapel when he could, despite his excommunication, and recommended his auditors

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182. See App. II, Pt. B, Chamberlain of Hull.

183. For the attitude of the majority of Independents, see Chapter IV.



to attend as well, and Stretton and Sharp of Leeds, Joshua Kirby of Wakefield, Joseph Dawson, and Jonas Waterhouse of Bradford were all occasional conformists.<sup>184</sup> At Hull the leading Presbyterians seem to have not only attended Church, but took a positive interest in the provision of good preaching at Holy Trinity.<sup>185</sup> At Howden Stephen Arlush provided endowments for preaching both within the Church and by an independent Lecturer,<sup>186</sup> and Ralph Thoresby's regular attendance at Anglican Churches, both within and outside Leeds, is well documented.<sup>187</sup> Before, however, the practice is taken as a sufficiently widespread characteristic to create some kind of definition, certain qualifications should be made. Heywood might recommend his followers to attend Church, but there is no evidence as to how far they did so, and his own attendance seems to have ceased after 1672, possibly for lack of time. At Hull the known Occasional Conformists were officers of the borough, who had a specific reason for the practice, and we know little of the eminent Dissenters there. Ralph Thoresby was not alone in his attitude at Leeds, but when he was expelled by Manlove in 1696 there is no evidence that any other member of Mill Hill defended him. Thoresby, in fact, had gone far on the road to conformity before his expulsion, since he had begun to take the Anglican Communion on a regular basis, and this may well explain his lack of defenders,<sup>188</sup> but this in itself raises another question concerning Occasional Conformity - how far it should extend? It can be assumed that the Presbyterian Aldermen of Hull took the sacrament in Church, at least occasionally, but few others appear to have done so. Heywood, Stretton and Sharp certainly did not, although they did not condemn the practice in others, and what evidence does exist suggests that the taking of Communion in Church was an extreme and

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184. Heywood, numerous references, e.g. I, p.192. For Stretton and Sharp see Heywood, also Thoresby, numerous references e.g. I, pp.10-11.

185. A number signed a petition asking for a new lecturer in 1666, see above, p.62.

186. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Howden.

187. Thoresby, Vols I & III.

188. Thoresby III, numerous references, especially pp.268-70, 272-3.



relatively rare form of occasional conformity. Even Thoresby had not done so before 1689, and seems to have begun the practice then because he felt it less necessary to demonstrate his loyalty to Dissent in the new, freer conditions. It is impossible to say with certainty that occasional conformity was widely practised in any form, but it seems likely, and it can perhaps be said that an important characteristic of Presbyterianism was the demonstration of goodwill towards and the maintenance of contacts with the national Church, and that in daily practice this often took the form of occasional conformity.

There can be little doubt, then, of the complexities and difficulties involved in any attempt to define the 'Presbyterian' of the period from 1662 to 1689, at least in terms of their daily practice and organisation. The area where they were most clearly organised and most easily defined was that very area which they shared with the Independents, their basic Dissent and the practice of it in the Congregations. In a sense they are most realistically defined as those puritan Dissenters who did not show signs of an Independent (or Baptist) concept of separatism and full separatist organisation. They objected to the organisation and ceremonies of the established Church and could not fully conform, but they did not fully accept or embrace total separatism, or, and this was perhaps their most important characteristic, the semi-democratic principles that gave authority to the laity or its representatives. They were characterised among the Dissenters by the authority given to their ministers, by their emphasis on Ministerial Ordination, and by moderation in their attitude to the established Church, a moderation often, but not invariably, extending to the practice of Occasional Conformity. In relation to individuals it is often possible to define them by their own description of themselves, or by their expressed views on many of these issues, but in terms of objective, practical criteria, they are, as a group, remarkably elusive.

However inadequate the definitions and descriptions provided above, it is important to emphasise that Presbyterianism was strong, widespread among



Dissenters, and embraced large numbers. The definition is made more difficult by the need to differentiate between Presbyterians and Independents, and almost to ignore the positive area of their shared views and practices. The strength of religious conviction and the fullness of religious spirit shown by the Presbyterians about whom we do know, by Heywood, Thoresby, Sharp, and others, is evident in their writings and sermons and was practised in their meetings, exercises, private meditations, and self-analysis, areas which they shared with the Independents and functions which were often fulfilled in a similar, albeit sometimes less formal, fashion. In this lay the core of puritan Dissent, and in many ways, in this area, definitions and denominations were not of great relevance.

The differences between Dissenters of the Presbyterian and Independent persuasions (and in their institutions) were real and significant, but what emerges, in Yorkshire at least, from an examination of their daily practice and practical operation as opposed to the underlying theories, is that these differences were balanced by a vast area of common activity. Moreover, the differences were less clear-cut than might be expected, since opinions and practices varied within each denomination, often as a result of personality and circumstance rather than theoretical views. The Independents were far more organised and their Congregations more structured, but the unity of the Ministry was strong and the Congregations had much in common. All groups met to hear preaching and allowed non-members to attend, all met for prayers and exercises which were confined to a clearly defined membership, and which permitted a great deal of participation by the laity. All Congregations had a distinct membership, defined by the taking of the Sacrament, and all excluded non-members from this except by special arrangements, as with sister-Churches. All subjected members to a rigorous examination prior to the taking of the Sacrament. All gave an important role to the Minister, as leader of the Congregation, and by 1689 nearly all Congregations accepted the importance of both ministerial

calling through ordination and a Pastoral calling and functions. The major area of difference in practice lay in the authority of the minister, the exercise of Discipline, and the extent of consultation carried out by the minister, and even there it seems likely that Stretton and Sharp, and possibly Heywood, carried out informally some part of the process that was so well-defined and jealously guarded at Altham. It appears, moreover, that the matters over which disciplinary action would be taken, the areas of life over which some form of control was claimed, and the demands which were made of the individual in terms of time, devotion and self-sacrifice were common to both denominations. In the daily life and institutions of puritan Dissent in Yorkshire there existed a large common core which transcended denominational boundaries, and a local and personal variation which blurred such lines still further.

It is also important to realise that throughout the period from 1662 to 1689, and even after 1672 when organised Congregations were developing and becoming more common, there were many Dissenters who lived, operated, and worshipped outside those institutions. In numerous villages and small towns there remained small groups of Dissenters, often only one or two families, who were unable to constitute a Congregation, and lived their Dissent through the visits of itinerant preachers and their own private worship and meditation. In villages like Cawthorne, Handsworth, Brodsworth, Skellow, Greaseborough, Slaighwaite and others, these Dissenters registered their houses as meeting-places in 1672, and often again in 1689, without ever experiencing the opportunities and conflicts of Congregational membership. Their Dissent was nonetheless vital and lively, but without the support of a regular ministry and organised institutions, it was almost invariably, and unavoidably, of shorter duration. From 1662 to 1689, however, the life of Dissent lay in meeting, preaching, praying, meditating and discussing, and this was common to all Dissenters. The institutions of Dissent, the Congregations and the Ministry, did not create or



define that life - their role, task and achievement lay in protecting it and preserving it for the future.

### CHAPTER III. The Strength and Distribution of Dissent

Among the many unanswered questions concerning Dissent in the late seventeenth century is that of the numerical strength of the movement. While it is generally accepted that the Dissenters were a minority, and moreover a fairly small minority, historians have consistently been unable to produce precise and convincing figures. Braithwaite estimated that by 1689 there were some 30-40,000 Quakers in the British Isles, while Lyon Turner suggested a ratio of one Dissenter in twenty-two people. In discussing these figures Sir George Clark came to the conclusion that the number of Dissenters could not really be estimated, and that it was also impossible to decide with any certainty whether the numerical strength of Dissent rose or declined in this period.<sup>1</sup> Certainly precise estimates are impossible. In attempting to make such an estimate from the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1669, Lyon Turner was forced to assume an average number of conventiclers for some 344 meetings whose numbers were not listed, and his estimate varied from 84,850 when the average was placed at fifty, to 98,610 when the average was placed at ninety. In fact, both these averages may well have been too high, since some meetings were extremely small.<sup>2</sup> The great problem in dealing with this question is simply the dearth of complete and reliable records. The sources which provide some clue to Dissenting numbers are of three kinds - public records such as the State Papers, the Quarter Sessions records and the lists of Indulgence Licences, ecclesiastical records of Visitations and the three large surveys commissioned by Sheldon in 1665, 1669 and 1676, and the records kept by the Dissenters themselves. In every case these are incomplete, unreliable or of only limited use.

Of least value are the records of persecution, the Quarter Sessions and Visitation records. Persecution was notoriously variable and sporadic, dependent upon the views and zeal of local Justices and upon a changeable Royal

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1. Sir G.N.Clark, The Later Stuarts, second edition (1955) p.26.

2. Lyon Turner, III, p.114.



policy. Dissenters mentioned in these records would include only those actually seized and brought before the Justices in Session, and many never suffered this although they lived in fear of such an eventuality. Thus these records could never provide a full list of Dissenters, but must lead to a severe underestimate of numbers. In addition some are missing, notably those for the Quarter Sessions of the East Riding of Yorkshire from 1660 to the early eighteenth century. Moreover numbers based upon persecution would be not only incomplete, but positively misleading. As the boldest and most hated of the Dissenters the Quakers would be inevitably over-represented, while variations in the attitude of local authorities could also distort the figures. At Whitby and Bridlington, for example, there were active informers and government agents, ever eager to press the Justices to action and to inform the Court of Dissenting activities. As a result, conventicles at Whitby, of both Quakers and others, are frequently described in both the Quarter Sessions records and the State Papers, giving an impression of strong groups in the area, which, while true of the Quakers, was certainly incorrect in relation to more orthodox Dissent. Several conventicles were reported from 1670 to 1672, yet no licences were taken out under the Declaration of Indulgence, either for a preacher or a meeting-place. At Bridlington a marked increase in the recorded conventicles in 1682-3 might be attributed to an increase in the numbers and activity, or even to the prevailing political climate, but was in fact a result of the financial difficulties of Justice William Osbaldeston, who saw a useful source of income in fines from Dissenters.<sup>3</sup> In contrast the Bench Books of the Corporation of Hull give little clue to the immense strength of Dissent in the town, since the Corporation was

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3. E.R.R.O. Kalk M.M., Sufferings Book, (D.D.Q.R.16), pp.176-177, 179-181; E.R.R.O. Miscellaneous Quaker documents, (D.D.L.G.5/32); NRQS, No.6, pp.79, 145; There are numerous references to conventicles in Bridlington and Whitby in the State Papers, CSPD., 1670, pp.230-2, 1671, p.57, 1672, p.645, 1675-6, pp.54, 73, 163, 234, 427, 1676-7, p.216, 1677-8, p.74, 1680-1, p.670.

notoriously sympathetic and reluctant to take action.<sup>4</sup> Oliver Heywood, probably the most active and influential Presbyterian minister in Yorkshire, appeared before the Justices only once before his imprisonment in 1684; in 1670 he was fined ten pounds for preaching at a conventicle, but this was not in fact at formal Sessions. His great reputation and the considerable respect in which he was held by neighbours of all persuasions protected him from the consequences of his ministry, and if the Quarter Sessions were to be relied upon they would deny us the knowledge of his untiring labours and widespread activities. Neither did any report of him appear in the Visitation records, although he was excommunicate and therefore a recusant, nor in the State Papers, which provide much information on other places like Hull. In one respect the Quarter Sessions records are useful, for in 1689-90 the Nonconformist meeting-houses were registered at the local Sessions, providing some clue to the numbers of meetings, if not those who attended them. Even in this, however, they are incomplete, as the records for the East Riding are missing.

Of far greater value are the Ecclesiastical Surveys commissioned by Sheldon, which, coupled with the lists of Indulgence Licences, provide a good deal of information concerning the number of active ministers and meetings in the period from 1665 to 1676. There are, however, considerable difficulties involved in the use of these documents. Few of them are complete. The 1665 returns, which dealt mainly with ministers, do not include any reports from Yorkshire, presumably because they have been lost. The returns for the survey of 1669 have survived in a reasonable if somewhat fragmented condition, and were collected and edited by G. Lyon Turner. He was unable to discover any returns for the Northern Archdiocese from the survey of 1676, but a summary of

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4. Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vols. VI-VIII, compare the lack of reference to Dissent with the reports of Williamson's correspondents, Charles Whittington and Col. Anthony Gilby, in the State Papers, especially CSPD, 1668-9, pp. 396, 623, 1670, pp. 249, 267, 289, 309, 454, 477; see also Hull Corporation Records, Letters, L807, a letter from the Archbishop to the Hull Bench, sent in 1670, complaining of their failure to suppress conventicles.



the returns for most of Yorkshire and part of Nottinghamshire exists among the Tanner MSS., kept in the Bodleian library at Oxford. No returns are included however for the Deaneries of Catterick, Richmond and Boroughbridge, nor for the Deanery of Manchester, which covered parts of the far West Riding. Of all these records, only the list of Indulgence Linences collected by Lyon Turner are anywhere near complete.<sup>5</sup>

There are, moreover, problems of error and bias involved in judging the material provided by these documents. To some extent these were apparently a result of human error and inefficiency. There is little doubt that the returns for Yorkshire in 1669 severely under-estimate the strength of puritan Dissent, while providing a more reliable picture of the Quakers. In some cases there was a failure to record the existence of a Conventicle, as at Hull, where both Presbyterians and Independents were active enough to be reported to Secretary Williamson,<sup>6</sup> yet no reference is made to any meetings in the town among the returns. Nor is reference made to the Independent Church at Cottingham, to the Dissenters in Beverley, who only three years later licensed a meeting-place at Sir Henry St. Quentin's house,<sup>7</sup> nor to any groups in the North Riding. The returns for puritan Dissent concentrate almost exclusively upon the West Riding, an imbalance which can probably be attributed to the movement's greater concentration in that area and to simple inefficiency. A further imbalance occurs, however, in relation to the Quakers, for whom Archbishop Sterne held a particular aversion and whose meetings are much more fully described, frequently in opprobrious terms. Sterne was no sympathiser with Dissent of any kind, but he regarded the Quakers as the most loathsome and dangerous of any group, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he therefore concentrated upon informing the government of their strength and determination, and in so doing, failed to acquire sufficient and reliable intelligence concerning the other denominations.<sup>8</sup> The survey of 1676 was beset by similar flaws, with failure to

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5. Lyon Turner, III, pp. 101-2.

6. See above, note 4.

7. Lyon Turner, I, p. 583.

8. Lyon Turner, III, pp. 69-70.

record some Dissenters, variation in the definition of 'Dissenter' and even some simple mistakes in mathematics. The returns were listed by parish and collected under the various Deaneries, with the total numbers for each Deanery placed at the bottom of the list. In several cases these totals were incorrect. The Deanery of Old Ainsty, near York, was reported as containing 3,444 persons of age to take Communion, of whom 33 were Catholic recusants and 228 Protestant Dissenters. In fact the Parish numbers totalled 15,244 persons, of whom 33 were Roman Catholics and 268 were Protestant Dissenters. The returns for Pontefract Deanery were divided, the totals for the second part being given correctly as 9,582 persons, 57 Roman Catholics and 518 Protestant Dissenters (which should have been 519); but those for the first part were given as 16,712 persons, 41 Roman Catholics and 255 Protestant Dissenters and should have been 29,700 persons 41 Roman Catholics and 755 Protestant Dissenters.<sup>9</sup> These inaccuracies are not difficult to spot and to cope with, but more serious are those of incorrect returns and a varying definition of who or what constituted a Dissenter. For a few places, like Scarborough, there are no returns at all, although Scarborough was the home of a Quaker Monthly Meeting and also had sufficient puritan Dissenters to erect a public Chapel shortly after 1689.<sup>10</sup> In many more cases the returns stated that no Dissenters lived in a parish, when other reliable evidence contradicts this. Holmpton in the East Riding was so returned, when in fact there was a sizeable Quaker meeting in the parish. The parish of Hickleton in the Deanery of Doncaster was reported to be free of Dissenters, yet only seven years earlier had been the home of a Presbyterian Conventicle housed by Sir John Jackson, Jackson was now dead and the conventicle had moved, first to another house in Hickleton and then to the home of its minister, Nathan Denton, at Bolton-upon-Dearne, but it is unlikely that all of its adherents from Hickleton had died or fallen off.<sup>11</sup> The parish of Thurnscoe was

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9. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS.150, ff.27-37, Deaneries of Old Ainsty and Pontefract.

10. Tanner MSS.150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pickering; Miall, p.343.

11. Tanner MSS.150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster; for Jackson and the Hickleton Dissenters, see App.I, Pt.A, List III, Bolton and Hickleton, and App.II, Pt.A, Jackson of Hickleton.



the home of four active Dissenting ministers, but was returned as containing only two Dissenters.<sup>12</sup> Ravenfield, the home of the Westby family who attended Conventicles at Rotherham and supported a Presbyterian family chaplain, was also reported as housing no Dissenters.<sup>13</sup> In the Deanery of New Ainsty both Askam Bryan and Askam Richard were returned as free of Dissent, but Little Askam in the former parish was the home of Noah Ward, who preached both there and elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> The most likely explanation of many of these errors lies in the definition of a Dissenter, for in all the above cases except that of Holmpton, the Dissenters in question were Presbyterians, who probably also attended Church, and those responsible for those returns may well have chosen to regard only the total Separatists as constituting Dissenters.

If such a definition was used consistently, however, the returns for the town of Hull and the surrounding area surpass belief. No returns were made for St. Mary's Hull, but those for Holy Trinity stated that there were five hundred Dissenters in the parish. There were some Quakers in Hull, but the Minutes of Cwstwick Monthly Meeting, under which they were grouped, never mention more than forty persons, and it is unlikely that they totalled above a hundred at most. The Independent Chapel led by Richard Astley kept lists of members, and in 1669 its membership totalled 55. In the ensuing period to 1676 some 129 members were added, so that, without allowing for any more deaths or defections in a seven year period, there could have been no more than 184 Independents in Hull.<sup>15</sup> Thus something over 200 other Dissenters were reported, the majority of whom must have been Presbyterians. That denomination was immensely strong in Hull but had long maintained a moderate tradition and many Hull Presbyterians also attended the Established Church. Some of their number were officers of the

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12. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster; see also App.I,Pt.A, List III,Barnsley and Thurnscoe.

13. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster; see also App.II,Pt.A, Westby of Ravenfield.

14. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37, Deanery of New Ainsty; Lyon Turner,I,pp.388,516; Calamy,II,p.835,IV,p.958; Matthews,p.509.

15. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37, Deanery of Hartshill; E.R.R.O. Owstwick M.M., Minute Book,(D.D.Q.R.17); Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I,pp.11-13.

Corporation who had to fulfill the conditions of the Corporation and Test Acts. In addition a petition to the Bench, dated 1666, asking them to replace the lecturer at Holy Trinity, William Ainsworth, with a better and more active preacher had been signed by a number of leading Presbyterians, who obviously sought to hear good preaching in Church as well as at their own meetings.<sup>16</sup>

There can be little doubt that the Hull returns included partial conformists as well as Separatists among the Dissenters. The same is probably true of Cottingham and Skidby, where a population of 1,080 included 755 Dissenters. In contrast Leeds, with a population of 12,000, contained only 150 Dissenters, although there were strong Presbyterian and Independent Chapels as well as a considerable Quaker meeting in the borough.<sup>17</sup> It seems likely that the most widely used definition did not include partial conformists, and that the numbers reported were therefore less than the real strength of Dissent, but the variation in this practice renders it impossible to estimate by how much and casts considerable doubt upon the reliability of any deductions from this evidence.

There must be, moreover, further doubt concerning the numbers suggested by these returns, in that Sheldon's surveys were undoubtedly undertaken for a political purpose. In each case the survey preceded a new stage of persecution, and they were undoubtedly intended to provide the Archbishop with evidence to persuade the King to accept his policy and attempt the complete destruction of Dissent. The survey of 1665, which concentrated upon the ministry, was followed by the Five Mile Act, while that of 1669, concerned with conventicles, was closely followed by the second Conventicle Act. In 1676 Sheldon had finally persuaded the King to recall the Indulgence Licences, and was concerned to initiate a full and rigorous policy of persecution. Lyon Turner has argued that the intention in the later surveys was to demonstrate the numerical weakness of Dissent, its 'mean' social position, its reliance upon the King's known

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16. See App.II,Pt.B, Fawthropp of Hull, Iveson of Hull; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel,p.38; Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books,Vol. VI,ff.238,239.  
17. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37, Deanery of Hartshill; see also App.I,Pt.A, List III, Cottingham, Leeds.



sympathy and dislike of persecution, and hence the potential effectiveness of a concerted attack. He thus believed that a deliberate attempt was made to underestimate Dissenting numbers.<sup>18</sup> This interpretation certainly accords with the returns as they are now known. In 1669 many of the conventicles were described as 'poor and mean', made up of 'inconsiderable persons' or of 'silly women', and several references were made to the Dissenters' hopes of relief from the King. ; The general habit of not including partial conformists in the 1676 returns suggests a similar intention, as partial conformity was widespread and such a definition would considerably reduce the numbers of Dissenters, especially in the more socially influential classes as with the Westbies of Ravenfield. It is perhaps significant that the one area where partial conformists were certainly included was the borough of Hull, where both clerical and lay authorities were sympathetic to Dissent. At least one other historian has agreed with Lyon Turner, for Dr. Thomas Richards, in a monograph on The Religious Census of 1676, reviewed the returns for Salisbury Deanery and concluded that the numbers of Dissenters had been deliberately and seriously under-estimated.<sup>19</sup> This view was challenged by S.A.Peyton in the English Historical Review. He examined the returns for the 171 parishes of the Parts of Kesteven, Bedfordshire, and discovered that they accorded reasonably closely with the numbers suggested by the Quarter Sessions and Visitation Records for the area. This argument is not, however, convincing. Peyton himself added the caveat that in 1683, a time of harsh persecution, the figures involved in the persecution records rose considerably, suggesting that either numbers rose sharply at that time (a highly unlikely explanation) or more probably, that in 1676 many Dissenters were able to escape such attentions. He concludes that the 1676 returns for Kesteven would give reasonable coverage of 'Active' Dissenters, but unless the practice

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18. Lyon Turner, III, pp. 35-59.

19. T. Richards, The Religious Census of 1676, published in monograph form by the Honourable Society of Cymrodorion, and cited by Peyton, see next note.



in Kesteven differed markedly from that in Yorkshire, this is incorrect.<sup>20</sup>

In 1676 Oliver Heywood was recording that his own meetings, and those of his friends, were frequent, expanding and conducted in relative safety, and in that county, certainly, many active and devout Dissenters were able to live in peace and security for some years after the Indulgence had been withdrawn and would never have been mentioned in the Sessions records.<sup>21</sup>

There exist, moreover, two pieces of written evidence which are strongly suggestive of a desire to minimise the numbers of Dissenters. The circular letter sent out by Sheldon in 1669 asked for reports on the numbers and details of conventicles and to what or whom the Dissenters looked for protection. At the end of the letter he added a postscript, hinting heavily at the kind of returns he desired to receive. 'Sir' he wrote 'To the enquiries about Conventicles in the body of this letter set down, I think fit that these two following be added; and I desire that together with the rest they be inquired into - viz: Whether the same persons do not meet at several Conventicles, which may make them seem more numerous than they are; and Whether you do not think they might easily be suppressed by the assistance of the civil magistrate, the greater part of them being (as I hear) women and children and inconsiderable persons'.<sup>22</sup>

In 1676 Danby engaged in correspondence with Bishop Morley in which he discussed the circumstances giving rise to the survey of that year. In company with Sheldon he had been trying to persuade the King to encourage the total suppression of conventicles, but found Charles reluctant. The King had claimed that the Dissenters and Catholics were too numerous to be suppressed, and that their strength made the attempt politically dangerous, whereupon Danby ordered a Census to be taken with the stated object of proving Charles wrong. He firmly believed that the numbers would prove small, and expressed to Morley his delight that this did indeed appear to be the case, and his hopes that a

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20. S.A.Peyton, 'The Religious Census of 1676' EHR, No. 48 (1933) pp.99-104.  
21. Heywood, III, pp.145-6.  
22. Lyon Turner, III, pp.71-3.



policy of suppression would now be undertaken.<sup>23</sup> In the light of these documents there can be no doubt that those who commissioned the surveys desired to find only small numbers of Dissenters, and there can be little doubt that they sought, as far as possible, to ensure such findings. It should, however, be added that there must be some doubt as to how far in the conditions of seventeenth century England it would be possible to dictate the results of such a survey. There is ample evidence in the returns of the limits of administrative efficiency, and while Sheldon's letter of 1669 might hint at the kind of returns he desired, his questions did have some realistic basis, and he was unlikely to be able to do more than hint. There is no doubt that the surveys did minimise the numbers of Dissenters, and there is no doubt that the central authorities were delighted at this result, but the reasons for the minimisation were complex and varied, and cannot simply be attributed to central pressure or dictation.

The Ecclesiastical Surveys are therefore somewhat suspect as evidence of the precise numbers and strength of Dissent. In conjunction with the Indulgence licences they do provide useful information concerning the meetings and Ministers active at that time, but this information is of limited value in relation to the numerical strength of the movement. In itself no one survey is sufficient to provide a reliable estimate of numbers at that time. In 1669 too many conventicles went unrecorded, and even those mentioned did not always include numbers of conventiclers. The Indulgence licences did not include the Quakers, and made no reference to the size of meetings. The Census of 1676 covered only part of Yorkshire and even less of the North as a whole. Nor are they of great use for comparative purposes, for they differ in subject matter and therefore cannot be directly compared in the hope of discerning any patterns or changes. The 1669 returns concentrated upon conventicles, the Indulgence licences upon ministers and meeting-places, and the 1676 survey upon numbers of individual Dissenters. Lyon Turner has suggested some totals of membership for 1669, but

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23. HMC, 11th Report, No.VII, Duke of Leeds MSS.,pp.14-15.



even if these were acceptable, and the necessity of assuming numbers for many conventicles renders them doubtful, they are difficult to compare with those of 1676, since the former were grouped in conventicles with the denominations given while the latter were grouped in parishes with no attempt to distinguish their denominations. A comparison of the number of ministers and meetings listed in 1669 and 1672 with the registrations under the Toleration Act in 1689-90 does provide some clue to trends in membership and geographical distribution, but these must be for the most part, tentative, and in relation to individual members no reliable estimate can be made.

Some further information can be gleaned from the final group of sources, those documents kept by the Dissenters themselves. The most obviously useful of these records are those kept by the Chapels, listing membership, baptisms, marriages and funerals, and other miscellaneous matters concerning their church. Unfortunately most of the extant records of this type begin after 1689, only a few being available for the earlier period, and these do not always provide the kind of information required. In Yorkshire, only the records of Topcliffe and Morley Chapels, Dagger Lane Chapel, Hull, and Heywood's Congregation at Northowram appear to have survived. The Topcliffe records have been edited and published by W. Smith, a local antiquarian, but they are of limited value in relation to Dissenting numbers. No lists of members are included, the records consisting mainly of baptisms and burials; and in addition, those for the period between 1660 and 1689 include entries concerning the Presbyterians of Morley, who occasionally used Topcliffe for these functions, having no separate organisation of their own.<sup>24</sup> The records thus provide useful information concerning individuals, and concerning the relationship between Presbyterian and Independent, but little on numbers and strength. At most a count of the different members mentioned provides a minimum number over several years, but this may well bear little relation to total numbers. The records of Northowram

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24. Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp. 12-23; for the relationship between the two Chapels, see App. I, Pt. A, List III, Morley, Topcliffe.



Congregation consist of personal notes kept by Oliver Heywood, and again are of limited value. Heywood listed his members at certain given times, and recorded comments upon individuals, but did not keep careful count of additions and defections. Some clue to patterns of membership can be discerned, but estimates of actual numbers are difficult and imprecise.<sup>25</sup> The best kept records are those of Dagger Lane Chapel,<sup>26</sup> which include yearly lists of new members, although not of deaths and defections. While it is difficult to be sure of numbers at any given time, a clear pattern of membership can be seen, and some conclusions drawn as to the prosperity or otherwise of the Chapel. It must of course be said that such few, isolated records are no basis for firm statements as to the condition of Dissent in general.

Some more widespread information is available from a survey of Yorkshire Congregations undertaken by the United Brethren in 1690-2.<sup>27</sup> The purpose of the survey was to discover ministers and Congregations in need, to whom help might be given from the Common Fund then being raised, and it was therefore upon such Congregations that the survey concentrated. Hence it is not exhaustive, with many of the more prosperous and secure Chapels, as at Bradford, Sheffield and Leeds being ignored. The survey was not carried out with total efficiency, mistakes being made in geography and some names and places being repeated. The returns for Yorkshire begin with the West Riding,<sup>28</sup> and a list of ministers 'that have competent supply'. The first nine were ejected ministers, followed by some sixteen younger ministers, and then by a list of ministers in need, of whom Joseph Dawson of Morley, James Wright of Attercliffe and Nathaniel Baxter of Sheffield were also mentioned in the first list. In fact all three were in need and their earlier inclusion was a mistake. After mentioning two newly qualified ministers, the survey then describes four students

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25. Heywood, II, pp. 17-37; some additional information can be found in the Northowram Register, in the form of scattered references to deaths and removals.

26. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol. I.

27. Freedom after Ejection, ed. Gordon, see Chap. II, note 95.

28. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-34.



in need of money to complete their studies, and moves on to a list of Congregations, numbering only four, and all of them in need. Under the heading 'North Riding',<sup>29</sup> there is then reference to two ministers in Craven, which was actually in the West Riding, both of whom had sufficient income. The heading being repeated, there follows a list of students in need, most of whom were in fact at Frankland's Academy in Craven. The list of Congregations in need includes only three which were in the North Riding, five being in the Craven area, five more in other parts of the West Riding, and two in the East Riding. The North Riding returns are thus very muddled and even less complete than those for the West Riding. The returns for the East Riding<sup>30</sup> begin with a list of places in need, of which only Holderness, already mentioned, was geographically correct. Of the other places Swaledale and Hartford were in the North Riding, Stentliffe and Kirk Sandal in the West. The list of ministers is far more complete, and appears to be correct, although none were in fact in need. The Common Fund Survey thus gives no information concerning individual members, and is not even a complete and careful survey of the ministers and Congregations. It does, however, provide some information concerning the state of Dissent at the end of the period, and some useful evidence on the numbers of ministers available to carry on the work of the gospel.

Unlike their more orthodox brethren, the Quakers kept copious and organised records of their meetings, membership and sufferings. Nevertheless they tell us little of the numerical strength of the Society, since they believed that membership was a personal, spiritual matter, not to be judged by outward signs, and kept no lists of full members. The registers of baptisms, marriages and burials kept by the Quarterly Meeting at York<sup>31</sup> are full and clear, and a process of counting the different names might provide an approximate estimate of members over the period from 1669 to 1689, since it might be expected that most Quakers would meet with one of these events over such a span of time. The list could not, however, be precise, since converts

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29. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 135-7.

30. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 138-40.

31. Kept at Friends' House, Clifford Street York.



were gained at different stages of life, and would reveal nothing of the membership at any particular moment. Hence the numbers of Quakers cannot be reliably calculated, despite the vast quantity of record material so carefully collected and preserved. It is clear, therefore, that the various records of Dissent are insufficient for any reliable estimate of its numerical strength at any given moment between 1660 and 1689. It is possible, however, by comparing information from the various sources, to suggest some patterns of change. The list of ejected ministers,<sup>32</sup> the licences of 1672, the registrations of 1689-90 and the Common Fund Survey can be used to compare the strength of the ministry, while the Survey of 1669, the licences of 1672 and the registrations of 1689-90 provide some information concerning the numbers of Congregations and meetings. These sources, in conjunction with information from personal memoirs and the few Chapel records available, can provide the historian with some clues as to the rise or decline of Dissent, its geographical distribution, and its centres of strength and influence.

The estimates of the number of ministers ejected from 1660 to 1662 have varied slightly. Calamy listed a total of 1,897 ejections in England, with a further 153 unbeneficed ministers silenced, a further 244 who later conformed, 97 academics ejected from Oxford, 45 schoolmasters removed and 87 ejections in Wales. From these, A.G. Matthews deducted 47 persons who had died before August 1662, 53 who had conformed by 1663, and 28 who conformed soon after. In addition he found that 53 of Calamy's ejected were in fact unbeneficed in 1662, 41 names were duplicated, and could find no other trace of another 113 persons listed by Calamy. Thus he arrived at a total of 1,760 ejections in England (excluding those who were unbeneficed and therefore 'silenced') with a further 149 ejected from Universities and schools. In Yorkshire he found a total of 110 ejections of ministers, 38 of them ejected in 1660, 52 in 1662, 20 at an

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32. The basic source for this is obviously Calamy. In addition, A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised provides corrections and further information, while B. Dale, Puritanism and Early Nonconformity in Yorkshire, gives more details concerning the Ministers' lives and their Congregations than Calamy was able to discover.

uncertain date, and a further seventeen who later conformed.<sup>33</sup> In contrast Brian Dale found a total of 155 ministers ejected in Yorkshire, of whom sixteen later conformed.<sup>34</sup> The discrepancy in these figures is partly explicable by the different criteria used, and partly explicable by error. Matthews was extremely strict in his definition of an ejection. He did not include the silenced ministers, although some were in fact active and important. John Ryther had been ejected in Lincolnshire in 1660, and by 1662 had moved to North Ferriby, near Hull, where he preached regularly. His silencing was as great a loss to the local Dissenters as it would have been had he been the beneficed minister, since the now clear illegality of his activities made it impossible for him to remain settled in the area. He is not, however, included in Matthews' totals for Yorkshire.<sup>35</sup> Edward Bowles was removed from York Minster in 1660, but permitted to continue preaching at All Hallows and St. Martins. He died before August 1662, and is therefore not included by Matthews, although his most important and influential position had indeed been taken from him.<sup>36</sup> Gamaliel Marsden is listed by Matthews as being ejected from Trinity College Dublin, in 1660. He thereafter returned to his native Yorkshire, and was again removed in 1662 from Chapel-le-Brears near Halifax, but he is not separately listed for this second ejection.<sup>37</sup> Dale, on the other hand, accepted Calamy's lists less critically, and in addition, discovered from further research a number of ministers unknown to Calamy; these Matthews does not include since his work was, as the title suggests, a revision of that of Calamy. There were, in fact, some ten undoubted errors in Calamy's account of the Yorkshire ejections. In three cases Matthews found that the ministers had in fact conformed by August 1662, or within a few months of that date.<sup>38</sup> In one further case, Mr Shemhold was ejected from Osmotherly, but returned in 1664 as the Anglican curate,

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33. Matthews, pp. xii-xiii.

34. Dale, pp. 6-8.

35. Calamy, II, pp. 448-833, IV, pp. 601, 953; Dale, pp. 134-5; Matthews, p. 421.

36. Calamy, II, pp. 778-82; Dale, pp. 23-33.

37. Calamy, IV, p. 960; Dale, pp. 98-100; Matthews, p. 339; Heywood, IV, p. 36.

38. Calamy, II, pp. 818, 837; Dale, pp. 22-3, 83, 96-7; Matthews, pp. 273, 320.



having been ordained that year.<sup>39</sup> Three of Calamy's ejected, Mr Ingham, Mr Peebles and Mr. Hulston, are not mentioned by Matthews, but Dale lists Hulston but is unsure of his benefice, mentions Ingham in order to dismiss him, and does not mention Peebles.<sup>40</sup> Mr Jennison of Osgarby is not mentioned by Matthews, while Dale suggests that he was unbeneficed in 1662 and therefore silenced, and states that he later conformed.<sup>41</sup> Mr Lister of Giggleswick is accepted as ejected by Dale, but not by Matthews since he conformed in 1662.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Walton of 'Kirby Hall' is listed by Dale as ejected from Kirby Malzeard, but Matthews found that he was Vicar of Kirby Malham, and that although undoubtedly a puritan, being driven out by Royalist forces in 1643, he returned in 1646 and retained his place until his death in 1666, possibly without conforming.<sup>43</sup> In one further case, that of Mr. Ralph Cudworth of Beeston, Matthews states that he died in 1658, although Dale is firm that he died in 1664, and therefore includes him among the ejected.<sup>44</sup>

There is no doubt that Dale's total is too high, while that of Matthews is probably too low. An examination of their respective work suggests that something around 132 ministers were in fact ejected or silenced in Yorkshire between 1660 and 1662. Of these, many were to remain silent or preach only occasionally, and may be counted as permanent losses to the Dissenting movement. In 1672 some seventy-six to eighty ministers were preaching in Yorkshire,<sup>45</sup> and these included a few who had not been ejected in 1660-2, or had been ejected elsewhere. Thus something between fifty and sixty ministers never preached after Bartholomew Day, or had died by 1672. Of those ejected ministers in Calamy's account, discounting those proved erroneous by Matthews, nine ministers never preached again, while there is no further evidence concerning seventeen more, which

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39. Calamy, II, p. 834; Dale, p. 144; Matthews, p. 438.

40. Calamy, II, pp. 819, 834; Dale, p. 84.

41. Calamy, II, p. 835; Dale, pp. 87-8.

42. Calamy, II, p. 837; Dale, p. 97; Matthews, p. 325.

43. Calamy, II, p. 834; Dale, p. 164; Matthews, pp. 508-9.

44. Calamy, II, p. 800, IV, p. 946; Dale, pp. 47-8; Matthews, p. 154.

45. See below, notes 53 and 54.

suggests that if they preached, they did so only occasionally and privately. Four ministers had left Yorkshire and were preaching elsewhere, while seventeen had conformed. To these Dale adds five ministers not listed by Calamy, three of whom had conformed, one of whom is untraceable after 1662, and one of whom had died without ever having preached again. In 1674, Oliver Heywood recorded a list of twenty-two ministers that he had known, who had died by that date. Most of these had been active preachers although Edward Bowles of York and Robert Todd of Leeds had died in 1662, and six others had preached only rarely. Thomas Birbeck of Sheffield, Christopher Marshall of Topcliffe and Luke Clayton of Rotherham had all been licensed in 1672, but many famous and useful preachers including Thomas Smallwood of Batley, James Fisher of Sheffield, Elkanah Wales of Pudsey and John Shaw of Hull and Rotherham had died before the Indulgence, leaving Dissent in the county significantly poorer.<sup>46</sup>

By 1672, then, there had been a massive decline in the number of active Dissenting ministers in Yorkshire, and as yet little had been done to provide replacements. A few ministers had come to Yorkshire from elsewhere, like Richard Astley, ejected in Lancashire, who was called to Dagger Lane in 1669, and a few who lived in the surrounding counties also visited and preached in Yorkshire, like Thomas Jolly of Altham, Lancashire, and Michael Briscoe of Walmsley in the same county. Dale mentioned twenty-five such immigrants or visitors.<sup>48</sup> Of those licensed in 1672, or mentioned as leading conventicles in 1669, some half dozen were not ejected ministers, having begun to preach since 1662, but most of these were Elders like John Hall and George Ward of Kipping Chapel, Bradford, who preached temporarily in the absence of a settled Pastor. Only Samuel Bailey of Morley can be regarded as a qualified minister. A student in 1662, he entered Frankland's recently instituted Academy in 1670, where he

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46. Heywood, I, p. 305.

47. Calamy, II, pp. 415, 818; Dale, pp. 173-5; Matthews, pp. 17-18.

48. Dale, pp. 9-10, 178-80, 196-200.



remained for one year to complete his studies before moving to Morley in 1671. Licensed there in 1672, he was soon called to Topcliffe on the death of Christopher Marshall in 1673, and set apart as Pastor although never ministerially ordained. He was in fact willing to be ordained on this occasion, and was prevented only by the insistance of some of the Congregation that the 'setting apart' by lay Elders was sufficient.<sup>50</sup> A few others licensed in 1672, such as James Hartley of Kildwick in Craven, may have been ordained ministers but there is insufficient evidence to be sure,<sup>51</sup> while one Michael Gargrave, licensed at Bradford, may later have trained for the ministry. The entry of Michael Gargrave to Frankland's Academy is recorded in 1684, but this is more likely to have been the son of the above preacher.<sup>52</sup> For the most part the preachers licensed in Yorkshire in 1672 consisted of the remnant of the ejected ministers, those still able and willing to undertake the ministry to which they believed they had been called.

Estimates of the number of these ministers have varied slightly. In his massive research into the Indulgence licences, Lyon Turner found some ninety-one individuals to have been licensed as teachers, sixty Presbyterians, twenty-eight Congregationalists and three Baptists, and of these about eighty are identifiable as ordained ministers.<sup>53</sup> Dale finds some seventy-six ministers licensed in Yorkshire, of whom two had not been ejected and seventeen had been ejected elsewhere. Thus by his figures, almost two thirds of the ejected ministers of Yorkshire had been lost to Dissent by 1672.<sup>54</sup> The greatest decline had occurred shortly after 1662, when those unable or unwilling to preach had been lost, and those ready to conform had done so. From that time there had been a steady but gentle decline, caused by advancing age and death. The Declaration of Indulgence itself had some effect ...

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50. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 261, 268, 289, 456; Jolly, see Notebook, p. 14; Heywood, I, pp. 292, 295, II, p. 9, IV, p. 306; see above, Chapter II, pp. 112.
51. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 225, 237, 261, 440; Heywood, III, p. 96, IV, p. 303.
52. Lyon Turner, I, p. 533; Heywood, I, p. 286, II, p. 13, III, p. 103.
53. Lyon Turner, III, p. 720; in comparison, he found only 62 teachers named in the 1669 returns, of whom only 23 were ordained ministers. Many of the lay teachers were Quakers who did not seek licences in 1672. These figures demonstrate the scantiness of the 1669 returns even allowing for some ministers who were prepared to preach under licence, but were more reluctant to hold illegal conventicles in 1669 (see Lyon Turner, III, p. 102, 108).
54. Dale, pp. 269-70.



in reversing this trend, for a few ministers who had not preached in the 1660s were now encouraged to do so. Some, like Richard Coare of Tong, reverted to silence when the Indulgence was withdrawn, but others, like Thomas Sharp of Horton, found a year's secure ministry too fulfilling an experience. Sharp had been ejected from Adel, near Leeds, and had returned to his family home at Horton, where he lived privately and passed his time in study, preaching only to his family and a few close friends. In 1672 he took out a licence for Horton and gathered a Presbyterian Congregation, to whom he continued to minister until 1677, when he was called to the pastorate of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds. Thereafter he preached at both places until his death in 1693, although his work was increasingly concentrated at Leeds. His Bradford Congregation left Horton Hall in 1693, his brother and heir, Abraham, being a conformist, but were provided by Abraham Sharp with land for a Chapel nearby.<sup>55</sup>

From 1672 the natural decline in the numbers of ordained ministers continued. Apart from those listed by Heywood, more ejected ministers died in the ensuing decade. Joseph Wilson of Hull died in 1678, Joshua Kirby of Wakefield in 1677. After Marshall's death at Topcliffe, his successor Samuel Bailey died in 1675, and his successor Gamaliel Marsden in 1681.<sup>56</sup> According to Dale forty-three more ministers had died by 1688, two of whom had already left the county and ten of whom had come since 1662, being ejected elsewhere.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the Dissenters were making organised attempts to replace such men. Some ministers were still called from elsewhere, such as Samuel Charles of Mickleover, Derbyshire, who replaced Joseph Wilson at Hull, but by the late 1670s the fruit of Frankland's work at Rathmell could be seen in a number of young ministers emerging from the Academy. The first of these were Independents, able to preach and serve as pastors without ordination, like Samuel Bailey. In 1670 Thomas Whitaker entered the Academy, and in 1675 became pastor to the Independents at Leeds, replacing Christopher Nesse who had been driven to

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55. Calamy, II, p. 813; Dale, pp. 139-41; Matthews, p. 434; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. Turner, No. IV (1893) pp. 46-51.  
 56. Calamy, II, p. 822, IV, p. 952; Dale, pp. 168-9; Matthews, p. 537; Heywood, I, p. 340, II, p. 156, IV, p. 36.  
 57. Dale, pp. 270-2.



London by constant persecution. As the number of entries increased, so did those of graduates and the supply of new ministers. The greatest benefit of this work would not be seen until the 1680s, but by 1677 replacement had begun.<sup>58</sup> A year later a further momentous step was taken, in the form of the first dissenting Ordinations in Yorkshire since 1660. In view of the serious losses from the ranks of the ministry, Frankland suggested that 'some provision might be made for a succession of fit persons' to replace them, which for the Presbyterians at least, was impossible without ministerial ordination. Heywood agreed, and in July 1678 John Issot, Frankland's assistant, was ordained by Heywood, Dawson and Frankland at Richard Mitchell's house in Craven, where he had been called to be pastor. Ordained with him were Richard Thorp of Hopton and John Darnton of Tanfield, near Ripon. In fact all three had been in benefices in 1662, and had preached after ejection, being licensed in 1672. Issot had been ejected from Nun Monkton and preached at his home in Horbury before joining Frankland, Thorp had been ejected from Hopton, and held conventicles in his home, Hopton Hall, while Darnton had been ejected in Northumberland and licensed at Tanfield. All had been unordained at the time of the ejections, and had been unable to attain ordination in the conditions prevailing thereafter. Thus these first three ordinands were not, strictly speaking, new ministers, but they were now able to undertake Pastoral work, an important factor in developing Dissenting organisation. In the ensuing years, moreover, such ceremonies became more frequent, and involved mainly the students of Frankland's Academy, newly trained for the ministry. In 1680 Timothy Hodgson, chaplain to Sir John Hewley of York and son of Heywood's friend, Captain Hodgson of Coley, was ordained, and in April 1681 Timothy Jolly, son of Thomas Jolly, and now pastor to Fisher's Church at Sheffield. With Jolly were David Noble,

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58. Complete lists of entrants to Frankland's Academy, including yearly numbers and individual entries, have been compiled from Heywood's notes by J.H. Turner and published in Heywood, II, pp.9-16, IV, pp.306-21.

ex-schoolmaster at Morley and later pastor at Heckmondwyke, and Robert Dickenson, Elder at Sheffield, who had preached for some years at his house near Doncaster and was probably the Robert Dickenson licensed at his house in Fishlake, near Doncaster, in 1672. In August 1681 John Heywood was ordained, in 1684 Eliezer Heywood, and in 1689 Robert Waddington, all Frankland's students.<sup>59</sup> Thereafter numbers multiplied and by 1700 something approaching one half of the pastors in the West Riding were recently ordained graduates of the Academy. Sadly, however, for the Dissenters, many of the sons of ejected ministers took up, not Dissenting, but Anglican orders. According to Matthews, of the 290 sons of ejected ministers in England who took orders, 158 were Anglicans. There were several examples in Yorkshire, such as Nicholas Arlush son of Stephen Arlush, ejected from Howden, who became the Anglican lecturer at Howden Church. Even more galling for the Nonconformists were cases like the seven sons of Eliezer Dawson, all trained for the ministry but all of whom left it and four of whom conformed.<sup>60</sup>

It is difficult to be sure of the numbers of active ministers in Yorkshire in 1689. Some clue can be obtained from the registrations of meeting-places in 1689-90, since the pastor frequently fulfilled this function, often registering his own house as, or in addition to, the meeting-house itself. Moreover, the lists of ministers in the Common Fund Survey are more complete than those of places. These and other scattered sources suggest that in 1689-92 there were fifty-four active ministers at work, most of them ordained, but some preaching in several places as a kind of apprenticeship. Of these, twenty-one had certainly been ejected in 1662. According to Dale, eighteen ministers ejected in Yorkshire were still active under the Toleration Act, with ten more who had been ejected elsewhere, but I can identify only twenty-one with absolute certainty. He includes John Issot and William Howden, both alive in 1689 but

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59. Heywood, II, pp. 194-211.

60. Matthews, p. xi; Dale, p. 12; Miall, p. 235.



in fact retired, and John Gunter and Robert Armitage, who died in 1688 and 1689. Of the other ministers, seventeen had been at Frankland's Academy, and the number of these was to increase rapidly in the next few years. A further sixteen belong to neither category. Matthew Smith had been educated by Ralph Ward at York, while Richard Wharam of Great Houghton and David Noble had been active in 1672, although not among the ejected. John Humphreys of Bridlington had come from Oxfordshire upon the death of William Luke in 1690, and Robert Dickenson of Doncaster had been Elder at Fisher's Church in Sheffield and preached in his own house at Fishlake. Noah Ward of York and Selby had been a student in 1662, and John Lister of Elland is not mentioned by any source other than Miall. Thomas Coulton had been chaplain to Sir William Ayscough of Osgodby Grange for some years, although he was not there in 1672 when John Denton was licensed to preach in the village, and William Benson of Knaresbrough was the son-in-law of Ralph Ward, but the origins and education of both are unknown. A further seven names, for which no christian name is given, simply cannot be identified, although three of them were probably included by Dale as among the ejected.<sup>61</sup>

Whatever the precise nature of this ministry, the figures show some further decline from those of 1672, despite the replacements from Frankland's Academy. Certainly the decline in numbers had caused no decline in standards,<sup>62</sup> but this determination to maintain standards was upheld somewhat at the expense of an easily available supply of ministers, for there can be little doubt that by 1689 the Dissenters were finding themselves short of ministers, and especially of those able to undertake a pastoral function.

The exact extent of this shortage can be best seen in relation to the number of meetings or Congregations which these ministers were required to serve, and the number which apparently died out for lack of ministerial care.

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61. For all these ministers, see App.I,Pt.A, under the various Chapel and place names.

62. See above Chapter II pp. 114-17.

The number of Dissenting groups in Yorkshire is not easy to estimate, the main sources apart from the 1669 returns being lists of meeting-places, of which many groups used more than one. Heywood, for example, gathered his Congregation from several Chapelries around Halifax, and encouraged his members to supplement his preaching with prayer-meetings and conferences in their own villages, for which registration was wise, if not strictly necessary. Thus under the Toleration Act some six meeting-places were registered in the area, of which at least four were used by his members.<sup>63</sup> In an attempt to define the Congregations I have therefore divided the meetings according to place (village or town) rather than meeting-houses, except where other evidence shows that more than one Congregation existed, as at Bradford, Leeds and Hull, or that groups in several villages were united in one Congregation.

The returns of 1669 reported a total of eighty-eight conventicles in Yorkshire, of which fifty-eight were Quaker, eighteen Presbyterian and twelve Independent. One of the Independent groups at Sheffield and one Quaker group at Stokesley have been claimed as Baptist meetings, of which Lyon Turner found no evidence although he accepted the claim made by Whitley.<sup>64</sup> Thus only thirty or thirty-one Puritan Dissenters' meetings were listed, undoubtedly an incomplete report. No reference was made to the groups around Hull, or to some West Riding groups which other evidence proves to have existed. In some cases different meetings have been contracted into one, as at Halifax. There it was reported that two meetings of Independents existed, at Sowerby and at Hodgson's house in Coley, linked together and led by Henry Root and Oliver Heywood.<sup>65</sup> There were, in fact, three meetings, Root's Chapel at Sowerby, Heywood's at Coley (both of which were attended by Captain Hodgson) and a further group of Presbyterians in Halifax Town, gathered by Eli Bentley and served in his absence by Heywood, Joseph Dawson and some other visiting ministers. To some extent these mistakes occurred because Dissent

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63. Heywood, III, pp. 121, 126-8, 141, 173; Northowram Register, pp. 141-2, 152, 156.

64. Lyon Turner, III, pp. 108, 837-8; in the case of Sheffield, Whitley was probably incorrect, see App. I, Pt. A, List III, Sheffield.

65. Lyon Turner, I, p. 161.



was ill organised at this stage, and from 1672, with the growth of properly constituted Congregations, the records improve. In 1672 some 111 meeting-places were licensed, but not all represent a specific group.<sup>66</sup> An examination of the licences reveals some seventy-four groups, of which eleven had no specific minister. Among the remaining sixty-three there were many other complexities. In Sheffield, for example, there appear to have been three groups, served by no less than seven ministers. The pastor of Fisher's Church was Robert Durant, and the Dissenters around Attercliffe were served by Roland Hancock and Matthew Bloom. Both of these groups were Independents, leaving four other licensed Presbyterian ministers, who presumably preached to the Presbyterian Dissenters in the town.<sup>67</sup> In many cases a minister was licensed in more than one place. Joseph Dawson was licensed in Cleckheaton, Leeds, and at his own house in Coley, from which he was shortly to move. At Cleckheaton he served a definite group of Presbyterians, at Leeds he was a guest preacher for the Presbyterians of Mill Hill, and in his own house he probably served friends and neighbours who were members of Heywood's Congregation, at which he also took Communion.<sup>68</sup> Christopher Richardson was licensed at his own house at Lassell Hall, and also at Denby, where he preached for the Cotton family. In his case, he probably served definite groups in both places.<sup>69</sup> John Denton was licensed to serve a Congregation at Osgodby, the home of Sir William Ayscough although the meetings were not yet held in his house, and also licensed at his own house in Stonegrave, where other evidence suggests there was no real Congregation.<sup>70</sup> Thus it is extremely difficult to discern, merely from the licences, in which places there were organised groups and in which places a minister merely preached to a few faithful or curious auditors. Nevertheless there were Puritan Dissenters in seventy-four different places, meeting either as organised Congregations or as groups desirous of good preaching when it was available. In the case of the eleven who did not specify a minister, this

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66. Lyon Turner, III, p. 720.

67. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Sheffield.

68. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 333, 367, 488, 542.

69. Lyon Turner, I, pp. 306, 321, 424, 566.

70. Lyon Turner, I, p. 295.

must have been fairly rare.

By 1689 Puritan Dissent had become far more organised, and the numbers of groups had contracted significantly. Miall listed fifty-three different Congregations existing in 1689, but some of these are extremely obscure, for example those at Malton, Scarborough and Appleton, while others, like that in Swaledale, rested largely on the efforts of a wealthy patron.<sup>71</sup> Evidence collected from all the sources available suggests that in 1689-90 there were forty-three Chapels which were then distinct and organised, and which were to survive, in some form, well into the eighteenth century. In addition there were a further fourteen groups which existed in 1689 but which died out shortly after, and five more places in which there was no evidence of significant Dissenting activity before 1689, but in which Chapels had emerged by 1700. In 1689, therefore, ministers were needed at between fifty-seven and sixty-two places in Yorkshire. In comparison, there were forty-six places where Dissent had not apparently survived the ejections, and a further forty-seven where it existed after 1662 but had already died out before 1689.<sup>72</sup>

Despite such a relatively small number of groups, there were a greater number of meetings than there were ministers to fulfill that need, which does indeed suggest some shortage in that essential area. Moreover, this situation was worsened by the geographical distribution of the nonconformist clergy. By far the greatest number lived in the West Riding, where in a few places they even exceeded demand. At Sheffield there were two Chapels, one in the town itself served by Timothy Jolly, and one at Attercliffe, served by James Wright. In addition to these ministers, two others, Edward Prime and Nathaniel Baxter, lived in the area, both travelling and preaching where they could. Prime was later to become minister (but not Pastor) at Attercliffe, and Baxter despite some financial difficulties, never took on a pastoral function. In contrast

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71. Miall, p.107, and more detailed Chapel histories, pp.225-393.

72. These findings are described in more detail in App.I, Pt.A, with short histories of the 43 groups which survived as permanent Chapels (list III) briefer descriptions of those which died out (list II). They are listed under individual place names, and grouped within the three Ridings.



the North Riding contained only one minister, although at least three groups were seeking pastoral care. The situation is more clearly demonstrated in the Common Fund Survey.<sup>73</sup> In the West Riding the returns listed some twenty-nine ministers (of whom one, Thomas Wait, lived in the East Riding, at Wetwang), six of them having no fixed pastorate. Three of these were probationers, preaching under the supervision of an older minister, while Prime and Baxter were itinerants and Joseph Waterhouse of Bradford lived privately on his own income, preaching only to a few friends at Horton. Two other ministers were newly ordained, and had as yet no fixed cure, bringing the total number to thirty-one.<sup>74</sup> Several places in the West Riding were listed as being in need, some of them erroneously placed under the North and East Ridings. The Elland, Lidget, Clifford, Ellenthorpe, Selby, Rotherham, Pontefract and Kirk Sandal meetings were in need of fixed ministers. At Lidget, Clifford and Kirk Sandal financial help was needed in order to provide for a minister, while the problems of Selby, Rotherham, and Pontefract were more temporary and would be solved within a few years. At Topcliffe, where Thomas Elston was pastor, and at Batley, financial aid was required to maintain the present provision. At Ellenthorpe Lady Brook had endowed a Chapel with £500 pounds for a minister, but none could be found.<sup>75</sup> In the Craven area, placed under the North Riding but actually in the West Riding, there were three ministers, Richard Frankland at Rathmell, Mr Whaley at Burnham, and Nicholas Kershaw at Pasture House, Horton, while a number of Frankland's students preached occasionally in places of need. There were, however, seven meetings in need of a pastor, most of them too poor and isolated to support one unaided.<sup>76</sup> In the North Riding, a Mr Holland was pastor at Swaledale (dependent upon Lord Wharton's benefactions) while meetings at Northallerton, and Hartford near Richmond, were seeking ministers, and even the

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73. Freedom after Ejection, ed. Gordon, pp. 129-40.

74. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 129-31.

75. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 132-3, 135-6.

76. Gordon, op.cit., pp. 135, 136.

Swaledale meeting was asking for financial help to supplement and later replace Lord Wharton's patronage.<sup>77</sup> Only in the East Riding did the situation appear healthy, since the seven organised Chapels all had pastors and only a group recently gathered around 'a gentlewoman in Holderness' were denied ministerial care. It is significant, however, that this group did not apparently survive for long.<sup>78</sup>

The Common Fund Survey thus suggests a serious shortage of ministers, for only four ministers needed pastoral work while some eighteen meetings needed pastors. In most cases the problem was one of finance, for the groups in need were often small, isolated and poor, and in addition some thirteen students, potential ministers, were listed as in need of money to complete their training.<sup>79</sup> There does, however, appear to have been some problem quite beyond those of finance. Ellenthorpe, Selby, Rotherham and Pontefract Chapels were quite able to support a minister, but all were without a pastor for some years, and the group at Ellenthorpe, never able to obtain one, finally died out. A further point of some significance is that, even if able to find a minister for the Congregations that existed, Puritan Dissent certainly had few to spare for the work of further conversion and the spreading of the Gospel.

In relation to ministers and meetings, therefore, there is some evidence of numerical decline. The number of ministers fell from eighty ordained and eleven unordained in 1672 to a total of fifty-four in 1689-92. The number of meetings declined less rapidly, from about seventy-four in 1672 to a maximum of sixty-two in 1689, only forty-three of these being then fully organised and only forty-eight surviving as distinct Chapels. To some extent, however this was a process of rationalisation rather than decline. In some cases the growth of organisation reduced a number of indistinct meetings to a smaller number of strong, organised Chapels, as at Birstall and Morley.<sup>80</sup> In other cases a small weak group either united with another as at Kirkburton

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77. Gordon, op.cit., pp.135, 139.

78. Gordon, op.cit., p138.

79. Gordon, op.cit., pp133-4, 136.

80. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Birstall, Morley.



and Elland,<sup>81</sup> and in the Doncaster area,<sup>82</sup> or in the difficult conditions of poverty and isolation, simply died out. There were some clear losses, where a meeting had gathered around a particular minister and could not survive without him, as at Kirkheaton around Christopher Richardson and at Holbeck around Robert Armitage,<sup>83</sup> or where a group was upheld by the patronage of an influential family as at Great Houghton and Bramhope,<sup>84</sup> and died out with the decline or conformity of the family. It is noticeable, however, that in 1689-90 some 135 Puritan Dissenters' meeting-places were registered in the North and West Ridings, with at least seven more in the East Riding, compared with 111 in 1672. Such figures suggest that Puritan Dissent had contracted geographically, become more organised and concentrated, but was not necessarily much weaker at this stage. The situation outlined in the Common Fund Survey does, however, suggest that without extensive measures to combat poverty, the future strength of the movement would be in doubt.

In so far as numbers of individual Dissenters can be estimated, a similar situation is suggested. For overall numbers in Yorkshire, only two very imprecise figures can be put forward, for 1669 and for 1676. In 1669 the ecclesiastical returns gave an actual figure of 3,340 Conventiclers in Yorkshire, to which must be added an unknown figure for those conventicles where numbers were not specified. Of the numbers given, over two thousand were Quakers.<sup>85</sup> In 1676 the returns for Yorkshire, excluding parts of the West and North Ridings, produced a total of 5,955 Dissenters. If the figures for the Deaneries of Catterick and Richmond in 1669 were added, and these were unlikely to have fallen in the intervening period of relative security, the total would be 6,513 Dissenters, still excluding the Deanery of Boroughbridge (for which no returns were given in 1669) and the area that fell within the Deanery of Manchester.<sup>86</sup> In his calculations concerning national numbers, Lyon Turner

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81. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Kirkburton and Elland.

82. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Kirk Sandal and Doncaster.

83. See App.I,Pt.A, List II, Kirkheaton, Holbeck.

84. See App.I,Pt.A, List II, Great Houghton, Bramhope.

85. Lyon Turner,III,p.108.

86. Tanner MSS.150,ff.27-37 (The ecclesiastical census of 1676).

suggested that in fact numbers fell from 1669 to 1676, but in view of the Declaration of Indulgence and its aftermath, this seems unlikely. A more probable explanation is that the average of ninety persons in a conventicle, assumed by him in relation to the 1669 figures, was too high.<sup>87</sup>

More valid, and interesting, conclusions can be drawn from the few Chapel records available, if not in relation to overall numbers, then certainly concerning patterns of membership. From 1672 Oliver Heywood kept some record of his membership, with a summary of previous members written in 1676. In total he mentions some 226 names from 1672 to 1701. In 1671, at the first Communion service held since 1662, he had forty-one communicants, and in 1701, shortly before his death, he recorded the names of his members, numbering forty-nine persons. There was, therefore, little change in the size of his Congregation from the time of its inception, but within the period there were some significant fluctuations. In 1672 he admitted fourteen new members from Henry Root's now defunct Congregation at Sowerby, and by 1701 he had lost several members from Warley, who had joined in the 1670s and later set up their own separate Chapel, as well as some from Elland who had established their own Chapel there. The most important evidence lies in his sparse records of yearly admissions. By his own account the 1670s were a time of expansion, both at Northowram and in relation to the setting up of a Congregation at Warley, and the Declaration of Indulgence resulted in some influx of members. Thereafter admissions varied, with four members joining in 1676, fourteen in 1677, eight in 1678, three in 1679, five in 1680, eleven in 1681, and then fell off as persecution mounted in the aftermath of Exclusion. In 1682 four members joined, in 1683 none, and in 1684 one. No more admissions were recorded until 1690, when nine new members joined, with four more in 1691, none in 1692 and five in 1693. Until the late 1680s, therefore, the admissions

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87. Lyon Turner, III, pp. 114, 801. In addition the 1669 figures recorded those who attended conventicles, while the 1676 figures appear to have ignored those who attended Church as well, and would probably therefore have left out some who were included in 1669.



Erratum P.159 Line 23

Sentence beginning - 'Despite persecution .....' should read:-

Despite persecution a further twenty-eight members joined from 1670 to 1672, and the Declaration of Indulgence then led to considerable expansion, with fifty-five new members joining in 1672-3, and thirty-five from 1673 to 1676, after the Indulgence had been withdrawn.

follow the pattern which might be expected. In the early 1670s considerable numbers joined, with a reasonable addition until 1682 when the Tory reaction began to have effect. In contrast to this however, there was no influx of members as a result of James' Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, possibly because Toleration at the whim of a Catholic monarch was regarded as suspect and insecure. There can be no such explanation for the relatively small number of admissions in the wake of Parliamentary Toleration. In a later section Heywood summarised the number of admissions, recording that thirty-six people joined the Congregation from 1689 to 1693, and thirty-five from 1693 to 1697. These figures conflict slightly with those above, but it is possible that the earlier records were not fully kept up. Even accepting these larger numbers, it is significant that only slightly larger numbers joined the Congregation in the eight years after the Toleration Act than in the nine years after the first Declaration of Indulgence, when persecution was an ever present threat if not always a physical reality. It may be tentatively suggested that, given the relative conditions of persecution and security, by the end of the period, puritan Dissent was not attracting new members as might have been expected.<sup>88</sup>

This suggestion is borne out by the records of new members at Dagger Lane Chapel, Hull, whose records are fuller than those kept by Heywood. The extant records began in 1669, at which time there were fifty-five members, of whom one had been a founder member in 1643, and forty-one had joined before 1662. In 1669-70 some twenty new members joined, probably encouraged by the arrival of a permanent pastor. Despite persecution a further twenty-eight members joined from 1670 to 1672, after the Indulgence had been withdrawn. New adherents then became fewer, with one new member in 1677, five in 1678, nine in 1679, three in 1681, none in the worst years of persecution in Hull from 1682 to 1683, two in 1685 and nine in

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88. Heywood, II, pp, 17-27, especially pp. 20, 29-30, 36.



1686. With James' Declaration of Indulgence nineteen new members joined in 1687-8, but from 1689 to 1695 there were only forty-three new admissions, fewer than in the one year of the first Declaration of Indulgence. In 1699 there were ninety-two members, the vast majority having joined before 1689. Thus there had been an overall increase in the numbers of this Congregation since 1669; but in 1673, at the time of the withdrawal of the Indulgence, the membership would have been, allowing for some deaths, at least in the region of 140. Since that time, and especially after 1676, admissions had not kept pace with deaths and losses. Far more strongly than those of Heywood, these figures do suggest that from the mid-1670s there was some decline in the numbers of Dissenters, and that by 1689, despite Toleration, puritan Dissent had lost something of its power to attract and convert.<sup>89</sup>

It would, of course, be foolish to assume too much from such few, isolated figures, but it may be significant that two Congregations in different geographical areas, both strong in puritan Dissent, should suggest a similar pattern. That this pattern is the more marked in the case of Dagger Lane may be partly explained by the arrival of Astley in 1669, for the Chapel had lacked a pastor for some years, and his ministry may well have aroused support which had remained dormant during that period. Both Congregations show a slight increase in numbers from 1669-72 to 1689-92, but within these dates there was a sharp rise as a result of the Declaration of Indulgence and the period of relative ease which followed, and thereafter a slow decline, probably arrested but not significantly reversed by the Toleration Act. By 1689 it may therefore be said that the trend was one of declining rather than rising numbers among puritan Dissenters. Among the Quakers this does not appear to have been the case. The society of Friends was a younger movement, undoubtedly retaining greater impetus at this time, and still concerned with the work of conversion.<sup>90</sup> Nothing can be discovered of the numbers of individual Quakers, but something can be discerned from the numbers of meeting places they used. In 1669 the

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89. Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I.pp.11-22.

90. See Braithwaite, Second Period.

Quakers were more fully reported than other Dissenters, though not necessarily with complete accuracy and some meetings, especially in the East Riding, were not included. There was, for example, no reference to any of the meetings in the area of Elloughton Monthly Meeting, at Cave, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor and north-west to York. The returns of that year mention some fifty-eight Quaker meeting-houses at forty-eight different places. In addition to these the Quarter Sessions and Sufferings records up to 1669 refer to eighteen other places where Quaker meetings certainly existed at that date. Thus by 1669 a total of seventy-one Quaker meeting-places are mentioned. In 1689-90 the Monthly Meetings registered 281 meeting-houses in the North and West Riding. The Quarter Sessions records for the East Riding are missing, but the Friends' own records show at least eighteen distinct meetings for worship in the Riding. Even allowing for gaps and inaccuracies in the 1669 returns, these figures must represent a significant increase of Quakers and their Society.<sup>91</sup>

The returns of 1669 and 1672 also suggest a pattern of geographical and social distribution in which the Quakers differed from other Dissenters. By far the strongest area of Puritan Dissent lay in the central part of the West Riding, in the Aire and Calder valleys, bounded by Leeds and Bradford in the North, Halifax to the West and Pontefract to the East. South of this area there were several groups scattered among the villages, with a further concentration around Sheffield. In the East Riding the Presbyterians and Independents were concentrated around Hull, although there was also a meeting in Bridlington. Some groups were also gathered in York and the area west to Knaresborough while a few existed in the North Riding. The Quakers, in contrast, were strongest in the rural areas of the North and East Ridings, although meetings also existed throughout the West Riding, in 'urban' as well as rural areas. The picture thus drawn is one of Quaker strength in rural areas, and of Presbyterian and Independent strength, with a few Baptists, in the more urban and industrial parts,

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91. See App.I, Pt.B.



although neither line should be drawn too firmly, there being numerous exceptions. In 1676 the reports of all Dissenters, undistinguished by denomination, confirmed this picture, for the area of greatest Dissenting strength lay around Hull, where both Puritan Dissenters and Quakers lived in large numbers, closely followed by the Aire and Calder valleys where puritan Dissent was at its strongest, and the area on the borders of the East and North Riding, from Scarborough west to Helmsley, where, with an enclave around Whitby, Quaker strength was at its greatest.<sup>92</sup>

Such evidence as is available in the Quaker records also suggests that the movement was strongest in the rural areas. Of the meetings reported in 1669, fourteen lay in the West Riding, six in the East Riding which was least fully reported, and twenty-seven in the North Riding. In the North Riding Friends were widely spread among the villages, valleys and dales, and presentments for recusancy show large numbers throughout the area. In 1674 some 2,259 people were presented for recusancy from all parts of the Riding, most of whom were probably Quakers.<sup>93</sup> The Society had gathered large numbers of converts from the strong groups of Seekers who had inhabited the wild moors and dales, encouraged especially by Sir Henry Vane the younger, of Raby Castle, Durham. In the East Riding the three Monthly Meetings set up in 1668-9 were centred at Elloughton, Kelk and Owstwick, all small, isolated villages. At Owstwick, whose member meetings included Hull, this may have been a matter of patronage, for the village was the home of the Storr family, led by Marmaduke Storr, Lord of the Manor of Owstwick, and of Hilston after the death of his brother Joseph in 1656, an early Quaker convert and a friend of George Fox. At Kelk, however, there is no suggestion of patronage. The village lay near Bridlington, itself the home of a sizeable meeting. It seems likely that the placing of these meetings was less a reflection of individual patrons than of the rural basis of the movement, its strength

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92. Lyon Turner, I; Tanner MSS. 150, ff. 27-37; See also App. I, Maps I and II.

93. NRQS, No. 6, pp. 195-202, 204-13

in such small, isolated places.<sup>94</sup> In the West Riding there were considerable numbers of Quakers in 'industrial' clothing areas like Morley and Birstall, but they existed in equal strength, and probably formed a greater percentage of the population, in the more rural area between the Calder and the Don and in the hills of Craven. There is little doubt that Quakerism appealed widely to the rural population, and continued to do so. The meeting-places registered in 1689 were numerous and evenly spread in both the North and West Ridings, reflecting possibly some increase in strength in 'urban' areas, but certainly no decline in rural parts. In the next century the movement would become more urban, as a sign of which Kelk Monthly Meeting moved to Bridlington and a separate Monthly Meeting was established in Hull, but as yet there was little evidence of such a change.

Puritan Dissent, on the other hand, was undoubtedly stronger in areas of town and industry, among the Sheffield cutlers, for example, and the clothworkers of the central West Riding. In 1672, of a total of ninety-one teachers and 111 householders licensed, seventy-seven teachers and ninety-seven householders lived in the West Riding. Of the eight teachers in the East Riding, six lived in and around Hull, and one in Bridlington.<sup>95</sup> In this respect Yorkshire seems to have been similar to other areas in England of which such studies have been made. The work of Joan Thirsk, C.W. Chalkin and Margaret Spufford all tallies in finding that Protestant Dissent was strongest in areas of pastoral rather than arable farming, with some kind of industrial, probably a clothing, influence, and with large parishes, isolated Chapels and weak manorial control.<sup>96</sup> Hence puritan Dissent was strong in the Kentish Weald, and the clothing areas of Wiltshire.<sup>97</sup> The West Riding of Yorkshire, especially the area around Leeds, Halifax and south to Sheffield, fits this description almost exactly. The relief map of .....

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94. E.R.R.O., Minute Books of Elloughton, Owstick and Kelk M.M.s (D.D.Q.R. 1,12,17); A.B.Wilson-Barkworth, 'Notes and Pedigrees of East Riding Quakers', compiled in Cambridge (1890) and kept among the records of Hull Central Library (Local History Library).

95. Lyon Turner, III, p.720.

96. M.Spufford, Contrasting Communities (1974) especially pp.299-303,313-14; C.W.Chalkin, Seventeenth Century Kent, pp.228-9.

97. VCH, County of Wiltshire, Vol.III, pp.100-1.



Yorkshire<sup>98</sup> shows that the county can be divided along a line drawn roughly from Sheffield north to Leeds, and north-east to Scarborough. To the West and north of this line lie the upland areas of the hills, dales and moors, while to the east and south lie the flat plains of Howdenshire and Holderness, which formed rich arable farming country. There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern, in the higher Wolds of the East Riding, and in the Vale of York stretching northwards to the Tees valley, but the general pattern holds true, and outside the port of Hull and its immediate environs (which reflect the influence of a trading community, that classic ground for both Protestantism and puritanism), it accords very closely with that found by the historians cited above.<sup>99</sup> The West Riding of Yorkshire provided the pastoral and semi-industrial environment required, parishes in that area were often large, as the numbers of Chapels of Ease, at, for example Idle, Coley, Cleckheaton and Morley testify, and the isolated nature of upland life paralleled the isolation of the forest and fen communities found in Cambridgeshire and in the Weald of Kent. In the most isolated upland areas of Yorkshire, however, it should be noted that Quakerism was much stronger than puritan Dissent. In relation to manorial control, there is insufficient evidence available for Yorkshire to provide any detailed examination, but the existence of a sympathetic group of some size and substance among the gentry class must have done much to counteract any landlord influence which was exerted in favour of conformity.

In general, then, the geographical distribution of puritan Dissent in Yorkshire was much as one might expect, but some anomalies and peculiarities appear to have existed. In the East Riding, for example, puritan Dissenters were grouped closely around Hull and the Humber, except for the groups at Bridlington and Beverley, both sizeable and important towns in their own right. The other Chapels lay in South Cave, Ferriby and Cottingham, all to the west of Hull, and in Howden, much further to the west again. There was no significant

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98. See frontispiece.

99. See App.I, Maps I,II,and III, for the distribution of meetings.

difference between the type of farming or rural community to be found in Howdenshire in the west and that found in Holderness to the east, nor were the villages of the west larger, more industrial or more prosperous than those east of Hull. There was a slight difference of terrain, in that the edge of the Wolds lay near Cottingham, Ferriby and Cave, and the collections taken at Quaker meetings in the period suggest that the coastal plain was a more prosperous area, but the difference was small and did not appear to affect the kind of farming or type of community thus created. One possible factor in explaining this pattern is the existence, immediately to the east of Hull, of the parliamentary borough of Hedon, whose royalist and Tory Corporation may have helped to counteract the influence of the larger port, but the variation does substantiate the view of Mrs Spufford, that no meaningful analysis of the distribution of Dissent in rural communities can be carried out without extensive and detailed knowledge of each community. Without such evidence, only general and tentative conclusions can be drawn. Moreover, patterns of distribution should not be permitted to disguise individual factors, geographical or social, nor the purely random element in human behaviour, the effect of simple chance.<sup>100</sup>

In her study of Dissent in Cambridgeshire Mrs Spufford has demonstrated a marked difference in the social distribution of Dissent between pastoral and arable farming communities. In the latter, where social classes were becoming increasingly polarised by the late seventeenth century, puritan Dissent and Quakerism seem to have been evenly distributed throughout the village community, carried across class barriers mainly by the extensive family network; while in pastoral villages, where small farmers were more numerous, prosperous and independent and the landless labourer more rare, Dissent appears to have been confined very much to this group, the 'middling' yeoman, despite an equally extensive family network.<sup>101</sup> There is insufficient evidence concerning the

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100. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p.306.

101. Spufford, op.cit., pp.299-303.



social distribution of Dissent in Yorkshire to afford any detailed comparisons, but it does appear that in Yorkshire puritan Dissent existed in every section of the community, although it was stronger in that same 'middling' section, be it urban or rural. The scattered references to the trade or occupation of individual Dissenters that I have been able to find suggest a considerable variety of occupation. In 1663 twenty-one men were hanged at York after the Yorkshire Plot, all of whom can be assumed to have been Dissenters, and who included tradesmen, small farmers, weavers, and labourers.<sup>102</sup> The title of 'labourer', however, is far more common among the Quaker Sufferings records than among those of puritan Dissent, which accords closely with Mrs Spufford's findings, especially as the Quakers were far stronger than puritan Dissent in the areas of arable farming, where landless labourers were presumably more numerous. Throughout the period there is no doubt that the greatest strength of puritan Dissent lay among the 'middle classes'. The records of puritan Dissenters' Chapels refer mainly to small tradesmen like the Sheffield cutlers who made up James Fisher's Church in 1669,<sup>103</sup> like Ralph Winterbotham, the 'linsey-woolsey webster' who preached to the Cleckheaton Independents at the same date,<sup>104</sup> and like John Armitage, the blacksmith who led the Dissenters in Kirkburton,<sup>105</sup> to substantial yeomen like the Priestleys of Winteredge, and to urban merchant families like the Thoresbies of Leeds.<sup>106</sup> Even allowing for a tendency to mention the more prosperous and more socially significant of their members, who probably took the lead within the Congregations, the imbalance suggests that puritan Dissent must have appealed most to the men who ranked as small tradesmen and above. This emphasis on the middle section of society is also reflected in the areas of greatest social significance, in the substantial families who did join the ranks of Dissenters, for few of these were families of first

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102. See Depositions from York Castle, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, No.40 (1861) Preface, pp.xix-xx, and Depositions CXV-CXXXIII, pp102-26.

103. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Sheffield/Upper Chapel.

104. App.I, Pt.A, List III Birstall/Cleckheaton.

105. App.I, Pt.A, List III, Kirkburton and Elland.

106. See App. II, Pt.B.

eminence in either county or urban society. With the exception of the Fairfax family, and perhaps a few others like the Stricklands of Boynton and the Rhodes of Great Houghton, the families listed in Appendix II, Part A, were families of second rank in county society, and not a few had acquired their wealth and titles relatively recently. This tendency was noticed by J.T. Cliffe, in his study of the Yorkshire gentry before the Civil War,<sup>107</sup> and became more marked after 1662 with the defection of a number of erstwhile 'puritan' families like the Bethells of Rise and the Cholmleys, Hothams and Bouchiers. Even in the boroughs, where puritan Dissent had such great support, it is doubtful if the most eminent and wealthy men were Dissenters. Failure to attain the highest borough offices may not be any real sign of a lack of wealth and eminence, for Dissent itself could count against a man in such matters, but in York, for example, the leading Dissenter, Sir John Hewley, did not compare in wealth and status with his conformist allies, Sir Henry and Edward Thompson. In Hull a survey of hearth tax payments shows the leading Dissenters, the families of Popple, Hoare, Raikes and Acklam, for example, as paying tax on some six to nine hearths, while the richest citizens, paying tax on ten hearths or more, were not generally Dissenters.<sup>108</sup> This is not to deny that puritan Dissent could be found in the wealthiest sections of urban society, in the families of Spencer of Leeds and Sykes of Ledsham Hall for example, who were moving into the gentry class with the purchase of landed estates,<sup>109</sup> but it does constitute some further evidence that Dissenting views tended to be concentrated in the middle rather than towards the extremes of the social strata.

Despite the impossibility of conducting any detailed survey, it can, therefore, be concluded that Dissent extended through all ranks of society and existed in all parts of Yorkshire, but that within that framework the Quakers had their greatest strength in the rural areas and among the rural middle and

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107. J.T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry, From the Reformation to the Civil War (1969) p.340.

108. VCH, County of Yorkshire and the East Riding, Vol.I The City of Kingston-upon-Hull, pp.160-1.

109. See App.II,Pt.B, Spencer of Leeds, Thoresby of Leeds.



poorer classes, while puritan Dissent was strongest in the classic area of the pastoral and semi-industrial West Riding and among the middle classes of both rural and urban society. In neither case should the lines be drawn rigidly, for there were Quakers everywhere in Yorkshire and there were puritan Dissenters in many isolated villages in the West Riding and, to a lesser extent, the North Riding as well. Only in the East Riding were they virtually confined to the ports of Hull and Bridlington, with their environs, the market town of Beverley, and the houses of one or two wealthy gentlemen.

While this picture holds true throughout the period there were, by 1689, signs of a significant change in this geographical pattern, or at least of a marked increase in existing tendencies. For the Quakers the period was one of expansion everywhere, but for puritan Dissent this period saw the virtual collapse of the rural movement. Of the groups which had developed by 1689 into organised and permanent Chapels, the vast majority were in urban areas. Only Craven, Knaresborough, Swaledale, Hopton, Bolton and Penistone can be called rural Chapels, while Idle, Rawden, Ferriby, Cottingham, Cave, Warley and Mixenden lay close to urban or industrial centres. The remaining Chapels all lay in actual towns, like Leeds, Bradford, Rotherham, Selby, Beverley, Halifax and Hull, or in industrial clothing areas like the parishes of Birstall and Batley. Of the forty-three Chapels listed in App. I as being organised in 1689 and surviving as such thereafter, no less than twenty lay in the central West Riding, in and around the Aire and Calder valleys. Six lay in south Yorkshire, in the area between Sheffield and Doncaster, and six more around Hull. Bridlington, Scarborough, Malton, Whitby and York stood alone, leaving only six rural Congregations.<sup>110</sup>

In comparison, there existed in Yorkshire between 1662 and 1689 some fifty-six rural groups of puritan Dissenters, all of which had disappeared by the early years of the eighteenth century.<sup>111</sup> The majority had died out, although some

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110. See App. I, Pt. A, List III.

111. For further details of all groups and Congregations mentioned below, see App. I, Pt. A, List II.

were able to survive by merging with another group. The strength and organisation of these groups varied greatly, some constituting something approaching an organised Congregation<sup>112</sup> while others consisted of no more than a small group who met to hear preaching when they could, and while some are well documented, others have left little or no evidence beyond a bare record of their existence, in for example, the issue of a licence in 1672, or the registration of meeting-place in 1689. Given this variation, it has been necessary to group them according to type, in order to facilitate discussion of their demise. The first, and largest, of these groups consists of the meetings which were gathered around a minister, twenty-nine in all. At Lartington and Stonegrave in the North Riding, and at Ardsley, Handsworth, Hemsworth, Holbeck, Kirby Malzeard, Kirkheaton, Sherburn, Wath and Wistow, the minister in question had been ejected from the parish Church, and remained in the village thereafter. In the majority of these cases a group of puritan Dissenters, probably loyal ex-parishioners, gathered round him, and died out upon his death, or, in the cases of Samuel Cotes of Wath and Christopher Richardson of Kirkheaton, upon his removal. Most appear to have died out very quickly, without any recorded attempts to find a replacement, regardless of whether they had been organised, like the groups at Holbeck and Kirkheaton, or had merely come to hear the minister preach, like those at Handsworth and most others, and regardless of the date at which the minister died or removed. At Hemsworth the group quickly broke up on the death of Stephen Charman in 1668, and so did those at Holbeck where Robert Armitage died in 1689 and Kirkheaton when Christopher Richardson moved to Liverpool in 1687. Only at Sherburn was the ejected minister, Thomas Johnson, replaced when he had to leave because of the Five Mile Act, and when his successor, William

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112. Few in fact constituted formally organised Congregations with a defined membership and elected Pastor, but some at least had the essentials of such organisation, with only the formal statements missing. Others must always have lacked sufficient numbers, or a regular minister, and therefore had no real chance to establish the kind of organisation which would have helped to uphold them in the difficult times that they had to face.



Hawden, moved to Wakefield in 1673, the group then broke up. Hawden had been ejected from Brodsworth in 1662, and seems to have gathered some kind of congregation in the village thereafter, but when he went to Sherburn in 1666, probably because of the Five Mile Act, no replacement was found. Nevertheless this group held together for some time, probably because of the efforts of the Wentworth family. This family was probably of no great wealth or substance, but in 1672 the house of Mrs Elizabeth Wentworth was licensed as a meeting-place, with no minister specified, and in 1689 the house of Mrs Susanna Wentworth was registered in the same capacity. In view of the failure of this group to obtain a regular minister after 1666 their survival for so many years is a great tribute to their determination and devotion, and especially to that of the Wentworths.<sup>113</sup>

It is impossible to say with certainty why these groups died out so quickly, as the majority did, but the inability to acquire the services of a regular minister must have played a large part. Ministers were certainly in short supply, but the apparent lack of effort by most of them in searching for a replacement raises some doubts as to the depth of their conviction, and it seems likely that, in many cases, personal loyalty to a known minister formed the main motivation behind their non-conformity. In this sense their Dissent was, perhaps, never very firmly based. A second group of such meetings, however, were gathered around ministers who came to settle in the district after 1662, implying a latent sympathy for Dissent rather than feelings of personal loyalty. There were eight of these, at Askham, Beage Hall, Bramley, Fishlake, Honley, Kildwick, Rathmell and Ripon. Some, like the group at Bramley, near Leeds, apparently existed for only a few years, while others seem to have met throughout the period, and again the extent of organisation among these groups is as various as their longevity. At Little Askham, near York, there is no evidence of a group beyond the fact that Noah Ward lived there, and although he lived

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<sup>113</sup>. See App.I, Pt.A, List II, Brodsworth.

the life of a busy itinerant preacher, he is known to have preached in his own house, where he was licensed in 1672, presumably to some hearers. At Fishlake, on the other hand, Robert Dickenson founded and organised a distinct and separate Congregation. He was the preaching Elder of James Fisher's Church in Sheffield for many years, but also preached in his own house at Fishlake, and in 1681, was ministerially ordained. At this point, presumably, he formally gathered his Congregation in Fishlake, and although he died soon after, the group survived until 1689, when Thorney Grass House, the home of Thomas Fairburn, was registered as a meeting-place by Fairburn and the new minister, Thomas Perkins. Thereafter the group disappears from the records, and either died out, or more likely, merged with other Dissenters' meetings at nearby Kirk Sandal and later, at Doncaster.<sup>114</sup>

In a third group of meetings gathered around ministers come four which had the help of a regular minister who did not actually live in the village or district. This arrangement would suggest that an independent group of Dissenters existed prior to the acquisition of the minister, and that he came specifically at their request. If this was the case, it does not seem to have affected the swiftness with which the group dispersed when he ceased to visit, although in some cases it is hard to date the demise of a meeting with any precision. At Cawood there was regular preaching by Richard Stretton in the house of Mrs Frances Richardson until 1671, when Stretton's employer, Lord Fairfax, died, and Stretton moved to Leeds. A licence was taken out in 1672, but thereafter nothing more is heard of the group. Dewsbury Dissenters relied upon the visits of Richard Thorpe from nearby Hopton, at least until 1672, while those at Greasebrough were visited by Luke Clayton of Rotherham until his death in 1674. At Shadwell there was probably no organised group, merely an empty Chapel in which Thomas Hardcastle preached publicly until he left the county in 1671. In none of these is there any evidence as to what happened after those

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<sup>114</sup>. See App.I,Pt.A, List III, Kirk Sandal and Doncaster.



dates, but it is certain that no group of puritan Dissenters survived there for long.

Finally, there were a small group of meetings which had the help, not only of a specific minister, but also of a particularly active family. The Wentworths of Brodsworth have been mentioned, but to them should be added the Cudworths of Flockton, who established a meeting at which Thomas Johnson preached, and the families of Issot of Horbury and Hardcastle of Barwick-in-Elmet. While Cudworth had organised a group, the Issots and Hardcastles probably constituted the bulk of the Congregation at their meetings, for the ministers in question, John Issot and Thomas Hardcastle, were members of the family and preached there for that reason. Nevertheless the issuing of a licence in 1672 implies that some others also attended, for family meetings were not, in any case, liable to punishment under the Conventicle Act.

There was, then, great variation in the size, extent of organisation, and longevity of these groups, gathered by and around a minister, and apparently no correlation between the three. The same can be said of a second type of rural meeting - those gathered by and around a wealthy family. Some of these have been mentioned above, in the discussion of the work of these families to be found in Chapter II. Of the fifteen such groups which had died out by the early eighteenth century, and most such groups had done so, only six appear to have been anything approaching properly organised. The group at Northallerton was upheld by the Lascelles family, of Mount Grace, while at Osgodby in the North Riding, and Bramhope, Ellenthorpe, Great Houghton and Swathe, in the West, the meetings were held in the houses of the Ayscough, Dinely, Brook, Rhodes and Wordsworth families respectively. Of these, only at Ellenthorpe did the meeting apparently survive the death or conformity of the leading family, and in that case some special circumstances existed, for Lady Brook, whose son, Sir John, conformed, had endowed the family Chapel with some five hundred pounds to employ a Dissenting minister. Despite this, no minister could be found, and after some

years of reliance upon visits by Noah Ward and regular preaching by Cornelius Todd (who always refused the role of Pastor) the group finally died out shortly after 1689. At Alne a meeting-place was licensed in 1672 in the home of Lady Bethell, and at Bolton Percy and Nunappleton the Dissenters were aided by Lord Fairfax until 1671 and by his heir, Lord Henry Fairfax, until his death in 1688. In Ackworth and Skellow, where Sir William Rokeby owned property, licenses were taken out in 1672 but not in 1689, by which time the family were living mainly at Kirk Sandal. At Denby a group was upheld by the Cotton family, who employed Christopher Richardson of Kirkheaton as a visiting preacher, but this seems later to have merged with the nearby Penistone group. At Badsworth, Hatfield and Poppleton puritan Dissent apparently existed only because of the presence of the Bright, Hatfield and Hutton families.

By comparison with these groups the remaining twelve villages which housed puritan Dissenters constituted a very small minority, but they have, in fact, considerable importance. At Burham, Cawthorne, Hazlehead, Heptonstall, Huddersfield, Nunmonkton, Rylstone, Saddleworth, Slaighwaite, Sedbergh, Skipton and Starbottom, there appear to have been groups of Dissenters who existed independently and without any special help. Lacking the support of any family or local minister, they continued to meet for much of the period, and in this sense, constituted the heart of rural puritan Dissent. Like the others, they had nearly all died out by the early eighteenth century, and it is their decline which points to the perennial problems of puritan Dissent in the rural areas - isolation and poverty. It was these problems which were highlighted in the Common Fund Survey, which described the many congregations that were having difficulty in finding a pastor and in supporting him when found.<sup>115</sup> Of those listed above, Burham, Rylstone and Starbottom were mentioned in the survey, most of the others having, for these very reasons, already died out by 1689.<sup>116</sup>

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115. See above, pp. 155-6.

116. See App. I, Pt. A, List II, under individual place names.



In all parts of the nation Dissenters constituted a minority, and often a small minority, of the populace. In areas of dense population this was not necessarily a problem, for some co-religionists could be found and some kind of religious community could be created. In small villages, however, the life of a single Dissenter, or of a few Dissenters, could be very difficult, for their religion cut them off from the village community and, with few other Dissenters nearby, they lacked an alternative community with which to identify. Margaret Spufford has pointed to this problem in the villages of Cambridgeshire, and remarks upon the devoted pastoral care with which ministers tried to overcome the problem, and upon the failure which often greeted their efforts. They had, she concludes, greater difficulty in supporting and upholding a small number of Dissenters in scattered, isolated villages, than in converting them in the first place.<sup>117</sup> A similar situation can be seen in the villages of Yorkshire. The majority of the villages in which Dissent existed and died out by, or shortly after, 1689, lay in that part of the West Riding which was favourable to Dissent, on the outskirts of the clothing areas, or in the rural area between Leeds and Sheffield. In this area Heywood, Dawson, and other ministers, travelled and preached extensively, seeking to uphold the small groups of Dissenters there, but time, and the development of the movement, were against them. Increasingly, from 1672, puritan Dissent was developing in the direction of organised Congregations with fixed pastors, and the demands of such work made it more difficult for the ministers to fulfil an itinerant function. Increasingly the village groups needed to find their own pastors, but this proved impossible, first because there were too few ministers, and secondly because these small groups could not afford to support them. Hence the pleas from Burham, Starbottom, Rylstone and others, in the Common Fund Survey, for help in finding a minister and financial aid in supporting him. In the urban areas the greater number of adherents and the greater density of population

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117. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp.278,346-7.

eased the problem. Matthew Smith was pastor of Warley, near Halifax, and this Congregation being unable to support him, he served also at nearby Mixenden in order to augment his stipend.<sup>118</sup> In a rural area, where the nearest group of puritan Dissenters might be many miles away, such solutions were impossible. In some cases groups in rural areas might congregate in a centrally placed market town, as at Knaresborough, or Doncaster, but in many areas there were no such natural centres.<sup>119</sup> In those parts the meeting could only disperse, some members perhaps being able to travel elsewhere, while others could only return to the established Church.

It was in this sphere that the theology and organisation of the Quakers proved so much more effective. The Quakers adapted to a rural scene, and were able to adapt because the nature of their meetings made small numbers viable and because they did not have to support a specialist ministry. Moreover, their code separated them from any local community as a matter of course, and they were able to take pride in their distinctive habits. Similarly, in Wiltshire the Baptists, of whom there were few in Yorkshire, were also markedly more successful in the rural areas than the Presbyterians and Independents, because they too were organised into small units, often only two or three people at meetings for worship, which came together in groups for administrative purposes, thus welding them into one Church.<sup>120</sup> This organisation, paralleling that of the Quaker Particular and Monthly Meetings, could flourish in small villages. Congregational Nonconformity as practised by the Presbyterians and Independents, could not.

The majority of the rural meetings described above, then, existed only because of some special, helpful circumstance, usually the presence of a minister or of a wealthy family. Many of the ministers who led rural meetings had some property or independent income, which was often the reason for their living in that particular village. James Creswick of Beage Hall was a wealthy man, who

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118. See App.I.Pt.A, List III, Warley, Mixenden.

119. See App.I, Pt.A, List III, Knaresborough, Kirk Sandal and Doncaster.

120. VCH, County of Wiltshire, Vol.III.pp.100-6.



bought the manor of Beage Hall after his ejection in 1662, and lived there on the income from the estate. Samuel Cotes had property in Wath, and when he inherited a larger estate at Rawden in 1678, he moved there and gathered a new congregation, while that at Wath died out. James Hartley had property in Kildwick, as did Richard Frankland at Rathmell.<sup>121</sup> As a result these men were able to serve their Congregations without relying upon them for an income. When they died, as they inevitably did, their replacements from Frankland's Academy, even when sufficient in number, often lacked such independence, and had little choice but to seek a pastorage which would support them. Such posts the village groups could not offer without the support of a county family, wealthy enough to bear most of the charge.

It was in this area that a second major change was occurring by 1689, for there can be no doubt that, by that time, this major and vital source of support was fast disappearing. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw a considerable decline in the numbers of those families who were attached to Dissent. Of the thirty-six families in Appendix II, Part A, the county families, only seven remained faithful to Dissent until the mid-eighteenth century. By 1689 the Huttons of Poppleton had conformed, but a junior branch of the family, headed by Richard Hutton of Pudsey, remained active Dissenters. Of those lost to Dissent, six families had died out by 1689, and in a further eleven the active Dissenters had died out, leaving heirs who conformed. These included the great Fairfax family, the last Dissenting Lord Fairfax, Henry, having died early in 1689. In addition the Hewleys of York died out in 1710, with the death of Lady Hewley, the Rhodes of Great Houghton in 1713, and seven other families had conformed by 1715. Of these, the Listers of Thornton in Craven had long died out, but their cousin, Madam Lambert, remained faithful to Dissent until her death in the early eighteenth century. It is noticeable that in many cases, such as the families of Fairfax and Wharton, the conforming heirs remained Whig in

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121. See App.I, Pt.A, List II.



politics, refusing only to follow the religious footsteps of their fathers. It is also significant that at least four of those families who remained Dissenters had urban or industrial connections. Richard Hutton of Pudsey was a merchant, the Cottons of Denby were ironmasters, and the Spencers of Attercliffe were connected with the cutlery trade in Sheffield.<sup>122</sup> There is little doubt that Dissenting influence was declining among the gentry, and that this spelt death to many rural congregations. Of the fifteen meetings described above as having the support of such county families, those at Alne, Northallerton, Nunappleton, Bramhope, Great Houghton and Poppleton died out because the families conformed, while at Osgodby, Ackworth, Skellow, Badsworth and Swathe, the families themselves died out. At Holderness and Ellenthorpe no minister could be found despite financial inducements, and at Hatfield and Denby the family ceased to hold conventicles at home, attending meetings of an organised

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122. See App.II, under names of the various families. There were probably a number of reasons for this development. The effects of the 1673 Test Act may have been of some importance, but the decline of nonconformity among the Gentry seems to have developed some years after this, and it seems more likely that the general intellectual and social isolation of Dissent played a greater part than any specific penalty. The standard of education at Frankland's Academy may have been good, but most county families preferred to send their sons to the Universities. In terms of career, Dissent was a considerable disadvantage, and this may account for the important role of women in the movement, and the tendency of female supporters to be more loyal. Dr. Bossy, op.cit. has pointed to the same tendency in relation to the Catholics. Finally account should be taken of the increasing sterility of Dissenting thought, the failure to develop new ideas and approaches such as those encouraged by the Latitudinarians at Cambridge, and the tendency to continually haggle over old problems. Socially, politically and intellectually Nonconformity was increasingly to suffer in the eyes of the wealthy classes by comparison with an established Church from which puritan ideas were not absent, and in which the Latitudinarian movement had taken them up and developed them in morally and intellectually attractive forms.



Congregation, at Attercliffe and Penistone respectively.<sup>123</sup> Of the six rural Congregations which did develop into permanent Chapels, the Craven group had the help of Madam Lambert until the early eighteenth century, and a considerable legacy thereafter, the Knaresborough Chapel had the protection of Lady Hewley until 1710, and the Penistone Congregation continued to be helped by the Cottons of Denby and the Rich family, who built the Chapel at Bull House. The Swaledale Congregation had the aid of Lord Wharton until 1696, including the Chapel which he built at Low Row, although they also needed help from the Common Fund. The Congregations at Hopton and Bolton were gathered around two ministers, Richard Thorp and Nathan Denton, and survived until 1713 and 1720 only because these ministers were long-lived, both declining thereafter.<sup>124</sup>

By 1689, then, a conjunction of circumstances was bringing about a sharp decline in the strength of puritan Dissent in the rural areas. The death of many older ministers, the decline of puritan influence among the gentry, and the increasing tendency for Congregations to become fully organised and ministers occupied at home with pastoral work all conspired to highlight the perennial problems of isolation, paucity of numbers and poverty, and to render the majority of village groups basically unviable. In some cases the proximity of a town or another group could offer a solution. Mrs Spufford has pointed to the use of market towns as centres for Dissenting activity in Cambridgeshire, and a similar tendency can be seen in Yorkshire. By the early 1700s new Chapels had been founded in Barnsley, Doncaster and Knaresborough, where there is little sign of Dissenting activity in earlier years. There had, however, been rural groups in the surrounding areas, and it is likely that these merged to form a viable unit and placed their Chapels in the convenient central spot formed by the market town. In this guise rural Dissent probably persisted for some time. A similar process may explain the foundation of Chapels in Scarborough, Malton, Thirsk, Ayton, and Whitby in the years following 1689,

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123. See App.I, Pt.A, List II.

124. See App.I, and App.II, under relevant names.

although in these cases there is no more evidence of rural groups than of puritan activity within the towns concerned, and it is therefore impossible to be sure.<sup>125</sup> Nor did all specifically rural Congregations disappear in these years. In Craven the help of Madam Lambert enabled the Dissenters to form a solid basis of support, and eventually three permanent Chapels emerged, at Horton, Winterburn and Newton in Bolland. Nevertheless there was a distinct decline in the strength of Puritan Dissent in the rural areas. The decline of influence among the gentry, in itself a significant change in the social make-up of the movement, led to geographical changes with the contraction into the urban and industrial areas and to further social changes, with an even greater reliance upon the urban middle classes. The majority of the influential urban families listed in Appendix II, Part B, the merchants and wealthy townspeople, remained active Dissenters even into the nineteenth century, and Puritan Dissent in the towns and the clothing areas gained strength. Around Halifax, at Warley and Mixenden, at Elland and Kirkburton, Dissenters who had previously visited nearby Congregations or relied upon their help, were able to form secure independent Chapels.<sup>126</sup> The Quakers were able to survive in the rural areas because they were not required to support a professional ministry. For Puritan Dissenters however, an organised Chapel with its own pastor required a reasonably high population with an adequate income, or a wealthy family to bear much of the charge. By 1689, and increasingly thereafter, the rural parts of Yorkshire were not able to fulfil these requirements.

Despite the many problems of scarce and unreliable evidence, therefore, some conclusions may be drawn concerning the numbers and geographical distribution of Dissent in Yorkshire. Among the Quakers, numbers undoubtedly rose, and the period was one of overall success, achieved by mighty efforts in the face of bitter persecution. Among the more orthodox Dissenters, the picture

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125. For all these Chapels, and the three cited above, see App.I, Pt.A, List III.

126. See App.I, Pt.A, List III.



is far more variable and complex. After 1662 there was a sharp decline in strength, as those who were unable or unwilling to remain active, both ministers and laymen, left the movement. Thereafter the trends were less clearly marked. The 1660s were difficult years, with no real organisation, and it is therefore most realistic to use the position and strength shown in 1669-72 as the starting point for comparison with later figures. While no precise estimates of overall numbers are possible, it would appear that from 1669-72 to 1689-92 numbers did not alter markedly. Within that period, however, there was some variation, with the highest totals of membership being achieved in the early 1670s. This success could not be maintained, and it is likely that the figures of 1689-92 represent some decline from that high point, a trend which did not bode well for the future. The numbers of ministers and meetings certainly declined, despite some expansion of the latter in the 1670s. In relation to the ministers this decline was partly, but not wholly, arrested by replacements from Frankland's Academy. The numbers of meetings declined mainly in the rural areas, where Puritan Dissent had always been weakest. The reasons for this were two-fold, the basic poverty and isolation of the rural meetings, and the loss of those wealthy and influential men and women who had upheld them for so long. Thus while the Quakers at least maintained their strength in all areas, and even expanded, some of the more traditional and orthodox forms of Dissent became increasingly concentrated in urban and industrial areas, where their support had always been more firmly based, and where independent, organised Congregations prospered, their numbers rising slightly at the end of the period. It could be said that the problems and difficulties of this period of persecution caused Puritan Dissent to contract, and to be reduced once again to its earlier centre of strength, the urban middle classes. As a limited movement of this kind, thrifty, solid, respectable and 'middle class', it would survive and prosper.

#### CHAPTER IV. The Foundations of Congregational Dissent

The preceding chapters have been concerned with the chronological development, the institutions and the spread of Puritan Dissent in Yorkshire. It remains necessary, however, to ask why these developments occurred, why men chose to leave the Church of England, and to seek their religious life elsewhere? What issues drove the ministers, and laymen, who made up the Congregations of Puritan Dissenters to sever their ties with the central religious institution of their day, and to remain outside it, becoming, as the period progressed, more rather than less separate and distinct? Why also, did their separate existence take the form of small, Congregational units, rather than an alternative, unified institution? How far were the divisions which defined Puritan Dissent, both between the Dissenters and the Anglicans and among the Dissenters themselves, based upon significant philosophical and theological differences, and how far the result of an immediate and practical situation? In an age when the belief that unity depended upon uniformity was still widespread, when the idea that men could give their loyalty to a nation and a society while reserving certain spiritual and philosophical areas to themselves was as yet confined to a minority, when the idea that truth itself was divisible had been accepted by few, the division and fragmentation upon which Puritan Dissent was based and in accordance with which it was organised must have appeared to be a weakness and a danger. In fact however, this was to remain its basis and to become permanently institutionalised within English society. If it is possible to understand why and how this occurred, to understand the process by which it became acceptable, then the historian may perhaps come closer to explaining the nature, the strength, and the endurance, of Puritan Dissent.

For the convinced separatist the issue of leaving the Anglican establishment posed no problem. Not only did he object to the use of certain ceremonies, and to the power of the 'Lord Bishops', but far more important, he rejected the very idea of a national Church. A Church should consist of a



number of voluntarily contracted believers, joining as a result of a personal decision at the end of a personal conversion, and accepting the Discipline of his Pastor and fellow members. 'It is' wrote Thomas Jolly, 'improper to call England a church', and if any part of the nation merited such a title, 'methinks the reforming, nonconforming party who proceed upon the bottom of the solemn Covenant are most truly the Church of England'. Like most of his persuasion, Jolly could not accept the idea of a Church to which all belonged.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this the Independents of Yorkshire have left little evidence as to what in particular they disliked about the organisation of the Church of England, for they condemned its whole ethos, and the historian is forced to infer their disapproval of set prayers and ceremonial rites, of a hierarchical government and its formal discipline, from the practical examples of the Independent Churches in operation. It must be assumed that these Churches represented the Independent concept of Church government and organisation and of the correct forms of worship, and that Anglican practice would be disliked wherever it deviated from this model. The Presbyterians, however, have enumerated more fully their objections to the Anglican establishment, since it was upon such matters that their nonconformity was based. The leaders in London, such as Baxter and Calamy, wrote long and careful explanations of their Dissent, enumerating the flaws of Anglicanism, its liturgy and ceremonial, and defending themselves against the charge of schism.<sup>2</sup> In Yorkshire, men like Oliver Heywood shared many of their concerns. In 1660, when the King returned, he wrote of his fears that a restored Anglicanism would 'obstruct the work of reformation, set up again the abrogated ceremonies, subject us to tyranny under an insulting

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1. Jolly, Notebook, p.137. There was, in fact, very little reason why a convinced Separatist should consider remaining within the Church at all. They had been able to participate in the national Church organisation under Cromwell, because the establishment was so constructed as to leave room for the gathered Churches to operate alongside the parish structure, but the return of the Anglican establishment and the Act of Uniformity changed all that, leaving a very simple and clear-cut choice.
  2. See Calamy, Vol.I, passim, especially pp.445-65.

hierarchy, corrupt God's pure worship, and turn gospel discipline into courts of formality'.<sup>3</sup> Heywood could not remain in a Church which limited the use of extemporary prayer and preaching in favour of set liturgies, which imposed the use of ceremonies which were at best indifferent and at worst idolatrous, and which set up tyrannical Bishops and their courts, concerned with the imposition of formal uniformity and the letter of the law, in place of the gospel discipline concerned, as he saw it, with the spirit and the examination of the individual soul. Such other evidence as exists suggests that these were the sticking points for most puritan ministers. The poems of Joshua Kirby reflect a similar opinion of the Bishops, their courts and their ceremonial, while he expressed his view of set prayers thus:-

'But if Sir John will read his mumpsimus  
and one should ask him 'Sir, why do you thus?'  
possibly in the language of the beast,  
he might plead for the postscript, Scriptum est.  
'Tis printed so in your books and in mine  
'Tis therefore, without question, divine:  
If this suffice not (for all are not blind)  
the common argument is yet behind:  
the Church enjoins it; her authority  
her wisdom and infallibility  
may silence all our doubts; the scarlet whore  
will plead so much, and may not we much more?'<sup>4</sup>

The main objections to the restored Church and the settlement in 1662, then, were a dislike of set forms and ceremonial, their imposition on the basis of the authority of the Church, and discipline based upon formal observance rather than on spiritual examination. In addition, many puritan ministers were faced with a problem over ordination. Many of them had been

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3. Heywood, Works, ed. Slate, Vol. I, pp. 74-5.

4. Heywood, III, pp. 17-76, especially p. 25.



ordained by presbyters, and if they now accepted episcopal ordination they would, by implication, admit that their previous ministry was invalid, with, they believed, serious consequences both for themselves and for those to whom they had ministered. In the diocese of Norwich, when Reynolds was Bishop, this problem was partially overcome, in that the Bishop was willing to merely lay his hands upon those who had Presbyterian ordination and bless their work rather than insisting upon a full ceremony of ordination;<sup>5</sup> but this solution required a measure of flexibility and compromise on both sides, which was all too often absent.

The objections to the settlement of 1662 and the failure to achieve any compromise before that, do, in fact, point to one strong and important characteristic of puritan Dissent - its attention to detail and the difficulty found by Dissenters in compromising over the smallest philosophical and theological points. Dissent was, by nature, dogmatic. Those puritans of a more flexible cast of mind were able, like Reynolds, Wallis and Wilkins, to remain within the Church in 1662 and to form the basis of a new ecclesiastical movement, the Latitudinarians, who, as Burnet emphasised, took a more rational approach to theology and ecclesiology, and endeavoured to promote agreement and general piety in the place of dogmatic dispute.<sup>6</sup> In contrast the men who left the Church, who endured suffering and persecution for the sake of their beliefs, were men of strong conviction who could see no way of compromising with what they believed to be wrong without bringing upon themselves the penalties of guilt and sin. The use of the cross in baptism, for example, and indeed the whole baptismal ceremony, were not mere matters of convenience, but reflections of the theology of baptismal regeneration and the role of the Church within it to which no Dissenter could be party. For the Dissenter details were important, a reflection of the whole, and could not be ignored. Hence the careful, often

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5. A.H. Drysdale, A History of Presbyterians in England (1889) p.384.

6. Gilbert Burnet, The History of my own time, ed. O. Airy, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1897-1900) I, pp.333-6.

tortuous, arguments used to justify their position, and hence the quarrels which beset Dissent, within and between denominations, throughout the period. This was the problem to which Stillingfleet referred when he said that, if left alone, the Dissenters would destroy themselves, and it was a problem which was intrinsic to the very basis and motivation of their Dissent.

The reasons given by so many Presbyterian ministers for their inability to conform also show how much they had in common with their Independent brethren. Except for the difference in ecclesiology, and this was, of course, of great importance, the two groups held similar opinions on the questions of prayer, preaching, and ceremonial, and often on the matter of episcopal ordination. While Presbyterian and Independent differed in their concept of ordination, neither was prepared to deny that which they had by seeking re-ordination at the hands of a Bishop. Their common attitude to the other matters in question can be seen most clearly from their common practice in their own Congregations. The centrality of preaching, the use of extemporary prayer, the practice of conferences and exercises, all these expressed the core of the puritan religion, were common to both major denominations, and would not be, both believed, given free expression within the framework of the Anglican Church. The kind of Discipline to be exercised, if not by whom, was also a matter of widespread agreement.<sup>7</sup> By a more difficult, more complex and more tortuous route, the Presbyterians found themselves in 1662 in a similar position to their Independent brethren. They were all nonconformists.

By 1662, then, a considerable number of puritan ministers had left the Church and moved into nonconformity. The question remains, however, as to how and why they developed a movement of congregational nonconformity - how they came to practise as ministers outside the Church, why members of the laity followed them, and why they developed that particular form of organisation. For the Independent, of course, these questions had already been answered, and

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7. For an examination of how these attitudes were demonstrated in practice, see above, Chapter II.



once the Presbyterians had come to practise outside the national Church it is hardly surprising that they should have adopted a form of organisation which was used by those with whom they shared so much. Nevertheless, for those who believed in a national Church, based on a parish structure, there came first the decision to practise outside that framework.

There can be no doubt that the majority of Presbyterian ministers did believe in a national establishment, and continued to do so throughout this period. In 1672, when they took out licences under the Declaration of Indulgence, the Presbyterian ministers of the West Riding were careful to issue a statement declaring that their preaching was intended, not to oppose the national Establishment, but to uphold and encourage its spiritual purposes, and they held their meetings at times which would not clash with Anglican services.<sup>8</sup> A large number of them, including Heywood and Joshua Kirby who were both excommunicate, and others like Jonas Waterhouse of Bradford, Thomas Sharp of Leeds and Eli Bentley of Halifax certainly attended Church themselves, and encouraged their followers to do so. In 1662 the majority of such ministers had no intention of establishing their own separate congregations, or even of preaching on an irregular and 'ad hoc' basis. They came to do so for two main reasons - their own belief in their calling, and the demands of certain laymen for their services. In 1664, by which time Heywood was in the habit of preaching to small numbers in his own house and at family occasions in the houses of his friends, he wrote an account of his 'Reasons for not attending Church on Sunday and preaching at home', in which his concern to justify his activities shows how deeply the charge of schism, which was levelled at the nonconformists, could wound him. He states first that his behaviour does not stem from despising the Church, public ordinances, or conformist sermons, but from respect for his own calling, a call from God to preach for the benefit of men's souls, and, having promised to do so, he must obey this call and carry on his work. If he is not permitted to do this in public, he must do it privately. God called him, not only to preach,

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8. Miall, p.85.

but to preach and minister in Coley, and showed his approval by blessing the work with success. Now there are some who are not satisfied to attend church, although he has tried to persuade them, and if they are going to worship in private meetings, their souls must be properly instructed. If they seek his ministrations, how can he, called by God for that very work, refuse them? He cannot attend Church himself because he has been excommunicated, and therefore has no alternative but to worship in private. He knows that he cannot be committing a sin in this work, for God has blessed it - numbers increase, and despite attempts to punish him for his work, God has kept him safe.<sup>9</sup>

For Heywood, then, his activities were justified on the basis of his duty to God and man, and in his safety and success he saw evidence of divine approbation. It is significant that he cites an existing demand for his services as an important reason for his activities, for the evidence in general does suggest that much of the impetus towards the development of congregational non-conformity, or at least of regular meetings, came from the laity, who remained loyal to the ministers that they knew and respected and demanded their loyalty in return. The laity appear to have been often less concerned than their ministers with the problems of schism, although the use of occasional conformity as a demonstration of Christian brotherhood was widespread.<sup>10</sup> Jonathan Priestley, one of Heywood's hearers from 1662 onwards and one of the original members of his Congregation in 1672, defended his attendance at conventicles with three arguments. The Act of Uniformity, he declared, could not annul the great obligation between a Minister and his people, and it was the people, not the place, that created a Church. Hence the conventicle, he argued, was not an attack on the Church, but an extension of it, for 'where there is harmony in doctrine and the main parts of worship', the failure to observe certain ceremonies and use a particular liturgy are not sufficient grounds to justify accusations of schism.<sup>11</sup> It is significant that, while ostensibly

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9. Heywood, III, pp. 21-3.

10. See above, Chapter II, and below pp. 203-6.

11. Heywood, III, pp. 61-2.



arguing that the activities in which he shared were in reality part and parcel of those of the Church, Priestley was, in fact, going some way towards justifying a congregational unit, by arguing that the Church consisted of its people, not the place, nor by implication, the hierarchy or legal and disciplinary framework.

It would be erroneous, however, to suggest that congregational nonconformity developed from Presbyterianism by a process of rational argument and philosophical development. The growth of meeting, preaching, and later of congregational organisation stemmed, in fact, from practical opportunity<sup>12</sup> and the need to make the best of the situation as it existed, and the majority of Presbyterians continued to believe in and desire a reconciliation with the Anglican Church while developing an effective separatist organisation in practice. The original stimulus lay in the desire of ministers to preach, and serve God and man in the light of their beliefs, and in the desire of some laymen to receive their spiritual guidance from ministers of that persuasion, especially those whom they already knew and respected. Hence they met as they could, in small numbers, in private houses, and when the opportunity arose, in public places. By 1668, with the easing of persecution, they were meeting regularly, sometimes in large numbers, but always with a hard core of regular attenders who were beginning to represent something approaching a Congregation, or a distinct membership. With the great stimulus afforded by the Declaration of Indulgence, the vital step was taken, in the beginnings of formal organisation of the Congregations and the development of regular Communion as a badge of membership. The benefits afforded by this development, enjoyed legally over a period of a year, and in practice until 1675, proved too great for the development to be reversed. The Declaration of Indulgence gave Dissent a legal recognition, and perhaps provided the Congregations with some measure of respectability. It did nothing to solve the dilemma of creating schism, but in the face of practical developments and opportunities, philosophical doubts were largely overridden.

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12. See above, Chapter I.

These experiences also do much to answer the question as to why the Dissenters, once they had chosen the path of Dissent, should have remained, despite the danger and difficulty, outside the Church. They had left because they could not accept the teachings and organisation of the Anglican Church on certain basic issues - the Sacraments, the use of ceremonies and set prayers, and the hierarchical organisation and Discipline. In the intervening period nothing had occurred to change either their views or those of the Church authorities on these issues, nor would occur by 1689. The various attempts at Comprehension came to nothing because the gap remained too great, and because the issues remained virtually unchanged throughout the period. The Comprehension scheme of 1668 was based upon the negotiations of 1661-2, and that of 1689 upon the Comprehension scheme of 1668. Few of the Dissenters could, in fact, be comprehended within the Church without a revolution in its organisation and significant changes in the expression of doctrine if not of doctrine itself. The Dissenters could not be comprehended, only forced to give in, and the situation which they found outside the Church, the events and developments of the period from 1662 to 1672, ensured that that would not happen. Perhaps to the surprise of the Presbyterians at least, the Puritan Dissenters discovered that in private meetings and small groups they could find a lively and enjoyable religious life; that in practice they could operate successfully, and that while this was made difficult by persecution and to some extent would always be unsatisfactory for some, it was sufficient to uphold their determination to defend and express their views, and was, in practice, an important and fulfilling religious experience. Some Presbyterians, in fact, developed along a distinctly Separatist path. In 1680 Vincent Alsop, stung by Stillingfleet's accusations of causing schism, wrote an aggressive defence of non-conformity in which he emphasised the real doctrinal differences between Anglicans and Puritan Dissenters, and defended the principle of Separatism.<sup>13</sup>

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13. R.A.Beddard, 'Vincent Alsop and the Emancipation of Restoration Dissent', in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, No.24 (1973) pp.161-84.



Few of his denomination went so far, but there was a real tendency, as time progressed, for the gap between Anglican and Presbyterian to widen rather than narrow, and in Yorkshire, while there is no evidence of any theoretical developments similar to those put forward by Alsop, practice and experience were achieving similar results.

By the mid-1670s, then, the Presbyterians had, in practice, come close to the Independents in their mode and form of worship, and congregational non-conformity was an established fact. The leaders in London debated the philosophical issues, and as late as 1689 Dr. Howe was careful to point out to King William that a separate delegation of Presbyterian ministers did not represent a separate interest from that of the Anglicans who came to welcome him,<sup>14</sup> but in Yorkshire the majority of ministers left such matters aside while they got on with the practical business of serving and organising their congregations. There is, in fact, evidence of a significant divergence of opinion in these matters, between the leading Presbyterians in London (the Dons) and provincial ministers like Heywood. David Marshall<sup>15</sup> has pointed to a distinct lack of reaction from the provinces, especially from Yorkshire and Lancashire, to the failure of the Comprehension scheme of 1689, in contrast to the anger and disappointment expressed by leaders like Howe, Bates and Baxter. Similarly, in relation to the achievement of political rights and power, he suggests that one reason for the Anglican reaction against the Nonconformists in 1689-90, which in fact destroyed all hopes of Comprehension, was the increase in political demands and comments made by the Nonconformist leaders, and contrasts this with the apprehension and lack of political understanding expressed by provincial ministers like Heywood, Jolly and Philip Henry and laymen like Thoresby, in relation to William's invasion and the events which followed it. It may perhaps be suggested, although generalisations from such few examples are dangerous, that

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14. Calamy, I, p. 388.

15. D.N. Marshall 'Protestant Dissent in England in the reign of James II' (1976 Ph.D. Dissertation, kept in the Hull University Library) pp. 545-7, 551.

deep concern with the theoretical issues of the Nonconformist relationship with the Anglican Church and the political role of Nonconformity was increasingly confined to the leadership in London, while the provincial ministers and their followers gave priority to the securing and consolidation of the expression of their religious life in their local Congregations. In this they found their fulfilment, and to this they gave their time and energy.

In a period of persecution the development of Dissent into congregational Nonconformity was a considerable achievement, but the Yorkshire Dissenters were still faced with problems of isolation, poverty, and the necessity of facing persecution without the kind of help, psychological and practical, which their national organisation offered to the Quakers. The extent of the problem can be seen in the Common Fund Survey, carried out in 1690-2,<sup>16</sup> although even this minimises the difficulties by ignoring the many meetings and groups which had already been overcome, and died out. The survey was flawed and inefficient, and far from complete, but the incompleteness of the returns was probably a result of their purpose, to describe need and appeal for help, while the geographical errors may well have occurred when the replies were collected in London. For the most part, the Congregations not mentioned were strong and prosperous, as at Sheffield, Attercliffe, Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, Pontefract and Halifax. Hence the complete picture would have been less gloomy than these fragments suggest. Nevertheless, the Dissenters' problems were considerable. Need of material assistance was pressing, and was preventing further organisation. Of twenty-five places listed as being in need, ten had meetings but were too poor to support a minister, while one had few as well as poor members. In nine cases the Congregation was organised, and had a minister, but through poverty was in danger of losing both. Only in one place, Clifford, in the North Riding, was help required for conversion and expansion rather than consolidation. Lack of money was also important in relation to the shortage of ministers, at least

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16. For a full account of the returns, see above, Chapter III, pp. 141-2, 155-6



fifteen students and potential pastors being in danger of failing to complete their studies for lack of sufficient income. Thanks to the pressures and opportunities of the past twenty years, Dissent had done much to organise its corporate life, thereby strengthening it immeasurably. There was little room, however, for self-satisfaction. Much remained to be done, with some groups lacking pastoral services and potential pastors lacking opportunities to fulfil their vocation. By 1690, whatever desire for eventual reunion with the Church might remain, there was little sign of philosophical resistance to separate organisation of congregations in practice. The main problem was poverty, and unless this was alleviated, Nonconformist organisation would progress no further. In urban areas, Congregations might hope to be relatively self-sufficient; in rural areas they could not. In earlier years they had been upheld by wealthy county families, but by 1689 this source of support was fast diminishing, as families died out, or sons refused to follow in the footsteps of their fathers at least where religion was concerned.<sup>17</sup> The pressing need was for some sort of central organisation, able to channel support and funds where they were most needed. For a few years, from 1691 to 1694, the United Brethren attempted to fulfil this need with the Common Fund, but with the collapse of inter-denominational co-operation the different groups were thrown back on their own resources, and since central organisation even within the denominations remained weak, on the charitable efforts of individuals like Richard Stretton, who collected money in London and disbursed it in Yorkshire in places of need.<sup>18</sup>

The period from 1672 to 1689 had seen several attempts to create some such central or regional organisation, despite obvious difficulties such as government suspicion and lack of agreement on many issues. One of the most dedicated advocates of intercongregational and interdenominational co-operation, whose work for this end covered not only Yorkshire but also Lancashire and London, was

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17. See App.II,Pt.A, under individual family names; see also Chapter III.

18. G.D.Lumb, 'An Account of the Life of the Rev. Richard Stretton', Thoresby Society, No.XI (1900-4) pp.321-32 (pp.328-9); Heywood, III, pp.176,275; Dale, p.206; Matthews, p.466-7.



Thomas Jolly, the Independent Pastor of Altham and Wymondhouses. Jolly was undoubtedly an Independent, but he was far from extreme or intolerant, believing in the necessity of ministerial Ordination as well as the Calling by the individual Congregation, and having good relations with many Presbyterian ministers.<sup>19</sup> As such he was well suited for the work to which he dedicated himself for most of his life.

Jolly's efforts in this field operated on two different, but inter-related levels. His great desire was for unity among the Dissenters, and for the establishment of some inter-denominational organisation. Failing that, however, he hoped for the creation of regional councils among the Independents alone, to encourage co-operation and provide mutual aid in times of need, believing that, in both cases, unity would lead to strength. His interest in this work had begun before the Restoration. In 1656-7 he attended meetings of ministers at Chesterfield and Wakefield 'to concert ways and means to promote the purity, peace and communion of their churches in several counties, viz. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire,' and in 1658 he attended the famous General Meeting of the Congregational Churches at the Savoy in London.<sup>20</sup> For a decade after the Bartholomew ejections the Dissenters had little energy to devote to such matters, and Jolly himself was constantly harassed by persecution. By 1674, however, he had again found time to take up the work. During the period of Indulgence some kind of Association had been organised in Yorkshire, though it is unclear whether this involved both Presbyterians and Independents. In 1672 a group of Presbyterian ministers had issued a Declaration that their acceptance of licences and work as ministers was not intended as an attack on the Church of England, but as furthering its spiritual aims.<sup>21</sup> It may be that the Association grew from such 'ad hoc' meetings, in which case it was probably open to both denominations, for in 1674 Jolly, an Independent, was grieved by a letter informing him that the meetings had been adjourned because of reviving

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19. Jolly, Notebook, p. 44.

20. Jolly, Notebook, p. 129.

21. Miall, p. 85.



persecution. He replied, opposing this, and records that as a result, 'some met' after all, and agreed on 'some matters of present duty as to one another and as to the times' and on the appointment of a special fast day to 'renew our seeking of god's face as to our failing in duty to each other as to communion in Churches and of Churches.'<sup>22</sup> It is possible that the failings were concerned with quarrels within the Independent movement, but there is no record of any such disputes at this time in either Jolly's or Heywood's diaries, whereas such problems on other occasions are usually recorded by one or both. Hence it seems likely that this meeting was indeed open to ministers of both persuasions.

It seems, however, that this association was short-lived, for Jolly's next involvement in organisational work came in July 1675, with a visit to London, and there is no mention of further inter-denominational meetings in Yorkshire until 1680. Concerned by difficulties in meeting and the lack of good new ministers, Jolly undertook a visit to London to obtain advice and assistance concerning organisation and measures to strengthen Dissent. He met John Owen, and found him sympathetic and helpful in discussing ways of increasing unity and co-operation between Churches and organising mutual help. The idea of emigration to avoid persecution was dismissed as too drastic. A meeting of the London Congregations was called, and some moves were made towards organising help for 'suffering churches' and for laying down standards for candidates to to the Ministry. The project seems however to have got no further than this, and Jolly returned to the North to continue his efforts on a regional basis. He did pay a further visit to London in 1677, on business concerning his son's education, and while there, involved himself in 'some designs of more public good' which 'came to little effect through the infirmity of some of note, and of myself too for want of prudence or perseverance in the management thereof'. On at least one of these occasions, probably the latter, his efforts involved both Presbyterians and Independents, for he refers to himself as trying to

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22. Jolly, Notebook, p. 18.

bring Dr. Owen and Mr Baxter together 'in order to a better understanding and brotherly accord betwixt them' and to a meeting held at the house of Baxter's great friend, Alderman Henry Ashurst.<sup>23</sup>

In 1680 Jolly succeeded in initiating a new Association in Yorkshire, which apparently included both Presbyterians and Independents. In March of that year he records that he 'found it in my heart once more to attempt the healing of the differences and distances among Dissenters, accordingly in a journey into Yorkshire there was a foundation laid by some pastors for a meeting to that purpose'. The meeting was held in May, near Topcliffe, where for three days the ministers and some lay representatives struggled to obtain some 'accomadation and association of Churches'. A further meeting was held in July, but difficulties were already mounting. Three ministers did not attend, and in October Jolly wrote that 'my brethren whom I had most confidence in desert and discourage me'. In January 1681 another meeting was held, but resulted in a severe quarrel over Ordination. One extreme Independent, apparently insisting on the necessity of popular ordination to the Ministry, on the specific call to a settled Pastorate by the individual Congregation as the pre-requisite of Ministerial status, was opposed by an extreme Presbyterian, who insisted that such ordination was not only unnecessary and insufficient, but positively offensive to God. Although the meetings apparently continued, they were clearly achieving little, and in 1683 Jolly wrote that the attendance at the February meeting of ministers 'was but slender'.<sup>24</sup>

A similar picture is presented by events in London. In August 1682 Jolly was again visiting there, and had a considerable debate with the New England minister, Mr Mather. John Owen told him that he had been trying to forward the movement. He and Jolly had apparently distributed copies of an essay 'for repentence and reformation, accommodation and association of

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23. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 24-5, 28, 31; for further information on attempts to establish unity among Dissenters in London, see Calamy, I, pp. 136, 327, 516, 530, 535, 537.

24. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 41, 42, 43.



evangelical, reforming Churches', and while some had been impressed, especially (and surprisingly) in New England and Scotland, there were 'so few of a public healing spirit' and persecution had become so harsh, that the design had been laid aside.<sup>25</sup> This latter reason constituted an increasing problem, and as persecution mounted in the 1680s, organisational efforts ceased in both London and Yorkshire, to revive only with the Indulgence of 1687. From this time Jolly's work was directed mainly towards regional organisation in Lancashire. This obviously involved both Independents and Presbyterians, for at the first meeting the representatives 'owned each other as Ministers in reference to our ordination'. For a while this latest attempt met with some success, and in 1691, merged into the nation-wide United Brethren, of which Jolly and Henry Newcome were appointed county secretaries in 1694.<sup>26</sup>

In 1689 the failure of the schemes for Comprehension discussed by Convocation made it clear to the Presbyterians that their exclusion from the National Church would continue for some time, and the newly-established Toleration made the moment ripe for another attempt at unity between the two leading denominations. The result, in 1690, was the establishment of the United Brethren, with a central Committee in London and County meetings elsewhere. The basis of agreement was similar to that negotiated by Baxter and Owen in 1670,<sup>27</sup> and for a while the prospect seemed bright. In response to the impetus from London, a joint letter from Sharp and Whitaker of Leeds invited Oliver Heywood to summon a meeting to debate unity in Yorkshire. Heywood was eminently suitable for the task, being pastor to a mixed Congregation and a universally respected preacher, known throughout the county for his tireless work on behalf of the Gospel. A meeting was accordingly held at Wakefield in September 1691, attended by twenty-four ministers and students including Richard Frankland, William Hawden of Wakefield, Thomas Johnson of Painthorp, Joseph

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25. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 49-50.

26. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 85-6, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.

27. Calamy, I, pp. 327-8, 476-83, 510.



Dawson, Richard Thorp, Thomas Sharp and Heywood's sons from the Presbyterian ranks, and Thomas Whitaker and Thomas Elston for the Independents. After some discussion Heywood preached an opening sermon and, according to Thoresby, the meeting was conducted in an amicable spirit.<sup>28</sup> Further meetings were arranged, and with similar success achieved in Lancashire and elsewhere, the Union seemed well established. By 1692, however, arguments had broken out. The immediate cause of disagreement lay with the somewhat eccentric activities of Mr Richard Davies of Rothwell, Nottinghamshire, an Independent minister who made no secret of his suspicion of Presbyterian intentions, and who had established an almost divine authority over his Congregation. The Committee in London felt unable to ignore Davies's outbursts and, in the first real test of their authority, attempted to discipline and disown him. In reply Davies embarked on a crusade for the destruction of the Union and, by raising latent Independent fears, set up such anti-Presbyterian feeling among the Independent laity that the more moderate leaders and ministers were forced either to follow their rank and file or seriously divide their own movement. The result was the revival of old arguments concerning the rights of the individual Congregation, and the Presbyterians were accused of dictatorial intentions. In addition old doctrinal quarrels were renewed, exacerbated by the re-publication of the works of Dr. Crisp. Presbyterian accused Independent of Antinomian leanings, and the latter replied with accusations of Arminianism. At Pinners' Hall in London the joint Presbyterian and Independent congregation broke up over a quarrel concerning the interpretation of Philippians I, 19, and Daniel Williams left to join Bates, Howe and Vincent Alsop at an exclusively Presbyterian meeting in Salters' Hall. By 1694 the United Brethren were no longer united, and by 1695, despite further attempts at reconciliation, the union lay shattered. Co-operation had proved possible at certain levels, the Common Fund being a notable success, but beyond that, the differences had proved too great, and latent suspicion had burst forth with renewed fury. In Yorkshire the joint meetings, based on personal

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28. Miall, pp. 108-10.



friendships and mutual respect, would continue for some time, but unity on any other basis, and in any meaningful sense, had proved impossible.<sup>29</sup>

While supra-congregational organisation thus eluded the Dissenters, some of its functions were in fact carried out on an 'ad hoc' basis. In Yorkshire the outbreak of a dispute within or between Congregations usually led to the calling of a number of local ministers to judge between the parties and help soothe ruffled feelings. In 1678, when Hancock and Bloom quarrelled at Attercliffe, Oliver Heywood and others took on this function. In August 1679 a dispute flared at Kipping, between the pastor, Richard Whitehurst, and several leading members including Joseph Lister. Whitehurst apparently had strong millenarian tendencies, which irritated his opponents, and they accused him of unsoundness in his theology and of dictatorial behaviour. A meeting was called at Whitehurst's house in Lidget, attended by both parties and a committee of ministers including Heywood, Jolly, Gamaliel Marsden of Topcliffe, Thomas Whitaker of Leeds, Josiah Holdsworth of Heckmondwyke and Richard Astley of Hull, all, except Heywood, Independent pastors. Despite dedicated efforts, the ministers were unable to find a solution to the quarrel, and the congregation divided, some continuing to meet at Kipping while others attended Whitehurst at Lidget.<sup>30</sup> When faced with persecution Dissenters might call occasional meetings to formulate policy, as at Leeds in 1682,<sup>31</sup> or to apply to influential friends for help.<sup>32</sup> Help was given to sufferers or poor ministers from individual charities, administered by one or two of their number.<sup>33</sup>

Such measures were, however, of relatively little value. Compared with the strongly organised Quakers, Puritan Dissenters were able to do little to alleviate suffering or prevent persecution. Where the Quakers lobbied Parliament and organised legal representation to prevent abuse of the law and protect

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29. Miall, pp. 110-11; A. G. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-9; Calamy, I, pp. 515-16, 530, 535, 537, 549, 550.

30. Heywood, II, pp. 98, 99, 102, 112, 199-200, 201, 208, 240-3.

31. Thoresby, I, p. 112.

32. See App. II, Pt. A, especially Rokeby, and Wharton.

33. See Chapter, II, pp. 71-2.



what rights they had, the Puritan Dissenters had to rely on the voluntary efforts of individual lawyers like Richard Whitton and Thomas Rokeby.<sup>34</sup> The ministers who attempted to intervene in disputes had no power, no authority other than personal prestige, and could not intervene officially unless requested to do so by both parties. When a dispute arose at Topcliffe in 1680. the Congregation refused outside assistance, and, when reprimanded, boycotted the meeting of ministers held near their Church.<sup>35</sup> Despite the efforts of men like Jolly, inter-Church co-operation continued to depend on personal friendships and personal influence, existing only because of the generally good relations and mutual respect among the ministers. The experience of co-operation in the United Brethren did encourage some further organisation and in Yorkshire. the meetings of ministers, begun in Wakefield in 1691, did continue after the national movement had collapsed, but again this depended largely on personal friendship among the ministers. As Jolly realised, the movement suffered as a result of these failures, and the problem of isolation, created by the ejections and exacerbated by persecution, was greatly increased, with serious effect. In 1662 puritanism had been excluded from many spheres of national life, and divided into scattered congregations. The failure to achieve any national or regional organisation was a failure to counteract this, and contributed to the increasingly narrow boundaries of puritan life.

The Dissenters' failure to create any kind of effective interdenominational organisation raises the whole question of the relationship between Presbyterian and Independent. The desire for such an organisation existed, as the establishment of the United Brethren demonstrated, and there can be no doubt that between 1662 and 1689 the relationship between the two denominations had improved greatly. When both groups were denied power in the State old political quarrels lost relevance, and both groups came in this period to make some theoretical

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34. For Whitton, see App.I, Pt.A, List III, York; For Rokeby see App.II, Pt.A.

35. Jolly, Notebook, p.42.



adjustments which reduced some of their differences. The Presbyterians came to accept the necessity of religious Toleration, for other Protestants at least, and this acceptance was embodied in the plans for Comprehension put forward by Wilkins, Bridgeman and Hales in 1668. In the early 1660s, Baxter was corresponding with Philip Nye concerning a project for union, in which he agreed to Nye's basic demands that the gathered Churches should not be bound by the parochial order, and that they should be self-governing within their own Congregations.<sup>36</sup> In a series of pamphlets published posthumously in 1672, Nye accepted the necessity of a national Church, to cater for the unregenerate who were not members of gathered Churches, and conceded to the civil Magistrate some power over the temporal affairs of the latter.<sup>37</sup> In 1670 John Owen made some concessions over the vexed question of ministerial Ordination, conceding that the Congregation did not possess the 'power of the Keys', and that a Pastor should have some form of ministerial ordination in addition to his calling by the Congregation.<sup>38</sup> Such concessions were reflected in practical terms in the compromise sought by Thomas Jolly at the calling of Samuel Bailey at Topcliffe in 1674, put into effect at the ordination of Timothy Jolly at Sheffield in 1681, and widely accepted in Yorkshire by the end of the period.<sup>39</sup>

Such adjustments were relatively minor when compared to the wide area of common practice described above in Chapter II, and it was in practical terms that most progress was made in this period. The greatest gains in the improvement in the relationship between the two denominations arose from their common non-conformity and the common suffering endured in the years of persecution. In the 1660s, when meetings were ill-organised, Dissenters of all kinds had to find their religious expression as and where they could, and joint conventicles were

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36. Calamy, I, p. 136.

37. D. Nobbs, 'Philip Nye on Church and State', Camb. Hist. Journ., No 5 (1935) pp. 41-59.

38. See above, Chapter II, pp. 112-13.

39. See above, Chapter II, pp. 112-13.



common.<sup>40</sup> In 1671 Joseph Dawson, a Presbyterian, was preaching at Cleckheaton Chapel to a joint congregation of Presbyterians and Independents, and the Independent Church at Topcliffe permitted Presbyterians from nearby Morley to attend their services, and even permitted the baptism of their children.<sup>41</sup> The Congregation formed by Oliver Heywood in 1672 was perhaps the most significant example of a change in relations, for, although organised according to Presbyterian precepts, it was joined, not only by a remnant of Henry Root's Independent Church at Sowerby, but by the Independents of Coley itself, who had destroyed Heywood's attempt to establish Presbyterian discipline there prior to 1660 and had even tried to have him arrested in 1659, in the wake of Booth's rebellion.<sup>42</sup>

However great the growth of mutual respect created by common suffering and common need, and whatever the examples of increased amity and trust, the two denominations remained divided in their ecclesiology and philosophy. At this point there was little strictly theological discord, in the sense that the Presbyterian drift towards an Arminian view of salvation and election, characterised by Baxter, had made little headway before 1689, but the differences in attitude towards the ministry, towards Church organisation, and towards the national establishment remained important and reflected a deep theoretical gulf. The Presbyterians had come to organise themselves on a Congregational basis, and the Independents came, mainly, to accept the necessity of some form of

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40. For examples of these, see above, Chapter II pp. 84, 90, 121-2. Such conventicles were of great importance in the relationship between Presbyterian and Independent for, as has been pointed out in Chapter II, some examples persisted to 1689 and beyond, and formed a significant grey area between the two denominations, where opinions and practice met and shaded together. It was in the period after 1689, and sometimes many years after, that they ceased to form such a bridge, for in the years after Toleration they either died out, being essentially unviable, or moved more clearly towards Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism. Conditions after the Toleration Act tended to encourage organisation, and therefore definition, as at Bridlington, but more often these congregations, having originally become joint meetings because of small numbers, proved unable to continue and died out or dispersed among other more solidly established and clearly defined Congregations nearby.

41. See App. I, Pt. A, List III, Birstall/Cleckheaton, Morley, Topcliffe.

42. Heywood, I, p. 174, II, pp. 17-32.



ministerial ordination, but the power and rights of the Congregation, and of the minister, remained a divisive issue.<sup>43</sup> Many were prepared to compromise, as at Sheffield in 1681, but others were not. In 1678 when Heywood was involved in attempting to settle the dispute between Richard Whitehurst and the Kipping Congregation, he told them that their problems were the result of 'allowing private men to exercise their gifts publicly', but they dismissed his argument because he was a Presbyterian.<sup>44</sup> In January 1681 the incipient inter-Congregational organisation created by Thomas Jolly was almost destroyed by a violent quarrel over Ordination, between two ministers of Presbyterian and Independent views.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the laity were always more likely to quarrel over these matters than were the ministers, who clearly felt a sense of brotherhood. In the dispute at Topcliffe in 1674 the division was between the two ministers with some lay support, on the one hand, and the majority of the lay members of Topcliffe, including the Elders, with lay members from other Independent Churches in support, on the other. In this matter it was the Independent laity who guarded most fiercely the rights of the Congregation, while the ministers showed signs of according to their order something at least of the special status insisted upon by the Presbyterians. Again in 1678, when Topcliffe Church was rent by a violent quarrel over the sale of a horse, it was the laity who most fiercely resented the attempts of Jolly's Association to intervene.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the clearest example of the difference between clerical and lay attitudes occurred in 1678, when Heywood, visiting his friend Robert Pickering, the minister at Morley, was told of a recent quarrel at the house of David Noble. Pickering had been visiting Noble, in company with some local Independents, when the laymen among them 'fell to abusing the Presbyterians'. They insisted that if the Presbyterians were in power they would be as

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43. See above, Chapter II.

44. Heywood, II, p. 243.

45. See above p. 195.

46. See above pp. 101, 195.



tyrannical and arbitrary as the Bishops, and neither Pickering nor Noble, themselves Independent ministers, could persuade them otherwise.<sup>47</sup>

Probably the most divisive issue, however, was that of Occasional Conformity, with all its implications concerning attitudes to the national Church and the rectitude of Separatism, and in this area little progress was made in this period. The practice was heartily condemned by most Independents but was, and remained, widespread among the Presbyterians, although it is impossible to assess precisely how widespread. Not all Presbyterians were Occasional Conformists and not all Independents disapproved of the practice, but broadly it divided the two groups and was the cause of much controversy. For many Presbyterian ministers the greatest obstacle to an active Dissenting ministry was that it laid them open to the charge of causing schism, and even in 1702 Calamy was greatly occupied in defending his co-religionists against the accusation.<sup>48</sup> The practice of occasional attendance at the Parish Church was often misunderstood by non-Dissenters, in many cases wilfully, who accused the Occasional Conformist of merely trying to hold on to political power and avoid the penalties of the Corporation, and more directly, the Test Acts.<sup>49</sup> There can be little doubt, however, that the majority of such ministers, if not of laymen, were genuinely concerned to demonstrate their continuing support of the institution of a national Church and their desire to encourage rather than oppose it. The classic expositor of this attitude, both in theory and practice, was Richard Baxter<sup>50</sup> but his ideas were shared by the majority of Presbyterian ministers, at least in Yorkshire. Oliver Heywood continued to attend Coley Chapel until he was barred by excommunication, was sufficiently worried by his active preaching to record his reasons for it, and constantly encouraged his hearers to attend the Anglican services although there is some evidence that his emphasis on this declined as the period progressed. In 1672, when the Declaration

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47. Heywood, II, p. 252.

48. Calamy, I, pp. 264-80.

49. Calamy, I, p. 285.

50. Nuttall, Richard Baxter, especially p. 111; Schlatter, Baxter and Puritan politics, Introduction, pp. 1-21; see also Calamy, I, for much information on Baxter's views.



of Indulgence made the holding of public meetings too tempting to eschew, he and other ministers met to discuss the problem, decided that their meetings should be held at times other than those of the established Church, and issued a declaration that their preaching was intended, not to oppose the national Establishment, but to uphold and encourage its spiritual purposes.<sup>51</sup> Among his friends, Joseph Dawson, Eli Bentley, Thomas Sharp, Jonas Waterhouse and Joshua Kirby certainly attended Church, although the last was excommunicate, and it is likely that many others, about whom no evidence is available, also did so. John Denton, ejected from Stonegrave, not only attended regularly, but maintained a close friendship with his successor, Thomas Comber, for many years before he finally conformed in 1690.<sup>52</sup> Among the laity the best example of the practice is provided by Ralph Thoresby, who recorded his habits in his diary. Like his father, Thoresby was a man of moderate views, and maintained friendships with ministers of both the Anglican and Presbyterian persuasions. A close friend of Richard Stretton and Thomas Sharp, the ministers at Mill Hill, he also admired the preaching of Mr Kay at St John's Church, Leeds, and even kept up close contact with Jeremiah Milner, vicar of the old Church, whose high Anglican views led him to become a non-juror and lose his benefice in 1689. Thoresby's Calvinist convictions were never in doubt, and he chose, where possible, to attend ministers of Low Church sympathies, on more than one occasion being offended by others whose sermons were poor or who held Laudian views. Nevertheless he was determined to maintain and to demonstrate his moderation and his affection for the Established Church.<sup>53</sup>

The extent of Occasional Conformity varied, from mere attendance to actual participation in the Communion service, and the Presbyterians were forced to

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51. Miall, p. 85.

52. Calamy, II, p. 837; Dale, pp. 49-50; The Life of Mrs Thornton of Newton Grange, ed. C. Jackson, Surtees Society, No. 62 (1873) numerous references to Denton; Memorials of Dean Comber, ed. C. E. Whiting, Surtees Society, Nos. 156, 157 (1941-2) numerous references to Denton.

53. Thoresby, I, pp. 10-11, 15, 29, 36, 44-5, 51, 61-2, 85, 108-9, 109-10, 152, 168, and numerous other references.

define carefully how far they believed the practice should extend. The first problem was to explain why as ministers they had refused to serve within the Church, and yet, as laymen, felt able to attend its services, even to the point of partaking of the Communion. According to Calamy's explanation they had never condemned the Anglican Communion as sinful in itself, but believed that the fault lay in the imposition of certain rites, which were in themselves indifferent. For a minister who considered such rites to be flawed to impose them, as he must do if he served after 1662, was sinful, but to take Communion occasionally was no sin, provided it was done while statedly taking regular communion elsewhere and refusing to condone the faulty rites and ceremonies. Moreover the important concern was the spirit in which this was done, and if a man occasionally conformed in order to demonstrate Christian love and brotherhood, then any possible sin was outweighed by the greater good, the demonstration of Christian charity. Hence Occasional Conformity, by minister or layman, whether it included the Sacrament or not, was fully justified. Thus Baxter had left the Church because he disliked the impositions of the Act of Uniformity, not because he was himself incapable of fulfilling its conditions, and thereafter he conformed occasionally, participating in the Communion, in order to demonstrate his desire for unity. At the same time he preached elsewhere, though always refusing a pastoral office, the obvious sign of Separatist feeling.<sup>54</sup> Not all Presbyterians went as far as this. Thomas Sharp of Leeds had written a defence of Occasional Conformity in which he implied that simple attendance at Church was a sufficient demonstration of brotherhood, and that it was not necessary to take the Communion, although he did not actually condemn the practice, and Ralph Thoresby attended Anglican sermons all his life, but did not take the Anglican Communion until after 1689, when he felt it less necessary to demonstrate total loyalty to Dissent. Heywood also declared his approval of attendance, but could not bring himself to take the Sacrament. It was he argued

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54. Calamy, I, pp. 286-8.



possible to admit that a Church was a true Church and to meet with it in some ways but not in all its ordinances. If something in that Church ordinance 'brings guilt if I join in it, if it makes me yield judgement and subscribe to things in which my conscience is not satisfied, if it fails to do something that I consider my duty and therefore creates guilt in me at commission, or if I have opportunity for better ordinances elsewhere', then he should not join in such a sacrament, and to do so would be sin. Nevertheless, it was a matter for private judgement and conscience, and he would not condemn those who partook of it.<sup>55</sup>

To the majority of Independents, all such behaviour was anathema. Some, like Philip Nye, were prepared to admit the possibility of attending sermons in Church, contending that Truth might appear from any source and that good preaching should never be ignored,<sup>56</sup> but even they frowned upon the taking of the Sacrament and the majority disapproved of any action which might condone a Church that did not exercise Discipline, and opened the Sacrament to all comers. Thomas Jolly, in many ways a man of moderate views, condemned the practice among his members, and in 1683 'had one occasion to deal with one of my reverend brethren concerning his preaching people to the public (Church), an offence to some and a temptation to many', and 'not long after I had occasion to deal with another of them, very dear to me, alas as to his joining in the public way, to the offence of many; I found not the offence to be such as was reported, but partly to be excused'. In 1665 he had discussed the matter with his members, and offered 'reason against joining in the Common Prayer'. He was in fact opposed to the very principle of a National Church, writing in 1686 of the Church of England that 'it is improper to call England a Church', and that if any part of a nation constituted such an establishment 'methinks the reforming, nonconforming party who proceed upon the bottom of the solemn Covenant are most truly

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55. Thoresby, I, p. 300; Heywood, III, p. 103.

56. Nobbs, 'Philip Nye on Church and State', Camb. Hist. Journ., No. 5 (1935) pp. 44-59.

the Church of England'. Thus Jolly, like most of his persuasion, could not accept the idea of a Church to which all belonged. A Church consisted of members voluntarily contracted and subject to careful discipline. To accept any other was to degrade that concept and to insult God. Hence he opposed Occasional Conformity as sinful, as well as possibly a weak convenience tempting some to compromise their testimony to true religion. In this approach lay a deep and serious disapproval of Presbyterianism, as failing to uphold the Gospel and encouraging sin. The dispute was no minor matter, but went to the heart of the concept of true religion and the true Church, and as such it constituted a wide gulf between the two denominations. The Church at Altham ordered that any member who attended the Established Church should come to the meeting and give satisfaction. They could hardly, then, accept as brethren those who not only practised such an abomination, but justified it on Christian principles.<sup>57</sup>

When Zachary Crofton published a plea for partial Conformity, another Yorkshire Independent, Thomas Smallwood, ejected from Batley, was moved to write a controversial tract condemning all such practices and asserting that thorough non-conformity was the duty of all true Christians. Smallwood's own life, in fact, demonstrates the contradictions in the relationship between Presbyterians and Independents. A member of Kipping Chapel, to which he dedicated his tract, he lived from 1662 to 1667 with Joshua Kirby, a Presbyterian Royalist, and was a close friend of Heywood and Thomas Sharp, into whose hands his tract found its way. Thus a friendship might well be maintained on a personal level, while areas of deep disagreement would continue to preclude full unity or any lasting institutional co-operation.<sup>58</sup>

By 1689 there were some signs that attitudes were changing among some Presbyterians, as the prospect of Comprehension receded. In 1693 Thomas Sharp died, and was replaced at Mill Hill by Timothy Manlove, a man of more rigid,

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57. Jolly, Notebook, pp. 50, 80, 133, 137.

58. Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H. Turner, No. 1 (Bingley, 1891) pp. 262-4; Calamy, II, p. 804, IV, p. 947; Heywood, I, pp. 247, 305.



though undoubtedly Presbyterian, views. Manlove objected to Ralph Thoresby's practice of attending both Dissenting and Anglican Churches, especially to his habit of taking the Anglican Communion, and demanded that he should demonstrate his loyalty to the former by forsaking the latter. Placed thus in a dilemma, Thoresby sought the advice of other ministers and, when Manlove refused to hold the Sacrament in his presence, finally conformed completely. The dispute tells us a good deal about Presbyterian attitudes. Thoresby was totally without political ambition, and had at this time no reason to attend the established Church other than a conviction that it was necessary to show his desire for unity and Christian brotherhood. He had long been encouraged in this view by Stretton and Sharp, and was further encouraged by the advice of other Presbyterian ministers to whom he wrote, including Dr. Joseph Hill, John Humphrey and the eminent Dr. Howe. Humphrey argued positively for Occasional Conformity, while Howe did not condemn it, although he insisted that first loyalty must be given to Dissent. In the new Archbishop of York, John Sharp, Thoresby found a moderate and attractive Churchman who settled many of his conscientious scruples. Hence in Thoresby's eyes the situation of 1662 was reversed, for it was the Dissenting minister who lacked love and charity, who sought to impose and confine, while the Anglican appeared gentle and moderate, and it was this above all which dictated his decision. Presbyterianism was thus in a difficult position, for any attempt to adjust to reality and assert its distinctive identity in this manner might well cost the support of members like Thoresby. This was perhaps an additional reason why more separatist views like those of Manlove remained, as the dispute proved, in the minority among Presbyterians.<sup>59</sup>

While the denominations thus differed on such basic concepts, true unity was impossible. There was, moreover, a legacy of bitterness from past disagreements which was never fully overcome, and to which these disputes continued to contribute. The Presbyterians might have come to accept Toleration, but in the

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59. Thoresby, I, pp. 15, 273-5, 294-317, 320-6, 370-5.

past they had opposed it, and their continued upholding of the principle of a National Church, and of a distinct ministry endowed with considerable authority, maintained the suspicion that they inclined to dictatorial powers over the individual conscience. Independency might no longer mean Republicanism and, in the Presbyterian view, disorder, but the radical elements of its doctrine remained. The Independents continued to oppose parochial order and external authority, and the endemic squabbles in which their Congregations indulged did nothing to allay fears that their principles would lead to chaos and social upheaval. When the Morley Independents spoke in 1678 of Presbyterian tyranny, Heywood lamented that they were 'yet at this stand',<sup>60</sup> but other Presbyterians were capable of treating their brethren with scant respect. Thoresby spoke of the Leeds Independents in disdainful terms, scorning both their ideas and their social status. Thomas Sharp could preach as late as 1689 against the 'false lights' of the sectaries, who 'choose new things... as in the Egyptian darkness and... know not which way to go'. At the same time both Thoresby and Sharp were friends of Thomas Whitaker, the Independent minister at Leeds, and Thoresby willingly worked for unity between the two denominations in 1691.<sup>61</sup> The relationship between the two persuasions was marked by such contradictions. On the one hand both had suffered, both could respect good men of the other view, and both were aware of common attitudes. On the other, old suspicions remained, opinions differed on important topics and, despite mutual concessions, much antipathy lay beneath the surface, to appear time and again when a contentious point was raised or when friendships were placed under pressure. Hence the reaction of the Kipping Independents to Heywood's remarks upon their propensity to disputes in 1678, hence the attitude of the Morley Independents in that same year, and hence the collapse of the United Brethren over the activities of the eccentric Mr Davies of Rothwell.

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60. Heywood, II, p. 252.

61. Thoresby, I, pp. 52, 58-9, 135, 210, 215.



In this situation there could be, and was, much mutual respect and co-operation between the two denominations, between individuals and between congregations, but the establishment of a permanent inter-denominational organisation required something more, which neither group could give. In daily life and worship, where so much was shared, the underlying issues of philosophy and dogma could be set aside, as the Presbyterians set them aside in the very act of organising separate Congregations, but in the establishment of a permanent institution they had to be faced and discussed, and would inevitably re-arouse old suspicions and antipathies, and bring about a polarisation of attitudes. The Independents and Presbyterians of Yorkshire could live and work together, could respect one another, identify with one another, as nonconformists, and feel a real sense of brotherhood. They could not, however, institutionalise those bonds and protect them for the future.

These issues, however, do not explain why neither denomination was able to set up any kind of regional or national authority applicable to themselves alone. The explanation for this failure lay rather within their individual creeds, and especially in the position and rights of the Congregation, and perhaps reflects something of the intrinsic nature of English nonconformity. In relation to the Presbyterians, the explanation has been outlined in the above discussion of Occasional Conformity. The concept of Separatism had never been accepted as such, and the majority of Presbyterians continued, at least in theory and however unrealistically, to look for eventual unity with the established Church, and to regard their separatism as enforced and temporary. This attitude was expressed in its clearest and most extreme form by the leaders in London, in the writings of Calamy, in the great efforts of Howe, Bates, Manton and Williams to identify themselves with the Anglican Church in the struggle against James II, and in the hopes and dreams of Comprehension that they so clearly entertained.<sup>62</sup> In Yorkshire there is little written evidence of such views, and

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62. See Calamy, I, especially pp. 281-90, 334-5, 388, 464-8, 510-12.

there appears to have been markedly less concern with these matters, as the majority of ministers concentrated upon their daily life and work, but lack of concern was not the same thing as philosophical or theoretical development. The situation was accurately reflected in the dispute at Mill Hill between Thoresby and Manlove, with Manlove's concern for the effective working of what was in practice a separate Congregation and his demand that Thoresby demonstrate his loyalty receiving support in the Chapel itself, while Thoresby's concern for Christian brotherhood received support from the other Ministers whom he consulted. The Presbyterians could not establish a central national authority without declaring their permanent separatism, and this they could not do. As in their relationship with the Independents, it was one thing to operate a system in practice, but quite another to examine it, develop theories to justify it, and then formalise it in the creation of permanent institutions. They could operate effectively in Congregational units, but no more. They were faced, in fact, with a choice between drifting into a Congregationalism in which they would eventually merge with the Independents, or remaining in a state of organisational limbo. They chose the latter, and the result was that within fifty years of the Toleration Act, English Presbyterianism, as such, had disappeared.<sup>63</sup>

The Independents faced no such problems, but they too failed to strengthen their movement by the establishment of any central or regional council. The explanation for this lies in the strength and the fierce independence of the individual Congregation, and the determined defence, especially by the laity, of its rights of self-government. The essence of Independency was the gathered Church, the voluntarily contracted body, choosing its own Pastor and administering its own Discipline. Combined with considerable freedom of private

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63. In some interesting, if arguable, conclusions on the nature of English nonconformity Dr. Bossy has argued that Presbyterianism should not, at least by the 18th Century, be counted as a part of Protestant Nonconformity, since the frustrated desires for unity with the Anglican Church and the refusal to move towards the Independents led to the development of Unitarianism, the underlying force of which was not a Protestant faith, or independent worship, but the idea of the unity of Christians; see Bossy, The English Catholic Community, Conclusion - 'Varieties of Nonconformity', especially pp.394-6.



interpretation of the Word, and that same concern for rectitude in the smallest detail that led the Presbyterians to leave the Church, this led to a variety of opinions, and endemic squabbles, both within and between Churches. The history of the Independent Churches in Yorkshire, outlined in Appendix I, shows the number and frequency of these disputes, based upon both personal and philosophical issues. Such groups, as Jolly discovered, found co-operation extremely difficult, and though two Congregations might agree to regard each other as 'sister-Churches' (as did Altham and Walmsley) they refused to compromise their own basic autonomy. When Topcliffe Church boycotted the ministers meeting in 1680 they were asserting their right to solve their own problems without reference to external authority. When Kipping Church split in 1679 its members were asserting the voluntary nature of their gathering and the right of any man to choose his minister. The democratic elements of Independency made any co-operation difficult, and in the conditions before 1689, impossible. In 1690 the adjustments that had been made towards the Presbyterians, the realisation of the strength to be gained by unity, and the desire to use their new freedom for a new beginning led to the institution of the United Brethren. In 1696, the attempt by the Brethren to outlaw the extreme opinions of an eccentric minister, and to assert some control over the orthodoxy of their members led to the demise of that body.<sup>64</sup>

The vital point in relation to Dissenting organisation was that the initiative came, not from the top, the leadership, but from the bottom. Among the Independents this was natural, a part of their theology. The Presbyterian leaders, Baxter, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Howe, Calamy, Daniel Williams and others were among those who held back most strongly from Separatism, and in 1672, while provincial ministers like Heywood were preaching and developing their organisation, the leaders were pondering and debating the schismatic implications of the

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64. Calamy, I, pp. 515-16, 530, 535, 537.

Indulgence licences. Hence in both denominations it was the laity in the Congregations and the lesser known ministers who moved most quickly to use what opportunities there were for a corporate religious life.<sup>65</sup> In relation to the organisation of Congregations, or the education and provision of ministers, this was no great hindrance. In relation to any further organisation however, it was a serious weakness. The individual initiative, without overt support from the leadership, who opposed in principle any organisation in competition with the National Church in which they believed, was simply insufficient for the creation of any permanent regional, let alone central, organisation. It has been said that from 1660 to 1662 the Presbyterian leadership failed its adherents. In this sense, however, by their continued pre-occupation with theological disputes and the minute theoretical details of any development, by their over-riding desire to re-enter the national establishment, their concern with negotiating settlements at the centres of power, and their obsession with the problems of schism, the Presbyterian leaders failed their movement in a far more serious fashion in the years leading up to, and those following, the Toleration Act of 1689. The result was that in both denominations the creation and achievement of the years from 1662 to 1689 was the establishment of Congregational Nonconformity, and no more.

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65. See note 12 ; also Calamy, I, pp.300-2, and G.F.Nuttall, Richard Baxter, pp.102-3.



## CONCLUSION - Puritan Dissent in Yorkshire.

The history of the nonconformists, their decision to leave the Church of England, their survival and the establishment of congregational units, the divisions which beset them, and the failure to further their organisational development, raises certain questions and results in certain conclusions concerning the very nature of Puritan Dissent and the validity of such a term. In view of the continued gulf between Presbyterian and Independent attitudes, it is necessary to ask whether they constituted any real movement called Puritan Dissent. In a sense, any such term is arbitrary, a matter of convenient words, but it is intended to argue here that the term has a very real validity, that its divisions and fragmentations are a natural part of the concept rather than an argument against it, and that they were in fact, a part of its vitality and a determining factor in its organisational form - that of Congregational Nonconformity.

The divisions between Presbyterian and Independent have been clearly demonstrated in the preceding chapters, as have some of their common attitudes and experiences. The essential factor in relation to these divisions, however, is that on neither side were attitudes clear cut and uniform, and that disagreements and divisions rose within as well as between denominations. The terms 'Presbyterian' and 'Independent' have a general validity, arising from a preferred concept of ecclesiology, but within these broad categories attitudes varied enormously, and moderate or extreme views were held on different aspects of Church organisation and practice, often by the same man. Heywood, for example, was a supreme moderate in many ways, able to like, respect and most important, to work with, men of very different views, as when he established and organised the Craven group in conjunction with Thomas Jolly. Within his own Congregation, however, he appears, so far as the evidence admits conclusions, to have maintained an almost autocratic control, far greater than that of Thomas Sharp of Mill Hill, who was, in fact, far less tolerant of Independent views, especially in relation

to their dislike of the established Church.<sup>1</sup> Similar variations can be seen among the Independents. At Altham, Jolly's organisation was extremely democratic, and the Altham Church, despite numbering some 'Presbyterians' among its earliest members, was consistently strict in its attitude to contacts with the established Church. Nevertheless Jolly maintained wide contacts among the Yorkshire Presbyterians, and firmly believed in the necessity of ministerial ordination, and his son Timothy is credited by Miall with having introduced more 'Presbyterian' practices in the worship and organisation of his Church at Sheffield after he succeeded the Independents, Fisher and Durant. The Dagger Lane Chapel at Hull was less democratically organised, less strict concerning contacts with the established Church, but remained unequivocally Independent in its organisation and practice.

The most important point concerning denominational lines in Yorkshire in this period was not that they did not exist, but that they were constantly crossed and recrossed. Kipping Chapel, perhaps the most turbulent of all the Independent Chapels in Yorkshire, with a notoriously independent laity which had happily accepted, for some five years, the ministry of the apparently radical Richard Whitehurst, had been founded in 1663 when a wealthy Dissenter, John Hall, was deprived of the ministry of the Presbyterian Joseph Dawson, ejected from Bradford Dale. Ralph Ward, the leading preacher in York, was licensed as an Independent in 1672, and the Chapel of St. Saviourgate, which arose from his work, was defined by Miall as Congregationalist. Ward, however, had been chaplain to the Presbyterian Hewleys, and they became members of St. Saviourgate. His co-preacher in the early years of this group, sharing the meeting-place provided by Lady Watson, was Peter Williams, licensed as a Presbyterian, and his assistant in later years was Noah Ward, licensed as a Presbyterian in his own house in 1672, and itinerant preacher to the Presbyterian groups at Ellenthorpe

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1. Details of all the Chapels and ministers mentioned here and below can be found in Appendix I, Part A.



and Selby. Ward's successor as Pastor at St. Saviourgate was Thomas Coulson, previously chaplain to Sir William Ayscough of Osgodby Grange. Coulson's views are not known, but in 1672 the preacher at Osgodby was the undoubtedly Presbyterian John Denton of Stonegrave, who for thirty years after his ejection maintained good relations with his successor at Stonegrave, Thomas Comber, and finally conformed himself in 1690. In Sheffield the pastorate of Timothy Jolly at the Upper Chapel appears to have introduced a mixture of Presbyterian and Independent forms, but significantly, his congregation had been described in 1669 as being led by two cutlers as preaching Elders, a classically Independent situation, but were also described as attending Church. At Attercliffe Chapel the successor to the Independents, Hancock and Bloom, was Edward Prime, licensed as a Presbyterian in 1672. Prime refused to accept the role of Pastor at any time in his career,

presumably because of his reluctance to adopt a fully separatist stance, but served unofficially in that capacity at Attercliffe for many years. When Jolly's successor at the Upper Chapel apparently increased the tendency towards Presbyterianism in 1714, the Attercliffe group were joined by a group of more strictly Independent seceders, to form Nether Chapel in 1715. At Cottingham the Independent Chapel, founded by Dr. Samuel Winter in 1653 and upheld by Christopher Nesse until 1660, called as its Pastor in 1697 the Presbyterian Samuel Dawson, son of the Presbyterian Joseph Dawson. In the light of these examples of denominational confusion, the labels of Presbyterian and Independent become significantly less relevant. This does not mean that denominational differences were non-existent, nor that the forms used were totally meaningless, but the confusion of labels, and the relative ease with which denominational lines were apparently crossed in this period, suggests that the validity of denominational labels in relation to the situation in which Dissent operated at this time was limited.

Quarrels and divisions notwithstanding, the fact is that Presbyterian and Independent Dissenters in Yorkshire in this period shared a vast area of common



heritage and common problems. Their Dissent was a development of English puritanism. The majority of ministers had served within the established Church in the days when puritan views were influential, and their basic attitudes were puritan above all. In view of the difficulties of defining that phenomenon, it is hardly surprising that denominational labels should prove so hard to define in the later period. The friendship between the various ministers which is such a marked tendency among the Yorkshire Dissenters was a result of their common heritage and the common attitudes to which it led, as well as their common ejection and rejection by the majority of the populace, and these friendships had, in the early days, been the main factor in the survival and continued practice of Dissent. The earliest meetings had arisen from personal knowledge and friendships, and although these might become strained by differences of view, their survival was a tribute to the common outlook and the problems they shared. As puritans they all believed in the centrality of preaching in worship, in the use of conferences and exercises, in the necessity of private prayer and the renewal of Covenant through meditation. As puritans they all disliked and rejected the set forms and liturgy, the imposed rites and ceremonies, and the central role of the Church as an institution posited by Laudian Anglicanism. As puritans they had never been united in a monolithic body. Nor were they as Dissenters. As puritans they had sought to establish the gospel community in England and of England. As puritans they had seen this concept rejected. As Dissenters they saw themselves as its remnant, in the terms used by Heywood, as the people of God, the repository of God's true church and gospel. In this sense, they saw themselves as a community.

Such feelings were enhanced and reinforced by the conditions of the period from 1662 to 1689. In this period the Dissenters were a minority, and an embattled minority, and inevitably they looked to each other, to those who shared their basic theology, for support. With the Quakers, and the few Baptists in Yorkshire, the gulf was too wide, but with each other they shared enough, and



just as the period of puritan power from 1642 to 1660 had brought out the areas of conflict, so the period of persecution highlighted those of agreement. Nor was this simply a matter of convenience, of co-operating with others who laboured under similar difficulties, although that was no doubt important. The calling of a Pastor of another persuasion was no doubt encouraged by the difficulty of finding a pastor at all, but beyond such matters of institutional convenience lay a whole area of sympathy, support and mutual encouragement. Throughout the period the ministers guested for one another in preaching, filled temporary vacancies and sought to uphold a meeting in trouble, regardless of persuasion. Throughout the period the laity listened to, and applauded, such ministers, and attended meetings other than their own when the need arose. Most telling of all, there appears to have been a sense of brotherhood, expressed most clearly by the ministers, but shared to a considerable extent by the laity. Their quarrels were the more bitter because they were fratricidal quarrels. In 1678 Heywood's lament at the intolerance of the Morley Independents was the more grievous because of the disappointment that the Dissenting family was still rent by such divisions. The continued attempts, despite failure after failure, to establish some form of inter-denominational unity, and the survival of contacts and friendship despite quarrels, both within and between the two denominations, reflects a sense of brotherhood and a common bond. That bond was the bond of puritans and Dissenters, a bond of attitudes and heritage, and of common problems and suffering. The failure of the United Brethren represented, perhaps, the loss of the greatest opportunity given to puritan Dissent, for after the advent of Toleration and the increasing institutionalisation of the movement, the sense of community declined, and with the Presbyterian drift towards a more Arminian view of salvation, and towards Unitarianism, the two groups moved further apart. In the fluid situation of 1662-89, with a sense of disappointment and rejection still acute, they had been able to regard themselves as the embattled defenders of the true gospel, the remnant of God's people, or as Jolly put it, 'the



reforming, nonconforming party who proceed upon the bottom of the solemn Covenant', and who 'are most truly the Church of England'. Despite quarrels and divisions, and the lingering of old loyalties and resentments which could, under pressure, rise again to the surface, it can be argued that in Yorkshire, in the period from 1662 to 1689 the term and concept of 'Puritan Dissent' is perhaps more important and valid than the traditional labels of Presbyterian and Independent.

If this concept is accepted, then the endemic squabbles and divisions are less important in defining the groups of Dissenters than in conveying something of the basic nature of Dissent, and reflect both its characteristics and the source of its vitality. The men who left the Church of England did so because their consciences would not accept flaws which other men were able to regard as minor and about which they could reach some compromise, and this applies both to those who left voluntarily before 1660, and to those who were ejected in 1662. The same scrupulous attention to every detail of their religious life resulted in divisions and difficulties within the organisation that they created outside the Church. Disagreements over both personal and doctrinal issues were a characteristic of both puritanism and puritan Dissent, and the tendency was probably exacerbated rather than alleviated by the withdrawal into small, isolated congregational units, divorced from the mainstream of religious and intellectual life. In that sense, then, division was a permanent characteristic of Protestant nonconformity, and would be carried on into the Chapels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was, in fact, the inevitable penalty to be paid by those whose convictions were sufficiently strong and inflexible as to carry them into nonconformity. The result was that puritan Dissent was never amenable to large-scale organisation, and, in this, its weaknesses conspired with its strength and the source of its vitality.

The strength of puritan Dissent lay in the convictions of the individual Dissenter, and in his desire to express those convictions in an active role



within the religious group to which he belonged. What puritan Dissent offered, above all, was participation. In the Independent Churches the participation of the laity was formally organised and institutionalised. In the Presbyterian groups the participation was less formal, and more strictly confined to religious exercises, because of the special status accorded to the office of the ministry. Nevertheless, it existed in both. The preaching that was so central to puritan Dissent offered guidance and instruction, as did that of the Anglican Church, but in the Dissenting Congregations the relationship between preacher and auditor was close and direct, and the process of instruction was carried on and carried over into the conferences and prayer-meetings, where the views of the minister could be questioned and discussed, and the ordinary member further enlightened, partly as a direct result of his own efforts. For such activities the relatively small unit of the Congregation was ideal, and it was here that the vitality of Dissent lay. It was this unit, and these arrangements, that satisfied the deepest needs of Dissenters, and in a sense, anything beyond this was desirable, but not necessary.

It can be argued, therefore, that congregational nonconformity was the natural and inevitable form of organisation to be adopted by puritan Dissenters. The process by which this stage was reached was not simple, and for some it was never totally satisfactory. Hence the Presbyterian groups died out, or merged into Unitarianism, leaving the development of puritan Dissent to those who were more satisfied with separatism and less concerned with the greater unity of Christians, the Congregational Churches. In the period from 1660 to 1689, however, congregational nonconformity was the achievement, and no mean achievement, of puritan Dissent. The combination of attention to detail, of scrupulous conscience and the need for a meaningful and participatory role meant that a greater, wider organisation, much as it was needed in some ways, was beyond the reach of those who shared these qualities. In these characteristics lay the origin, the strength and the weakness of their movement. In meeting,

preaching and praying they found their religious life, and the natural expression of that religious life lay in the congregational nonconformity created and institutionalised in the Dissenting Chapels of Yorkshire.



Appendix I: Numbers and Distribution

Although the main part of the preceding dissertation is concerned with puritan Dissent alone, and not with the Quaker movement which was distinctive in both its attitudes and development, the Appendix below contains lists of Presbyterian and Independent meetings (Part A) and also of Quaker meetings (Part B). While discussion of the habits, forms and organisational development of the former is possible without any reference to Quakerism, the nature of the evidence concerning numerical and geographical distribution is such that the Quakers cannot be ignored. In some cases, as with the Ecclesiastical Survey of 1676, the sources do not distinguish between denominations, and the Quakers are included along with other Dissenters. It therefore seemed useful to construct some kind of report on Quaker numbers and strength, to stand alongside the lists of puritan Dissenters' meetings. Moreover the changes in the geographical distribution of the latter, and their relative decline and contraction can be seen more clearly when compared to the distribution of Quaker meetings and to the undoubted expansion of the Quaker movement in this period. For this reason I decided to include a section on Quaker numbers, in order to facilitate such comparison, and to clarify the references to Quaker numbers and meetings which had inevitably to be made in the discussion of strength and geographical distribution contained above, in Chapter III.

APPENDIX I : Numbers and Distribution

PART A. PURITAN DISSENT

The following lists and brief description of the groups of Puritan Dissenters meeting in Yorkshire from 1662 to 1689 are intended to show the extent of the movement in this period and its geographical distribution. The wide variety of sources from which the information has been obtained (listed individually below) and the different dates of the evidence involved, makes it impossible to present the information in tabular form and I have therefore arranged it in lists, divided according to the importance and permanence of the meetings, and into the three main administrative areas, the North, East, and West Ridings. The information demonstrates the scattered and fluid nature of much of Yorkshire Dissent, its dependence for many years upon small groups of devoted adherents or upon influential individuals, and the gradual emergence of a relatively small number of permanent, well-organised Chapels. List I consists of places where Puritan Dissent did not apparently survive the ejections and where it may therefore be inferred that the movement had no significant support. It should be noted that such places were as great in number as those in which organised Chapels developed. Nine lay in the North Riding and fourteen in the East Riding, all of them small isolated villages in rural areas. Boynton, in the East Riding, was the home of the Strickland family (see App. II) who were active Dissenters, but who apparently made no attempt to encourage a congregation in the area, although they may have had some contact with the



Dissenters in nearby Bridlington. In the West Riding some twenty-three places are listed, some in rural areas, others near to urban or industrial centres where there would be considerable opportunity for the practice of Dissent in the neighbouring parishes.

Of more importance for this study are Lists II and III, those places where Dissent existed after 1662 and those where it survived in permanent, organised Chapels. In the North Riding, numbers were small in both cases. Seven groups continued to meet after 1662, of which only one, in Swaledale, survived to establish a permanent Chapel. Two other groups, at Northallerton and Osgodby were still meeting in 1689, but died out shortly afterwards, in both cases through inability to obtain a fixed minister and through the loss of the support of influential local families. At Ayton, Thirsk, Malton, Whitby and Scarborough new Congregations emerged in the 1690s, there being no evidence of Puritan Dissenting activity prior to this time. In the West Riding the numbers of groups were large, constituting the vast bulk of puritan Dissent in Yorkshire. Fifty-two groups had died out, or were dying out, by 1689. Thirty-one groups established permanent Chapels. Of those which died out, all but two were essentially rural meetings. Nine of these had been gathered and upheld by influential families which had died out or conformed, and a further eleven had depended upon an active minister who lived in the district, collapsing when he died or removed. In Bradford there had apparently been a few Baptists meeting in 1672, but these had lapsed or merged with the Independents by 1689. In the remaining twenty-one places the evidence does not suggest any

organised Congregations, but rather a few Dissenters who remained active as far as they could, and depended upon itinerant ministers for occasional pastoral care. In another ten places Dissent still existed in 1689, but died out within a generation. At Great Houghton this occurred when the Rhodes family died out, and at Bramhope when the Dinelys conformed. At Burham, Starbottom, Rylstone and Ellenthorpe the Congregations were unable to obtain regular ministers. At Beage Hall, near Pontefract, Lidget Green (Bradford) and Rathmell the Congregations had been loyal to a particular minister and dispersed upon his death, while at Fishlake the group gathered by Robert Dickenson merged with other local Dissenters to form a new Chapel in Doncaster.

Of the West Riding groups which did survive, the majority were in urban or industrial areas. Around Knaresborough several groups of Dissenters had been meeting at different times, their location dependent upon circumstances such as the availability of a minister, but by 1689 these groups were clearly not viable as independent units, and a Chapel was finally erected in Knaresborough, drawing its congregation from the surrounding districts. In Craven there were also several groups, who had long met at Horton and Winterburn, where the most influential members lived, but under the Toleration Act they were eventually able to set up separate Chapels at Horton, Winterburn, and Newton in Bolland. The majority of these surviving Chapels emerged from strong groups meeting before 1672, and even before 1662, but those in Craven, and at Warley, Mixenden and Bingley were of more recent foundation.

In the East Riding the picture differs significantly from



that above. Only nine groups continued to meet after 1662, but of these, eight survived to 1689 and after, and built permanent meeting-places. At Howden there were apparently a few Dissenters before 1689, and in Holderness an attempt was made to establish a Congregation under the Toleration Act, failing apparently for lack of a minister. At Hull, with two Chapels, Bridlington, Beverley, Cottingham and Ferriby, Dissent can be traced from the Act of Uniformity, while at South Cave it apparently revived after the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. It is significant that, Bridlington apart, these Chapels were closely grouped in the southern part of the Riding, around Hull, and it may be inferred that the existence of the borough and its social and commercial connections was important in creating conditions favourable to Dissent.

Overall, the information presented in these lists suggests two major developments in the strength and distribution of Yorkshire Puritan Dissent. Its numerical and geographical strength clearly declined, the numbers of meetings falling by more than half from the late 1660s to 1689. The decline was, however, mainly in the rural areas. At the same time, and directly linked with this decline, Puritan Dissent became less fluid, better organised, and far less dependent upon individuals and personalities, ministerial and lay. The movement in fact contracted, and established itself firmly upon a basis of popular, urban, middle-class support, always its core and mainstay, and far stronger and more stable than the scattered groups of adherents in the rural areas, dependent upon outstanding individuals who were increasingly being lost to Dissent.

The Appendix also provides a good deal of information concerning the lives of the Dissenting ministers, who lived and worked in Yorkshire in this period. It is clear from the accounts below that many ejected ministers did not preach after ejection, and that a significant number did so only, or mainly, as family chaplains, or in private, as a favour to friends. It is also clear that a number who preached only in private in the 1660s took up a public ministry again in 1672, and continued thereafter. The Declaration of Indulgence was of great significance in the process by which Dissent became organised, and of great significance also in the careers of the ministry. Nevertheless the most obvious conclusion arising from the accounts below is that Dissent in Yorkshire depended greatly upon a small band of devoted preachers who were active throughout the period, and who undertook a ministry that was not only dangerous, but arduous. Few of these ministers preached only in one place or to one group, although most became fixed pastors at some time during the period, but even then, they continued to travel and preach elsewhere in an attempt to maintain contact with other ministers and Congregations, and to aid the many groups who lacked a minister of their own. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of such men in the early life, worship and organization of Nonconformity.

The lives and fortunes of these ministers varied greatly, and it is hard to discern any common factors in their wealth, status or income which might have influenced them to continue preaching. Some like Christopher Richardson of Lassell Hall and Richard Thorpe of Hopton were men of wealth and



independent fortune, others, like Heywood, depended upon their preaching for their main source of income. The best example of this lies in Sheffield, where Roland Hancock and Matthew Bloom worked together for many years and founded a joint Congregation. Hancock owned Shirecliffe Hall, while Bloom was forced at one stage to take up the trade of Maltster in order to live, but there is no evidence of any difference in the extent of their activities. The only common factor involved in inducing these men to preach, to hold conventicles and to form and lead Congregations appears to have been a determination to carry out what they saw as their divine calling. Few were as selflessly active and devoted as Oliver Heywood, but in varying degrees they shared his attitude and determination.

The incidence of persecution and suffering involved in their ministry is also highly variable. Some suffered endless persecution, others escaped for many years, although few escaped completely. John Ryther and Christopher Nesse for example were harried out of Yorkshire, Heywood was only once fined and never imprisoned until 1684, and there is no evidence that his friend, Joseph Dawson, was ever imprisoned. There is no single reason for this variation, and in part it was general to all Dissenters throughout the period, persecution being dependent upon the attitude of local Justices, the enthusiasm of informers and simple good or ill-luck, the vagaries of time, place and chance. It can, however, be said that, in general, Independents suffered more than Presbyterians, especially in the early part of the period, when fear of political reputations was greatest, and when, as the most highly organised section of the movement, they

were the most conspicuous. In addition the practice of occasional or partial conformity, common among the Presbyterian ministers, must have helped to protect them, as did their careful moderation in relation to the established Church. At the same time, it must be said that there were Presbyterians who suffered greatly, like Eli Bentley of Halifax, and Independents like Thomas Whitaker of Leeds and Richard Whitehurst of Kipping who suffered very little.

Finally, it is necessary to add that I have not attempted to distinguish between the denominations. I have at times mentioned the denomination of a particular minister or Church, but no more. In this period the lines between the two major denominations were extremely ill-drawn, and despite continuing quarrels and resentment, it was not uncommon for a Congregation to contain both Presbyterians and Independents. Nor were the quarrels necessarily inter-denominational but occurred on both a personal and spiritual, or dogmatic, level between men of the same persuasion. It did not therefore seem important, if it were possible, to categorise either the men or the meetings described below. It should however be said that the Presbyterians, often lacking organisation, and frequently without the will to organise, fared the worse, and the majority of the groups which died out before 1689 were of that persuasion.



LIST I : Places where there is no evidence of Dissent after  
the Ejections

NORTH RIDING

COWSBY

In 1662 Edward Ord was ejected from Cowsby, and apparently left the village. In January 1663 he was living at Northallerton, and thereafter seems to have made some sort of living as an itinerant preacher. In 1665 he was imprisoned for preaching at York, but after eighteen days was released by the Mayor, despite opposition from the Governor, because his commitment was of doubtful legality. The time of his release was kept secret in case the military authorities should have him rearrested. By his own account he had then been a wandering preacher for three years, since his ejection, and he apparently continued thus. In the same year, Heywood heard him preach at Bramhope, and in 1669 he is known to have preached there, at Pudsey, and at Hunslet, in the house of Christopher Nesse. (See below, List III, Leeds.) He was not licensed in Yorkshire in 1672 and by 1677 had settled in Northumberland, dying at Tynemouth in 1687.

(Dale, p.115; Matthews, p.374.)

EASINGWOLD

The ejected minister, George Wilson, remained in Easingwold until his death in 1671, but there is no evidence that he preached or practised Nonconformity. His son Andrew took Anglican orders.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.167; Matthews, p.536)

GILLING

William Etherington ejected.

(Dale, p.22.)

KIRKLINGTON (Nr. Bedale)

Philip Nesbitt ejected in 1662. He died in York in 1663.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.114; Matthews, p.336.)

LASTINGHAM

In 1660, Philip Pecket was ejected on the petition of the previous incumbent, Leo Conyers, his bitter personal enemy.

Conyers did not resume the living, and a successor was instituted in 1662. Pecket died at Lastingham in 1666,

having apparently lived privately upon his own income.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.115-6; Matthews, p.385.)

MARTINDALE

In 1662, Christopher Jackson was silenced for refusing to read the Common Prayer. He had officiated at Martindale since his ejection in 1660 from Crosby Garret, Westmorland.

He later moved to Ravenstonedale where he preached to Lord Wharton's tenants, before returning to Crosby Garret.

(Dale, p.86; Matthews, p.290.)

SLINGSBY

Enoch Slingsby was ejected in 1660.

(Calamy, II, p.834, IV, p.958; Dale, p.146; Matthews, p.443.)

STILLINGFLEET

Gilbert Thomas was ejected from Stillingfleet, having been Vicar since at least 1645.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.152; Matthews, p.481)



STILLINGTON/SETTRINGTON

Alexander Medcalf was ejected, probably from Sottrington, in 1660 when the sequestered Vicar was restored. Dale follows Calamy in listing Medcalf as ejected from Stillington, and lists a Mr Mekal as ejected from Settrington. He says that Mekal was a kinsman of John Bradshaw, and replaced Thomas Carter D.D., who was turned out by the Army. The similarities between this and Matthews' account of Medcalf make it clear that the two refer to the same man, and Dale is probably mistaken. Calamy does not mention 'Mekal', and Dale's error probably arose from the misplacing of Medcalf.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.107-8; Matthews, p.348.)

EAST RIDING

BOYNTON

Simon Langthorne was ejected from Boynton in 1662. He had been presented by Sir William Strickland in 1658, and in 1661 an attempt was made to remove him by denying Strickland's rights of patronage, an attempt which failed despite persuasions to the King of Strickland's disloyalty. Langthorne appears to have left Boynton, although Strickland continued to maintain a Dissenting chaplain in his house, and died in 1671, as 'of Newland'.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.96; Matthews, p.315.)

BUGTHORPE

Mr. Cranford was ejected, date unknown.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.45.)

BURSTWICK

Mr. Nicholas Hill was ejected in 1660.

(Dale, p.79; Matthews, p.266.)

CHERRY BURTON

In 1662 Mr Thomas Micklethwaite was ejected from the living of Cherry Burton. A member of the Assembly of Divines and a man of some standing, he appears to have lived quietly after ejection. In 1660 he had unsuccessfully tried to claim the living of Hessle, when Joseph Wilson was removed at the suit of William Styles. Styles had been ejected in 1651, and Micklethwaite claimed that Styles had turned the living over to him. His claim was ignored, and seems to have had no legal basis. In 1691 the records of Cherry Burton parish noted the death of one James Deane 'the first founder of the Separatists here'. In 1712 and 1713 the existence of a Dissenters' meeting-house was recorded, but the date of their foundation is unknown. It is clear, however, that no lasting group of puritan Dissenters resulted from Micklethwaite's work, and indeed, the later reference may well apply to Quakers, since there is no record of any other permanent Chapel in the village.

(Calamy, II, p.821, IV, p.951; Dale, p.108-9; Matthews, p.349; re. the claim for Hessle, see below, List III, Hull.)

HEMMINGBROUGH

In 1662 Mr Anthony Fido was ejected from the Chapelry of Hemmingbrough, near Selby. He had been ejected in Cambridgeshire in 1660, and was then brought to Hemmingbrough by Sir George Twistleton, whose family chaplain he had been. After



his second ejection he again took up a position as a family chaplain, probably with the Twistletons, Thereafter he preached in various parts of England, but little in Yorkshire, and finally settled in London in 1684 as pastor to a Congregation in Paternoster Row.

(Dale, pp.56-77; Matthews, p.194.)

#### HOLLYM and HILSTON

Mr John Blunt was presented to the living of Hollym in 1658 by Oliver Cromwell, and ejected in 1660. He then took the living of nearby Hilston, from which he was, in turn, removed in 1662. Thereafter, nothing is known of him.

(Dale, pp.21-2; Matthews, p.62.)

#### KIRBY UNDERHILL

A native of Beverley, Mr Peter Clark, was ejected from Kirby Underhill in 1662. He had officiated at Carnaby near Bridlington until 1642, when he was forced to flee to London, despite the patronage of Sir William Strickland. There he served as a member of the Assembly of Divines, returning to Yorkshire in 1646, when he was beneficed at Kirby Underhill. Upon ejection he retired to his patrimonial estate at Walkington, where he lived comfortably and kept a private school until his death in 1685.

(Calamy, II, p.822; Dale, pp.40-1; Matthews, p.118)

#### OWTHORNE

Mr. Thomas Fox was ejected from Owthorne in 1661. Calamy says he was ejected from Easington, nearby. Fox may have preached there in 1661-2, but he was certainly not the incumbent, as another Vicar subscribed there in August 1662.

(Calamy, II, p.834, IV, p.956; Dale, pp.60-1; Matthews, p.211.)

### ROOS

Mr. Anthony Stephenson was ejected from Roos, having been the incumbent since 1645. A wealthy man, he stayed in the village until his death in 1668. He apparently had some skill as a physician, and gave free treatment to the poor in the parish, but apart from possibly giving some private ministrations to his patients, he did not preach after ejection.

(Calamy, II, p.834; IV, p.956; Dale, p.150; Matthews, pp.462-3.)

### SIGGLESTHORNE

In 1661, Mr. Thomas Law was ejected from Sigglesthorne when Christopher Falthrop was presented. He probably stayed in the village, as his daughter was married there in 1662, but there is no evidence of his preaching. In 1662-3 a Thomas Law was ordained at York, but this is unlikely to have been the ejected minister. It is more likely that it may have been his son.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.96; Matthews, p.317.)

### WELTON

According to Calamy and Dale a Mr. Haynes was ejected from Welton. Dale believes this to have been the John Haynes who was preaching at Flamborough in 1650. Haynes is not mentioned by Matthews.

(Calamy, II, p.835; Dale, p.70.)

### WETWANG

In 1662 Thomas Wait was ejected from Wetwang and continued to live in the parish, farming for a living. He had been a diligent but not particularly successful Vicar, known to his



parishioners as 'Burn-Roast' because of his long sermons. After his ejection his wife took in scholars, and he assisted in their teaching, also preaching to them on Sunday evenings, but he never gathered a proper Congregation. A poor man, he had five pounds a year from Lady Norcliffe of Langton (see App.II,Pt.A) and in 1690-2 was described in the Common Fund Survey as being in need. He was not licensed in 1672, nor was any meeting-place registered at Wetwang under the Toleration Act.

(Calamy, II, p.834; IV, p.955; Matthews, p.505; Freedom after Ejection p.132.)

#### WHELDRAKE

Calamy says Henry Byard was ejected from Wheldrake. In 1660 he was removed upon petition of the sequestered Rector, but in February 1663 he conformed and became Vicar of Whistow (W.R.). Matthews suggests that such hasty conformity disbars him from being listed as ejected, but his presentation to Whistow was, in fact, three years after his ejection.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.29; Matthews, p.96.)

#### WEST RIDING

##### BAILDON

Edmund Moore was ejected from Bieldon, near Otley in 1662 and later conformed.

(Calamy, II, pp.818,837; Dale, p.110.)

##### BEESTON

Two ministers were ejected from Beeston, near Leeds, Ralph Cudworth and Leonard Scurr. Matthews claims that Cudworth

had died in 1658, but there is evidence that he was still alive in 1662 and Dale's suggestion that he helped Scurr at Beeston until his death in 1664 seems more acceptable. Scurr, a younger man, continued to live in Beeston, where he had a considerable estate which included the patronage of the living. Calamy gives him a bad character, but Heywood, who knew him personally, was kinder and says that he was a good preacher. He was certainly a strong character, being presented in 1663 for refusing to attend Church, and when forced to come, for sitting with his hat on. His estate was gradually eroded, by ill ways according to Calamy and by an unfortunate entanglement in a series of law-suits according to Heywood. The latter records that he eventually moved to a small cottage, where he preached if any hearers came, and where he was murdered in 1680 by thieves, who then set fire to the house. (Calamy, II, p.800, IV, p.946; Dale, pp.47-8; Matthews, pp,154, 430; Heywood, II, pp.296-7, IV, p.13)

#### BIRKIN-ON-AIRE

In 1660 David Barnes was ejected upon the suit of the previous incumbent, who according to Matthews, did not actually resume his duties after Barnes had been removed.

(Calamy, II, p.88; Dale, p.40; Matthews, p.29)

#### BISHOP THORP

Mr Samuel Ellwood, a native of Hull, was ejected in 1662, and Bishop Thorp was left with no incumbent until 1675.

(Calamy, II, p.818; Dale, p.352)



BRAMHAM

Thomas Hardcastle was ejected from Bramham.

(See below, List II, Barwick, and Shadwell.)

CASTLEFORD

Henry Moorhouse was ejected in 1660, conformed in 1668, and became Vicar of Rotherham in 1681.

(Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, pp.110-11; Matthews, pp.354-5)

CHAPPLETON (probably Chapel-Allerton, near Leeds)

Leonard Stables was ejected. He had not long been the incumbent, a Mr. Burnell being minister in 1660, and was probably a native of the area, since the house of Mr. Samuel Stebles was licensed in Calverley in 1672.

(Calamy, II, p.818; Dale, p.150.)

CROFTON

Edward Hill was ejected from Crofton, near Wakefield, in 1662. He had been a man of some moderation, having no quarrel with the establishment before the Act of Uniformity, but he considered the Act too harsh, and so resigned his living. He moved to Shibden, near Halifax upon the passing of the Five Mile Act. There is no record of his having preached after ejection, but he was known and respected by other Nonconformists.

(Calamy, II, p.793; Heywood, I, pp.162, 305.)

DARFIELD

John Milward resigned the living of Darfield in 1660. An Independent, he was not ordained, and had returned to his native Somerset by 1672. At his death in 1681 he left legacies to the poor of Darfield, and to five ejected ministers in the

West Riding.

(Calamy, II, p.819; Dale, p.109; Matthews, p.351)

FARNLEY

Mr. Lloyd was ejected from Farnley.

(Dale, p.97; Matthews, p.325)

HADDLESAY

According to Dale a Mr Forsyte was ejected from 'East Hepsley', probably East Haddlesay, near Birkin-upon-Aire.

(Dale, p.60)

HORSFORTH

Mr John Buckley was ejected from Horsforth, near Guiseley, in 1662, but later conformed.

(Calamy, II, pp.818,837; Dale, p.41)

HOYLAND

Mr Inman was ejected, thereafter keeping a school in Clayton, Hoyland, but not preaching. He died in 1688 as a 'gentleman' of Emley, having property there and in Barnsley.

(Calamy, II, p.792; Dale, p.85; Matthews, p.289)

KIPPAX

Mr Cotton Gargrave was ejected, but remained in Kippax, near Leeds, living privately until his death in 1682.

(Dale, pp.61-2)

LETWELL

Mr John Hepworth was ejected from Letwell, a Chapelry of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and later conformed. In 1666, Jonas Waterhouse (see below, List III, Bradford) wished to



present him to the Vicarship of Bradford, but the Bishop objected as he had only recently conformed. In 1671 he took new Anglican orders, in 1680 he was chaplain to Sir John Kaye, and in 1681 he became Vicar of Birstall.

(Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, p.71; Matthews, p.257.)

#### MONK FRYSTON

Mr John Bovil, son of Mr Francis Bovil of Bramley (see above) was ejected in 1662. He conformed two years later, and became Curate of Sowerby, eventually becoming Vicar of Rotherham after Mr Moorhouse (see above, Castleford) his father's successor.

(Calamy, II, p.837, IV, p.959; Dale, pp.22-3.)

#### OUSEBURN

Mr Joshua Smith was ejected from Little Ouseburn, and died in 1662. Calamy says he was ejected from Kirby Hall, in reality a township in the parish.

(Calamy, II, p.809; Dale, pp.147-8.)

#### RAWCLIFFE

Mr John Sampson was ejected, and later conformed.

(Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, p.137; Matthews, p.425.)

#### RIPPONDEN

Mr Roger Kenyon was ejected, and later conformed.

(Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, pp.92-3.)

#### SANDHUTTON

John Donkinson was ejected. Dale says that he was licensed at York in 1672, but Matthews believes that the York licensee was James Duncanson, ejected from Chatton in Northumberland,

and licensed also at Selby in 1672. It is however possible that, in this instance, Calamy and Dale were correct.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.52; Matthews, p.172.)

#### SILKESTON

Mr John Spofford was ejected in 1662, after which he lived privately with Mr Robert Cotton (See App. II, Pt.A) until his death in 1668. There is no evidence that he preached, at least outside the Cotton family, after his ejection.

(Calamy, II, p.791, IV, p.940; Dale, pp.148-9; Heywood, p.305.)

#### SMEATON

Mr James Colewhone was ejected from Great Smeaton in 1660. Calamy says he was ejected from Ganton in 1662, but this is incorrect, as another Vicar subscribed at Ganton in August 1662. He may possibly have preached there unofficially from 1660 to 1662.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, pp.42-3; Matthews, p.126.)

#### TREETON

Mr Christopher Angill was ejected in 1662, and died shortly after. According to Heywood, he died overseas.

(Calamy, II, p.813; Dale, p.12; Heywood, I, p.305.)



LIST II : Places where meetings existed after 1662, but where  
no permanent chapel developed.

NORTH RIDING

ALNE

In 1662 Mr Nathaniel Lamb was ejected from Alne, and moved to York. (See below, York). In 1672, two Presbyterian meeting-places were licensed at Alne, in the houses of Ursula Wrightson and the widowed Lady Bethell (see App. II, Pt.A). No minister was mentioned however, and no further reference can be found to any Nonconformists in Alne.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.382,538.)

LARTINGTON

In 1672 a general licence was issued for John Rogers, preacher, and also a specific licence for Rogers to preach in his own house at Lartington, near Barnard Castle. Until 1660 he had been Vicar of Barnard Castle, and when ejected, was presented by Lord Wharton to Croglin, Cumberland. Ejected there in 1662, he returned to Lartington in 1663. There he remained, an active preacher, until his death in 1680, although he also travelled widely in Durham and was licensed in 1672 in Stockton and Darlington as well as at Lartington. He was the brother-in-law of Ambrose Barnes, the Independent Alderman of Newcastle, and this probably explains why he was host to Elkanah Wales (see below, List III, Pudsey) during his wanderings from 1666 to 1669, Wales having married Barnes' mother-in-law, as his second wife. After the Indulgence was withdrawn, Rogers continued to preach, usually on Sundays at a house in Startforth belonging to Barnes, and on week-days to

the lead-miners of Teesdale and Weardale, among whom he travelled extensively.

After his death there is no record of any organised Congregation in this part of Yorkshire. In 1689, several meeting-places were registered in the area, at Cotherstone, Romaldskirk, Howe, and in Lartington itself, but there is no reference to any minister in the area. No Congregation is mentioned in the Common Fund Survey, nor any Chapel by Miall, and it is possible that the meeting-places were in fact used by the numerous Quakers in North-West Yorkshire, registered by individuals rather than the Monthly Meetings because they were additional to their first list. Until 1691 the partial Conformist, John Proctor, was Curate of Ravenstonedale under Lord Wharton's protection, but thereafter it is difficult to see that puritan Dissenters in the area could have obtained any ministerial services, without which they almost invariably dispersed. Wharton was a great upholder of Dissent, but his main work and influence lay further south, in Swaledale. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that puritan Dissent in this area did not long survive Roger's death, and had almost certainly died out well before 1700.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.306,307,345,555; Calamy, II, p.151, III, p.226; Dale, pp.203-5; Matthews, p.415; NROS, No. 7, pp.111,158.)

#### NORTHALLERTON AND MOUNT GRACE

There is evidence of Dissent in the borough of Northallerton throughout the period, centred largely around the Lascelles family, of Mount Grace (see App.II, Pt.A). In 1660 Colonel Francis Lascelles was elected as M.P. for the borough, but was expelled from the house as a regicide. Both he and his



son Thomas were implicated in various plots in the 1660s, and both served terms of imprisonment. In 1679-80 the borough returned the Anglican Whigs, Sir Gilbert Gerrard and Sir Henry Calverley, and vouchsafed considerable support for the policy of Exclusion. The history of Dissent in the area is a little obscure, but in 1672 two Presbyterian meeting-places were licensed, at the house of John Hall in Northallerton, and at that of Mrs Lascelles at Mount Grace. No minister was specified in either case. In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey described a Congregation at a place three miles east of Northallerton, where Frankland's scholars sometimes preached, but where a fixed minister was needed. This was probably Mount Grace, where the Lascelles still lived. The then head of the family was a Thomas Lascelles, who in 1688 pledged his influence in Northallerton to the support of James and the Policy of Toleration, an attitude which suggests that Dissenting influence was still present, if he himself was not a Dissenter (see App. II, Pt.A). In 1697, two meeting-places were registered in Northallerton itself, and in 1696 Lord Wharton had endowed an annual sermon, to be rotated between Northallerton, Bedale, Thirsk and Boroughbridge. No permanent Chapel emerged however, and Wharton's bequest, in itself, suggests that Dissent in the area needed help and encouragement. It seems likely that the difficulties facing Puritan Dissent in a highly conservative area, coupled with the failure to obtain a regular minister, were too much for the group, which eventually died out.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.582; Rev. J.L.Saywell, History and Annals

of Northallerton, p.103, App.I, pp.VI,VIII; NRQS, No.7, p.161;  
(See also App.II, Part A, Lascelles).

#### OSGODBY AND COLD KIRBY

Puritan Dissent in this area was centred around and was upheld by Sir William Ayscough of Osgodby Grange. (See App.II, Pt.A). Ayscough had been an active Parliamentarian, but after 1660 he apparently retired from politics. He remained an active Dissenter, and opened his house for conventicles, led at first by John Denton (see below, Stonegrave) and later, as a result of Denton's conformity, by Ayscough's private chaplain, Thomas Coulton. In 1672, Denton was licensed to preach in the house of John Sturr at Osgodby. In October 1689 Thomas Coulton took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy at Thirsk Sessions, and registered the houses of William Calfe in Cold Kirby and Sir William Ayscough at Osgodby Grange as meeting-places. Ayscough himself also took the Oaths in May 1690. In 1693, however, Coulton left Osgodby to become pastor at St. Saviourgate, York, and no further reference is made to Puritan Dissent in the area. Presumably the departure of Coulton and the death of Sir William shortly after, led to the demise of Puritan Dissent in Osgodby.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.349,382; History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and district ed. J. Macdonnell, Yorks.Arch.Soc.Publication (Leeds, 1963) p.22; NRQS, No. 7, pp.102,109; (See also App. II, Pt.A, Ayscough).

#### STOKESLEY

Stokesley was the home of one of the few Baptist Congregations in Yorkshire, founded in 1653 by William Kaye, who had been Curate of Stokesley in 1640 and succeeded to the Rectorship



after the sequestration of Thomas Pennyman. In 1660 he was ejected upon Pennyman's return, although he is not mentioned by Calamy. Kaye had been converted to Baptist beliefs in 1653, and immediately founded a Church. There were few such in Yorkshire, and in this case the Baptist influence probably filtered over the border from Durham.

In 1669 two conventicles were reported in Stokesley, at the houses of Henry and Francis Rowntree, which Lyon Turner classed as Quaker meetings. Later however, on information from W. T. Whitley, the Baptist historian, he corrected this. The conventicle at the house of Francis Rowntree was undoubtedly Quaker, but those who met at Henry Rowntree's house were Baptists, led by one Henry Courtier, a felt-maker. No mention is made of Kaye. In 1690 a William Kaye, died in Stokesley, but this is unlikely to have been the Baptist leader. He would have been a very old man, and the name was fairly common in the area. It seems more likely that he had died before 1669, and was replaced as leader by Courtier.

In 1676 some forty-five Dissenters were reported in Stokesley, but no denomination is specified. The Quarter Sessions records show some prosecutions for recusancy, but these could have been Baptists or Quakers. In 1690, three meeting-places were registered, distinct from the main Quaker list, at the house of Ralph Potter in Stokesley and at the houses of Mark Lisle in Lackenby and Baysdale, nearby. These may have been for Baptists, but could equally have been additional Quaker houses. There is in fact no certain evidence of any Baptist Congregation after 1669, and none of even a doubtful nature after 1700. It seems likely that the group died out, or were converted to Quaker ways well before 1689.

(Lyon Turner, II, p.666, III, pp.837-8; Dale, pp.90-1; Matthews, p.303; NRQS, No.6, p.270, No.7, p.122.)

### STONEGRAVE

In 1662 the Rev. John Denton was ejected from Oswaldkirk, near Stonegrave. He remained in the area, and was licensed to preach at Newton Grange, Stonegrave, in 1672, as well as at Osgodby (see above, Osgodby). Newton Hall was the home of the Thornton family, of whom William Thornton was the friend, disciple and brother-in-law of Denton. Mrs Alice Thornton (née Wandesford) was, however, a devout Anglican and a Royalist, her father being a cousin to Strafford. A great deal is known of this family through Mrs Thornton's autobiography. She had married Thornton in 1651, and immediately set about weaning him from his Presbyterianism. In this she never fully succeeded, but after 1662 the family became close friends of Thomas Comber, the new Curate of Stonegrave, and obtained his presentation as Vicar in 1669. As a member of the family and a moderate Presbyterian, Denton won her respect, but even at Oswaldkirk where they lived from 1660 to 1662, she would never receive Communion from him, as he had only Presbyterian ordination. After 1662 Denton lived as a family friend, and William Thornton remained a Presbyterian until his death in 1668. Gradually, however, the friendship of Alice Thornton and Thomas Comber influenced Denton, and, always a partial conformist, he finally conformed completely after the withdrawal of the Indulgence in 1673. Having been re-ordained, he began to assist Comber at Stonegrave, and as the latter advanced in the hierarchy, did more and more of the work there. In 1690, when Comber became Dean of Durham, he was finally persuaded to



accept the official Curacy of Stonegrave, and remained in that position until his death in 1708. When Comber died in 1699, his son Robert Denton became Vicar of Stonegrave, John remaining Curate. Thus Dissent at Newton and Stonegrave was always of a moderate kind, with no properly organized Congregation, and after 1673, apparently died out altogether. (Lyon Turner, I, p.295; Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, pp.49-50; Matthews, p.163; History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and district ed. J. Macdonnell, p.22; Life of Mrs. Thornton, ed. C.Jackson, especially pp.130,131,132,155,165,174-5,214-17, 219-20, 349-50; Memorials of Dean Comber, ed. C.E.Whiting.)

#### EAST RIDING

##### HOLDERNESS

The Common Fund Survey of 1690-2 makes an obscure reference to a 'gentlewoman of large estate' in Holderness, who 'desires help (to set up a Congregation) and have sent to Mr Seddon'. This attempt apparently failed, as no Chapel emerged in Holderness, although there were thriving meetings in Hull and Bridlington (see below, List III).

(Freedom after Ejection p.138.)

WEST RIDING

ACKWORTH

In 1662 Thomas Birbeck was ejected from Ackworth, and moved shortly after to Sheffield, where he continued his ministry. In 1672 the house of William Rokeby (see App.II, Pt.A) was licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place, but no minister was specified. Rokeby also had houses at Kirk Sandal and Skellow, and in 1690 his widow was described as upholding a Congregation in Kirk Sandal (see below). It seems likely that in 1672 the Rokebys had obtained licences for all their houses, but by 1689, after Rokeby's death, had come to live mainly at Kirk Sandal and to concentrate their efforts there. In 1676 Ackworth was reported to contain four Dissenters, but these may have been Quakers. It is safe to assume that at some time shortly after 1672 Puritan Dissent in Ackworth, if ever very strong, had died out.

(Calamy, II, p.789; Lyon Turner, I, p.578; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract)

ARDSLEY

In 1662 Jeremiah Marsden was ejected from Ardsley Chapel, and apparently remained in the area until late 1663. An active and radical Independent, he was known as 'the plotter', and became deeply involved in the Yorkshire plot of that year. Thereafter he spent some years as a fugitive in Yorkshire, before fleeing to London where he preached under the name of 'Ralphson'. He eventually died a prisoner in Newgate, in 1684, where he was imprisoned as 'Ralphson' for publishing seditious books. There is no evidence of any organised congregation in Ardsley, but Marsden undoubtedly preached



there after 1662, and in Sheldon's survey of 1676, the parish of East Ardsley was reported as containing twelve Dissenters. Some of these may have been Quakers, but it is likely that a proportion were Puritan Dissenters, who would have been able to attend meetings in Morley, Topcliffe, Birstall or Wakefield (see below, List III), all within easy reach.

(Calamy, II, p.796, IV, pp.942-5; Dale, pp.100-4; Matthews, pp.339-40; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract)

#### ASKHAM

In about 1670 the Rev. Noah Ward moved to Askham after some years as chaplain to Sir John Wentworth, and was licensed to preach in his own house there in 1672. It seems, however, that there was no settled Congregation. Ward lived at Askham for eleven years, and was throughout that period an itinerant preacher, working where he could, but especially at Selby, Ellenthorpe, Helaugh and York, where in 1687 he became assistant to Ralph Ward at St Saviourgate Chapel. He continued in this office under Thomas Coulton, Ward's successor from 1693.

Dissent in Askham seems to have centred around Ward, and there is no evidence that it survived his departure.

(Calamy II, p.835, IV, p.958; Dale, p.207; Matthews, p.509; Lyon Turner, I, pp.388, 516.)

#### BADSWORTH

Badsworth was the home of Sir John Bright (see App. II Pt.A) but Puritan Dissent is mentioned there only briefly. Bright also had a house at Carbrook, and the family probably spent more time there, being members of Fisher's Congregation in Sheffield (see below, List III). In 1672 Richard Wharam was

licensed to preach in the house of Mr Nilcock in Badsworth. In 1676 Badsworth was mentioned in Sheldon's survey, but the returns were not filled in, and there is no way of knowing whether any Dissenters were then living there. No meeting-place was registered in 1689. In 1691 Richard Wharam signed the Heads of Agreement for the United Brethren as pastor of Great Houghton (see below), and it must be concluded that Puritan Dissent in Badsworth had by then died out. (Lyon Turner, I, p.540; Dale, p.164; Matthews, p.522; Miall, p.109.)

#### BARWICK IN ELMET

In 1660 Mr Nathaniel Jackson was ejected when the sequestered Vicar, Mr Dufton, returned. He died in York in November 1662. In 1669 a conventicle was reported to be meeting in the house of Robert Hardcastle. This was the brother of Thomas Hardcastle, who had been ejected from Bramham and who held regular conventicles at nearby Shadwell Chapel until 1670, when he was forced by persecution to flee to London, and from thence to Bristol in 1671, when he became pastor of Broadmead Baptist Church. In Yorkshire he was known as an Independent, and although he later accepted the pastorate of a Baptist Church, he retained his Independent connections. He was also chaplain to Lady Barwick of Tolston, near Tadcaster, but apparently often visited his brother in Barwick, and his presence was the inspiration for Dissent in the village. After his departure some active Dissenters remained, and in 1676 the parish was listed as containing five Dissenters, but no meeting-place was registered in 1689, and it appears that by then the meeting, never properly organised, had finally



died out.

(Lyon Turner, III, p.638; Dale, pp.66-9, 87; Matthews, pp.247, 291; see also below, Shadwell.)

### BATLEY

In 1660 Thomas Smallwood was ejected from Batley Chapel, having been sequestered because of his strong Independent views and his past as a chaplain in Cromwell's Army. He did not remain in the parish, but moved to Idle, where he preached in the vacant Chapel until 1662. Thereafter little is known of Puritan Dissent in Batley. No licences were issued in 1672. In 1676 some eighty Dissenters were reported in Batley Parish, but this included the Chapelry of Morley where Dissent was strong (see below, List III, Morley). There were some Puritan Dissenters in Batley itself. In 1682 a conventicle held by Josiah Holdsworth at Heckmondwyke was attended by people from Gommersall, Mirfield and Batley as well as Heckmondwyke, and in 1689 a meeting-place was registered in Batley, and another at nearby Staincliffe, by members of the Heckmondwyke Congregation (see below, List III, Birstall, Heckmondwyke). In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey referred to a meeting in Batley and 'Stantliffe', which was numerous but poor. They had a minister, but could pay him only eighteen pounds a year, and probably because of this, they were unable to survive. No Chapel was built in Batley until 1839. Miall states that Batley Nonconformists had previously worshipped at Heckmondwyke, and they had probably done so since the seventeenth century. (Miall, p.228; Northowram Register, pp.131,142,145,149; Calamy, II, p.364; Dale, pp.146-7; Matthews, p.445; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H.Turner, No.I (1891)

pp.262-4; see also below, List III, Birstall/Heckmondwyke).

### BEAGE HALL

Beage Hall became the home of Mr James Creswick, who had been ejected from Freshwater, Hampshire. He had remained in Freshwater, preaching in the Parish Church until forcibly prevented, and then used his considerable fortune to purchase Beage Hall Manor, at Kellington, near Pontefract, worth three hundred pounds a year. He lived there preaching privately until his death in 1692, having registered Beage Hall as a meeting-place in 1690. No licence had been issued in 1672, and the date of his arrival is unknown. No permanent Chapel arose from his work.

(Dale, pp.183-4; Miall, p.333; Northowram Register, p.147.)

### BOLTON PERCY

In 1660 Mr. Henry Fairfax, uncle of Lord Thomas Fairfax, resigned the living of Bolton Percy because of his opposition to the returning establishment. He retired to live on his estate at Oglethorpe, where he died in 1665. There is no evidence of further Dissent in Bolton Percy, but it was close to Nun Appleton, the home of the Fairfax family, who continued to practise nonconformity and to support meetings led by their chaplain, Richard Stretton.

(Dale, p.54; see also App.II,Pt.A, Fairfax and below, List III, Leeds.)

### BRADFORD

Apart from the thriving and organised Congregations in Bradford (see below, List III), brief references are made to two other groups. In 1672 a meeting-place was licensed at the house of John Hird, in Eccleshill, Bradford. No other reference is



made to such a group, and it is likely that if not already attending one of the main meetings, they began to do so shortly after 1672. More interesting is a licence issued in 1672 to Thomas Walker, a Baptist, to preach in his own house at Horton, Bradford. J.H.Turner has also found evidence of a licence issued for one Henry Sharpwell of Bradford to preach as a Baptist, and he links this with a group of Dissenters in Idle and a possible Baptist group at nearby Rawdon. Since Horton lay to the south of Bradford and Idle to the north, it is difficult to tell if these were linked. There were few Baptists in Yorkshire, and it seems unlikely that two separate, organised groups existed so close together. Moreover, Lyon Turner's research uncovered no trace of any licence for Henry Sharpwell. The situation is very uncertain, but there was a suggestion of some Baptists in the Bradford area in the 1670s led by Samuel Cotes at Rawdon (see below, List, III, Rawdon). If so the group did not apparently survive, as there is no reference to Walker, Sharpwell, or any Baptists in Bradford in the registrations in 1689-90.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.250,571; J.H.Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, pp.16-17, 21)

#### BRAMHOPE

Bramhope was the home of the Dinely family, active puritans, and later Dissenters. (see App.II, Part A). In 1662 Mr Jeremiah Crossley was ejected from Bramhope Chapel, but the Chapel having been built and endowed by the Dinelys, he was able to retain his place until his death in 1665. The family then employed Robert Pickering, ejected from Barlby Chapel, Selby, as chaplain, and maintained regular conventicles in

their house. In the 1660s when Dissent elsewhere was ill-organised, Bramhope was something of a refuge for ejected ministers, many of whom preached there and seized a rare opportunity to take Communion while Crossley remained in the Chapel, but even the protection of the Dinelys could not prevent some persecution. In 1666 Robert Dinely and others were prosecuted for holding a conventicle, but escaped because the informer was drunk and unable to prove his assertions. In 1669 a conventicle in the house of Robert Dinely was reported in Sheldon's survey. In 1674 the group were again prosecuted for conventicles, but avoided punishment through the intervention of the Duke of Buckingham.

In view of this activity it is surprising that no licence was issued in 1672, but there is no record of any application or issue. According to Calamy, Robert Dinely maintained a lecture in his house until his death in 1689, but by 1681, Robert Pickering had left the family and moved to Morley, where he preached in the vacant Chapel (see below, List III, Morley). In 1689 the estate passed to Dinely's son, also an active Dissenter, who had lived for some years at Flanshaw, Wakefield, and encouraged and protected the Dissenters there (see below, List III, Wakefield). It can be assumed that he continued to support Dissent at Bramhope from 1689, although again there is no record of public registration (under the Toleration Act). In view of the family's power in Bramhope and the continued use of the Chapel as a family Chapel, it was perhaps considered unnecessary. This was, however, to be the last generation of Dissenters in the family, for Dinely's son, living in London in 1689, had conformed, and upon his



father's death (date unknown) the Chapel reverted to the Anglican Church and Dissent in the area died out.

(Heywood, I, pp.192-3, 194, and numerous other references, II, pp.45,54,98, III, pp.52,96,185; Northowram Register pp.73,76,263; Calamy, II, pp.809, 811; Dale, pp.46-7, 117; Matthews, pp.150, 389; Lyon Turner, I, p.162; Thoresby, III, pp.109-10; Miall, pp.243-4.)

#### BRAMLEY

In 1662 Mr Francis Bovil was ejected from Bramley, near Leeds, but he later conformed and became Vicar of Rotherham. Nothing more is heard of Dissent in the township until 1672, when Timothy Root was licensed to preach in the house of Samuel Goodall in Bramley, Leeds, and in the house of Samuel Ellison. Root was an active conventicler, and had been harried out of his native area around Halifax. He apparently had no other connection with Bramley, nor is there any later evidence of Dissent there, as distinct from other groups in Leeds. It seems likely that Root found himself living in Bramley at the time of the Indulgence, and was therefore licensed there, but he did not stay long and no permanent Chapel emerged from his work.

(Calamy, II, p.837, IV, p.959; Dale, pp.22-3; Lyon Turner, I, p.585; for the details of Root's life see below, List III, Halifax/Sowerby.)

#### BRODSWORTH

In 1662 William Hawden was ejected from Brodsworth Church, and remained in the area until the passing of the Five Mile Act forced him to move, first to Sherburn and later to

Wakefield. Since Hawden was an active preacher all his life, it can be assumed that he preached to friends while he remained in the parish, but there is no evidence of this. Dissent certainly survived in Brodsworth parish, for in 1672 Robert Cooke, ejected from Monyash, Derbyshire, was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in the house of Elizabeth Wentworth. It is not known whether he was specifically called to the post, which would suggest an organised Congregation, or if he had private reasons for moving to the area. According to Matthews, who found him to have been ejected from Findern, Derbyshire, and not Monyash, he was a Derbyshire man, but he may have moved to Yorkshire for personal reasons or to escape the Five Mile Act, and not solely for the purpose of pastorate. Little more is known of Dissent in Brodsworth. In 1676 no Dissenters were reported there in Sheldon's survey, but this may be because, like many Presbyterians, they also attended Church. Certainly, however, this would suggest the Dissenters there did not constitute an organised Congregation or Separatist Church. In January 1690 a Presbyterian meeting-place was registered at the house of Mrs Susanna Wentworth, but no further record of Dissenters can be found. It seems likely that Hawden had built up a following in the parish, and that this had survived his removal for a while, probably because of active leaders like the Wentworth family, but the group did not have sufficient strength to create the organisation necessary for permanent survival.

(Calamy, II, pp.204,790; Dale, pp.69-70; Matthews, pp.132, 253; Lyon Turner, I, pp.501,510; Northowram Register, pp.149-50; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster; for further



details of William Hawden see below, Sherburn, and List III, Wakefield.)

#### BURHAM

In 1690 the Common Fund Survey described a group in Burham, (erroneously placed in the North Riding) as 'desirous of the Word and many people came in' with 'Mr Whaley often employed, very successful'. I have been unable to identify Mr Whaley, and no further evidence of this Congregation exists. In an isolated area, it probably died out for lack of funds and aid. (Freedom after Ejection, p.135)

#### CAWOOD

In 1662 the Rev. Robert Sherborne was ejected from Cawood, and left the parish almost immediately. His father, Vicar of Brayton, had conformed and Sherborne joined him, the father reading prayers, and administering the Sacrament of Communion, while the son did most of the preaching. This practice continued until his death in 1671, his popularity and skill as a preacher ensuring the connivance of Archbishop Sterne, and preventing proceedings against him. There is no record of any conventicles held in Cawood, but in 1672, Richard Stretton, ex-chaplain to Lord Thomas Fairfax, was licensed to preach in the house of Mrs Frances Richardson in Cawood. Stretton had moved to Leeds to become the first pastor at Mill Hill Chapel after Fairfax's death in 1671, but would probably have been acquainted with Mrs. Richardson during his chaplaincy nearby. Since there is no further evidence of Dissent in Cawood, it can be assumed that Stretton preached there as a service to a personal friend in a time of unusual freedom, and that, there

being few if any other Dissenters in the village, this practice ceased shortly after 1672, or at best in 1675 when Stretton moved to London.

(Calamy, II, pp.676, 816-17; Lyon Turner, I, pp.385, 498; Matthews, p.438; for Stretton, see below, List III, Leeds/Mill Hill.)

#### CAWTHORNE

In 1672 a Presbyterian meeting-place was licensed at the house of Nathaniel Bottomley. No minister was specified, and no further evidence can be found. The village lay near Barnsley and it is possible that Cawthorne Dissenters eventually attended the meeting there, where the first permanent Chapel was built in 1708. The records are scanty however, and the group in Cawthorne may well have died out before the Barnsley Congregation was founded.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.555.)

#### DENBY

In 1662 the Rev. John Crook was ejected from the Chapel in Denby Dale, where he had been Curate since 1649. A man of good estate, he moved to Wakefield after ejection, and preached only rarely. Thereafter Dissent in Denby centred around the Cotton family of Denby Grange. William Cotton, a prosperous iron-master, employed Christopher Richardson of Lassell-Hall as his chaplain. Richardson had been ejected from Kirkheaton, and thereupon retired to Lassell-Hall in Lepton, which he had bought prior to the Restoration. A wealthy man, he had no financial need of the chaplaincy and continued to live in his own home, but visited Denby regularly and was



licensed to preach, as an Independent, at Cotton's house in 1672. He gathered a Congregation at Lassell-Hall, but there was apparently no comparable organisation at Denby. Other ministers, including Heywood, also visited and preached there. The Cottons were active Dissenters, and William's son, Thomas, was educated at Frankland's Academy and later ordained to the ministry. Cotton had several children, but there is no record of the Grange being registered as a meeting-place in 1689-90, although a meeting-place was registered at nearby Skelmanthorpe in 1691. Richardson had moved to Liverpool as pastor at Toxteth Park Chapel in 1687, and it may be that the Cottons were thereafter content to attend the services of Henry Swift at nearby Penistone Chapel, and on his death, the meetings in Bull-house Chapel, Penistone, (see below, List III, Penistone).

(Calamy, II, pp.792, 795-6; Dale, 45-6, 121-2; Matthews, pp.110,148; Lyon Turner, I, pp.306,231,464; Heywood, I, pp.288, 296, III, p.161. Northowram Register, p.150; see also App. II, Pt. A, Cotton.)

#### DEWSBURY

In 1669 a Conventicle, attended by 'a great number' including 'many people of good estate', was reported to be held at Dewsbury under the leadership of the Rev. Richard Thorpe of Hopton. In 1672 no licences were taken out, but in 1676 Dewsbury parish was listed as containing fifty Dissenters. No meeting-place was registered however in 1689. It seems likely that there were some Dissenters living in Dewsbury, but that they did not organise a Chapel there. It is probable that in the 1660s the parish afforded some convenient place for

a Conventicle, but thereafter as Chapels in nearby Heckmondwyke and at Thorpe's home became properly organised, the Dewsbury Dissenters found it convenient to attend one of these.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.153; Tanner MSS 150, ff,27-37; Deanery of Pontefract; see also below, List III, Hopton and Birstall/Heckmondwyke)

### ELLENTHORPE

Ellenthorpe Hall was the home of James Brook, Alderman of York and Mayor in 1647 and 1660. In 1658 his wife Priscilla had a Chapel built at the Hall, where Calamy says Richard Frankland occasionally preached. The records are brief, but it is clear that the Chapel was used by Dissenters after 1662, despite the conformity of John Brook, heir to the property. From 1662 to 1669, Noah Ward of Askham was a regular visitor and preacher and in 1672 Ellenthorpe Hall was licensed for preaching by Richard Hobson and Henry Forbes - neither of them listed by Calamy. In the 1670s it was regularly visited by Cornelius Todd of Helaugh, and in the 1680s Ward was again visiting as an itinerant minister. Lady Brook had supported these ministers during her lifetime, and at her death endowed the Chapel with five hundred pounds for a preaching minister. In 1689 it was registered under the Toleration Act, both at the North Riding Quarter Sessions and separately at York Sessions by Cornelius Todd, Noah Ward and Timothy Hodgson. Despite these favourable circumstances, however, no fixed minister could be found, and there is no evidence of any formal organisation of a Congregation. Todd was preaching there in 1690, but living still at Helaugh. In 1690-2 the



Common Fund Survey included an appeal from the Ellenthorpe group for a pastor, which was apparently unsuccessful. In view of the financial inducement, thus must be regarded as weighty evidence of a serious shortage of ministers among the Nonconformists.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.342, 249, 488, 575; Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No. 34 (1937) pp.73, 76-9; NRQS, No. 7, p.103; Miall, pp.259-260; York Quarter Sessions Records, Vol. F.10,p.2; for Ward, see above, Askham; for Todd, see below, Helaugh; for Timothy Hodgson, see below, List III, York, and App.II Pt.A, Hewley; for Brook, see App. II,Pt.A)

#### FISHLAKE

In 1672 a licence was issued for Robert Dickinson to preach in his own house at Fishlake. This may have been the Robert Dickinson ejected from Horncastle, Lincolnshire, but was more likely to be Robert Dickenson, the Elder of James Fisher's Congregation in Sheffield, who was noted by Heywood as preaching at his own house near Doncaster in the 1670s and who was properly ordained in 1681. In 1676 Sheldon's survey reported 136 Dissenters in Fishlake Parish, but the area contained a strong Quaker group and these probably constituted the majority of the Dissenters in the parish. A group of Puritan Dissenters undoubtedly survived there, for in 1689 Thorney Grass House, home of Thomas Fairburn was registered as a meeting-place by Fairburn and Thomas Perkins, and in 1699 the house of Thomas Womersley was also registered (although this may have been for the Quakers ). In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey described Puritan Dissenters in Fishlake and the

adjacent villages as 'some very serious people, not able to bear the charge of the work, desire some assistance for continuing the gospel in so necessitous a place, one Mr. Perkins their Minister as I suppose'. Clearly the group was in difficulties, and since no permanent Chapel was ever built there, it must be assumed that the group either died out, or possibly joined with others in the area to build a Chapel in Doncaster, where a building was erected early in the eighteenth century although there is no evidence of Dissenters in the town from 1662 to 1689. There was another group nearby, at Kirk Sandal, which was also in difficulties by 1692, and they may well have united with Fishlake to found the Chapel in Doncaster.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.286,289,456; Calamy, II, p.459; Heywood, II, p.199; Northowram Register, pp.143,156; Freedom after Ejection, p.136; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster; see also below, List III, Kirk Sandal and Doncaster.)

#### GREASEBROUGH

In 1672 a licence was issued for a meeting in 'a room or rooms in Trinity House, Greasebrook' which belonged to the Earl of Strafford. No minister was mentioned, but Calamy says that Luke Clayton of Rotherham (died 1674) preached occasionally at Greasebrough, and the group there may have intended to rely upon his visits. There is no further evidence of Dissent at Greasebrough and no Chapel was built until 1815.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.213,321,513; Calamy, II, p.789; Miall, p.263)



### HANDSWORTH

In 1662 Mr John Carte was ejected from Handsworth, near Sheffield, where he had succeeded his father William as Rector in 1644, and where from 1644 to 1649 Richard Taylor, Esq. of Wallinwells had lived as his student (see App.II Part A Taylor of Wellinwells). After his ejection he continued to live in Handsworth, and may have preached there occasionally but in 1672 he was licensed at Dronfield, Derbyshire, which suggests that he was more active outside his old parish. He died in Handsworth in 1674, and his death was recorded by Heywood, who described him as 'a great scholar, a good man and a good preacher.', but does not suggest that he had been active in Yorkshire. In 1689 a meeting-place was registered at the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Nodder of Woodhouse, Handsworth Parish, but it is unclear which denomination met there and there is no other reference to Puritan Dissent in the parish. There were certainly Quakers in the area, (a Conventicle being reported in 1669) and the house may have been a Quaker meeting-place, registered separately from the main group for some unknown cause.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.160; Calamy, II, p.789; Matthews, p.102; Heywood, I, p.306; Northowram Register, p.143.)

### HATFIELD

Hatfield was the home of Captain John Hatfield, younger son of Ralph Hatfield of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and a great supporter of Dissent. In 1672 licences were sought for two ministers, Richard Whitehurst and John Rooke, to preach in West Hall, Hatfield, the Captain's house. Whitehurst had been ejected

from Laughton, and lived there under the protection of the Hatfields until 1673 when he moved to Bradford Dale as Pastor to Kipping Chapel. Another minister who had preached in the area was a John Aukland, who had received an augmentation of sixty pounds at Laughton in 1658. Neither he nor Rooke are mentioned by Calamy, but it is likely that Aukland had assisted Whitehurst at Laughton. He died in 1675 in York Castle, where he was imprisoned for preaching. It would appear, that Whitehurst and Rooke were acting as chaplains for Captain Hatfield, and their sermons would be attended by his family and friends. The Hatfield family however were members of other, more organised Congregations, attending the Conventicles led by Luke Clayton and John Shaw at Rotherham until the former's death in 1674, and later being members of the Independent Church at Attercliffe. No meeting-place was registered at Hatfield in 1689, nor was it mentioned in the Common Fund Survey. It would therefore appear that no organised Congregation existed there, and that after 1673, when Dissent became generally better organised, the Hatfield family attended Chapel at Sheffield rather than arranging their own ministry at home.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.268,209,290,298,360,361,362,385,402,455, 512; Dale, p.15; for the Hatfield family see App.II,Pt.A; for Attercliffe Church, see below, List III, Sheffield; for Richard Whitehurst see also below, Lidget Green and List III Bradford/Kipping.)



### HAZELHEAD

In 1672 a meeting-place was licensed, with no denomination specified, in the house of Thomas Haigh of Hazlehead, but there is no other evidence of Dissent in the parish. At nearby Penistone the Rev. Henry Swift had retained his place without conforming, and the Rich family of Bull-house supported him and held conventicles in their house. In 1672 Nathan Denton of Bolton-upon-Dearne was licensed to preach at Bull-house, and it is possible that the house in Hazlehead was used as an extra meeting-place for him. It is likely that any Dissenters in Hazlehead attended Penistone Chapel and later the Bull-house. Certainly no organised Congregation developed in Hazlehead itself, and no meeting-places were registered there in 1689, by which time a permanent Chapel had been erected at Bull-house.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.584; see also below, List III, Penistone; for Rich of Bull-house see App.II, Pt.A)

### HELAUGH

The centre of Dissent in Helaugh was the house of Lord Wharton, one of the most influential supporters of the movement in Yorkshire. Two ejected ministers lived in the house, John Gunter and Cornelius Todd. Gunter had been ejected in 1660 from Bedale in the North Riding, largely because it was a rich living and had been promised by the King to Dr. Samwaies. Thereafter he was employed as an agent by Wharton and lived at Helaugh, preaching at nearby Tadcaster. His duties included the distribution of Wharton's considerable aid to Dissenting ministers and meetings, largely through the offices of Oliver Heywood and Ralph Thoresby. Todd, the son of Robert Todd, ejected from Leeds, had been ejected from

Bilton, and suffered considerably thereafter. He had built a new vicarage at Bilton, and was forced to complete the work at his own expense, but was never permitted to live in it. For preaching at Bramhope he was imprisoned in Pontefract, where he nearly died of a fever, and was in desperate straits until Lord Wharton came to his rescue, offering him a home at Helaugh and a pension of eight pounds a year. Thereafter Todd lived in the peer's house, and preached as an itinerant. In 1672 he was employed as one of a number of ministers preaching at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, and continued this work after the withdrawal of the Indulgence. His licence was a general one, specifying no particular place. In 1674 he was disturbed by the constables at his work, and although allowed on that occasion to complete his sermon, he was unable to preach in Leeds again. Being then invited to preach at Ellenthorpe, he did so regularly, but not as pastor.

Clearly there was no significant congregation at Helaugh itself. No licences were taken out for a meeting-place there, and in 1676 the parish was reported to contain no Dissenters. Both ministers found their work elsewhere, and no meeting-place was registered in 1689, although Wharton endowed a regular sermon in the parish from 1696. Dissent in Helaugh only existed because of the Wharton estate, the peer's influence and the home he offered to Dissenting ministers.

(Calamy, II, p.811; Dale., pp.153-5; Matthews, p.487; Heywood, II, p.185, III, p.162; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of New Ainsty; see also Ellenthorpe, above; for Gunter, see below, List III, Knaresborough and district; for Wharton see App.II Pt.A)



### HEMSWORTH

In 1662 Mr. Stephen Charman was ejected from Hemsworth, where he owned property, and continued to live there until his death, probably in 1668. Charman had a son, also Stephen, who entered New Inn Hall, Oxford in 1661, and who in September 1662 was one of seven students who declared to the Vice-Chancellor that they did not approve of the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church. He apparently conformed later, however, receiving B.A. and M.A. in 1671 and being ordained in London in 1674. The father probably preached privately in Hemsworth until his death, and 1676 some five Dissenters were reported to live in the parish. It is possible however that these were Quakers, and certainly no organised Congregation of Puritan Dissenters developed in the parish.

(Calamy, II, p.791, IV, p.940; Matthews, p.111; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster.)

### HEPTONSTALL

In 1662 the incumbent at Heptonstall was one Daniel Town, nephew of Robert Town of Haworth (see below, List III, Bingley), and like his uncle, an Antinomian. Despite this, Dale says he found it possible to conform, and he was certainly living at Heptonstall in 1689 when he was murdered at his wife's instigation. The Town family certainly had connections with Dissent, Daniel's brother George borrowing books from Oliver Heywood in 1668, and a Mistress Town of Elland seeking spiritual help from Heywood in 1700. There were Puritan Dissenters in Heptonstall throughout the period, to whom Heywood preached occasionally, but there is no official record

of their existence until 1689-90, when three meeting-places were registered under the Toleration Act. It is possible that Town did manage to retain his place, and that until his death, the local Dissenters were content to attend Church. There was certainly no organised congregation, and no permanent Chapel emerged there after 1689.

(Dale, p.158; Heywood, II, pp.133,172; III, pp.167, 192, IV, p.261; Northowram Register pp.142, 149, 152)

#### HOLBECK

From 1662 to 1689 a meeting was led in Holbeck by Mr Robert Armitage, the ejected minister. The owner of property in the parish, he remained there throughout the period, except for a short time in 1666 when he was forced by the Five Mile Act to move to Halifax. In 1669 he was reported as leading a conventicle in Holbeck, and in 1672 he was licensed to preach at Lilbury House, probably his own. In 1674 he was indicted for preaching at, and housing, a conventicle there, and in 1675 was convicted with Stretton and Nesse of Leeds of holding 'schismatical assemblies' in Leeds. He was never imprisoned, however, and continued his work until his death in 1689. Thereafter the Holbeck meeting broke up, his members probably going to other Chapels in neighbouring Leeds. His two sons, Joshua and John, both took Anglican orders.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.162,221,294,296; Calamy, II, p.801; Matthews, p.15; Dale, pp.14-15; Heywood, I, p.249.)



### HONLEY

In 1662 Mr David Dury was ejected from Honley Chapel, and remained to preach in the area for some while. In 1663 Heywood attended one of his sermons, and in 1666 he was arrested while preaching at Shadwell for Mr Hardcastle, then in prison. By 1668 he had moved to Lancashire and lived at Garton from 1669 to 1672, when he moved to Scotland. He reappeared briefly in Yorkshire in 1678, but died in Edinburgh in 1692. At some time after 1672 one Jonathan Hanson, an ex-member of Heywood's Congregation at Northowram was living and preaching in Honley, but according to Heywood he failed in his duties and eventually died a drunkard. Certainly there is no evidence of Dissent in Honley by 1689, and no permanent Chapel was founded there until 1795.

(Calamy, II, p.817, IV, p.949; Dale, p.52; Matthews, p.175; Heywood, I, pp.184, 200, 258, II, p.79; Miall, p.278)

### HORBURY

In 1672 a licence was issued for an Independent minister, John Issot, to preach in the house of his father, also John, in Horbury. Issot had been ejected from the curacy of Nun Monkton in 1662, whereupon he returned to his family home, and may have preached occasionally in the 1660s. In 1666 a John Issot was presented at the Assizes in York, probably for preaching, and bound over, and in 1669 the whole family were indicted at York for recusancy. The father was a member of the Independent Church at Topcliffe and by 1672 had been elected Elder, remaining in that office until his death in 1679. After 1672 John Issot jnr. left Horbury and went to Frankland's Academy as an Assistant. In 1678 he was invited to become

pastor of the Congregation at Horton-in-Craven, which had been visited and encouraged by Oliver Heywood. Before taking up the position, Issot was ordained at John Hey's house in Horton by Frankland and Heywood, at the first Non-Conformist ordination in Yorkshire after the Act of Uniformity. This suggests that he had not been ordained when at Nun Monkton, as the ceremony involved not only the Independent process of 'calling' by the Congregation, but also full ministerial ordination. Issot remained at Horton until 1688, when he retired to Wakefield.

It seems unlikely that there was ever any organised Congregation at Horbury. There is no evidence that Issot preached there regularly before 1672, and the house in which he then preached belonged to a leading member of another Chapel. It seems likely that he marked time with his family, preaching occasionally, until the opportunity arose to serve the Dissenters' cause, first at Rathmell and then at Horton. There is certainly no record of Dissent in Horbury after 1672, and there was no Congregationalist Chapel there until the nineteenth century, when a building was purchased from the Methodists. (Lyon Turner, I, pp.332,361,362,483,485; Calamy, II, p.818, IV, p.950; Dale, pp.85-6; Matthews, pp.289-90; Heywood, II, pp.94,140,143,150; see also below List III, Topcliffe, and Craven, Horton and Winterburn.)

#### GREAT HOUGHTON

Great Houghton was the home of Sir Edward Rhodes, a stout Presbyterian and supporter of Parliament in the Civil War. After 1662 he made his house a refuge for Dissenting ministers and Conventicles were held there regularly in the family Chapel, a policy continued by his wife and son after his death in 1666.



The list of ministers who preached there is long, and includes many of the leading figures of West Yorkshire. Heywood was a regular visitor, as were Christopher Richardson, Richard Thorp and Thomas Jolly. In 1669 a Conventicle was reported as meeting there, led by William Benton, ejected from Thurnscoe, Jonathan Grant, ejected from Flixborough, Lincolnshire, Mark Triggot, ejected from Kirk Sandal and living at Thurnscoe, Nathan Denton of Bolton-upon-Dearne, and Richard Taylor, ejected from Long Houghton and for some years employed as the Rhodes' family chaplain. In 1672 the Chapel was licensed as a meeting-place for Jeremiah Milner, ejected from Rothwell, who replaced Taylor as chaplain when the latter moved to Sheffield, and continued in the office until his death in 1681. In 1689 the House and Chapel of William Rhodes were registered under the Toleration Act, the minister at that time being Richard Wharam, who in that capacity attended the meeting held to establish the United Brethren at Wakefield in 1691. In the Common Fund Survey of 1690-2, mention is made of a meeting at 'Hawton', with no further details given, which probably refers to Great Houghton.

For most of this period, therefore, there was apparently a well-organised Congregation at Great Houghton, centred around the Rhodes family but not limited to them, with a regular pastoral succession and frequent visits by other, respected ministers. Their dependence upon the Rhodes family was, however, a less than secure foundation, for in 1709 when Godfrey Rhodes died and the estate passed via his sister to the Milner family of Pontefract, the Congregation collapsed, and by the mid-eighteenth century there was not a Dissenter to be

found in the neighbourhood. The Congregation of Great Houghton provides a classic example of the importance to Dissent of its wealthy supporters, and of the instability of such a basis.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.163,261,268,298,454; Calamy, II, pp.441, 791,796; Dale, pp.18-19,109-10,195-6; Matthews, pp.50-1; Miall, pp.110,264; Freedom after Ejection, p.136; Heywood, numerous references e.g. I, p.259; for the Rhodes family see App.II,Pt.A, Rhodes; for Benton, Grant and Trigot see below, List III, Barnsley and Thurnscoe; for Denton, see below, List III, Bolton and Hickleton.)

#### HUDDERSFIELD

In 1689 two meeting-places were registered in the Huddersfield area, at Linley and at Golcar. There is no evidence of Dissenters in Huddersfield prior to this, except that Mr Edward Hill, ejected from Crofton near Wakefield, had preached there upon some irregular basis before 1660. It seems that there were some Dissenters in the area in 1689, but no organised Congregation existed until the late eighteenth-century.

(Miall, p.285; Northowram Register, pp.144,153)

#### KILDWICK IN CRAVEN

In 1672 a licence was issued for one James Hartley of Kildwick in Craven, to preach as an Independent at his house in Kildwick. Hartley is not mentioned by Calamy, but Heywood refers to a Mr Hartley, a preacher at Idle in 1665 who, although a conformist, had publicly attacked the Act of Uniformity. It is possible that this was the same man, and



that under the conditions of the Indulgence, he chose to preach as a Dissenter. Heywood also mentions a Mr Hartley who had been a schoolmaster at Luddenden, west of Halifax, and who was preaching there after 1662. Again, it is possible that this refers to James Hartley of Kildwick. Nothing is known of what congregation he gathered at Kildwick, but in 1676 some thirty-three Dissenters were reported in the parish, some of whom would almost certainly have been Quakers. Two meeting-places were registered there under the Toleration Act, in the houses of Thomas Cockshott (1690) and Henry Farnell, clothier (1693). No denomination was specified, but the earlier registration at least would almost certainly have been for Puritan Dissenters, as the Quaker meeting-places were usually registered in groups by the Monthly Meetings. It seems likely that Hartley gathered a congregation of some kind, but no Chapel was ever built in Kildwick, and if a significant number of Puritan Dissenters ever existed in the parish, then they either died in the years after 1689 or began to attend meetings at the more stable Chapel at Horton, further west.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.225,237,261,440; Heywood, III, p.96, IV, p.303; Northowram Register, pp.148,151; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Craven.)

#### KIRBY MALZEARD

In 1672 a licence was issued for one Anthony Proctor to preach as a Presbyterian at Kirby Malzeard. Proctor had been ejected from Well, near Bedale, in 1662, and had returned to live in Kirby Malzeard in the parish of Masham, of which he was Vicar from 1651 to 1655. No separate licence was issued

for a meeting-place, and it is likely that Proctor merely preached to a few friends in his own house. It does not appear that he had any kind of organised Congregation there, and in 1673 after the withdrawal of the Indulgence, he conformed and was presented by Lord Wharton to the Curacy of Ravenstonedale. His conformity was probably not wholehearted, for in 1678 he says in a letter to Lord Wharton that the Bishop had refused to license him as a lecturer, since some of his neighbouring ministers had 'represented him as a kind of Non-conformist'. It is likely that Proctor fulfilled the legal requirements of conformity in order to facilitate Wharton's desire to patronise him, but that his non-conformist inclinations remained. By 1690, however, he had apparently conformed fully, for in that year he became Rector of Deane, Cumberland, outside the area of Wharton's influence. He had two sons, John and Anthony, of whom the latter was educated at Frankland's Academy, but who both took Anglican orders. (Lyon Turner, I, p.577; Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, p.120; Matthews, p.400; Heywood, II, p.9.)

#### KIRKHEATON

In 1662 Christopher Richardson was ejected from the parish of Kirkheaton and retired to live in Lassel-Hall, Kirkheaton, which he had purchased a few years earlier. There he preached regularly until 1687, when he left to become pastor at Toxteth Park, Liverpool. He also acted as chaplain to William Cotton of Denby Grange, and in 1672 was licensed to preach in both places. It is unclear how far he organised a Congregation at Kirkheaton, but he certainly preached there each Sunday and held a monthly lecture to which he



invited other ministers. One of these was Oliver Heywood, a frequent visitor. In order to escape persecution, Richardson had a pulpit built at the bottom of a stairway, over which a door could be closed in case of interruption by the constable. He was in danger of imprisonment more than once, but escaped each time.

Richardson was married twice, his second wife being Hephzibah, daughter of Edward Prime of Sheffield. He had one son, Christopher, educated at Mr. Hickman's school in Worcestershire, and at Frankland's Academy, along with Oliver Heywood's sons. He also became a Dissenting minister. The Congregation at Kirkheaton, however, did not apparently survive Richardson's departure in 1687, and no meeting-places were registered there under the Toleration Act. It is possible that they then began to attend the meetings held by Richard Thorp in the adjoining Parish of Mirfield.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.566; Calamy, II, pp.795-6; Dale, pp.121-2; Matthews, p.110; Heywood, numerous references especially I, pp.230,234,256,260,293,295,296,298,334, II, pp.9,64,71, III, pp.119, 138, 161, IV, p.184; The Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H.Turner, No. II (Bingley,1889-90) pp.106-9, 286-9.)

#### LIDGET GREEN

A Congregation was gathered at Lidget Green by Richard Whitehurst as a result of his quarrel with Kipping Chapel in 1679-80. When Whitehurst became pastor at Kipping in 1673, he bought a house at Lidget Green, Bradford, and some meetings were probably held there from that time. In 1678 a bitter quarrel broke out among the Chapel members which

resulted in 1680 in Whitehurst's resignation, and from that time he and his supporters, led by John Foster and John Jewet, met as a separate Congregation at Whitehurst's house in Lidget. The group apparently survived for some years, and Heywood mentions two of his members who, moving to Bradford, joined Whitehurst's Congregation. In 1689 the house was registered as a meeting-place under the Toleration Act, but in 1693 Whitehurst became pastor at Bridlington upon the death of William Luke. According to Joseph Lister of Kipping Chapel, Whitehurst left because he had quarrelled with his Congregation as he had with the Kipping group, and his deserted flock then returned to Kipping. It is difficult to be sure if this was the case, for Lister was hardly an unbiased witness. In 1693 Whitehurst was an old man (he died in 1699) and it seems strange that he should be willing to uproot and leave his Congregation at this time. The Congregation was however, small and poor, and Whitehurst was described in the Common Fund Survey of 1690-2 as being in financial need. The Congregation at Bridlington, on the other hand, was strong and prosperous, and Whitehurst may well have felt unable to refuse their offer. Joseph Lister's assertion is not supported by any other evidence, and his personal antagonism towards Whitehurst was strong. He may have been influenced by a desire to show those who had followed Whitehurst as getting their just deserts as well as by a desire to portray Whitehurst as quarrelsome and difficult. If there was any bitterness at Lidget over Whitehurst's departure, it may well have been the result rather than the cause of his removal. Whatever the reason, the Lidget Congregation did not survive Whitehurst's departure and some members probably did drift back to Kipping,



while others may have joined the Presbyterian Church at nearby Horton.

(Miall, p.258; Freedom after Ejection, pp.131,132; Heywood II, pp.32,33,41,119, III, pp.55,214, IV, p.119; Northowram Register, p.115; Joseph Lister Autobiography, pp.28-9; for details of the quarrel at Kipping, see below, List III, Bradford/Kipping.)

### NUNMONKTON

In 1662 John Issot was ejected from Nun Monkton and returned to his family home at Horbury, while Mr Henry Constantine, ejected from neighbouring Moor Monkton, lived privately in the district and did not apparently preach after 1662. Indeed his son conformed. Nothing is then heard of Dissent in the area until 1672, when the Rev. John Plaxton was licensed to preach in the house of George Payler as a Presbyterian. Plaxton had been ejected from Scrayingham in the East Riding, upon the restoration of the sequestered Vicar in 1660. Thereafter he appears to have lived mainly in York, where he died in 1688, and presumably only seized the opportunity to preach in Nun Monkton during the period of the Indulgence. There is no further evidence of Dissent there, and it apparently died out shortly after 1672. Plaxton's son, Henry, took Anglican orders.

(Calamy, II, pp.809,822; Dale, pp.43,117-8; Matthews, pp.391-2; Lyon Turner, I, p.585.)

### POPPLETON

Poppleton, near York, was the home of Richard Hutton, grandson of Archbishop Matthew Hutton, and his wife Dorothy, sister of Lord Fairfax. In 1662 Josiah Holdsworth was ejected from Poppleton, and moved to Wakefield. In 1672 a licence was issued for Thomas Birdsall, Presbyterian, to preach at Poppleton. Birdsall had been ejected from Selby, and was then employed as chaplain to the Huttons, preaching in Poppleton and at York, where he was also licensed in 1672. He died in 1686. The Huttons were moderate Presbyterians, who had given refuge to Anglican ministers during the Interregnum as they now gave refuge to Dissenters. They had three sons, of whom only one, Richard, a merchant of Pudsey, was a Dissenter. Matthew became a Conformist minister, while Thomas, who inherited the estate at Poppleton apparently conformed, and there is no more evidence of Dissent there. (Calamy, II, p.743; Dale, pp.33-4; Matthews, p.57; for the Huttons, see App. II, Part A, Hutton of Poppleton)

### RATHMELL

Rathmell was the home of the famous Dissenters' Academy established by Richard Frankland, who owned property in the area. Frankland had been ejected from Bishop Auckland. A widely respected academic, he was under some pressure to conform, but refused to renounce his Presbyterian views, and retired to his native Rathmell where he lived quietly for a while. In 1669 he began to receive students, the first being George, son of Sir Thomas Liddell, and in a short time had built up an excellent and flourishing Academy. According to Calamy, he also preached to a Congregation in Rathmell, and



was licensed for this purpose in 1672, but there is little doubt that the Academy constituted his main work. He was much concerned to provide a puritan education, and to ensure a new generation of educated ministers for Dissent, and was the moving spirit behind such developments in Yorkshire (see above, Chapter II).

In 1674 he was invited to become pastor to a Congregation at Natland, near Kendal, to which place he removed the Academy. In 1681 the renewal of persecution led to his being presented in the ecclesiastical courts upon a writ of excommunication, but the influence of Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Rokeby prevented his imprisonment. In 1683, however, the Five Mile Act was invoked, and he had to leave Natland. For a while he lived at Carlton Hall in Craven, with the Lambert family, and then stayed in several places in Lancashire and Westmorland before finally moving to Sheffield in 1686. During this period he reduced the numbers of his students, but did not close the Academy completely. In the improved conditions of James' reign he had the Rathmell property repaired, and returned there in 1689, remaining until his death in 1698.

It would appear that Frankland did gather a number of hearers at Rathmell, as well as his students, and also preached in Settle, but his work as a preacher was secondary to that as a teacher. After his death the Academy was moved to Sheffield and continued by Timothy Jolly, while the Congregation at Rathmell was led for a while by an ex-student, John Towers. It did not, however, survive for long, and Frankland's great achievement remains the Rathmell Academy

and the production of new ministers to replace the old.  
(Lyon Turner, I, p.531; Calamy, II, p.284, III, p.452;  
Dale, pp.187-95; Heywood, II, pp.9-16, 21,25,39,71,100-1,184,  
194,195,196,197,199, III, pp.161,165, IV, pp.174,184,222;  
Northowram Register, p.145; Thoresby, III, pp.172-5,176-8.)

#### RIPON AND TANFIELD

For part of the period 1662-89, a congregation of some kind existed in the area of Ripon and Tanfield, although it had apparently died out by 1689. In 1660 the Rev. Edward Richardson was removed from his position as Dean of Ripon. In 1663 he was one of the leaders of the Yorkshire plot, and fled to Holland where he died in 1677. In 1660 John Darnton was ejected from Bedlington, Northumberland, and came to live at Tanfield, where his father was Rector until his death in 1664. Calamy says that John was also ejected from Tanfield, and he may have assisted his father from 1660 to 1662. Thereafter he preached in Tanfield until his death in 1680, and was licensed there as a Presbyterian in 1672. For most of his life he preached unordained, but in 1678 sought to right this at the first Dissenting Ordination held in Yorkshire, at Craven, where a ceremony had been arranged for John Issot (see above, Horbury and below, List III, Craven/Horton and Winterburn). He was rigorously questioned by Oliver Heywood and Richard Frankland because of his past ministry, but finally satisfied them that he had genuinely been unable to obtain ordination until then, and declared that although he had felt justified in preaching, he had always refused to baptise because he lacked this vital qualification.



This was perhaps one reason why the group at Tanfield had never constituted a properly organised Congregation. After Darnton's death in 1680, they apparently dispersed or died out. No meeting-places were registered there, nor at Ripon, in 1689. It is possible that they joined with a group at Pateley Bridge, about 10 miles away (see below, List III, Craven), but that too died out in the early eighteenth century, and both Chapels were refounded in the nineteenth century.

(Calamy, II, p.831; Dale, pp.123-5, 186; Matthews pp.158, 410; Lyon Turner, I, p.568; Heywood, II, pp.25,195,196)

#### RYLSTONE

A group at Rylstone were mentioned in the Common Fund Survey, but not elsewhere. They apparently had no minister, and appear to have died out.

(Freedom after Ejection, p.136)

#### SADDLEWORTH

Saddleworth lay in the far south-western part of Yorkshire, in the Deanery of Manchester, from which it was not far away. In 1662 Mr Ralph Wood was ejected, but after many strong speeches against Conformity, he conformed in 1663 and obtained the Curacy of Ripponden, where, according to Heywood, he became debauched and failed in his duties. In 1669 it was reported that conventicles were being held in Saddleworth, 'one of about nine, another of about seven, both Presbyterian', but no minister nor meeting-place was licensed there in 1672. Nothing more is known of Dissent there until 1695, when two meeting-places were registered

under the Toleration Act, although these may have been additional Quaker meeting-houses. It does not appear that any organised Congregation existed there, and although Heywood often preached at Slaighwaite not far away, he makes no reference to any hearers from Saddleworth. It is possible that Dissenters in Saddleworth were visited by ministers from Lancashire, but Heywood's extensive connections in the area suggest that he would have known about it. No organised Chapel emerged in Saddleworth and it seems likely that Dissent there was weak, and quickly died out.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.171; Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, pp.171-2; Matthews, p.542; Heywood, IV p.323, and numerous references to Slaighwaite. Northowram Register, pp.153,155.)

#### SANDAL MAGNA and FLOCKTON

In 1662 Mr Timothy Wood was ejected from Sandal, near Wakefield, and remained there for a few years. In 1663 he was imprisoned upon a misinformation in connection with the Yorkshire Plot, but was soon released. Later he moved to Leicestershire, where he preached publicly, which suggests that he may well have done in Sandal. In addition, Mr William Scargill was ejected from the Curacy of Chapelthorp in Sandal Parish. He later conformed, was ordained in 1672, and became Curate of Holbeck in 1675. The main upholder of Dissent in Sandal was Mr. Thomas Johnson, ejected from Sherburn in 1662. He had remained in Sherburn until 1665, when he was driven out by the Five Mile Act, and returned to his native Painthorp in Sandal Parish, where he owned a small estate. There he lived until his death, preaching in Sandal and elsewhere. In 1672 he obtained a general licence, and licensed



his own house as a meeting-place, but preached also at Bramhope, Wakefield, Great Houghton, and in the vacant Idle Chapel. He was known to Heywood, and in 1698 received financial aid from Lady Mary Armine's Trust (see App.II Pt.A, Armine) for which Heywood was an agent. In 1689 he registered his house in Painthorp as a meeting-place. From about this time he seems also to have been officiating at nearby Flockton, where according to Miall, a Mr. Cudworth had built a Chapel in which he maintained a preaching minister and which he endowed in 1689 when he died. The minister at Flockton before 1689 is unknown, was not licensed in 1672, and was probably Cudworth's private chaplain. Johnson seems to have officiated from Cudworth's death, and in 1702 received aid from the Presbyterian fund collected by Richard Stretton, as the pastor. In 1691 he had attended the meeting of the United Brethren in Wakefield, but at that time was described as 'living in Painthorp', not as a pastor. In the Common Fund Survey he was described only as 'living on his own estate at Crigglestone, near Wakefield'.

No permanent Chapel emerged either at Sandal or at Flockton. It is doubtful whether Johnson ever had a properly organised Congregation at Sandal, since so much of his preaching was done elsewhere and his licence in 1672 had been one of the comparatively rare general licences. In 1676 some nine Dissenters were reported in Sandal Parish, but this number would include any Quakers in the area. The group at Flockton appears to have been founded by Mr. Cudworth, did not constitute an organised Chapel in 1689-92, and if it became so later, existed as such for a very short time. Johnson probably maintained it after 1689 and may well have expanded

and developed it, but it appears to have died out entirely after his death in 1707.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.563; Calamy, II, pp.792,837; Dale, pp.88-90, 137; Matthews, pp.300,429; Miall, p.261; Heywood, I, pp.225,293,297,343, II, p.62, III, p.275; Tanner MSS. 150, ff. 27-37, Deanery of Pontefract.)

#### SEDBERGH and GARSDALE

There is some evidence of a few Dissenters in this area towards the end of the period. John Heywood preached for a while at John Thornback's house, Middleton Head, near Sedbergh, but found little response and so ceased to preach there. After the Toleration Act, two meeting-places were registered at nearby Garsdale, but by the early eighteenth-century, the movement, such as it was, appears to have died out.

(Miall, pp.344-5; NROS, No. 7, pp.161,164)

#### SHADWELL

The Chapel of Shadwell near Leeds was without an incumbent for some years after 1662, and was used by a Dissenting conventicle led by Mr. Thomas Hardcastle. Hardcastle had been ejected from Bramham, and became chaplain to Lady Barwick of Tolston, but being a bold man, also seized upon the opportunity for public preaching offered at Shadwell. He preached there to a sizeable congregation until 1670, when he left Yorkshire, his ministry only interrupted by periodic imprisonment. His first recorded arrest was in 1665, when preaching at Shadwell to a congregation of some 3-400. In July of that year the J.P. Sir William Lowther wrote to Sir Philip Warwick saying that he had arrested a number of Dissenters and their



minister at a conventicle in Shadwell Chapel. They had refused to agree not to meet again, and had claimed that the Conventicle Act did not cover public Chapels, so he had kept them in prison but was concerned how to proceed, especially as they were encouraged by another West Riding J.P. This was probably Henry, later Lord, Fairfax, the son-in-law of Lady Barwick, to whom Hardcastle expressed much gratitude for his support and encouragement.

While Hardcastle was thus imprisoned his auditors did not lack preaching, for other ministers were eager to seize the opportunity provided by such a public platform. In August 1665 Heywood was asked to supply for Hardcastle, did so willingly, and again in January 1666 was preaching there when the meeting was disturbed by the Bailiff. The following week one Mr Dury was preaching there, and was arrested. Hardcastle was imprisoned at first in York, then in Chester, and was finally released in 1667 upon bail of one thousand pounds, put up by friends in Yorkshire. In January 1668 he was arrested again, and was still in prison at Leeds at the end of May. This term was probably for six months. Nevertheless he was reported again in 1669 as leading a conventicle at Shadwell, along with Christopher Nesse of Leeds, and for conventicles at his brother's house in Barwick. Finally in 1669-70 the harassment became too great, and he left Yorkshire with John Ryther to move to London. There he married the daughter of Lt. Gen. Gerard, a Baptist, and moved into the Baptist groups, joining Henry Jessey's Congregation in London. A year later he became pastor of Broadmead Baptist Church in Bristol, where he remained until his death in 1678. He never

lost his Independent connections, and when visiting his family in Yorkshire, always joined them in worshipping at an Independent Chapel.

After his departure the Dissenters apparently ceased to use Shadwell Chapel. No licences were sought for it in 1672 nor meeting-places registered in Shadwell in 1689. It is unlikely that there was ever an organised Congregation there. Shadwell was important in the 1660s when Puritan Dissent was largely disorganised, because the empty Chapel provided an opportunity for a minister, bold enough to use it, to preach publicly to large numbers. Probably many of Hardcastle's auditors travelled out from Leeds and other places to hear him. As Dissent became more organised, however, the importance of such large, general meetings declined, and they were replaced by smaller, more localised groups, organised into separate, more cohesive Congregations.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.162; Calamy, II, p.810, IV, p.947; Dale, pp.66-9; Matthews, p.247; CSPD, 1664-5, p.458; Heywood, I, pp.198, 200,249,255, II, p.233, III, p.18; for Hardcastle, see also above, Barwick; for Nesse and Ryther see also below, List. III, Leeds, and Ferriby.)

#### SHERBURN IN ELMET

In 1662 the Rev. Thomas Johnson was ejected from Sherburn, and remained in the area until forced to leave by the Five Mile Act. He was replaced by Mr William Hawden, ejected from Brodsworth, who remained in Sherburn until the final withdrawal of the Indulgence licences in 1675. In the 1660s he preached at Sherburn and elsewhere, being reported in 1669 as one of several ministers who preached to conventicles at



Swathe Hall, the home of John Wordsworth. In 1672 Hawden was licensed to preach at Sherburn, in the White House and in his own house, but in 1675 he removed to Wakefield, where he lived and preached in a veritable colony of ministers supported at Flanshaw by Mr. Dinely. In 1685 he was imprisoned as a result of the Monmouth Rebellion, refusing to be bound over as he claimed that he had given no cause. By 1690 he was in some straits, unable to preach regularly because of failing sight, and received aid from the Common Fund (later the Presbyterian Fund) until his death in 1699.

After Hawden's departure Dissent in Sherburn seems to have died out. He was not the only preacher there in 1672, for one John Shooden was also licensed to preach in his own house and in that of Humphrey Duffield. Although he was licensed as a Presbyterian there is no record of Shooden having been ordained or ejected, and no mention of him thereafter. No meeting-places were registered in Sherburn in 1689, and it appears that, whatever Shooden's role, Dissent in Sherburn had relied upon Hawden, and did not long survive his removal.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.221,227,294,296,322,388,459,472,516,518, 536; Calamy, II, p.790, IV, p.940; Dale, pp.69-70; Matthews, p.253; for Swathe and Wakefield, see below, List III; for Wordsworth and Dinely see App.II, Pt.A.)

#### SKELLOW

Skellow was one of the homes of Sir William Rokeby, brother of the Judge, Sir Thomas Rokeby. In 1672 Rokeby's house was licensed as a meeting-place for Joseph Shaw, ejected from Worsborough near Barnsley. Shaw may have been preaching

there for some years, but shortly after 1672 he moved to Swanland, near Hull, where he preached until 1691, returning to Worsborough a few months before his death. There is no other record of Dissent in Skellow, and by 1689 the Rokeby family were living mainly at Kirk Sandal, where they upheld a Congregation from which eventually emerged a Chapel at Doncaster. Probably Dissent in Skellow centred around them, and was unable to survive without them. Certainly no permanent, organised Congregation existed there.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.578; Calamy, II, p.812; Dale, pp.143-4; Matthews, p.435; for Rokeby see App. II, Pt. A; for Kirk Sandal and Doncaster, see below, List III)

#### SKIPTON

According to Miall there was some preaching by Dissenting ministers at Skipton during this period, the visitors including Oliver Heywood. In 1693 two meeting-places were registered there under the Toleration Act, but these may have been late additions to the Quaker list. Certainly there was no organised Congregation of Puritan Dissenters in Skipton until the mid-eighteenth century, but there may have been a few isolated adherents to the movement in the parish from 1662 to 1689.

(Miall, p.357; Northowram Register, p.151.)

#### SLAIGHWAITE

According to Calamy, Mr John Hyde was ejected from Slaighwaite in 1662, though Matthews finds no evidence to support this. If indeed he was ejected, he later conformed, and in 1667 was Curate of Salford. There were certainly some Puritan Dissenters in Slaighwaite, for they are frequently mentioned



by Oliver Heywood, who regularly preached there in the house of Robert Birns. In 1667 Timothy Root of Sowerby was living and preaching in Slaighwaite but in 1670-1 he left and moved to Wakefield. No licences were issued for the place in 1672, and no meeting-places registered under the Toleration Act. It seems therefore that the group either died out, or attended meetings elsewhere, never having been strong or numerous.

(Calamy, II, p.837; Dale, p.76; Matthews, p.261; Heywood, numerous references, e.g. Vol. I pp.226,237,249,273,275; for Timothy Root see below, List III, Halifax/Sowerby.)

#### STARBOTTOM

The Common Fund Survey of 1690-2 mentions a group at Starbottom, in the north West Riding, who are described as enthusiastic, but isolated and apparently lacking a minister. No further evidence can be found however, and it appears that, probably because of its isolation, the group did not survive.

(Freedom after Ejection, p.135.)

#### SWATHE

Throughout this period, regular conventicles were held in Swathe Hall, the home of one of the many branches of the Wordsworth family in South Yorkshire. In 1666 Richard Taylor was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave Great Houghton, and became chaplain to John Wordsworth of Swathe, remaining there until 1674 when he moved to Sheffield. Numerous ministers visited Swathe, lodged with Wordsworth and preached in his house, which was secluded and relatively safe. Heywood went there regularly, and Thomas Jolly upon at least one occasion. In 1669 it was reported that some sixty Presbyterians and

Independents met at Swathe Hall to hear preaching by Luke Clayton of Rotherham, Mr Milner of Colehindry, Christopher Marshall of Topcliffe, Joshua Kirby of Wakefield and William Hawden of Sherburn and Wakefield. In 1672 application was made to license Swathe Hall as a meeting-place, but this was refused. A further application for 'John Wordsworth's house' was granted, which suggests that the first rejection was made upon a misunderstanding, 'Swathe Hall' being assumed to be a public Hall. The licensed minister was Richard Taylor. There is no evidence of any fixed minister after Taylor's departure, but there was probably no shortage of preachers. In 1682 Wordsworth was presented for recusancy, but 'came off well'. In 1689 Swathe Hall was registered as a meeting-place under the Toleration Act, but in 1690 Wordsworth died, leaving only one daughter despite four marriages, and the property leaving the family, Dissent at Swathe seems to have died out. This provides a further example of the insecurity of a movement relying upon wealthy individuals to uphold it.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.161,261,268,306,361,362,368,490; Calamy II, p.793, IV, p.941; Heywood, I, pp.231,232,233,256, II, pp.61,91,98,262,293, IV p.85; Northowram Register p.143; for Wordsworth, see App.II,Pt.A; for Clayton, Marshall and Kirby see below, List III, Rotherham, Topcliffe and Wakefield; for Hawden, see above, Sherburn.)

#### WATH-UPON-DEARNE

In 1672 a licence was issued for Mr. Samuel Coates to preach in his own house, Wath Hall. The licence was issued as 'Presbyterian' although in his later years at Rawdon, Coates was described variously as Presbyterian, Independent and even



Baptist (see below, List III, Rawdon). Coates had been ejected from Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, and continued to preach in that area when he could. He was preaching in Bridgford in 1669, and applied for a licence for the Free School, Nottingham in 1672, but the application was denied because it was a public building. During this period he apparently lived upon his own estate at Wath, and preached there also. In 1678 he moved to Rawdon, north of Leeds, but Calamy says he still preached occasionally in South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, being a wealthy man and well able to bear the cost of travelling. After this time, however, there is no evidence of Dissent in Wath, and if he visited there, his visits must have been fairly rare. His son, also Samuel, was educated at Katherine Hall, Cambridge, and complained of the impiety he found there. Although he must have conformed to a certain extent in order to remain there, he later took Dissenting orders, being ordained at Mansfield in 1681, and was pastor there from 1690 to 1704. The elder Samuel Coates died while visiting him in Derbyshire in 1684. It is doubtful whether Dissent ever amounted to much in Wath, and such as it was, it appears to have depended entirely upon Coates' activities.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.304,522,548; Calamy, II, p.530; Dale, pp.182-3; Matthews, pp.123-4; Heywood, I pp.230,233,270,343, II, pp.61,85,86,97,98,148,258.)

WISTOW

In 1660 the Rev. John Thelwall was ejected from Wistow, near Selby, and remained there, preaching in his own house, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian in 1672. He died there in 1684, and there is no record of Dissent in the village thereafter.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.582; Calamy, II, p.817; Dale, p.152; Matthews, p.480-1.)



LIST III : The Permanent Chapels

YORK CITY

Despite the large number of ministers and wealthy lay supporters living in York during this period, by 1689 only one properly organised Chapel was in existence. In 1660 there were four Presbyterian ministers employed to preach at the Minster, and at All Hallows in the Pavement, all of whom were ejected. The most eminent of these, Edward Bowles, had been chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, and maintained some political influence after coming to York in 1644. Quickly acknowledged as the leading Presbyterian minister in the county, he was a close friend of Lord Fairfax, and in 1659-60 played a significant part in the Restoration. He was deeply involved in the important negotiations between Fairfax and Monk, and in January 1660 apparently persuaded Fairfax to declare openly for the King's return. After the Restoration he was offered the Deanery of York, but refused to conform, and he and his fellows were immediately forbidden to preach at the Minster, although they continued at All Hallows, and later at St. Martin's- and- St. Peter's, until 1662. In 1661 an attempt was made to appoint Bowles as Vicar of Leeds, upon the death of William Styles, but his refusal to retract his Presbyterian principles again denied him the place. He died in the Autumn of 1662, a significant loss to Yorkshire Dissenters at a critical moment in their history.

Of Bowles' three companions, only Peter Williams was still active in the city in 1672. Thomas Calvert, a native of York, lived there privately until 1665, when the Five Mile Act forced him

to leave and he became chaplain to Lady Barwick of Tolston. He was apparently an eminent scholar, and passed his time in study rather than in preaching. He was not licensed in 1672. He died in 1679, on a visit to his patroness, being then retired and living in his own house. Richard Perrot was a native of Hessle, near Hull, and after ejection moved to Barmston, near Bridlington, where he studied and practised as a physician. By 1671 he had returned to York, where he died in that year.

In 1672 several ministers were licensed in York, of whom the most important were Peter Williams and Ralph Ward. Williams had remained in York after his ejection, and preached weekly at the house of Lady Lister, widow of Sir William Lister of Thornton in Craven (see App.II,Pt.A). Under her protection he remained at liberty, despite the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, and after her death he preached in the house of Lady Watson, widow of Alderman Stephen Watson (see App.II,Pt.A). In 1672 he was licensed to preach in any other licensed meeting-place. In 1679 when Lady Watson died, she left her house to Williams for both a home and a meeting-place, and he died there in the following year. Of the other licensed ministers, Thomas Birdsall lived at Poppleton as chaplain to the Hutton family (see App.II, Pt.A, and above, List II) and Nathaniel Lamb, who had been ejected from Alne, later conformed. Also licensed was one John Donkinson, probably ejected from Sandhutton in the East Riding, as well as James Calvert, ejected from Topcliffe near Thirsk. Calvert was the nephew of Thomas Calvert and son of Robert Calvert, a wealthy grocer of York, and after ejection he returned to his native city, where he lived privately until 1672. In 1675, when the Indulgence



licences were formally withdrawn, he became chaplain to Sir William Strickland of Boynton near Bridlington. In 1683 he was arrested for aiding the escape to Holland of two Scottish plotters, of whom Sir John Cochrane was his patron's brother-in-law. (See App.II, Pt.A, Strickland). He was, however, acquitted, as he was able to plead that he had no knowledge of Cochrane's activities and knew him only as a member of the family. He later moved to Northumberland, where he was chaplain to Sir Willian Middleton, until his death in 1698. One other licence was issued in 1672 for York, to one Theophilus Browning, Baptist, at the house of William Wombwell, but nothing more is known of any Baptist meeting, and it seems to have quickly died out. There was also one other Dissenting minister living in York during this period. Joshua Witton had been chaplain to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, and god-father to John Tillotson, later Archbishop of Canterbury. He was ejected from the rich living of Thornhill, and was a wealthy man in his own right. After ejection he moved to York, where he did not preach, but organised funds from his own pocket and from private collections, to aid poor ministers, until his death in 1674. His son Richard, a lawyer, conformed personally, but was known in Yorkshire for his sympathy with Dissent, and often defended Dissenters in court. In 1682 Heywood recorded how he had attended Leeds Sessions and put a stop to some vindictive indictments of dubious legality directed at Dissenters by Sir Jonathan Jennings. In 1684 he defended Ralph Thoresby against a riot charge for housing a conventicle and secured his acquittal.

In terms of the survival of Dissent in York these figures

were, with the exception of Williams, peripheral, and the emergence of an organised Chapel there was the work of another minister, Ralph Ward, aided by Williams until his death. Ward was a native of Penistone, Yorkshire, who had been ejected from Harthorn, Northumberland, in 1660. He removed to Newcastle and kept a school, also preaching occasionally for Mr. Hammond and Mr. Durant the Dissenting ministers there, until 1662. Thereafter he lived privately until invited to become chaplain to Sir John Hewley, a wealthy Dissenting lawyer of York (see App.II,Pt.A). In 1665-6 he was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave the city, but soon returned and lived in his own house, preaching privately to friends until 1672. With the coming of the Indulgence he began a public ministry which was to last until his death in 1691. He was licensed to preach at the houses of Brian Dawson, Andrew Taylor and Lady Watson, and with the support of Lady Watson and the Hewleys, he and Peter Williams gathered a flourishing Congregation, to whom Ward preached twice each Sunday and lectured fortnightly at Lady Watson's house. The Congregation was clearly well-organised, and in addition to the sermons, held regular prayer-meetings, conferences and a six-weekly Communion. Its members included several eminent persons, such as Mrs. Rokeby, mother of Sir Thomas Rokeby (see App.II, Pt.A) and Andrew Taylor, a wealthy merchant whose house was also used for meetings (see App.II, Pt.B) as well as the Hewleys and Lady Watson. Ward, Williams and their leading members were all known to Heywood, who attended their meetings and occasionally preached when visiting the City. In 1676 there were reported to be 161 Dissenters in York, although these included the Quakers.



As the leading Dissenting minister in York, Ward was subject to considerable persecution. In 1672 he was licensed as a Congregationalist, although his members were generally 'Presbyterians', and he did not occasionally conform as some did. In 1674 he was presented at the ecclesiastical Court for absence from Church, and excommunicated. This was renewed annually, and eventually a writ was issued for his seizure, which he managed with care and circumspection to evade for some years. In 1682 he was fined twenty pounds for holding conventicles. In 1684 he was taken while holding a conventicle at Mrs. Rokeby's house, and brought before Judge Jeffries, who fined him a hundred pounds for failing to surrender himself to the writ ('*de excommunicato capiendo*'), fined him fifty pounds for holding a conventicle, and imprisoned him for inciting riot. The larger fine was patently illegal, but Ward was kept prisoner in the Ousebridge, with Taylor, until 1685, when, various appeals to the assizes having been ignored, his friends appealed to the King and he was released upon payment of a forty pound fine.

Ward thereupon resumed his work, but having been weakened in health by the conditions of his imprisonment, called upon Mr Noah Ward to assist him. Noah Ward had been living at Askham and preaching at several places in the area (see above, List II, Askham) but from 1687 he settled mainly at York. In 1689 he registered the houses of Ralph Ward and Andrew Taylor as meeting-places. In 1691 Ward died, and was replaced in 1693, after some debate, by Thomas Coulton, previously chaplain to Sir William Ayscough of Osgodby (see App. II, Pt. A, and above, List II) with Noah Ward continuing

as his assistant, and occasional preaching by Timothy Hodgson, chaplain to Sir John Hewley since 1670. In 1691 the first Chapel was built at St. Saviourgate.

Despite the prosperity and size of Dissent in York, the group was apparently in some difficulties by this time. In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey recorded in tones of surprise that York city had 'only one meeting, encouragers very barren'. Many of those great upholders of the meeting described by Heywood were now dead - Lady Lister, Lady Watson, Mrs Rokeby, Lady Hewet - while Sir Thomas Rokeby was only occasionally resident in the city. There may even have been some quarrel over Coulton's appointment, as Lady Hewley seems to have sought the advice of Sir Thomas, and of Heywood, in the matter. The Hewleys remained, however, Lady Hewley living on until 1710 although Sir John died in 1697, and whatever the difficulties experienced, the Congregation survived and continues to the present day.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.220,221,235,295,329,337,373,382,395,430, 500,538,539,540,575,621; Calamy, II, pp.505-10,659,778-82, 783-4,784-5,793,795,830,834,837, IV,pp.933,939; Dale, pp.23-33, 33-4, 34-6,36-9,52,95-6,116-17,166-7,169-71,208-13; Matthews, pp.57,99-100,172,312,387,509,532,540; Miall, pp.384-7; Freedom after Ejection, p.136; CSPD, 1686-7, pp.97,116-17; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, City of York; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed.J.H.Turner, No.III (1893) pp.126-9; York Quarter Sessions Records, Vol.F.10,p.2; Heywood, I,p.298, II,pp.44,104, 162,198,291,293, III,pp.130,137,158,214, IV, p.144.)



NORTH RIDING

SWALEDALE

The wild, wide district of Swaledale, stretching from Richmond westward into Westmorland, lay under the influence of its great landlord, Lord Wharton, and the rise of Dissent in the area is largely attributable to him. Until 1689 there is little evidence of Puritan Dissenters, although John Rogers of Lartington (see above, List II) sometimes travelled into the country districts to preach to the miners there. With the coming of Toleration, however, Chapels began to emerge, and became more organised, although the nature of the countryside and its scattered populace made large gatherings difficult, and the Quakers remained by far the strongest denomination. In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey mentioned two groups of Puritan Dissenters in the area. In Swaledale itself 'a worthy person (Lord Wharton) this last summer at his own charge has built a meeting-place. He has given ten pounds, but the Congregation are poor miners, can give nothing. A young minister, Mr Holland, settled there, one of Mr Frankland's scholars to whom he gave good character'. At Hartford near Richmond 'they desire assistance, even if only five or six pounds a year'. In the decade after the Toleration Act, several meeting-places were registered in the area, at Grinton, Gilmanby, Hartford, Moulton and Kell, and in 1693, when Joseph Dawson was ordained at Rathmell, he was probably already preaching at Hartford. In that year he took the Oaths as the Hartford pastor, but also preached as Frankland's assistant, probably for financial reasons. In 1696 Lord Wharton endowed a number of annual sermons in the area, one in Swaledale, one at Richmond, and

one rotating between Rossendale, Kirby Stephen and Shep Fell in Westmorland. In general the Swaledale Dissenters were poor, and the Chapels would have been unable to survive without his aid. After his death, his son Thomas did not provide the same support, and most of the groups died out. A Chapel did, and does, survive however, at Low Row, probably the site of Wharton's first purpose-built Chapel.

(Freedom after Ejection, p.139; Miall, pp.107,110-16;  
NRQS, No.7, pp.109,116,120,123,136,148; for Lord Wharton,  
and his work, see below, App.II, Pt.A)

AYTON, THIRSK, MALTON, WHITBY, SCARBOROUGH

Chapels are described by Miall as having existed in these places from before 1689, but I can find no evidence that they pre-dated Toleration.

(Miall, pp.225-6, 312,365,370,380.)

EAST RIDING

BEVERLEY

Relatively little is known of Dissent in Beverley at this time, as the East Riding Quarter Sessions Records for the period have been lost, but there does appear to have been a Congregation of Puritan Dissenters in the town throughout the period.

A definite Puritan influence existed before 1660, a Mr John Pomeroy being schoolmaster and Lecturer at Beverley Minster from 1626 to 1660. Dale confuses him with William Pomeroy of Barmby on the Marsh, but he was clearly ejected from Beverley in 1660, and died soon after. According to Miall, Christopher Nesse also preached there occasionally, and this seems likely as he was pastor to an Independent Chapel at



Cottingham from 1651 to 1659. From 1660 to 1662 the situation is unclear. Calamy says that Joseph Wilson of Hull was ejected from Beverley in 1662, but this is incorrect. Wilson had been minister at Beverley St. Mary's from 1644 to 1653, but had moved to Hessle thereafter, and was ejected upon the application of the sequestered Vicar, William Styles, in 1660. (see below, Hull). In 1661 he was preaching at Anlaby, but in May 1662 an attempt was made to install him at St. Mary's, Beverley, which resulted in a riot, when the Church doors were locked to keep him out, and Calamy is probably confused by this. A minister had been appointed by the Prebendary of York, but the parishioners elected Wilson, and tried to install him by force. The incident does show that a good deal of support existed in the town for Wilson, personally, and for Dissent generally.

After 1662 there is little evidence of Dissent in the town. A few isolated references to meetings may refer to either Puritan Dissenters or Quakers, and no report was made of any conventicles in 1669. In 1672 however, the house of Sir Henry St. Quintin (see App.II, Pt.A) was licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place, for preaching by one Richard Moulton (not listed by Calamy). From 1672 to 1689 evidence is again scarce, although some 122 Dissenters were reported in the three parishes of Beverley in 1676, and it is unlikely that all were Quakers. In 1689, however, a Presbyterian meeting-place was registered under the Toleration Act, with one Mr Foster as minister. He was listed by the Common Fund Survey in 1690-2, but in 1697 a new minister, Mr Thomas Bradbury, arrived. In 1701 the Rev. John Steere came to Beverley and a Chapel was built in 1704. Miall says the

Congregation was small at that time but in 1715 there were apparently 450 hearers, possibly a result of a merger between Presbyterian and Independent groups. In view of the activity of the Independent Nesse and the Presbyterian Wilson, the quick 'succession' of ministers after 1689 and the sudden increase of members between 1704 and 1715, it is possible that there had in fact always been two separate meetings which had merged to form one substantial Congregation by 1715, but the lack of evidence makes it impossible to be certain.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.583; Calamy, II, p.822, IV, p.952; CSPD, 1661-2, p.379; Dale, pp.118-49, 168-9; Matthews, pp.394, 537; Miall, pp.229-30; Freedom after Ejection p.138; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Hartshill; J.R.Witty, 'Early Dissenters in Beverley', Yorks.Arch.Soc.Journal, No.36 (1939) pp.338-45, especially pp.344-5.)

#### BRIDLINGTON

The history of the Bridlington Congregation is fairly straightforward, probably because of its relative isolation. According to Calamy the Rev. William Luke was ejected from Bridlington, but Matthews found that he was, in fact, Vicar of Kirby Moorside from 1647 to 1660, when he moved to Bridlington but was not beneficed there. After 1662 he remained in the town, preaching in a private house, and seems to have organised some kind of separate Congregation from the beginning. In 1663 he was presented for absence from Church, and for baptising a child, usually a sign of Separation, and Independency. In 1669 a conventicle was reported as being held in Luke's house, described as 'Presbyterians' and in 1672 licences were taken



out for Luke as a 'Presbyterian', and for a meeting-place for 'Presbyterians and Independents'. It is clear therefore that the group was always of mixed denomination, and in 1676 even included a Mrs Prudhon and her son Robert, later to be the first Baptists in Bridlington. Lines of division between the denominations were often fluid at this time, and it is likely that the total numbers of Puritan Dissenters in Bridlington were too small to uphold more than one Congregation. In 1676 some thirty Dissenters were reported in Bridlington, but these included Quakers, and even allowing for the minimisation of numbers in the Ecclesiastical Census, this suggests a very small Congregation.

In 1672 Luke applied for a licence to preach in the town Court House, but when this was granted, a petition against it was raised by Thomas Aislaby, a minor customs official and correspondent for Secretary Williamson, supported by the local Vicar and schoolmaster, on the grounds that it was a public building. The licence was immediately revoked, despite protests from the Dissenters, and Luke was licensed to preach only in his own house. Aislaby was a particularly strong opponent of Dissent, who not only regularly reported their conventicles in his letters to Williamson, but also attempted to seize the Quaker meeting-house for his own possession.

After the withdrawal of the Indulgence Luke continued his ministry undeterred and in 1676 was again presented for absence from Church and for holding conventicles. He died in 1690, and was succeeded by Mr John Humphreys of Oxfordshire, and then in 1693 by Richard Whitehurst of Bradford (see above, List II, Lidget Green, and below, Bradford/Kipping).

Thus it is clear that a distinct and well-organised Congregation existed in Bridlington from 1662 onwards. After Whitehurst's death in 1697 the Rev. John Benson became pastor, and the first Chapel was built in 1706.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, pp.97-8; Matthews, p.330; Lyon Turner, I, pp.153,321,354,366,483,520; CSPD, 1672, p.143, 1675-6, pp.54,73,163,234,427, 1676-7, pp.2,216, 1677-8, p.74; Freedom after Ejection, p.138; Miall, pp.244-5 (Miall says that Whitehurst was in Bridlington from 1672 and dates Luke's death much earlier than 1690, but this is incorrect. In 1672 Whitehurst had moved from Laughton to Bradford, and did not leave there before 1693); Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pickering.)

#### SOUTH CAVE

The history of South Cave Congregational Chapel is rather obscure, few records being available. The minister at South Cave from 1638 to 1662 was John Seaman, who had been tutor to Christopher Nesse (see below, Cottingham and Leeds), and was probably of puritan outlook, but who died before Batholomew Day. There is no record of any Dissenting minister in Cave in the 1660s (although John Ryther was at nearby Ferriby for a while) no licences were issued in 1672, and the twelve Dissenters reported in the parish in 1676 included a number of Quakers. There are of course no records of registrations under the Toleration Act in 1689, as the Quarter Sessions Records have been lost.

Nevertheless it is clear that some kind of Dissenting group, apart from the Quakers, existed in the parish, and at



some unknown date became organised as a Congregational Chapel. The first known minister was James Bayock, about whom some confusion exists. Calamy lists him as a 'silenced' minister in 1662, but this seems to be an error. Bayock was born in either 1645 or 1647, and attended the University of Cambridge after the Restoration, entering in 1667. He was episcopally ordained, as deacon in 1670, and became Vicar of Huntington, near York in 1671. In 1672 he was married in Thorpe Bassett parish Church, as a 'clerk' and was fully ordained in that year. At some time thereafter he was converted to Independency, and kept a school until 1690, and it may have been for this that he had to pay a fine of fifty pounds in 1682. Dale also says that he had a tithe-barn fitted out for meetings in 1690, but there is no record of this, and he probably confused this with a barn registered for that purpose in St. Katharine's Yard, Cave, in 1718.

It is certain that Bayock was in South Cave by 1690, when he was listed in the Common Fund Survey as pastor there, and an ex-conformist. In 1705 he is mentioned as a Trustee in obtaining land for a Chapel, which was not apparently built, probably through lack of money, for in 1710 Bayock registered the houses of John Chappell and Matthew Eppington as meeting-places, and in 1716 the house of Robert Langthorne. The name of Langthorne suggests some continuity, for Anne Langthorne had been the wife of John Seaman, while a John Langthorne had been parish Registrar under the Commonwealth.

Despite the obscurity and confusion it is thus clear that Dissent did exist in South Cave throughout the period and at some time before 1690 had been properly organised by James Bayock, a

recent convert. It is possible that a Congregation existed before his arrival, and actually called him to the place. By the early 1700s a thriving Congregation was in existence, numbering 400 by 1715, with Bayock remaining as pastor until his death at the age of ninety in 1737.

(A.E.Trout, An Old Yorkshire Congregation - South Cave Congregational Church, pp3-4 (reprinted from Transactions of the Congregationalist Historical Society, September 1931); W. Richardson, Notices of early Non-conformity in South Cave and District (Hull, 1910). pp.16-19; Calamy, IV, p.958; Dale, pp.16-17; Matthews, p.40; Miall, p.247; Freedom after Ejection, p.138; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37; Deanery of Hartshill.)

#### COTTINGHAM

The Independent Church at Cottingham was founded in 1643 by the Rev. Samuel Winter, Vicar of St. Mary's. In 1651 he left the parish, and was succeeded as Vicar and pastor by Christopher Nesse (see below, Leeds). The work of these men left an immensely strong gathered Church in the parish, and in 1654 the Vicarage of St. Mary's had come under the control of its members. It was agreed that the Vicar should live in it only if he was of their faith (i.e. was their pastor also) and if he was not, it was to be used as a poor-house. After the Restoration they lost this control, but it does demonstrate the considerable influence of Dissent in the parish. This is reinforced by the Ecclesiastical Census of 1676, when it was reported that, of an adult population of 1000, no less than 700 were Dissenters of some kind.

In 1659 Nesse left Cottingham for Leeds, and was apparently not replaced until 1661, when the Rev. Joseph Robinson became



Vicar. He was ejected in 1662, and apparently left the parish. Calamy believed that he died shortly after ejection, but Matthews discovered that he died at his native Hemmingbrough in 1673. From this time the absence of Quarter Sessions Records means that little can be known of the Congregation. In 1672, however, Thomas Oliver was licensed as an Independent to preach in his own house at Newland, then in the parish of Cottingham. In 1682 at the Archbishop's Visitation some forty-two Dissenters were presented from Cottingham for recusancy, but no denominations are specified and some at least were probably Quakers. It is not known how long Oliver remained at Cottingham, but in 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey names one Mr Mitchell as the minister there. In 1692 a Chapel was built and a register started. In 1696 arrived Abraham Dawson, son of Joseph Dawson, the friend and neighbour of Heywood and pastor at Cleckheaton from 1672 (see below, Birstall). Like his father, Dawson was a Presbyterian, and for a while the Cottingham Chapel seems to have adopted Presbyterian forms. In 1715 it had 350 members. In 1716 a minister's pension was provided by Leonard Chamberlain, a member of Bowl Alley Lane Presbyterian Chapel, Hull (see App.II, Pt.B, and below, Hull). Later, after Dawson's death in 1733 the Chapel apparently reverted to a Congregationalist organisation.

(Calamy, II, p.834; Dale, pp.126,202; Matthews, P.413; Lyon Turner, I, pp.346,519; Miall, p.250; Freedom after Ejection, p.138; Cottingham Congregational Church - pamphlet issued by the Cottingham Historical Society (1970) kept in Beverley Record Office.)

FERRIBY and SWANLAND

According to Dale the Rev. Stephen Hill was ejected from Ferriby in 1662 and thereafter became chaplain to Sir William Strickland of Boynton, but Matthews asserts that he was Lecturer at Boverley, and Dale agrees that he did preach there. It is possible that Hill was also beneficed at Ferriby, but this seems unlikely, since in 1662 John Ryther was living and preaching there and in nearby Swanland. Ryther had been ejected from Bromby and Frodingham, Lincolnshire in 1660 and had moved to Ferriby, where he apparently remained until 1668, when he became pastor at Kipping (see below, Bradford/Kipping) before being driven by persecution to London. In 1672 a licence was issued for one John Packland to preach in nearby Anlaby, at the house of John Newton, but he is not listed by Calamy, nor is there any evidence that he was an ordained minister. He may in fact have been a Church Elder. In the same year the Rev. Thomas Spademan, was licensed to preach in his own house at Ferriby. He had been ejected from the Isle of Axholme and was known as both a Presbyterian and a fervent Royalist. After 1672 he was pastor to a Presbyterian Church at Boston, Lincs. and Matthews believes that his known political loyalty may have enabled him to live in Lincolnshire in safety throughout the period, preaching at Ferriby only for a short time.

At some time in the 1670s the Church at Ferriby found a regular minister in the person of Joseph Shaw, ejected from Worsborough. He had lived for a while in the house of Sir William Rokeby at Skellow, and came to Swanland at some date after the Indulgence, remaining until shortly before his death in 1691. He was mentioned in the Common Fund Survey of that year. In 1693 a Chapel was built in Swanland, used by the



Dissenters of Ferriby, Swanland and Anlaby. Miall states that the first pastor came in 1702, and was apparently unaware of the work of Ryther and Shaw.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.346,383,500,525,578; Calamy, II, pp.446, 448,812,833, IV, pp.595,601,953; Dale, pp.80,134-5,143-4; Matthews, pp.266,421,435,453; Miall,p.367; Freedom after Ejection, p.138; J.G. Patton, A Country Independent Church (1943) pp.9,26-7.)

#### HOWDEN

The situation at Howden appears to have been somewhat unusual, in that Dissent probably managed to exist within the framework of the established Church until after 1689. In 1662 the Rev. Stephen Arlush was ejected from Howden, but remained and preached privately until his death in 1682. A wealthy man, he used his wealth to support a preaching ministry in the parish, both conforming and Dissenting. No licence was issued in 1672, but this was probably unnecessary as Arlush's son, Nicholas, was lecturer in the parish from 1670, and it seems likely that the activities of Arlush and his followers were simply connived at by the Vicar. In 1687 when Timothy Root conformed (see below, Halifax/Sowerby) he became Vicar of Howden, and probably also sympathised enough to connive at Dissenters' meetings. Root however died shortly after coming to Howden, and it was apparently at this stage that a definite Nonconformist Congregation emerged. Little is known of it until 1700, when a Mr Gould was pastor to a sizeable Congregation. In 1715 the Church members numbered one hundred. It would appear that, until 1689, there had been no need for Howden Dissenters to

organise a separate Congregation, but that from that time the connivance of the local establishment ceased, and the advent of Toleration encouraged the emergence of a separate, organised Chapel.

(Calamy,II,p.830; Dale, p.12; Matthews, p.15; Miall,p.282.)

### HULL

The borough of Hull and the surrounding districts constituted the strongest centre of Dissent in the East Riding. Several ministers were ejected in the area, and by 1689, five distinct Chapels had emerged, in Cottingham, Swanland, Cave and two in Hull itself. In 1660 the borough was divided into two parishes, that of St. Mary's and that of Holy Trinity which was linked with the Vicarage of Hessle, and which supported a Vicar at Hessle and a Curate and a Lecturer at Hull. In 1660 the Vicar of Hessle was Joseph Wilson, but he was ejected upon the application of William Styles, a Presbyterian churchman but an open Royalist who was sequestered in 1651. Styles was Vicar of Leeds in 1660, and died before the Act of Uniformity. There is no suggestion that he wished to leave Leeds, and he seems to have applied for Wilson's removal as some kind of personal attack. Wilson fought the application, and the Hull Corporation were reluctant to press him, but there was no doubt of the legality of Styles' claim, and by January 1661 Wilson was forced to leave. The Corporation were unable to help him, partly because they were engaged in introducing an Act in Parliament to separate Holy Trinity from Hessle, for which they needed royal consent. Wilson remained in the area, preaching at Anlaby Chapel in 1661, and in May 1662 an attempt to install



him in St. Mary's, Beverley, failed (see above, Beverley). The Curate at Holy Trinity was Henry Hibbert, who left the office when the separation was completed in 1662, but conformed and found a living elsewhere. The Lecturer, and Master of the Charterhouse Almshouses, was John Shaw, an active Presbyterian who had been appointed King's Chaplain in 1660. His fierce puritanism had, however, earned him the enmity of the Garrison in Hull, and its officers complaining through Sheldon that he was disloyal, the King ordered in June 1661 that he be removed, along with three Cromwellian Aldermen. Shaw travelled to London to appeal to the King, who agreed that he might remain at the Charterhouse, but the implacable enmity of Sheldon ensured that he was dismissed from his Lectureship. Thereafter Shaw preached at the Charterhouse, attracting considerable numbers, to the fury of the Garrison, who persecuted him and his hearers, without, at this time, any legal basis. On one occasion they ordered the town gates to be locked so that his hearers could not return to their homes, and on another they kept three hundred people imprisoned in the Charterhouse all night. By the summer of 1662 the imminence of the Act of Uniformity had rendered Shaw's struggle hopeless, and in June of that year he finally left Hull and moved to Rotherham, where he assisted his great friend Luke Clayton, Vicar of Rotherham, until August, and thereafter joined him in leading conventicles in the area until his death in 1670. (see below, Rotherham).

Several other ministers were also ejected from the parishes around Hull. At Sculcoates the Vicar, Robert Luddington, had gathered an Independent Church which was formally instituted in the presence of Philip Nye in 1643. Ejected in 1662 he

remained to act as pastor until his death in 1663. At Cherry Burton, near Beverley, Mr Thomas Micklethwaite, was ejected, and apparently did not preach thereafter. Nor did Mr John Blunt, ejected from Hollym, nor Mr Hill, ejected from Burstwick. In addition Mr John Ryther was silenced at Ferriby, and Mr Joseph Robinson ejected from Cottingham. (see above, Cottingham, Ferriby).

From 1662 there were two distinct groups of Dissenters in Hull itself, from which emerged two Chapels, the Presbyterians of Bowl Alley Lane, and the Independents of Dagger Lane. (Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol.VI ff.312,317,319,320, 321,324,326,329,330,337,367,388,390,394,416,444; Letters, L 642-5, L 654, Miscellaneous Documents, M 287; CSPD, 1661-2, pp.19,379; Miall, p.37; Calamy II, pp.821,822,823-9,834, IV, pp.951,952,955; Dale, pp.21-2, 40-1, 108-9, 141-3, 168-9; Matthews, pp.62,349, 434-5, 537; Memoirs of John Shaw, ed.C.Jackson)

#### HULL - BOWL ALLEY LANE CHAPEL

The Chapel which eventually met at Bowl Alley Lane grew from the group of Presbyterians who had followed Wilson and Shaw. From 1662 Wilson was living at Newland, in the parish of Cottingham, and preaching in Hull and Beverley. Because of persecution he frequently wrote out his sermons, and sent them into Hull to be read out to the group, but despite these difficulties he was able to support and maintain their distinctive religious life. No conventicles were reported in the town in Sheldon's survey of 1669, but conventicles there certainly were. A correspondent of Secretary Williamson reported conventicles in August 1663, and again in October, when John Ryther preached at the house of



Mr Lockwood. In 1669 'multitudes of disaffected persons' were reported to be meeting, and in June 1670 an attempt was made with the connivance of the Mayor to place a visiting Dissenting Minister, John Billingsley, in the pulpit of Holy Trinity to preach after service. In July 1670 it was estimated that two-thirds of the inhabitants of Hull were 'Presbyterians'. (In fact in 1676 the ecclesiastical Census listed 500 Dissenters among the 6,000 inhabitants of Trinity Parish) In 1669-70 there were several complaints that the Bench connived at conventicles, and in 1670 a letter was sent by the Archbishop of York, enquiring why there was such a marked failure to suppress the meetings.

The Presbyterian Chapel did not, however, become organised until 1672, with the Declaration of Indulgence, and even then many Presbyterians continued to attend Church and have doubts about Separation. Hull was strongly Presbyterian, but the feeling was often of a moderate kind. In 1671 a petition sent to the Corporation for the replacement of William Ainsworth (lecturer at Holy Trinity) by a better, more active preacher was signed by many leading Presbyterians including Richard Barnes, whose house was to be licensed in 1672. In that year, however, the houses of Barnes and Joseph Wilson were licensed as meeting-places for a congregation of Presbyterians, and in 1673 a 'new-built' meeting-house was licensed in Blackfriargate, for preaching by Wilson. Thereafter meetings continued on a regular basis, virtually undisturbed by the withdrawal of the Indulgence, and the recall of the licences. In 1678 Wilson died, and was replaced a year later by Samuel Charles, who had been ejected from Mickleton, Derbyshire. Gradually the

Chapel became more definitely Separatist, but in the sympathetic atmosphere of Hull moderation and contacts with the establishment lingered for some time. Not until 1683 did Charles begin to speak of 'my own Congregation' as a distinct entity.

In 1682 the relative immunity from persecution so long enjoyed by the Hull Dissenters came to an end, with the replacement of the Duke of Monmouth as Governor by Lord Plymouth. Overriding the objections of some Aldermen he insisted upon enforcement of the law, and both Charles and Richard Astley, the Independent pastor, were summoned before the Bench for holding conventicles. Astley was warned and hence able to escape, but Charles was taken before the Bench, where he conducted a spirited defence of his activities, recorded by Calamy, but was nevertheless fined and imprisoned under the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts. He was released after six months, but had to remove to Welton, five miles away, and interruptions and danger continued until 1687. In 1685 several Dissenters were imprisoned after the Monmouth Rebellion, including the leading Presbyterians, Leonard Chamberlain and Anthony Iveson.

The Presbyterian Chapel in Hull was undoubtedly strong and prosperous, its members including wealthy men like Chamberlain, who left sizeable legacies to the Chapels of Cottingham and Selby as well as to his own meeting. There were also several active Presbyterians among the Aldermen, notably John Acklam, Mayor in 1670-1, who obtained licences in 1672 for several Yorkshire ministers, and George Empringham and John Tripp, Mayor in 1669-70, who were responsible for Billingsley's attempt to preach at Holy Trinity in that year. If these men were not



regular members of the Chapel, they were certainly strong sympathisers, and attended at least the occasional meeting.

In 1687 the situation changed with James' Declaration of Indulgence, and Charles was able to return to Hull. Bowl Alley Lane Chapel now emerged as a truly Separate Church, having its own Communion plate cast in 1687-8. Charles remained until his death in 1693, assisted in his last years by John Billingsley, who was himself appointed pastor in 1696. When he died in 1706 the new minister was John Whittier, who remained until 1755, when his death was the signal for the Chapel to turn Unitarian.

(Calamy, II, pp. 182, 822, IV, p. 952; Dale, pp. 168-9, 180-2; Matthews, pp. 110-11, 537; Lyon Turner, I, pp. 321, 354, 366, 395, 507, 534; CSPD, 1663-4, pp. 256, 300, 1668-9, pp. 179, 396, 623, 655, 1670, pp. 233, 240, 249, 267, 289, 309, 366, 388, 454, 477; Hull Corporation Records, Letters, L801, L807; Miall, pp. 290-2; Tanner MSS 150, ff. 27-37, Deanery of Hartshill; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, especially pp. 28-67.)

#### HULL - DAGGER LANE CHAPEL

The Independent Chapel at Dagger Lane was founded in 1643 by Mr Robert Luddington, Vicar of Sculcoates, in the presence of Philip Nye, then passing through Hull. There were seven founder members, and by 1660, 131 more had joined. In that year the Chapel records ceased to be kept, until 1669, when Richard Astley, ejected from Blackrode, Lancashire, was called to be pastor. In 1662 Luddington was ejected from Sculcoates, and died in February, 1663, leaving the Church without a pastor for six years. According to Calamy, and Matthews, he was succeeded

by John Canne in 1663, but this seems unlikely. Canne had been chaplain to the Garrison in Hull from 1654 to 1657, but his radical politics made him unpopular in the town and he was forced to leave Hull. There is no record of his having any connection with the Dagger Lane Chapel, and his unpopularity with many Hull Dissenters makes it unlikely that he would be invited to return. He may have done so for a while, for Calamy says he caused quarrels in the Chapel, so that it is possible that he was present for a short time and was then forced to leave again, but there is no supporting evidence and in his later additions (Vol.IV) Calamy himself describes Astley as Luddington's successor. It is clear that the Chapel went through a difficult period from 1663 to 1669, for in 1669 when Astley re-started the Chapel records, the membership was reduced to fifty five, of whom forty-one had joined before 1660. Among those who had joined later was Lady Dorothy Norcliffe of Langton (see App.II, Pt.A) who in 1671 donated forty pounds with a further twenty pounds from her daughter Lady Catherine Wentworth, to serve as Church stock. With the arrival of Astley the Chapel entered a more prosperous phase, with several new members joining in the next five years, encouraged by the presence of a pastor and by the Declaration of Indulgence. In 1672 Astley was licensed to preach in the house of John Robinson, who had been elected Elder in 1669.

From that year until 1682 the Chapel had regular meetings, without interruption. Astley was widely respected, and in 1679 was called to a meeting at Bradford to arbitrate in the quarrels of Kipping Chapel (see below, Bradford/Kipping). From 1682, however, with the onset of persecution, both minister



and members were to suffer considerably. In 1682 Astley escaped arrest, unlike Samuel Charles (see above), but John Robinson, the Elder, and Michael Bielby, one of the Chapel Deacons and Chamberlain of Hull in 1681, were called before the Bench and were fortunate to escape with a warning. In 1684 Bielby, John Yates, and John Robinson were all fined twenty pounds for housing a conventicle. These, and other fines, suggest that the group continued to meet in these difficult years, unlike the Presbyterians, but Astley had several times to go into hiding in order to avoid arrest. In 1685, after the Monmouth Rebellion, Michael Bielby, his son Jonathan, John Baker and Richard Cook were imprisoned for some weeks, but no charge was ever brought. In 1687, with James' Declaration of Indulgence, the Chapel was again able to meet freely, and a year later some members, notably Robinson and Bielby were to show their gratitude by accepting office in the King's reorganisation of the Corporation.

From this time the Chapel continued without interruption. Astley remained as pastor until his death in 1696, and both he and Samuel Charles were described in the Common Fund Survey as having 'competent supply'. In 1696 he was succeeded by Jeremiah Gill, for whom the new Dagger Lane Chapel was built, being completed in 1698. Gill had been educated by Timothy Jolly in Sheffield, and had received aid from the Common Fund in order to complete his studies. Probably the oldest Congregational Chapel in Yorkshire, the Dagger Lane Chapel, later moved to Fish Street, and then to Princes Avenue, where it remains at the present time.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.346,519; Calamy, II, pp.415,818,834,

IV, p.957; Dale, pp.173-5; Matthews, pp.17-18; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, pp.46-7, 56, 62-3; Rev. C.E.Darwent, The Story of Fish St. Church, Hull (1899) pp.1-3; Miall, pp.288-92; Freedom after Ejection, pp.133,138; Memoirs of John Shaw, ed. C.Jackson; Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, pp.1-22.)

### WEST RIDING

#### BARNSLEY AND THURNSCOE

The Chapel which emerged in Barnsley in 1689 seems to have been the result of the work of William Benton, ejected from Thurnscoe in 1662. A poor man, he was forced to take up farming, and later the trade of maltster, in order to support his family, but continued to preach as much as he could. In 1669 he was named as one of the ministers who led conventicles at Great Houghton, along with Jonathan Grant and Mark Triggot, who also lived in Thurnscoe. Grant was a native of Rotherham, who had been ejected from Flixborough, Lincolnshire, and had returned to Yorkshire to live at Thurnscoe in 1662. Mark Triggot preached mainly at Kirk Sandal (see below, Kirk Sandal and Doncaster), but lodged in Thurnscoe at a farm owned by William Aspinwall, ejected from Mattersey in Nottinghamshire, who had bought the farm in order to live near his relatives, the Rhodes of Great Houghton. (see App.II, Pt.A. and above, List II).

There was thus something of a colony of Dissenting ministers in Thurnscoe in the early part of the period, and in 1672 both Benton and Grant were licensed to preach there. Grant remained until his death in 1681, but by then the other



ministers were engaged elsewhere, Triggot at Kirk Sandal, Aspinwall in Lancashire, and Benton in nearby Barnsley, to which he had removed by 1679 when Heywood visited him there. In 1682 he was presented at Rotherham Sessions for preaching at conventicles in Barnsley, but continued his ministry there until his death in 1688.

By 1689 Dissent in Thurnscoe had apparently died out, or more likely, joined with Benton's hearers at Barnsley after Grant died. At Barnsley the group certainly survived, although little is known of them for a few years after Benton's death. They are not mentioned in the Common Fund Survey, and there is no record of any registration of a meeting-place in 1689, but in 1699 a Chapel was built and registered and in 1708 the Northowram Register records the death of a minister, Samuel Roberts, preacher at Barnsley. It is doubtful if this Chapel could be anything other than the direct descendent of Benton's Congregation.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.388,395,507,516,518; Calamy, II, pp.447, 791; Dale, pp.18-19, 175-6, 195-6; Matthews, pp.17,50-1, 231-2; Heywood, I, p.259, II, pp.91,144,293; Northowram Register, p.157.)

### BINGLEY

The early history of Bingley Chapel is somewhat obscure, and it was certainly formed quite late in this period. No minister was ejected there in 1662. In 1665 Eli Bentley (see below, Halifax) was driven to Bingley by the Five Mile Act, and according to Heywood, found the place very hostile to Dissent. A Congregation eventually arose, however, through the labours of

Oliver Heywood, assisted by some other local ministers, notably Richard Whitehurst. In 1672 a meeting-place was licensed at the house of John Walker, and in 1689 meeting-places were registered at Walker's house again, and in nearby Keighley and Marton, probably for the same group. In 1695 a fresh registration of 'the house of John Walker' probably referred to a son of the above, and another meeting-place was added in the house of Joseph Hammond.

Bingley lay in a strongly Dissenting area, and was not far from the thriving Chapel at Kipping (see below, Bradford/Kipping) and it is not always easy to link a particular meeting-place to the correct group. A number of new registrations in 1698, for example, were probably not all for the Bingley Congregation, but it is clear that by the mid-1690s a distinct and organised Congregation existed there, drawing members from Bingley itself, and from Keighley and even nearby Idle. The memoirs of Joseph Lister of Kipping record the existence of such a Congregation by 1695, when they invited his son, Accepted Lister, to become their pastor. Lister had for some while preached alternately at Bingley and Kipping, but the former group now formally called him, and in May 1695 built a new meeting-place with an adjoining house to accommodate him. He remained as pastor until 1702 when he returned to Kipping, and in 1704 was succeeded by Thomas Wainman. At some time in these years the Congregation appears to have grown to the extent that the Keighley and Idle members were now able to organise their own local Chapels. It appears then that the work of local ministers, like Heywood, before 1689 gradually won support in Bingley, that the Toleration Act afforded the occasion for the



foundation of an organised Chapel there, and that from this, in turn, there developed other Congregations in Keighley and Idle.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.585; Miall, pp.230-1, 296; Joseph Lister, Autobiography pp.29-32; Heywood I, pp.295,298, III, p.130; Northowram Register, pp.142,151-2, 153,156.)

### BIRSTALL

The large parish of Birstall lay south-west of Leeds, and included the Chapelries of Tong and Cleckheaton, and the villages of Liversedge, Heckmondwyke and Hightown. It was an immensely strong Dissenting area, with 300 Dissenters out of 3,000 people in 1676. Within the parish there were at least three groups of Dissenters, who appear to have intermingled in the 1660s, but became more formally organised after the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. In 1660 Mr James Rigby was ejected from Birstall Parish Church in favour of the previous Vicar, Dr. Marsh, and in 1662 Richard Coare was ejected from Tong Chapel, while Cleckheaton Chapel was apparently already vacant. Coare remained in Tong, and was licensed there in 1672 as 'of the true Christian persuasion, not against episcopacy, Presbytery or Independency, but called an Antinomian'. After the Indulgence was withdrawn he apparently returned to his former practice of holding meetings of fewer than five people, in order to keep within the law, and of attending Church on Sundays. He seems also to have practised as a physician in Leeds, and was indicted for practising without a licence in 1676. He died in 1687. A meeting-place was registered in Tong in 1691, but no minister was named, and there was no organised

Congregation there.

In 1669 several conventicles were reported in the parish. A stone-quarry at Tong was apparently a popular meeting-place, and conventicles 'of all sorts of Sects' including large numbers of 'the meanest sort of people' were led there by a weaver named Hartley, and by ministers like Christopher Nesse and John Hurd (see below, Leeds). In Cleckheaton a Conventicle of Independents was led by one Ralph Winterbotham, a linsey woolsey webster by trade. At some time between 1669 and 1671 Joseph Dawson, ejected from Thornton Chapel, Bradford Dale, and living at Bankhead, Halifax, (see below, Halifax) began to preach in the still vacant Cleckheaton Chapel, apparently with the blessing of the Vicar. This arrangement came to an end in 1672, when the Cleckheaton Independents (Dawson was a Presbyterian) petitioned for a licence for Josiah Holdsworth to preach in the Chapel. The licence was refused, and Dawson's preaching coming to light, the Vicar was forced to forbid him to continue. With this, and encouraged by the Indulgence, the Dissenters of Birstall began to organise themselves into properly constituted Congregations, the Independents gathering at Heckmondwyke, and Dawson's Presbyterians at Cleckheaton. (Lyon Turner, I, pp.159,162,261,268,361,385,496; Cradock, History of Birstall, pp.62,64,66,287-90,305-7; Calamy, II, p.813, IV, p.948; Dale, pp.43-4; Matthews, p.135; Heywood, III, p.193; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract).



BIRSTALL/CLECKHEATON

The Congregation was founded in 1672 when Dawson, forced to leave the Chapel, bought a house in the Closes, Cleckheaton, and was licensed to preach there. He remained as pastor until 1689, when he was called to Morley, his native village, although he always preached elsewhere in addition to his pastoral work, especially with his great friend, Oliver Heywood. During the period of the Indulgence he held an additional licence to preach in Leeds, and was one of the four ministers who preached monthly at Justice Horton's meeting-house in Sowerby. (see below, Halifax/Sowerby). In 1676 he was presented at the Quarter Sessions for preaching, but apparently escaped imprisonment. In 1682, with the renewal of persecution after the Exclusion crisis, his congregation was virtually broken up, and was only able to meet in the utmost secrecy. It nevertheless survived, and when persecution relaxed, began meeting again more openly. From 1678 Dawson was assisted by John Holdsworth, son of Josiah, who had entered Christ's College, Cambridge in 1671, but left after a short time to attend Frankland's Academy. In the 1670s he kept a school in Cleckheaton, and then began to assist Dawson as well as preaching elsewhere in the area. He thus acquired considerable experience and in September 1689 was formally ordained in order to succeed Dawson as pastor. He remained at Cleckheaton, moving the meeting-place from Dawson's house to his own at Spen in 1694, until his death in 1711. From 1689 to 1692 he was in the habit of alternating with John Ray, minister at Pudsey (see below, Pudsey) who was described as minister at Cleckheaton at the Wakefield meeting of the United Brethren in 1691, while Holdsworth was listed

under Alverthorpe (Wakefield). This was probably an error, arising from their practice of preaching outside their own Congregations, but in the Common Fund Survey of 1690-2 Holdsworth was described as living at Spen and preaching at several places. It is therefore possible that from 1689 to 1694 he was not firmly settled at Cleckheaton but serving some kind of probationary period, and that the removal of the meeting-place to Spen in 1694 represented his formal settlement as pastor. In 1710 a new Chapel was built, and in 1715 the Congregation numbered 150. Some of these members came from nearby Gommersal, and in 1726 the Gommersal Dissenters built their own Chapel and separated from the Cleckheaton group. (Cradock, History of Birstall, pp.63,64,66,68,305-7,308-9; Calamy, II, p.818, IV, p.949; Dale, pp.48-9; Matthews, pp.159-60; Miall, pp.110,248-9; Freedom after Ejection, p.132; Heywood, numerous references, especially re.Dawson, e.g. I, pp.297,347, II, pp.9,25,231-2, III, pp.143,192,214, IV, pp.86,150; Northowram Register, pp.149,151,154)

#### BIRSTALL/HECKMONDWYKE

The Congregation at Heckmondwyke arose from the Independents at Cleckheaton, who being refused use of the Chapel in 1672, obtained a licence for Josiah Holdsworth to preach in the house of Isabel Reyner in Heckmondwyke. Holdsworth was probably a native of Birstall. His son John (see above) was born there, and he was a member of nearby Topcliffe Chapel before 1660. In 1660 he was ejected from Sutton-upon-Derwent, and then became Chaplain to Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Towers in Lancashire. In 1672 the Independents of Cleckheaton,



previously led by the layman, Ralph Winterbotham, desired his services as their minister, and he returned to the parish. In 1674 the Congregation was formally instituted, Holdsworth having been released from his membership at Topcliffe, and in November he was formally set apart as pastor. His members came from several villages in the parishes of Birstall and Batley. In 1677 he was arrested at the suit of the new Vicar of Birstall, the Rev. Ashburne, and his fine was paid by the Congregation. In 1682 the group were forced to meet at night in order to avoid the harsh persecution which followed the Exclusion crisis. In that year it was reported that he was leader of a conventicle at Widow Reyner's house which drew people from Gommersal, Heckmondwyke, Batley and even Mirfield. At the same time he was preaching frequently at Topcliffe, first as the guest of Pastor Marsden and later in order to maintain the Chapel, then without a pastor (see below, Topcliffe). Holdsworth was widely known, and respected, by ministers of various persuasions, and is frequently mentioned in Heywood's diary. He died in 1685.

In 1686 he was succeeded by David Noble, a Scot who had settled in Morley and became a member of Topcliffe Church before 1660. He had kept a school in Morley in the early 1670s, and after a period of family chaplaincy in Derbyshire, returned there by 1678, attending Topcliffe Chapel while also preaching to a small group of Independents in Morley. In 1681 he was formally ordained. Noble remained at Heckmondwyke from 1686 until his death in 1709. In 1690 two meeting-places were registered just outside Heckmondwyke, at Staincliffe and Whiteleas, both actually in the parish of Batley but certainly for the use of the Heckmondwyke group. In 1691 Noble attended the Wakefield

meeting of the United Brethren as pastor at Heckmondwyke, and was described as such in the Common Fund Survey. The first Chapel at Heckmondwyke was built in 1701.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.261,268,298,455; Calamy, II, p.822; Dale, pp.81-3; Matthews, p.272; Cradock History of Birstall, pp.66,67,307-8; Miall, pp.110,271-2; Freedom after Ejection p.132; Heywood, I, pp.286,289, II, pp.24,27,62,76,78,101, 136,199,213,239,252, III, pp.200,214,216, IV, pp.86,176-7, 210,215,222,230; Northowram Register, pp.131,148,149.)

#### BOLTON-UPON-DEARNE and HICKLETON

Hickleton was the home of Sir John and Lady Jackson (see App.II, Pt.A) devout upholders of Dissent. In 1662 Hugh Everard was ejected from Hickleton Church but found a refuge as chaplain to the Jacksons, and preached in their house, not only to the family. At the same time, the living being vacant for a year, they were able to arrange for Nathan Denton, ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearne, to preach in the Church. Throughout the 1660s a Conventicle met in Jackson's house, led by Everard until his death in 1665, and thereafter by Denton, who was reported as its minister in 1669. By then the group was also meeting in William Smith's house in Hickleton. In 1670 Sir John Jackson died, and his son John not only conformed, but according to the character given him by Reresby, would have been positively opposed to Dissent. The meeting thereupon moved to Denton's house in Bolton. Its members included Jackson's daughter, Mrs. Everett, and probably the Rich family, of Bull-house near Penistone (see App.II, Pt.A) which was licensed as a meeting-place for Denton in 1672. Not a wealthy man, he was an active preacher in South Yorkshire, preaching



at Great Houghton and Swathe as well as at Bolton, and supplying for Henry Swift (see below, Penistone) when the latter was indicted for non-conformity. Little is known of the Bolton meeting after 1670. In 1676, six Dissenters were reported in the parish and none in Hickleton, but such figures are not altogether reliable. In 1689 Denton's house was registered as a meeting-place and in 1690-2 he was described in the Common Fund Survey as preaching at Bolton and elsewhere. It is unclear how fully his Congregation was organised, but it apparently survived until 1720, when Denton died. His son Daniel had assisted his father until 1692, when he became chaplain to the Rich family and pastor at the Chapel which they had built at Bull-house, remaining there for 28 years (see below, Penistone). It seems likely that after Nathan Denton's death, his remaining members joined with the Bull-house group. (Lyon Turner, I, p.163; Calamy, II, p.790; IV, p.950; Dale, pp.50-1, 54; Matthews, pp.163, 186; Freedom after Ejection, pp.129, 130; Heywood, III, p.275; Northowram Register, p.147.)

#### BRADFORD

Bradford lay in the centre of an area noted for Dissent, with Calverley, Bingley and Keighley to the north and west, Halifax to the south, and Leeds and Pudsey to the east. It had been staunchly Parliamentary in the Civil War, and it is therefore not surprising to find Dissent strongly represented in and around the town after 1660. In 1676 Sheldon's survey reported 109 Dissenters in Bradford itself, with others in the surrounding parishes, and these would probably not include the many

Presbyterians who also attended Church. Two ministers were ejected in 1662, Jonas Waterhouse the Vicar of Bradford, and Joseph Dawson, minister at Thornton Chapel in Bradford Dale. Both were Presbyterians. Waterhouse was apparently a wealthy man, with some interest in the patronage of Bradford Church as he was involved in the appointment of a new Vicar in 1666. After his ejection he remained in the parish, attending Church, preaching in his own house on Sunday evenings, and also attending Presbyterian conventicles at the house of his friend, John Sharp of Horton Hall. He never preached publicly, however, and was not licensed in 1672. While remaining a loyal friend to other Dissenting ministers, he played relatively little part in the survival of Dissent in Bradford. Dawson was a more active figure, but worked largely elsewhere (see above, Birstall/Cleckheaton, and below, Halifax and Morley).

Dissent in Bradford eventually centred around two Chapels, a Presbyterian meeting at Horton, and an Independent Church at Kipping in Bradford Dale. There were also, however, some Dissenters in Bowling, an area of southern Bradford, who were frequently visited by Oliver Heywood and apparently maintained an independent existence for part of the period. The leading figures of this group appear to have been one Michael Gargrave and two brothers, John and Isaac Balme. Heywood frequently visited Isaac Balme, preached a funeral sermon at Gargrave's house for Joshua Farrand, a Bradford shop-keeper, and recorded the death of Gargrave's wife in 1672. His ministry to this group suggests that they were Presbyterians, and in 1672 Gargrave was licensed to preach in his own house and that of Joshua Hall, as a Presbyterian. There was, however, a John



Hall of Bradford who was an Elder at Kipping Chapel, and who was also licensed to preach in 1672. Gargrave was not an ordained minister, although his son became one after attending Frankland's Academy, entering in 1684, and his seeking of a licence to preach also suggests Independent rather than Presbyterian attitudes. It is therefore uncertain what were the beliefs of the Bowling group. Relations between the two denominations appear to have been good in Bradford, and Heywood and Thomas Sharp of Horton, both Presbyterians, were good personal friends of the Kipping minister, Richard Whitehurst. They were also apparently respected by the Kipping membership, being asked in 1678-9 to arbitrate in the dispute between Whitehurst and his Church (see below). Whatever the situation of the Bowling group up to 1672, no permanent Chapel emerged there. The houses of Isaac Balme and Abraham Dixon of Bowling were registered as meeting-places in 1689-90, but this probably means no more than that they were used for conferences or prayer-meetings. It seems likely that these Dissenters were of mixed beliefs and by the 1670s were attending the organised Chapels at Horton and Kipping, neither of which was fully organised in the 1660s.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.487,488,533; Calamy, II, p.817; Matthews, p.512; Dale, p.164; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract; Heywood, I, pp.225,236,244,250,268,270,285,286, 295,297,339, II, pp.72,101,112,131,240-3, III, pp.103,129,130; Northowram Register, pp.141,149.)

BRADFORD/HORTON

Dissent at Horton centred around Horton Hall, the home of a wealthy clothier, John Sharp (see App.II, Pt.B). Sharp had been an active supporter of Parliament in the Civil War, and had married Mary Clarkson, sister of the eminent puritan divine, David Clarkson. His eldest son, Thomas, was ejected from Adel, near Leeds, and retired to his family home where he passed his time in private study and occasional preaching. In the 1660s he does not appear to have been very active, which may partly explain the extensive activities of Oliver Heywood in Bowling, described above. Upon the issue of the Indulgence in 1672, however, Sharp was licensed to preach at Horton Hall, and from this time, undertook a more public ministry. For three years he preached regularly at Horton, until in 1675 he was called to be pastor at Mill Hill, Leeds. Thereafter the Horton group lacked a resident pastor, but were not, apparently, neglected. Sharp bought a house in Leeds, but continued to spend a part of his time at Horton, and good relations with the Chapel at Kipping enabled Richard Whitehurst to preach also as a regular guest. In addition, Heywood visited Horton, Jonas Waterhouse preached occasionally, and use was also made of students from Frankland's Academy who were training for the ministry. In particular, Horton had the services of Jonathan Wright and Nathaniel Priestley, both sons of members of Heywood's Congregation at Northowram, and both formally ordained in 1690. Until 1689 at least the Congregation was probably not fully organised but it was nevertheless strong and active. In January 1690 two meeting-places were licensed at Horton, in Horton Hall and in the house of John Smith. In 1693 Thomas Sharp died, and the Hall passed to his younger brother Abraham,



a noted Mathematician. Having conformed, he did not wish the Dissenters to meet in his house, but instead provided land for the building of a Chapel. From this point the Congregation became fully organised and separatist. In 1700 the pastor was one Samuel Hulme, and in 1716 the Congregation numbered 500. The delay in creating a separatist organisation can probably be attributed to the influence of Thomas Sharp, who had been episcopally ordained in 1660, who continued to attend Church throughout his life, and who encouraged others to do likewise (see below, Leeds). He maintained good relations with his conformist relatives, not only his brother Abraham, but also his cousin John, who became Archbishop of York, in the reign of William . In this case the delay does not reflect any weakness, for the Chapel thrived, and according to Miall, had grown to ten different Chapels by the late nineteenth century. (Calamy, II, p.813; Dale, pp.139-141; Matthews, p.434; Yorkshire County Magazine ed. J.H.Turner, No.IV(1893) pp.46-51; Miall, pp.234-5; Heywood, numerous references especially II, p.339; Northowram Register, pp.149-50; for Thomas Sharp, see below Leeds, numerous references by Ralph Thoresby.)

#### BRADFORD/KIPPING

There is some doubt as to how and when the Independent Church in Bradford Dale was founded. According to Miall it was founded in 1665, and grew out of the labours of the owner of Kipping House, who finding himself unable to worship at Thornton Chapel after Dawson's ejection, opened his house to ministers and their followers. It is possible that this was John Hall, the Elder described above, who was a wealthy man and had extensive

estates in Thornton. A barn was fitted out for worship, but persecution and danger caused the group to meet in a variety of places, mainly the houses of its members. This account agrees with the evidence of Joseph Lister's autobiography, for he mentions no date of foundation, no formal inception and no founding pastor such as are evident in other early Independent Churches, like Dagger Lane, Hull and Topcliffe. Lister records only that the group met 'at Kipping House, at John Berry's, at our house (Allerton) and sometimes at Horton', and that preaching was provided by a number of visiting ministers. It also accords with the fluid situation implied by Heywood's visits to Bowling, and the unidentified group there. Thomas Jolly, however, described the Chapel as 'the most ancient in the North of England' which would certainly mean that it existed before 1660. Jolly was in a position to know the facts, since he had wide connections among the Yorkshire Independents, and some doubt may be cast upon Lister's evidence, as he was absent from Bradford for most of the Interregnum, and did not become a member of the Chapel until after his marriage and the birth of his son, David, in 1664. It is therefore possible that some kind of Independent group existed prior to this period, but the matter remains unclear.

It is clear, however, that until 1673 the Church lacked a settled pastor. Its Independency is in no doubt, for the ministers who preached there were named by Lister as Henry Root of Sowerby, his son Timothy (see below, Halifax/Sowerby) Christopher Nesse of Leeds (see below, Leeds) Mr Marsden and Mr Bailey (see below, Topcliffe) and Mr. Cotes of Wath (see above, List II, Wath, and below, Rawdon), all definite Independents.



Moreover the group had two elected Elders, John Hall and George Ward of Bradford. In 1668 John Ryther, silenced in 1662 at Ferriby near Hull, (see above, Ferriby) came to the Chapel and remained as pastor for one year, but was forced by persecution to flee to London, where he became pastor to an Independent Congregation in Wapping. In Sheldon's survey of 1669 a Conventicle of Independents led by 'one Ryther' was reported to meet at Thornton, but no numbers were given. At his departure the Church reverted to reliance upon visiting ministers and upon preaching by the Elders, both of whom were licensed to preach there in 1672. They were also assisted by other Independent Chapels in the area, for the records of Topcliffe Chapel show several baptisms of children of Kipping members, including Lister himself. In 1673, however, the Chapel did acquire its own pastor, in the person of Richard Whitehurst, ejected from Laughton-en-le-Morthen near Sheffield, and resident there until 1673 under the protection of the Hatfield family (see App.II, Pt.A). For some years Whitehurst was an active and apparently popular pastor, who also preached occasionally for other less organised Dissenting groups. He was a friend of Oliver Heywood and Thomas Sharp, and joined them in their widespread ministry, attending family fasts and thanksgivings in various places in the area. In 1678, however, a dispute broke out between Whitehurst and some members of his Congregation. The causes of the quarrel were complex, partly personal and partly doctrinal. The spark which set off the trouble was apparently the felling of some trees in Whitehurst's garden by John Hall's son, but discontent had been simmering for a while. The party opposing Whitehurst, led by Hall and Ward, the Elders, accused him of Fifth Monarchist doctrines and of

autocratic behaviour in refusing to allow members to question or discuss his interpretations of the Scripture and in operating a most rigid concept of membership, virtually excluding all but communicants from many meetings. Whitehurst denied some charges and defended himself against others, but failed to satisfy the dissident group, who withdrew from Communion. In August 1679 a number of other ministers, mostly Independents, were asked to arbitrate, but the endeavours of Thomas Jolly, Gamaliel Marsden, Thomas Whitaker (see below Leeds) Josiah Holdsworth (see above, Birstall/Heckmondwyke) Richard Astley (see above, Hull) and Oliver Heywood were in vain, and the split continued. In December 1679 Heywood again intervened, with Thomas Sharp, but with no success, and in 1680 the Chapel finally broke in two. Whitehurst's supporters began to meet at his house in Lidget Green (see above, List II, Lidget Green) while their opponents retained the premises at Kipping, but once more lacked a pastor.

For two years they continued thus, relying upon visiting preachers, until they 'heard of one Mr. Smith', a young man that lived with his father at York, and a man of fine parts'. They asked him to preach for a trial period of one month and found that he was 'not altogether of our judgement', but after frank discussion 'gave him a call' and he became pastor. He remained for some years, being ordained in 1687, until in about 1689 he was asked by Dissenters at Mixenden to preach for them on week-days. Smith agreed, and the Kipping Chapel accepted, albeit reluctantly, that he should do so. Eventually, however, the Mixenden group asked that he should attend them on alternate Sundays, to which the Kipping members objected.



Smith however felt that, in view of the shortage of ministers, he should agree. According to Joseph Lister this was also accepted at first, and he went to Mixenden to hear him, but he complains that, his wife being unwell, she was unable to travel and so missed preaching on those days. He then asserts that 'upon some slight occasion', Smith left Kipping and became pastor at Mixenden, preaching also at Warley, that he later regretted the move and desired to return, but that Kipping now refused him and preferred to rely upon visiting ministers until they could get a new pastor. There is no other evidence that Smith desired to return, and it appears that he left Kipping because of what he considered the excessive demands of the Congregation, and their quarrelsome nature. Lister himself provides some evidence of this in his account of the Chapel after Smith's departure, when the minister involved was his own son, Accepted. In describing these events, there is a noticeable difference in his attitude. According to other sources Smith settled well at Mixenden (and later at Warley also) and Lister's account shows a marked personal bitterness, similar to his account of Whitehurst at Lidget after 1680 (see above, List II, Lidget Green). The turbulent history of Kipping Chapel suggests that they were an exceptionally difficult Congregation, possibly because their lack of a pastor in their early years had made them peculiarly independent and assertive.

After Smith's departure, probably in 1690 (in January 1690 he signed the registration of Kipping House as a meeting-place), the Chapel relied upon neighbouring ministers for a while, and then in 1693 asked Accepted Lister to become their pastor. He was doubtful, but agreed to act for three months at a time.

In 1695 they renewed the offer, but Lister refused. He was 'not to be satisfied though they often pressed him to become their settled pastor, yet they were so divided amongst themselves by contrary opinions that he felt he could not'. In the same year he received a call to the pastorate at Bingley (see above, Bingley) where he had kept a school in the 1680s and for three months he preached at both places. Then however he suffered a fall from his horse which damaged his thigh and so made travelling difficult. Being offered a house beside the Chapel at Bingley, he accepted the position there, and the family moved to live in Bingley. Lister continued there for some years, while Kipping struggled again without a pastor. The quarrels apparently continued, and the Church was in danger of breaking up. In 1702 renewed appeals were made to Lister, not for the first time, and according to his father he was much concerned and embarrassed. Seeking the advice of other ministers, he was encouraged by Thomas Whitaker and David Noble (see above, Birstall/Heckmondwyke) to return to Kipping in order to save the Church from disintegration. He returned in that year, and remained until his death in 1709, during which time he apparently healed the divisions and ensured the Chapel's survival.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.163,487,488; Dale, pp.165-6; Matthews, p.526; Miall, pp.239-42; Jolly, Notebook, pp.34,116; Heywood, I, pp.233,295,297,298,369, II, pp.32,99,101,112,119, 240-3, IV, pp.119,138; Northowram Register, pp.142,148; Joseph Lister, Autobiography, pp.25-6,28-32, also p.47, note 20; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.11-15.)



CRAVEN - HORTON and WINTERBURN

Dissent in the Craven area seems to have been spread through a number of small villages, but centred largely around Horton and Winterburn from which eventually several Chapels arose. The movement there was raised and maintained through the efforts of Oliver Heywood, Thomas Jolly and Madam Lambert, daughter-in-law of General John Lambert (see App.II, Pt.A, Lister of Thornton in Craven). No licences were taken out for the area in 1672, and one at Kildwick in Craven appears to have related to an entirely separate group (see above, List II, Kildwick), but by the mid-1670s a prosperous Congregation met at Horton and at Winterburn, near the Lamberts' home at Carlton. In 1676 there were 318 dissenters in the area, but many of these were Quakers. According to Miall the group at Horton originated in the efforts of the unnamed owner of the Bracewell estate, who encouraged preaching in his private Chapel and at his home, Pasture House, which sermons were attended by Mrs Lambert. The lady also took a direct interest in a group of Dissenters at Winterburn, and it is unclear whether these were distinct from those who met at Horton. In 1689 meeting-places were registered in a number of Craven villages, from Winterburn to Horton, and further west. It would appear that a single Congregation covered a wide geographical area, with members from numerous villages but with particular centres at Horton and Winterburn, the homes of leading members. The first Chapel was built shortly after 1689, at Horton.

The date of the foundation of the Congregation is uncertain but Heywood was preaching there regularly from 1675, and in early 1676 Thomas Jolly recorded that 'God had more work for me to do in Craven, where a new people and work then about

began to appear'. Shortly after this Jolly's Church at Altham agreed to admit the Craven Dissenters to occasional Communion, and in 1678 the group was strong enough to set up its own regular Sacrament. At first it was held on week-days, to enable 'the Pastor of another group' to administer it. This was probably Heywood, who seems to have been the Congregation's great mentor. In the same year it was also agreed that Jolly should attend in Craven every third Sunday to preach and administer Communion.

The need of their own pastor was clear to the Craven group, and in 1678 they invited John Issot, Frankland's assistant at nearby Rathmell, to fill the position (see above, List II, Horbury). Issot was ordained in July 1678, in a ceremony lasting several days and being held in the houses of John Hey and Richard Mitchell. Jolly was asked to attend, but did not do so, apparently being offended in some way by the calling of Issot, possibly regarding it as a slight to his own efforts. Nevertheless he maintained his connection with the group, and when Issot retired in 1688, renewed his duties among them.

In 1689-90 several meeting-places were registered by John Hey, at Halton West, Lower Scale and Sykehouse and in 1693-5 at Slaitburne and Newton-in-Bowland, all lying to the west of Horton. According to Miall a Chapel was also erected in Horton by Richard Hargreaves, a London merchant who had been born at Todber. (This may have been the unnamed purchaser of the Bracewell estate, mentioned above) In 1694 a further meeting-place was registered at the house of Thomas Whaley in Winterburn, where Jolly mentions preaching in 1689.



The question remains as to whether or not Horton and Winterburn constituted one or two Congregations. Miall treats them as separate groups, linking that at Horton to Pasture House, and that at Winterburn to Hey and Mitchell, with Mrs. Lambert a supporter of both. Heywood, however, refers to Horton as the centre of his activities and to Hey and Mitchell as the group's leaders. The Common Fund Survey mentions a Congregation at Horton, with Nicholas Kershaw preaching at Pasture House, another at Winterburn 'very desirous of the Word and many persons come in' and another potential Congregation at Slaitburne. The activities of John Hey were, however, common to all three, and John Issot appears to have been regarded as their pastor by Dissenters of both Horton and Winterburn. When Mrs. Lambert died she left legacies of two hundred pounds to Horton Chapel, and two hundred pounds to its minister for preaching at Winterburn. Such obscurities and contradictions probably reflect a general fluidity, made necessary by the nature of the area. It seems that there were Dissenters in a number of villages, incapable of setting up separate Congregations, who were drawn towards Horton by the provision of preaching there, and from 1689 by its possession of a purpose-built Chapel. At the same time, travelling may well have been arduous and hence there was an incentive to set up distinct Congregations where possible. Thus Mrs. Lambert encouraged preaching at Winterburn, in order to uphold those finding it difficult to travel to Horton. Eventually several Congregations emerged. A separate Chapel was established at Winterburn, possibly from 1694 when Whaley's house was registered, and in 1696 a Chapel was built at Newton-in-Bowland, a Congregation being

established there with John Jolly as its pastor and members from Newton and nearby Slaitburne. Thus from what must be regarded as one Congregation, founded by Heywood and Jolly, and led by Issot until 1689, there emerged three Chapels, at Horton, at Winterburn and at Newton.

A similar fluidity can be seen in relation to the group's denomination. Jolly was an Independent and Heywood a Presbyterian, although neither was rigid or exclusive in attitude. The careful attendance and involvement of the Congregation at Issot's ordination and calling can be related to Independency, while the scrupulous insistence upon ordination itself suggests concern for Presbyterian principles. Miall describes Mrs. Lambert as a zealous Presbyterian, but Jolly was put to some trouble to dissuade her from turning Quaker in 1676. Both Horton and Winterburn Chapels can eventually be described as Congregational, but the original group was probably of mixed belief, and provides a good example of the frequent lack of firm definition among the major puritan denominations of this period. (Heywood, numerous references, especially II, pp.194-7; Northowram Register, pp.145,151,155; Jolly Notebook, pp.29,30,34-5,40,43,88,108,110,136; Miall, pp.283-4,324,387; Freedom after Ejection, pp.130,135,136; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37; Deanery of Craven.)

#### CRAVEN - PATELEY BRIDGE

There also existed another congregation in the Craven area, further to the east, near Pateley Bridge. Miall records that a Captain Freeman, a Cromwellian soldier, retired to Pateley Bridge and built an Independent Chapel on Greenhough Hill, where a Rev. Towers was minister from an unknown date until 1733.



There are no other references to a meeting here, but in 1689 an attempt was made to register the nearby Tosside Chapel, as a meeting-place by one Henry Robinson, and when this was denied, Robinson registered his own house in Tosside and that of John Bullock in Sawley. In addition the barn of Richard Kendall was registered by Kendall and others. These may have been members of a group originally gathered by Freeman. In the Common Fund Survey, Tosside is described as being in need of a minister. The precise details are obscure, but it is clear that a group of Dissenters existed in the area by 1689, and it seems likely that Freeman encouraged a group there, but possibly did not build his meeting-place until the 1690s, upon which the group left other meeting-places and gathered there, led by Mr. Towers.

(Miall, p.328; Northowram Register, pp.145,149; Freedom after Ejection, p.135.)

### HALIFAX

The town of Halifax lay in the centre of a strongly puritan area, and one which became strong in Dissent, thanks largely to the untiring labours of Oliver Heywood, ejected from Coley Chapel in Halifax Parish, and undoubtedly the outstanding figure among Yorkshire Dissenters. Miall describes seven Dissenting groups in and around the town, at Halifax, Northowram, Sowerby, Elland, Mixenden, Warley and Lightcliffe, of which all but Halifax and Sowerby had been originated by Heywood, while they owed to him something of their survival.

In 1662 three ministers were ejected from the parish of Halifax. Mr Thomas Robinson, ejected from Rastrick was an old man, described as an Antinomian, and ran a small school

for the remaining years of his life. Heywood was ejected from Coley, and Mr. Eli Bentley from Halifax Parish Church. Both remained in the parish, Heywood renting part of Coley Hall, and Bentley, a native of Halifax, living with his brother Timothy. Both also remained active Presbyterian preachers, and were joined by a third, Joseph Dawson, ejected from Thornton Chapel in Bradford Dale (see above, Birstall/Cleckheaton and Bradford/Kipping) who moved to Bankhead, Coley shortly after ejection. In addition there were two other ministers active in the area, Mr Henry Root, ejected from Sowerby near Halifax, and his son Timothy, ordained but unbeneficed in 1662. Root had gathered an Independent Chapel at Sowerby, and he continued as pastor to this group until his death in 1669, but he and his son also worked with the three Presbyterians in holding numerous conventicles in the parish. In many ways the situation was ill-defined before 1672, Root's being the only formally organised Chapel, and this is reflected in the report of these conventicles in 1669, which states only that there were two Conventicles of Independents, led by 'one Root' and by Heywood and Dawson. Henry Root was probably already dead, and Bentley had been forced to move to Bingley by the Five Mile Act (an interesting example of the random nature of persecution, for Heywood, also living less than five miles from his previous cure, and equally well-known, was not affected by the Act).

By 1672 the situation was changing. After Henry Root's death his Congregation were unable to rely upon Timothy Root, who was much harassed by persecution, and so began to attend Heywood's meetings at Northowram, to which he had moved when



his lease at Coley ran out in 1671. As a result of the Indulgence both he and Bentley organised their Congregations in a more formal manner, and there were thus two Presbyterian and no Independent Chapels. (In 1676, 150 Dissenters were reported as living in Halifax parish). In the ensuing decades Heywood's work bore further fruit, as Dissenters from the surrounding villages who attended his meetings began to organise their own local Congregations. By 1700 there were seven distinct Chapels in and around Halifax. Warley, Mixenden and Elland are described separately, Eastwood is not listed, as it was founded after 1689, and Halifax, Northowram and Lightcliffe are described below.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.161; Calamy, II, pp.804-9,818, IV, p.949; Dale, p.126; Matthews, p.413; Miall, p.107; Tanner MSS: 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract.)

#### HALIFAX TOWN

The Congregation in Halifax itself was led by Eli Bentley. After his ejection he remained in the town until 1665, when forced to move to Bingley (see above). There he found much hostility to Dissenters and as soon as it was safe to do so, in 1672, he returned to Halifax where he was licensed to preach in his brother's house, and, despite persecution by the Vicar, Dr. Hook, he continued to do this until his death in 1675. Thereafter his Congregation were in some difficulties, but were upheld by Oliver Heywood. They met regularly at Old Banktop, where Heywood preached for them whenever he could, and also attended his meetings at Northowram. Although lacking a pastor they held together as a Congregation, and

Heywood preached for them on alternate Sunday afternoons until 1688. His dedication can be judged from the fact that he was also a dutiful pastor at Northowram and a hard-working itinerant preacher throughout the West Riding. In 1689 several meeting-places were registered around Halifax, but it is impossible to tell which of these were used by this particular Congregation. By the early 1690s their situation was improving, as a young candidate for the ministry, Nathaniel Priestley, settled in his family home at Ovenden and began to preach in the area. The nephew of Heywood's great friend, Jonathan Priestley (see App.II, Pt.B), he had been educated at Frankland's Academy and by 1689 had begun a period of ministerial training during which he preached under the guidance of older ministers, especially Heywood. In 1689 he was preaching at Warley, and in 1690 began to preach once a month at Halifax. In 1694 he was ordained and in 1695 his house at Ovenden was registered as a meeting-place. In October 1696 a newly-built public Chapel was registered at Halifax, the registration being signed by Priestley as minister. Thus Bentley's Congregation, upheld through their difficulties by Heywood, were finally established in their own permanent Chapel.

(Calamy, II, p.804; Dale, pp.17-18; Matthews, p.50; Lyon Turner, I, pp.559,560; Heywood, I, pp.225,245,248,275, 281,284,293,294,298, III, pp.130, 154,202; Northowram Register, pp.142,150,154; Miall, pp.265-6; Freedom after Ejection, p.130.)



COLEY/NORTHOWRAM

An unusual amount of information is available concerning this Congregation, as it was Heywood's own, and is frequently described in his diary. After his ejection he lived at Coley Hall until 1671, when his lease ran out, and he was then in a position to buy his own house at nearby Northowram, where the Congregation met from that time, and where a public Chapel was finally built, much of it at Heywood's expense, in 1691. The original members of the group were ex-parishioners who remained loyal after 1662. Indeed, Heywood records that it was through their encouragement that he finally decided to continue his ministry after ejection. They desired him to preach to them, and assured him that he created no schism in so doing, as the responsibility for his ejection lay with the Church, not himself. In the years immediately after 1662 the numbers were small, often no more than a dozen, but by 1668 his hearers had grown to 400, many being attracted from nearby villages. Until 1671-2, however, the Congregation was not formally organised, although with Dawson's help Heywood managed to hold regular meetings. In 1671 he began to take steps towards separate organisation, administering the sacrament of Communion for the first time in the November of that year. As a result of this the local Independents began to abate their previous enmity (which had reached a climax in 1659 when they accused him of supporting Booth's rebellion) and made overtures towards joining his Congregation. At the same time the Independent Church at Sowerby, now bereft of a minister, also desired to join him, and in April-May 1672, joint meetings were held, as a result of which a Congregation was formally instituted. Its

members included both denominations, but its organisation was distinctly Presbyterian. The moving forces behind this union were Heywood himself, a lifelong campaigner for Dissenting unity, Justice Horton of Sowerby, and Captain Hodgson of Coley. Hodgson had been a member of Sowerby Church, but since 1662 had been joint tenant with Heywood at Coley Hall, and there is no doubt that this unusual demonstration of unity among the Dissenters resulted in no small measure from the personal friendship between them, as well as the universal respect which Heywood had earned by a decade of active and dedicated preaching. In May 1672 Heywood was licensed to preach at his own house in Northowram and in that of John Butterworth at Warley. An application was also made to license Coley Chapel, then vacant, but this was refused.

From 1672 the Northowram Congregation met regularly and prospered in relative security. Meetings were held twice each Sunday, and in addition the group soon organised week-day prayer meetings, young people's meetings and a Friday-night meeting in preparation for Communion, held at first monthly and later fortnightly. Membership was spread over a considerable area, with members from Warley, Lightcliffe, Elland, and even Horton and Allerton, Bradford. For the most part these members travelled to Northowram, but Heywood also visited them, as his licence for Butterworth's house shows. As membership in these areas increased, Heywood encouraged them to organise their own prayer-meetings, and by 1689 permanent Chapels had emerged in several of the villages. In the 1680s he was aided in this ministry by Matthew Smith of Kipping (see above, Bradford/Kipping, and below, Warley and



Mixenden). In addition, Justice Horton built a meeting-place at Quarry Hill, Sowerby, and lectures were held there each Sunday by Heywood, Bentley, Dawson and Timothy Root, until 1679 when Horton died. Although Heywood's numbers increased, his establishment of other off-shoot Congregations reduced them again, and by 1702 his list of Communicants numbered forty-nine, little more than the forty of 1671.

The Northowram Congregation was fortunate among Dissenters in being able to meet in relative security, largely because of Heywood's reputation and the protection afforded him by powerful acquaintances like Henry Fairfax and the duke of Buckingham. Even the onslaught of persecution after the Exclusion crisis failed to touch the group seriously until 1684, when Heywood was finally imprisoned for a year. During this period the developing organisation of the Dissenting movement came to their aid, and his place was supplied by other ministers, notably Dawson, now at Cleckheaton, and Matthew Smith. After release Heywood returned to his work, which he continued virtually unmolested until his death in 1702. In 1689 several meeting-places were registered. Heywood's own house and that of John Brooksbank at Elland were registered at Leeds in July 1689, as was that of Butterworth at Warley, now a separate Congregation. In 1695 the house of Robert Ramsden of Southowram was also registered. In 1690-2 Heywood was described in the Common Fund Survey as having competent supply. His own account of his income says that he received an average of twenty to thirty pounds from his Congregation, with other occasional benefactions and special collections for special expenses. In 1702 when he died, he was quickly succeeded by Thomas Dickinson, educated and trained at Frankland's

Academy. Heywood left him a settled and prosperous Congregation at Northowram, but the true greatness of his work can be seen in the other Congregations which had grown and emerged through his efforts.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.235,236,253,320,333,441,538; Matthews, pp.259-60; Northowram Register, pp.141-2, 152; Heywood, numerous references to meetings and members, too many to specify, but especially I, pp.198,227,245,260,274,283,347-8, II, pp.17-37, III, pp.22,109,111,121,126-8, 145-7, 173; for the other Congregations mentioned, see under individual accounts).

HALIFAX/SOWERBY (included here because no separate Chapel existed in 1689, but its importance before that warrants an individual account.)

In the early part of the period the Chapelry of Sowerby contained one of the strongest groups of Dissenters in the Halifax area. The Curate of Sowerby, Henry Root, had gathered an Independent Church in 1645, whose members included men of substantial means such as Justice Horton (see App. II, Pt.A) and Robert Tillotson, father of the future Archbishop. In 1662 Root was ejected, but continued to preach in the Chapel for a further six months. Thereafter he was harshly persecuted, suspected of involvement in more than one plot and imprisoned on at least three occasions before he died in October 1669, at the age of eighty. Despite the persecution the Church held together, and he was greatly



assisted by his son Timothy, who succeeded him as pastor in 1669. He was, however, even more harassed than his father, and was soon forced to flee from Sowerby. After a number of narrow escapes he was arrested for preaching in Lancashire, and when released in 1670, was immediately re-arrested for preaching in Shadwell Chapel. Imprisoned in York Castle, he was unable to pay the gaoler a fee of twenty pounds in order to avoid being clapped in irons, and was apparently most cruelly treated, having to sleep on the floor of a dungeon and being denied air and exercise. He was finally released upon order from Westminster, and the indictment was anyway found unproven at the next Assizes.

In these circumstances Root was clearly unable to act as pastor to the Sowerby Church, although he did manage to preach elsewhere, being licensed at Bramley in 1672. (In 1687, to the surprise and horror of his friends, he conformed, and became Vicar of Howden for the short remainder of his life.) In 1669 several conventicles were reported in Sowerby, and at Hodgson's house in Coley, led by Root, Dawson, Heywood, Christopher Nesse of Leeds and John Ryther, at this time pastor at Kipping. Allowing for the sketchiness of the reports it seems clear that the organisation at Sowerby was in the process of disintegration, and that the group had increasingly to rely upon 'ad hoc' arrangements. After two years of this a number of members made approaches to Heywood, and in 1672, joined his Congregation at Northowram. Those who did not probably scattered to other groups, such as that at Kipping.

At the same time, Justice Horton sought to provide some preaching at Sowerby by building a meeting-place at Quarry Hill,

where he arranged for weekly lectures by four ministers - Heywood, Bentley, Dawson and Root - and paid each of them ten shillings a lecture. The meeting-house was licensed in 1673 despite the opposition of Dr Hook, Vicar of Halifax, who tried to declare it a public building. In 1679 Horton died, and the Chapel seems to have fallen to ruin. Heywood continued to preach in Sowerby, but in the house of Samuel Hopkinson, where he had been preaching increasingly since 1675. It is possible that after the official withdrawal of the licence in that year, the use of the Chapel became too dangerous. In 1689 two meeting-places were registered in Sowerby, but were used by Heywood's members, not as a distinct Congregation. In 1720, however, a new Chapel was built, and it seems likely that, by then, Sowerby Dissenters felt strong enough to separate from Northowram and re-establish their own Congregation. (Lyon Turner, I, pp.161,585; Calamy, II, pp.448,809,833, IV, pp.601,953,959; Dale, pp.127-135; Matthews, pp.417-18, 421; Miall, pp.363-6; Heywood, I, pp.198,250,254,257,272-3,281, 286,292-3,340,343,347-8,II, pp.31-2,153,232,266; Northowram Register, pp.145,154.)

#### HALIFAX/LIGHTCLIFFE

Lightcliffe, a Chapelry of Halifax parish was, according to Heywood, almost devoid of good preaching for many years. In 1650 when Heywood came to Coley, its Curate was William Ainsworth, 'a scholar, little good besides', who later went to Hull as the (conformist) lecturer and schoolmaster, where in 1667 complaints were made about his poor preaching (see above, Hull). After 1662 the Chapel was vacant for many years,



and its few, temporary incumbents were bad in Heywood's opinion. This may well have encouraged attendance at Heywood's meetings, and the Northowram Congregation certainly drew a number of members from Lightcliffe. In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey mentions a young minister, Jonathan Wright as preaching there under Heywood's supervision. In 1694 he was formally ordained, and a Congregation was set up which lasted until his death. Then, however, it appears that his members returned to Northowram.

(Heywood, IV, p.7; Freedom after Ejection, p.130; Miall, p.310.)

#### HOPTON (Parish of Mirfield)

Hopton Hall in the parish of Mirfield was the house of Richard Thorpe, in 1662 a young man preparing for the ministry and 'silenced' by the Act of Uniformity. Thereafter he preached in his own house and was licensed there in 1672. An active preacher he was known to Oliver Heywood and was finally ordained by him, with the assistance of Richard Frankland, in 1678, along with John Issot (see above, Craven, and List II, Horbury). Heywood liked and respected Thorpe, and visited him frequently after 1666, but clearly retained doubts concerning the rectitude of his preaching without ordination. A wealthy man, Thorpe founded a Free School in Mirfield, and also held conventicles in Dewsbury (see above, List II). From 1678 he was a fully ordained pastor to his Congregation in Mirfield, and remained so until his death. He was largely untroubled by persecution and it is perhaps a sign of the laxness of the authorities in Mirfield that the parish was reported in 1676 as containing only two Dissenters, which was

clearly incorrect.

In 1689 three meeting-places were registered in the parish, two in Mirfield itself and one at Hopton, although not at the Hall. In 1690-2 the Common Fund Survey described Thorpe as having 'a considerable estate, and preaches in his own house'. According to Dale he died in 1713, but Miall says that he died in 1716, at Lees Hall, Thornhill, which he had recently purchased, and that his Congregation then consisted of sixty people. After this death his son Daniel continued the work of preaching, but not being ordained, discontinued the Communion, and the group began to crumble. In 1730 it was all but dead, but in 1732 a revival began with the building of a new Chapel. The continuity of the Congregation is somewhat doubtful, as only two of Thorpe's group were members of the new Chapel, but there can be no doubt of the importance of Thorpe's work in the parish. His daughter Mary had married Richard Hutton of Pudsey (see below, Pudsey, and App.II, Pt.A, Hutton of Poppleton) and at her death, willed a considerable endowment to the Non-conformists of Hopton, and it may have been this which made possible a new Chapel and the revival of her father's Congregation.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.566; Dale, pp.152-3; Matthews, p.485; Miall, p.279; Heywood, numerous references, especially I, pp.226,232,234,238,250,II,pp.25,195,196,232; Northowram Register, pp.144,148,150; Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer ed. J.H.Turner, No.II (1889-90) pp.76-7.)



IDLE (Parish of Calverley)

Idle was a small Chapel of Ease in the parish of Calverley, which had been rebuilt upon subscription by the inhabitants in 1630. This gave them the right to nominate their Curate, subject to the Vicar's approval, which may in part explain the strength of Dissent in the area. Incumbents before 1660 included Elkanah Wales (see below, Pudsey) and in 1662, the position was held by Thomas Smallwood, ex-chaplain to Lambert's regiment, who had been ejected from Batley in 1660. Now removed from Idle as well, he was not replaced, possibly because the inhabitants and the Vicar could not agree upon a choice, and the Chapel continued to be used by the Dissenters and their ministers. Geographically remote, but in a strongly Dissenting area, it formed an ideal and rarely obtainable public platform for the ejected ministers. Although Smallwood moved to Wakefield in 1665, he continued to preach in Idle Chapel until 1666, shortly before his death, after which a number of other ministers of both Presbyterian and Independent persuasions made use of it, including James Sale (1666-79), Samuel Coates (1679-84), Josiah Holdsworth (for a year between 1662 and 1677), Thomas Johnson (1672-4) and Oliver Heywood, who preached there on several occasions between 1668 and 1679 and in Thomas Ledyard's house from 1684 to 1695. These ministers were not, however, centred at Idle, with the possible exception of Johnson, but worked first and foremost as pastors to their own Congregations elsewhere. In 1672-3, several licences were granted for meeting-places in the area. According to Lyon Turner, two Presbyterian meeting-places were licensed at the houses of Samuel Stables and Thomas Ledyard, and in February

1673 a licence was granted for a 'new-built' meeting-place in Idle for an Independent group. J.H.Turner mentions the licensing of six meeting-places in the parish of Calverley, and there were active Dissenters in several villages in the two parishes of Calverley and Guiseley (see below, Rawdon). It would appear therefore that the area housed several groups of Dissenters, who came together to hear preaching in the public Chapel at Idle, but who did not constitute any organised Congregation, at least before 1689. In that year several meeting-places were registered, and some continuity and organisation is suggested in relation to a Presbyterian group, who attempted first to register the Chapel itself, and this being denied, then elected to meet, as in 1672, at the house of Thomas Ledyard. The Independents of Idle may well have been members of Samuel Coates' group at nearby Rawdon (see below). From 1689 to 1694 a young ministerial student, Jonathan Wright, lived and preached in Idle, but then moved to Lightcliffe (see above, Halifax). From 1695 to 1708 some preaching was provided by Accepted Lister of Kipping and Bingley (see above, Bingley, and Bradford/Kipping) but not until 1716 is there definite evidence of an organised Church. In that year a new Chapel was built for the use of the Rev. John Buck, and his eighty hearers. It would appear, therefore, that Dissent was strong in Idle throughout the period, but that, probably because of the unusual availability of public facilities and the unavailability of a settled pastor, no attempt was made to organise a Separate Congregation until after 1689. By then the Toleration Act had provided some impetus in this direction, but the continuing difficulty of providing a pastor apparently



delayed still further the emergence of a truly organised Nonconformist Congregation in Idle itself.

(Lyon Turner, I, p.585; Calamy, II, p.804, IV, p.947; Dale, pp.146-7; Matthews, p.445; Heywood, I, pp.247,305, III, p.17, IV, p.326; Northowram Register, pp.141,142; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed.J.H.Turner, No.I (1891) pp.262-4; J.H.Turner Nonconformity in Idle; for James Sale, see below, Pudsey; for Samuel Coates, see below, Rawdon; for Josiah Holdsworth, see below, Wakefield; for Thomas Johnson, see above, List II, Sandal Magna.)

#### KIRKBURTON and ELLAND

In 1672 a Presbyterian meeting-place was licensed at the house of John Armitage in the parish of Kirkburton. Armitage was well known to Oliver Heywood, who visited him and preached at his house upon many occasions, and upon whose ministrations Armitage and his friends largely depended. In 1676 the parish of Kirkburton was reported as containing sixty Dissenters, although many of these would be Quakers, or puritan Dissenters who belonged to other groups. In 1689 a meeting-place was again registered at 'the house of John Armitage, blacksmith, of Woldgate, Leedgate, Kirkburton parish', but the group still had no minister of its own. In 1692 the Common Fund Survey referred to a group of about thirty meeting in John Armitage's house in 'Lidget' and described them as being in need of a minister and of funds to support him. In 1695 Heywood was still preaching for the group whenever he could.

Clearly there was a fairly strong group of Dissenters in Kirkburton, gathered around Armitage, for whom sufficient

pastoral care was not available. Until the 1690s they had no alternative but to suffer this and accept the help of other ministers, like Heywood, when it was offered, and it is a tribute to their strength of conviction that they held together thus for so many years. By 1691, however, another group was emerging at nearby Elland, led by the Brooksbank family. These Dissenters had long been members of Heywood's Congregation at Northowram, but had also, with his encouragement, held week-day prayer meetings among themselves. In the new freedom of the 1690s they began to think of organising a Chapel nearer home, and in 1692 they were also described in the Common Fund Survey as being in search of a minister. According to Miall there was a young minister, John Lister, living in Elland in 1691, but he is not mentioned elsewhere. Finally in 1699 the Rev. Jeremiah Bairstow moved to Elland, and a Chapel was built, largely at John Brooksbank's expense, in 1700. Thereupon, the Dissenters of Kirkburton, still unable to provide themselves with a pastor, united with those of Elland, to form a prosperous Presbyterian Chapel which survived for some years and later become Unitarian. (Lyon Turner, I, p.555; Miall, pp.258,310; Heywood, numerous references especially III, pp.55,214, IV, pp.119,138; Northowram Register, p.143; Freedom after Ejection, pp.131,132.)

#### KIRK SANDAL and DONCASTER

Kirk Sandal or Sandal Parva, was the ancestral home of the Rokeby family, inherited by William Rokeby, brother of Sir Thomas (see App.II, Pt.A). Rokeby was a great upholder of Dissent, and in 1672 his houses at Ackworth and Skellow were



licensed as meeting-places. The family seem to have lived mainly at Kirk Sandal Hall, which in 1672 was licensed for preaching by John Hobson, ejected from Sandal Parva, who probably acted as family chaplain, and by Mark Triggot, who lived at nearby Thurnscoe (see List II, Great Houghton, and above, Barnsley and Thurnscoe). Little is known of the congregation there, but in the Common Fund Survey of 1690-2, Kirk Sandal was described as the meeting-place for Dissenters from several country towns in the area - Armthorpe, Long Sandal, Barnby Dun and Hatfield. The account stated that numbers were increasing, and would increase more if they were 'constantly supplied' (i.e. with ministers) and that Madam Rokeby had helped greatly, giving 'more than she can afford, and got her house registered as a meeting-place'. The group was clearly in some difficulties, and there is no evidence of its existence after this time. It is possible that the Congregation simply died out, but by the end of the seventeenth century there is evidence of a group emerging in nearby Doncaster. A Chapel had been built there in 1640, but after 1660 the place was apparently hostile to Dissent, and it fell to ruin. In the late seventeenth century a young minister, Samuel Crompton, married a lady living near Doncaster, and was invited to become pastor to a group of Dissenters there. This group had probably been gathered by Robert Dickenson, an Elder of Fisher's Church in Sheffield (see below, Sheffield) who had a house in Fishlake where he was preaching in the 1670s. In 1681 he was ordained, and presumably carried on his work in the area. Crompton fitted up two rooms in his house as a meeting-place, and soon had a Congregation of sixty. In view

of the attitude towards Dissent then prevalent in Doncaster, it seems unlikely that he drew such a number from the town, and his membership probably came from the surrounding area, from places like Fishlake and Kirk Sandal. No permanent Chapel emerged in either of these places, and it seems likely that, with Dickenson's death and Widow Rokeby's difficulties, the Dissenters of this area availed themselves of Crompton's services in Doncaster, and merged to form the Congregation there, served by Crompton until his death in 1734.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.268,289,456; Calamy, II, pp.448,790; Dale, pp.80,206-7; Matthews, pp.269,493; Miall, pp.254-5; Heywood, II, pp.199; Freedom after Ejection, p.140.)

#### KNARESBOROUGH and TADCASTER

The area of the West Riding bounded by York, Knaresborough and Tadcaster was much under the influence of two leading Yorkshire Dissenters, Lady Hewley of York, and Lord Wharton (see App.II,Pt.A). Wharton's house at Helaugh was something of a refuge for Dissenting ministers, and both he and Lady Hewley endowed and encouraged preaching in the area. There is little detailed evidence of the organisation of Dissent in these parts, but activity seems to have centred around three places, Knaresborough, Clifford and Tadcaster, from which permanent Chapels emerged at Knaresborough and Tadcaster in the early eighteenth century.

In 1660 a Mr Nathaniel Rathband resigned the living of Ripley, near Knaresborough. He had been a member of the Assembly of Divines, and may have been the Mr Rathband who was licensed in Kent in 1672, but there is certainly no evidence



that he was active in Yorkshire after 1660. The first sign of Dissent in Knaresborough was in 1696, when a meeting-place was registered in the town, and another at Clifford and Bramham, where Thomas Hardcastle had been ejected in 1662 (see List II, Shadwell). According to Miall these meetings were encouraged by Lady Hewley, but neither group was strong. In 1692 the Common Fund Survey had described Clifford and Bramham as 'a dark and ignorant part of the country, not able to raise above five pounds a year amongst those that are able to do anything' and there was certainly no settled minister attached to either meeting-place. In 1696 Lord Wharton endowed an annual sermon in the area, rotating between Helaugh, Tadcaster, Knaresborough and Wetherby, but this was scanty provision for any active group. Nevertheless, by the end of the century a Chapel had emerged at Knaresborough, its first Minister being William Benson, the son-in-law of Ralph Ward of York. In 1715 he was succeeded by one Ralph Hill, and in 1716 his Congregation numbered sixty hearers.

The meeting at Clifford had apparently died out, but its members may possibly have joined with the Dissenters in nearby Tadcaster, who had long been served and upheld by John and Humphrey Gunter. John Gunter had been ejected in 1660 from the rich living of Bedale, the King having promised it to Dr Samwaies, and was thereafter employed by Lord Wharton as his agent. Humphrey Gunter was ejected from Magdalen College, Oxford. Both ministers bought houses in Helaugh, and in 1670, John Gunter paid tax for five hearths. In 1672 both were licensed at Helaugh, but John Gunter also

preached regularly at Tadcaster, where two meeting-places were licensed at the houses of John Tod (Presbyterian) and Robert Morley (Independent). Gunter continued to preach there until his death in 1688, and in 1696 the house of John Wharton was registered as a meeting-place. This John Wharton had been under some suspicion in relation to the Rye House Plot, and in 1683 his house and that of his brother Thomas had been searched for arms. It is likely that they were in some way related to Lord Wharton, but this cannot be certain. The history of the Tadcaster meeting is somewhat obscure after 1688, but a Congregation certainly existed in 1715.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.536,565; Miall, pp.107,298-9, 369; Calamy, II, pp.820-1; Dale, pp.62-4; Matthews, pp.239-40; Northowram Register, p.154; Freedom after Ejection, p.133)

### LEEDS

The borough of Leeds was a strong centre of Dissent, described by Reresby in 1666 as 'the most disaffected place in that county'. In 1660 the Vicar of the Old Church was William Styles, sequestered from Hessle and Hull in 1651 although a Presbyterian (see above, Hull) who died in that year and was replaced by a High Anglican, John Lake. The Lecturer at the Church, Christopher Nesse, was an active Congregationalist (see above, Cottingham) and for two years he remained at his post although he found it increasingly difficult to work with Lake. In 1662 he was ejected, but remained active in the area. At the New Church, St John's, the Curate was Robert Todd, father of Cornelius Todd (see above, List II, Helaugh, and Ellenthorpe) and was ejected in 1662, dying two years later.



His assistant, James Sale, was also ejected, and thereafter preached in Pudsey, (see below, Pudsey) and at times in Leeds itself. In addition there were two puritan schoolmasters, Mr. John Garnet, and Mr. Israel Hawksworth, who also lost their places in 1662.

From 1662 to 1672 the Leeds Dissenters continued to meet, although not formally organised into separate Churches. Nesse remained in Leeds until 1666, when he was forced by the Five Mile Act to move to Clayton and later Morley, but in 1669 he was able to buy a house in Hunslet, within easy reach of Leeds. Throughout the 1660s he was an active preacher and was reported in 1669 as leading conventicles in Sowerby, Pudsey, Tong and Hunslet, and preaching in Leeds itself when able. Sale moved to Pudsey, and although he continued to preach in Leeds, his efforts were increasingly directed towards the Pudsey group. In addition, Oliver Heywood frequently visited Leeds and preached in the houses of friends. There were in the town a number of prosperous and influential families who supported Dissent and opened their houses to ministers and meetings, namely the Dixons, Idles, Thoresbies, Hicksons, Spencers, Jacksons and Milners (see App.II, Pt.B). The support of such men was vital in upholding Dissent in the town, although it appears to have frequently been the practice to meet outside the town boundaries and reduce the risk of arrest and persecution.

In 1672 the Declaration of Indulgence provided the opportunity for greater organisation and the formal institution of Separatist Congregations. From this period emerged two distinct Chapels, the Presbyterians of Mill Hill, and a group

— of Independents who later built a Chapel in Call Lane. An unusual amount of information concerning these two groups is available, especially in relation to Mill Hill, through the involvement of two careful diarists, Oliver Heywood and Ralph Thoresby.

(Calamy, II, pp.797-8,799-800,845; Dale, pp.62,111-14,135-7,155-6; Matthews, pp.361-2,424,487; CSPD 1660-1,pp.475,507,1661-2,pp.211,431;Leeds Corporation Court Books, I,pp.24,26,27,43-4; Lyon Turner, I, pp.161,162.)

#### LEEDS MILL HILL CHAPEL

The Chapel at Mill Hill was built in 1673, as a direct result of the Indulgence. Its members included the influential families mentioned above, and its first pastor was Richard Stretton, previously chaplain to Lord Fairfax. In addition, three other ministers were licensed to preach there, Cornelius Todd (see List II, Ellenthorpe, and Helaugh), Thomas Sharp (see above, Bradford/Horton), and James Sale (see below, Pudsey). Other visiting preachers included Heywood, and Joseph Dawson who had been licensed to preach in a private house in Leeds, but who shortly afterwards became pastor at Cleckheaton (see above, Birstall/Cleckheaton). Prior to the building of the Chapel the group had licensed the homes of Sybil Dawson and Joseph Jackson as meeting-places.

The Chapel was not for long free from persecution. In June 1674 the Leeds Registers record the first attempt to silence Stretton, and thereafter regular orders were made for the group's suppression. Since no arrests or imprisonments were recorded it appears that these orders were not carried out with much rigour, and this suggestion of some official



connivance is borne out by the events of 1675, when the leading members agreed to the Corporation's request to cease meeting publicly in the Chapel. Such an arrangement implied that meetings in private houses would not be disturbed, and for some time these meetings continued to be frequent. By 1677, in fact, the Chapel itself was in use again, for in August of that year, Oliver Heywood was preaching there as a guest.

In 1677 Stretton left Leeds for London, and was succeeded as pastor by Thomas Sharp of Horton. Sharp remained until his death in 1693, and in 1695 was followed by the Rev. Timothy Manlove. In 1710 a new pastor, Joseph Cappe, introduced Unitarian ideas, and by the mid-eighteenth century, the Chapel had clearly become Unitarian.

A great deal is known of Mill Hill through the diaries of Ralph Thoresby, a member and Trustee, like his father John who died in 1679. Thoresby's diary shows two, possibly related, points of great importance concerning this Chapel. First, meetings were held regularly throughout the period, despite persecution, which at most forced them to be held in private houses for certain periods, and secondly that the Congregation practised a moderate brand of Presbyterianism, abiding by the law as far as possible and maintaining connections with the established Church. Thomas Sharp himself attended Church regularly, as did Thoresby and others, and in the 1690s a good deal of trouble was caused by the more rigidly separatist approach of Timothy Manlove. Thoresby himself, when faced by Manlove with a choice between separatist Dissent and conformity, chose the latter and reluctantly severed a long

family connection with Presbyterianism in Leeds. Before Manlove's arrival there can be no doubt that members of Mill Hill Chapel were enabled by this moderate tradition to take part in the administration of the borough, to maintain their influence in the town, and to some extent to protect the group from the worst rigours of persecution.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.269,298,356,385,456,487,507,579;  
Heywood, numerous references especially I, pp.236,246,336,341,  
IV, pp.79,81; Miall, pp.313-16; Thoresby, numerous references  
especially I, pp.15,33-4,36,52-3,125,126-7,153,168-9, III,  
pp.228-30; Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, numerous  
references; Calamy, II, pp.676-8,813; Dale, pp.139-41;  
Matthews, pp.434;466-7; G.D.Lumb, 'An Account of the Life of  
the Rev. Richard Stretton', Thoresby Society, No.XI. (1900-4)  
pp.331-32; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII.(1923-7) pp.442-3.  
( 'Address to James II, 1687' ) No. LII, pp.34-6;  
Yorkshire County Magazine, ed.J.H.Turner, No. IV. (1893)  
pp.46-51.)

#### LEEDS - CALL LANE

In contrast to Mill Hill, the Independents who later built a Chapel at Call Lane suffered a good deal of harassment at the hands of the local authorities in Leeds. The group was gathered by Christopher Nesse, who was licensed to preach at the Main Riding House in Leeds in 1672, and a Congregation was formally instituted in 1674, the ceremony being attended by George Ward, Elder of Kipping (see above, Bradford/Kipping) and Richard Hargreaves and Robert Gledhill, Elders at Topcliffe (see below). Nesse suffered much personal



harassment, being formally excommunicated three times, and upon the third occasion a writ was issued '*de excommunicato capiendo*'. This naturally hampered his work, and in 1675 a serious quarrel broke out in the Chapel, the Congregation accusing him of failing in his pastoral duties, while he in turn accused them of failing to support him sufficiently in his difficulties. At this time, being in danger of immediate arrest, he left Leeds and removed to London, where he became pastor to a Congregation in Fleet Street. The Leeds Congregation then obtained the services of Thomas Whitaker, a young minister educated at Frankland's Academy, and a respected friend of Heywood and Sharp. With Whitaker as pastor the group's fortunes improved, not least because he lacked the revolutionary past of Nesse and was thus less of a target for the Authorities. His friendship with Sharp also encouraged co-operation and friendship with the Presbyterians, and in 1684 when he was imprisoned at York for eighteen months, his Congregation apparently attended some services at Mill Hill, not altogether with the approval of some members, such as Thoresby, who complained of overcrowding. In 1691 a Chapel was built at Call Lane, during which time the group again attended Mill Hill, with Whitaker and Sharp both preaching, a sign of considerably improved relations between the denominations, and again of the friendship between these ministers. Whitaker remained as pastor until his death in 1710, when he was replaced by the Rev. William Moulton, educated under Timothy Jolly at Attercliffe.

(Calamy, II, pp.797-8; Dale, pp.111-4; Matthews, pp.361-2; Lyon Turner, I, p.298; Miall, pp.317-19; Heywood, numerous

references to Whitaker; Thoresby, numerous references, especially III, pp.129-34.)

### MORLEY

Morley was a Chapelry of Batley Parish, immensely strong in Dissent and close by Topcliffe Hall, the meeting-place of an Independent Chapel led by Christopher Marshall. Patronage of Morley Chapel lay with the Savile family, who in 1640 leased it to a group of puritan Trustees. The incumbent at that time was the Rev. Samuel Wales, Curate since 1627 and brother of Elkanah Wales of Pudsey (see below). It was his work which made puritanism so strong in the village. In 1660 the Anglican Church reclaimed the Chapel, although the Trustees still held the land, and appointed Mr Etherington as curate. In 1662 he conformed, and became Vicar of Bramley, but the opposition of the Trustees prevented the appointment of a replacement. Hence the Morley Dissenters were faced with a vacant Chapel, which they regarded as their own, but which they could not legally use.

Several Dissenters of note, and notoriety, lived in the village. The Chapel Trustees included Captain Thomas Oates, hanged for his participation in the Yorkshire Plot, and Joshua Greathead the leader-turned-informer in the same conspiracy. Other leading Dissenters were Abraham Dawson, father of Joseph Dawson, and his elder son Thomas, John Halliday, a wealthy merchant and steward of the Savile estates, Dorothy Waller, daughter of the poet Edmund Waller, and Elizabeth Rhodes, daughter of Sir Edward Rhodes of Great Houghton. Despite this impressive list, however, no organised Chapel emerged at



Morley until 1689. The availability of the Chapel, even in the face of persecution, the moderate Presbyterian outlook established by Samuel Wales, and the willingness of neighbouring ministers to preach in a public pulpit, made it possible for Morley Dissenters to continue to treat the Chapel as a Parish Church and operate in practice as they had legally done before 1660.

The result was that there was regular preaching at Morley, and several ministers chose to live there, but no designated pastor. From 1666 to 1669 Christopher Nesse lived and preached there, although he was also active elsewhere. Heywood was a frequent visitor, and in 1669 a conventicle was reported there, led by Heywood and 'very numerous' including 'many people of good estate'. At some time before 1672 Mr Samuel Bailey came to live in the village. Bailey had been a student in 1662 and in 1670 entered Frankland's Academy, in order to complete his studies, probably leaving in 1671. He then came to Morley, and began preaching in the Chapel. In 1672 he and Christopher Marshall applied twice to be licensed to preach there, but this was refused despite a petition from the inhabitants, and Bailey finally licensed his own house instead. In 1673, when Marshall died, he was called to be pastor at Topcliffe (see below) and thereafter preached occasionally at Morley until his death in 1675. His successor at Topcliffe, Gamaliel Marsden, did not apparently continue this practice, and for some years the most frequent preachers at Morley were Heywood, Josiah Holdsworth of Heckmondwyke and Joseph Dawson of Cleckheaton (see above, Birstall). In 1678 Robert Pickering, ejected from Barlby Chapel, Selby, moved to

live in Morley after some years as chaplain to the Dinelys of Bramhope, and preached in the Chapel until his death in 1680. At the same time David Noble, having kept a school in Morley some years previously, returned from Derbyshire, and seems to have gathered a small group of Independents in the village. From 1680 to 1686 Noble also preached in the Chapel, but was unpopular among some because of his Independency, and the continued visits of Heywood and Dawson, now joined by Thomas Sharp of Leeds, were also important to the Morley Dissenters. In 1686 Noble succeeded Josiah Holdsworth at Heckmondwyke.

In 1687 new Trustees were appointed and, encouraged by the Indulgence, began moves towards a firmer organisation for the Morley group. In 1689, with the passing of the Toleration Act, they invited Joseph Dawson of Cleckheaton to become pastor, and built a Parsonage for him on the Chapel land. In 1698, after a considerable struggle, they finally regained possession of the Chapel. Dawson remained until his death in 1709, and was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Aldred, who had a Congregation of 450 in 1715.

Dissent in Morley provides an interesting example of the varying and often conflicting attitudes current in the movement, in these years. For the most part preaching was available in the Chapel, but no organised Congregation existed. For long the Morley Dissenters clung to the Presbyterian concept of public practice and refused to organise a Separate Congregation, enabled to maintain this position because the empty Chapel provided a public platform no different from that existing before 1660. Only with the



Toleration Act did a separatist Congregation emerge. At the same time, relations with the Independents were generally good. Close ties were maintained with Topcliffe Chapel, the pastor there being among several Independents who preached at Morley, and for some years the two groups even kept joint records, which dealt mainly with Topcliffe, but also referred to Morley Dissenters. These generally good relations were subject to some strain at times, particularly in relation to the Independents at Morley itself, presumably because Noble's short-lived attempt to organise them was regarded as divisive. It would appear that the leading Dissenters of Morley were distinctly Presbyterian, and while ready to maintain a brotherly accord with nearby Topcliffe and accept help from there, preferred that Dissent in their own village should be modelled upon a parish system and a national Church, the old Presbyterian dream. Only the legalisation of Nonconformity in 1689 brought acceptance of a new Separate existence.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.165,225,261,268,289,456; Calamy, II, pp.801, 811, IV, p.948; Dale, pp.104-7,117; Matthews, pp.159-60,272, 340-1,389; Heywood, I, pp.249,265,276,289,290,292,295,340, II,pp.9,24,25,108,243,252, III,p.156, IV, p.306; Northowram Register, p.142; Miall, pp.320-2; W. Smith, Morley, Ancient and Modern, especially pp.12-23,227-41; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, especially pp.2-3,12-23,28-31.)

PENISTONE

In 1662 the minister at Penistone Chapel was Henry Swift, who refused to conform but who was not apparently ejected. This anomaly occurred because the Chapel was poor and isolated, and thus not a desirable incumbency, and because Swift had the support of certain influential families in the locality - Rich of Bull-house, Bosvile of Gunthwait and Wordsworth of Waterhall. He remained at the Chapel until his death in 1689. In the early 1660s his presence made Penistone a popular resort for Dissenting ministers, Heywood, for example, travelling there on several occasions to preach and to seize a rare opportunity to take Communion. Swift's position was decidedly strange, since he was treated by the ecclesiastical authorities at times as the lawful incumbent, and at other times as an illegal intruder. In 1663 he was imprisoned for preaching, but returned to his place upon release. In 1665 he partially conformed by taking the Oath enjoined by the Five Mile Act and agreeing to 'read some few prayers to keep his place', but he did not declare his Assent and Consent or subscribe to the Act of Uniformity. In 1666 he was again imprisoned, and in 1669 his services were reported as conventicles, taking place in the parish Church 'there being no lawful incumbent'. In 1672 he did not bother to take out a licence, and in 1674 and 1682 he was treated as the legal incumbent in the Archbishop's Visitations, being cited to the ecclesiastical courts for not observing the proper ceremonies.

As long as Swift remained at Penistone the local Dissenters, led by the family of Rich at Bull-house, did not organise any distinct Congregation, but continued to attend the parish Church. Mr Sylvanus Rich also employed Nathan



Denton (see above, Bolton and Hickleton) as family chaplain, and Denton and Peter Naylor (see below, Pontefract) supplied for Swift during his terms of imprisonment. In 1672 Denton was licensed to preach at Bull-house, and it was to Bull-house that the Dissenters removed upon Swift's death in 1689. This time the vacancy was filled by a conformist, and the Dissenters ceased to attend Church, Elkanah Rich writing to a cousin to offer him their family pew as he 'would not stomach' the ceremonies of Anglicanism. A Separate Congregation was now established, with the Bull-house registered as its meeting-place in 1689 and a new Chapel built there in 1692. Its first pastor was Daniel Denton, son of Nathan, who had been described in the Common Fund Survey as preaching in several places, and who remained as pastor until 1721. Although Miall says that Swift's successor at Penistone, Edmund Hough was a man of the same principles as Swift, the removal of the Dissenters belies this, and Dissenting activity in Penistone itself died out, until, Bull-house having become Unitarian and then Wesleyan, a new Chapel was built in the nineteenth century at Netherfield.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.153,321,467; Calamy, II, p.791, IV, p.941; Dale, pp.149-51; Matthews, p.472; Miall, p.329; Heywood, I, pp.188,320, II, pp.130,153,292; Northowram Register, pp.143,148; Freedom after Ejection, p.130.)

### PONTEFRACT

The earliest centre of Dissent in Pontefract was apparently the house of Alderman Leonard Ward at Tanshelfe, just outside the borough boundaries. In 1660 the Vicar, Joseph Ferret, was forced to give way to the former incumbent, and went to live in

Ward's house, where he preached until his death in 1663. He was then succeeded as chaplain and pastor by John Noble, ejected from nearby Smeton, who was licensed at Tanshelfe in 1672 and remained there until his death in 1679.

At the same time there appears to have been some kind of Dissenting revival in Pontefract itself, stemming originally from the preaching of imprisoned ministers stationed at the windows of the gaol and attracting the attention of passers-by, until they gradually drew considerable crowds. In 1669 three conventicles were reported at Pontefract, one 'Presbyterian', one 'Anabaptist' and one Quaker. The reference to a Baptist group is one of very few in Yorkshire, and no other reference is made to any such group in Pontefract. It may well have been an error, since denominational labels are notoriously suspect for this period, especially when given by outsiders. Certainly, however, it shows that more than one group was meeting in the area in the 1660s.

Among the ministers who came to preach in Pontefract was Peter Naylor, ejected from Houghton Chapel, Lancashire, and apparently an itinerant preacher for some years thereafter, supplying upon one occasion for Henry Swift at Penistone. From 1672 he seems to have settled into a pattern of dividing his time between Pontefract and Wakefield. In that year he was licensed to preach in the house of Boniface Cooper in Pontefract, and in his own house at Alverthorpe, Wakefield, and thereafter he preached regularly in both places until his death in 1690. From 1679 the Tanshelfe group was without a pastor and it seems likely that, during the ensuing decade, Naylor's visits were the mainstay of Dissent in Pontefract, although other



ministers such as Mark Triggot (see above, Kirk Sandal, Barnsley and Thurnscoe) also visited and preached in the town occasionally. In 1689 a barn at 'Newgate ad Tanshelfe' was registered as a meeting-place. In 1691 Jeremiah Gill was preaching there, but was not an ordained minister, being described in the Common Fund Survey as a worthy preacher but in need of money to complete his studies and buy books. Shortly after this he removed to Hull, and became pastor at Dagger Lane Independent Chapel. In 1692 Timothy Manlove was preaching at Pontefract, but left after a short time and in 1696 became pastor at Mill Hill, Leeds.

Not until 1694 did the Pontefract Dissenters obtain another fixed minister, in the person of John Heywood, whose house was registered as a meeting-place in 1695. He remained until his death in 1704, by which time the Congregation was firmly established, although its denomination later changed to Congregationalist and then Unitarian.

For much of the period the situation in Pontefract was thus far from stable, with one organised group at Tanshelfe having a regular minister until 1679, and others meeting in the town, reliant upon visiting preachers. In 1676, sixty Dissenters were reported in Pontefract, some of course being Quakers. From 1679 there was no fixed minister at all, and the Tanshelfe group probably joined with others in relying upon Peter Naylor, and after 1690 upon several temporary preachers. In 1694 the arrival of John Heywood heralded a more stable period, with the two groups now apparently united under their new pastor.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.161,286,395,458,460; Calamy, II, pp.407, 790,809; Dale, pp.55-6, 114-5, 200-1; Matthews, pp.194,361,

366-7; Miall, pp.332-3; G. Fox, History of Pontefract,  
(Pontefract, 1827) p.353; Northowram Register, pp.135,  
142-3, 148,153,154; Freedom after Ejection, p.133;  
Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Pontefract)

### PUDSEY

The first and greatest leader of Dissent in Pudsey was the Rev. Elkanah Wales, ejected from Pudsey Chapel in 1662 after fifty years as incumbent. Wales was a widely known and respected figure who had long drawn great crowds to hear his preaching from a wide area of the West Riding. In 1660 he was one of the Royalist Presbyterians favoured by the King, and this encouraged him to continue preaching in Pudsey Chapel after his ejection, until the doors were locked against him. In 1663 he was still living in Pudsey when he was arrested for preaching in Bramley Chapel but escaped imprisonment because of his age and reputation. In 1666 the Five Mile Act forced him to leave, and while he was away his house was seized and his goods thrown onto the street. For some time he wandered about North Yorkshire, staying for a while with John Rogers at Lartington (see above, List II) and then moved to Newcastle to live with his wife's family. In 1668 he returned to Leeds where he died at the house of his cousin, Robert Hickson, in May 1669. Hickson was later a member at Mill Hill Chapel (see App.II, Pt.B).

After Wales departure Dissent in Pudsey was upheld by James Sale, ejected from Leeds St Johns, who had moved there in 1662. In 1669 an Independent Conventicle was also reported in Pudsey, led by Christopher Nesse and John Hurd (see above, Leeds).



In 1672 Sale was licensed to preach in his own house and in the house of James Moxon in Pudsey, an application to use the school-house being denied. A friend of Heywood and Sharp, he remained the leader of Dissent in the village until his death in 1679, although there is no evidence that he ever formally instituted an organised Congregation. Thereafter the group experienced some difficulties, having no fixed minister, and Heywood is found lamenting the state of religion in 'good old Mr. Wales' town', but it survived, upheld by Sale's family and by Richard Hutton, merchant, the younger son of Sir Thomas Hutton of Poppleton (see App.II, Pt.A). In 1689 the house of Beatrice Sale was registered as a meeting-place by Richard Hutton. According to Miall the group had purchased and fitted up a barn for meetings in 1672, and built a Chapel in 1695, but this appears to be incorrect. In 1694 the house and barn of Abraham Heinworth was registered as a meeting-place and in 1695 the 'barn, late William Lepton's' was registered by Hutton, Abraham Heinworth, John Rudd and Richard Farrar. It seems that Miall was confused and misdated this event. The first Chapel was in fact built in 1709, in April of that year a group of fourteen Trustees buying land for the purpose. These Trustees included Hutton, John Milner 'gent!' and Richard Thornton Esq. with others of lesser standing.

From 1689 the main preacher at Pudsey was John Ray, who had assisted John Holdsworth at Cleckheaton and continued for some time to alternate occasionally with Holdsworth (see above, Birstall/Cleckheaton). By 1699 he had become pastor, and was still in Pudsey in 1707-9, in which years he received financial

assistance from the Presbyterian Fund gathered by Richard Stretton. In view of the wealth of some members this seems surprising. In 1716 the Pudsey Congregation numbered 250 persons. By the late eighteenth-century the Chapel had become Unitarian, and in the nineteenth century, after a difficult period, was apparently revived as a Congregational Chapel.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.161,235,236,261,347,401,441; Calamy II, pp.798,801, IV, p.946; Dale, pp.135-7, 159-64; Matthews, pp.424, 506; Miall, pp.334-6; Heywood, numerous references, especially I, pp.179,199,230,240,263,276,277,305, II, pp.40,91; Northowram Register, pp.151,152; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H.Turner, No.III (1893) pp.45-6)

#### RAWDON

Rawdon lay in a strongly Dissenting area, north of Leeds, in the parish of Guiseley, and close to Bramhope (see List II) and Idle (see above). It originally became a centre of puritan activity through the encouragement of the Rawden family (see App.II, Pt.A) but by 1672 the family had apparently severed its connection with Dissent. Two ministers were licensed in Rawdon in that year, James Hartley, who was also licensed to preach at Kildwick in Craven (see List II, Kildwick) and Josiah Collier, described by Heywood as 'a great antinomian and preacher'. Hartley was licensed to preach at John Hardaker's house and Collier in that of Sarah Grimshaw. At some time after 1672, probably in 1679, another minister, Mr. Samuel Coates of Wath-upon-Dearne, moved to Rawdon, which was his birth-place and in which he inherited a sizeable estate.



Miall believes, following Calamy, that Coates preached in Rawdon in the 1660s, as well as at Wath and in Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, from which he had been ejected, but this seems unlikely given the distances involved. Coates was known to Heywood, who visited him fairly frequently, and until 1678 these visits were always to Wath, while from 1679 he always went to Rawdon. Coates was licensed at Wath and Bridgford in 1672, but not at Rawdon, and it seems doubtful that he would have preached there before 1679, except possibly on occasional visits to his family.

After 1679, however, Coates became the leader of Dissent in Rawdon, and later pastor to an organised Congregation there. In 1676 Guiseley parish was reported to contain thirteen Dissenters, but probably these would be only those who never attended Church. Coates' numbers were probably also swelled by members from the neighbouring parish of Calverley. After his death in 1684 the Congregation continued without an ordained minister. In 1689-90 two meeting-places were registered, one at the house of John Moore in Rawdon, the other at Widow Hall's in Calverley. Among a number of registrations in this area, it is clear that these two were for the use of this particular group, for they were signed by many of the same people, including John Hardaker, whose house had been licensed for Hartley in 1672, and John Moore, who in 1695 registered himself as a Dissenting minister. It seems likely in the long absence of a minister, that Moore, perhaps an Elder, had been preaching to the group for some time.

The Rawdon group is of peculiar interest because of some confusion over its denomination. The Rawden family were

Presbyterians, and among the ministers who visited and preached at their house was Oliver Heywood. In 1672 the Indulgence licences were issued as 'Independent', but unlike some Independent Churches, they apparently did not require their ministers to be ordained. Hartley was not ordained, and is not listed by Calamy, while Collier was called an Antinomian. There is no absolute proof that Collier was connected with this group, and the name of Sarah Grimshaw, at whose house he preached, is later connected with Quakerism in the area, so that it seems possible that Collier's adherents were some type of radical puritan sect who later joined, as many did, the Quaker movement. It is unlikely that they would have been Quakers in 1672, for the Society sought no licenses, and Heywood would probably not have confused them with 'Antinomians'. Nothing more is known of Hartley after 1672, but it was clearly his auditors who gathered around Coates. Coates is described by Calamy, Dale and Matthews as an Independent, but J.H. Turner, in his Nonconformity in Idle says that he leaned towards the Baptists and fostered an early Baptist Church at Rawdon. This would explain the apparent lack of any search for a new minister after 1684, and it is probable that the preaching function was taken over by John Moore, who simply sought to regularise his position in the eyes of the law in 1695. It is doubtful if the group were fully Baptist, and more likely that they were Independents of a fairly radical kind. Whatever their precise denominational label, and these were often ill-defined in this period, they were clearly among the more sectarian in Yorkshire. No Chapel was built in Rawdon until the nineteenth century, which suggests that the group died out fairly early in the eighteenth



century, but it is clear that from 1662 to 1689 and for some years thereafter, an active Dissenting group existed in Rawdon and became an organised Church with a pastoral succession before 1689, and probably from 1672.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.555,570; Calamy, II, p.530; Dale, pp.182-3; Matthews, pp.123-4; Heywood, I, pp.230,233,270,343, II, pp.32, 61,85,86,97,98,147,148, III, p.131; Northowram Register, pp.142,144,153; J.H.Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, pp.16-17,23)

### ROTHERHAM

The Presbyterian Chapel at Rotherham arose from the labours of Luke Clayton, Vicar of Rotherham from 1646 to 1662. After his ejection he remained in the parish, and in 1663 was joined by his great friend, John Shaw, ejected in Hull (see above). Shaw had been Vicar of Rotherham until driven out by the Royalists in 1642. From 1663 the two men preached regularly in Rotherham and occasionally elsewhere, and held conventicles together, which were attended by some influential families including those of Westby of Ravenfield, Hatfield of Laughton and Stanniforth of Firbeck (see App.II, Pt.A). In 1669 a Conventicle of forty to fifty Presbyterians was reported, led by Clayton and Shaw. In 1670 Shaw died, and Clayton continued his work alone until his own death in 1674. In 1672 he took out licences to preach in the house of his brother Samuel, and in his own house.

After Clayton's death the group was apparently in some difficulties, and in the 1676 Census only three Dissenters were recorded as living in Rotherham. Even allowing for the tendency to minimise numbers and not to report Occasional

Conformists, this suggests some decline in the Congregation. One reason for this was undoubtedly the lack of a regular minister. Miall suggests that a Mr Raistrick may have preached in Rotherham for a while, but the group certainly had no fixed minister until 1693, when John Heywood was persuaded to become pastor and leave his position as chaplain to the Westby family. He had apparently preached in Rotherham for some time, the Westbys still supporting the Congregation, but the Common Fund Survey had reported the group as being 'in need', presumably of a minister. Clearly, Heywood's first duty lay with the Westbys and such occasional supply was not satisfactory. Meeting-places had been registered at the house of Mrs Abigail Mandeville (1689) and at the houses of Mr John Mandeville in Rotherham and Mr Benjamin Westby of Ravenfield in 1691.

Heywood remained as pastor for only one year, before removing to Pontefract, and the group again lacked a minister until 1701, from which time there was a regular pastoral succession. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Chapel had become Unitarian.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.160,260,450,517; Calamy, II, pp.788-9; Dale, pp.41-2; Matthews, pp.120-1; Heywood, I, pp.230,233, 259,305, II, pp.62,93, III, p.137; Northowram Register, pp.143,150,151; Freedom after Ejection, p.136.)

### SELBY

In 1662 Thomas Birdsall was ejected from Selby Church and Robert Pickering from Barlby Chapel, Selby, both leaving the area shortly after (see List II, Poppleton, and above, Morley). According to Dale a Mr Thomas Lecke was also ejected



from Barlby, but this seems unlikely, as the Chapel and village were too small to employ two ministers. It is possible that Lecke was ejected from nearby Barmby-on-the-Marsh, just south of Selby, where he had previously been incumbent, but from 1657 one William Pomeroy was Curate of Barmby, where the inhabitants had the right to elect their own minister. There is no record of Pomeroy being ejected, although Dale confused him with John Pomeroy, ejected in Beverley (see above, Beverley) and it is possible that he had left before 1662 and that Lecke had returned. It is equally possible that Pomeroy simply conformed and certainly neither Calamy nor Matthews mentions Lecke, so that it is impossible to be sure whether Lecke was ejected, and if so from where.

There is no evidence of Dissent in Selby in the 1660s, but it apparently survived, for in 1672 licences were issued for James Duncanson, ejected from Chatton, Northumberland, to preach in his own house in Selby and in that of Robert Morewood. How long Duncanson lived in Selby is unknown, but he died at the house of Richard Stretton in Leeds in 1674. From the mid-1670s Selby was regularly visited by Noah Ward, who lived at Askham but preached regularly in Selby and Ellenthorpe until 1687, when he became assistant to Ralph Ward in York (see List II, Askham, and Ellenthorpe, and above, York). Thereafter he preached in Selby occasionally, and in 1689 he registered the house of Mr Barston as a meeting-place. In 1690 the Common Fund Survey recorded that Ward preached at Selby every three weeks to considerable numbers, but that the Congregation was not able to maintain a fixed minister. Help was apparently forthcoming, however, for in 1690 a Mrs Beatrice Bacon, one of

the wealthier members granted land for a new Chapel to a group of Trustees who included Thomas Coulton, Ward's successor at York (see above, York), Francis Marwood and John Hall of Barlby, Samuel Smith, grocer of York and John Travers, the newly-arrived pastor. From this time the Selby Chapel had a regular pastoral succession, and in addition, a Chapel school was endowed by Leonard Chamberlain of Hull (see above, Hull, and App.II, Pt.B), who also left a legacy to the Selby minister at his death in 1716. Thus after some difficult years the Selby group survived and established a permanent Chapel, which had become Unitarian by the late eighteenth century. (Lyon Turner, I, pp.218,329,383,471,500; Calamy, II, p.510, IV, p.672; Dale, pp.96,118-19,187; Matthews, pp.172,394; Miall, p.345; Freedom after Ejection, p.135; York Quarter Sessions Records, Vol. F.10,p.2; W.W. Morrell, History and Antiquities of Selby. (Selby, 1867) pp.260-2.)

### SHEFFIELD

Dissent was strong in the town of Sheffield and its environs, finding support especially among the tradesmen of the cutlery industry and in certain wealthy families who held estates in the area, particularly the Hatfields of Laughton (see App.II, Pt.A). In addition, Sheffield was not a chartered borough, which made it an attractive refuge for ejected ministers, and a considerable number lived and preached there from 1662 to 1689. From this situation there emerged two organised Chapels, but a good deal of more sporadic, less organised activity also occurred.

In 1660-2 several ministers were ejected in the Sheffield area. The Vicar of Sheffield, James Fisher, had come there



from London, after marrying Elizabeth, sister of Anthony Hatfield of Laughton, and was ejected in 1662 along with Matthew Bloom, his assistant and Curate of Attercliffe. The Vicar of Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, was Roland Hancock, ejected from Ecclesfield in 1660 and silenced in 1662 at Bradfield Chapel nearby. Also ejected from Sheffield was Edward Prime. All of these ministers remained in the area, and were joined by others before 1672. Thomas Birbeck was ejected from Ackworth, and moved to Sheffield where he had previously worked, while Richard Taylor, ejected from Long Houghton, was a native of the town. After his ejection he became chaplain to the Rhodes of Great Houghton, and then to John Wordsworth of Swathe. In 1672 he was licensed to preach in all three places, but after that time he seems to have settled permanently in Sheffield.

In the 1660s there was thus a good deal of Dissenting activity in the area, although only Fisher's Congregation was properly instituted and organised. Heywood frequently travelled to Sheffield to meet and preach with his fellow ministers and in 1669 several conventicles were reported. On Thursdays and Sundays some forty or fifty 'of the ordinary sort of people' met to hear preaching by Thomas Birbeck, Roland Hancock, Matthew Bloom and Richard Taylor, in Attercliffe and in Shirecliffe Hall. From this group an organised Chapel was to emerge after 1672. About thirty people were meeting in the houses of Joseph Hancock (a shearer) and John Barber (a paring-knife maker). Lyon Turner believed these to be Independents, but Whitley states that they were 'traditionally Baptists'. This seems unlikely since the

report of the Conventicle stated that 'their religion cannot be learnt, but they come to Church'. At this time the Independent Church gathered by James Fisher was without a minister, and since a John Barber was elected Elder of that Church in 1669 it can be assumed that the report refers to Fisher's group.

In 1672 several ministers were licensed in the Sheffield area. Edward Pryme was licensed to preach in his own house and the Malthouse owned by Robert Brilsworth. Thomas Birbeck was licensed to preach in his own house and Roland Hancock in Shirecliffe Hall, which he apparently owned. Richard Taylor was licensed to preach in Sheffield, Swathe and Great Houghton, and the house of James Fisher was licensed as a meeting-place for Robert Durant (see below). Matthew Bloom was licensed to preach in the house of Robert Powell in Attercliffe, and in his own house.

After 1672 the situation became better organised and the two distinct Chapels emerged, one in Sheffield at Fisher's house, the other at Attercliffe and Shirecliffe, led by Hancock and Bloom. In addition Pryme, Birbeck and Taylor continued to preach as and where they could. Birbeck died in 1674 and Taylor in 1681. There was one other minister living in Sheffield, Mr Nathaniel Baxter, chaplain to Sir William Middleton of Aldwark Hall, Ecclesfield, who occasionally preached publicly in Sheffield, but whose main ministry occurred further south, in Derbyshire. In 1676 some 300 Dissenters were reported to live in Sheffield.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.160,365,372,388,496,501,516,517,518,541,574; Calamy, II, pp.789,793, IV, p.941; Dale, pp,19-20,



151-2, 167-8; Matthews, pp.38,58,477; for Fisher, Durant, Bloom and Hancock, see below, references for Chapels; Heywood, I, pp.230,242,306, III, p.137; Tanner MSS 150, ff.27-37, Deanery of Doncaster.)

#### SHEFFIELD - UPPER CHAPEL

The Upper Chapel in Sheffield was founded by James Fisher, who gathered an Independent Church while Vicar of Sheffield, and formally instituted it in 1652. In 1662, when he was ejected, a good part of his Congregation followed him, and he remained their pastor until his death in 1667. For much of this time, however, he was prevented by imprisonment or illness from fulfilling his duties. In 1663 he was arrested in connection with the Yorkshire Plot and after appearances at the Sessions in Rotherham, Doncaster, Wakefield and Pontefract, he was imprisoned in York Castle. From there he was twice summoned to the Assizes, where nothing could be proved against him in relation to the Plot, but was returned to prison each time because he would not promise to cease preaching. Fisher was a notorious Independent, and very real attempts were made to prove him guilty of treason, but they failed. He was released, probably in 1664, but re-arrested, accused of speaking treasonable words in one of his sermons. On this occasion he had to travel to York to face trial, but one of his accusers being convicted of perjury and the other not appearing, he escaped imprisonment. In 1665 he was arrested again upon suspicion of a new plot, and again imprisoned at York, where Captain Hodgson of Coley, also a prisoner, found much help in his company and ministry, and later recorded how Fisher

helped other prisoners like himself to endure their sufferings. On this occasion, again, nothing could be proved against him, but he was released only after intervention by the Duke of Buckingham. It is unlikely that Fisher was actually involved in any of these plots, but as a notorious Independent he was an object of suspicion, and a natural target for the authorities. He was finally released in 1666, but was unable to return to Sheffield because of the Five Mile Act, which one as notorious as himself could not hope to evade, and took refuge with his brothers-in-law, Anthony Hatfield at Laughton and John Hatfield at Hatfield. In 1667 he died prematurely, worn out by long illnesses contracted as a result of his many imprisonments.

Despite Fisher's long absences his Congregation held together, aided by their organisation and probably by the ministrations of the other preachers in Sheffield. In 1668, after Fisher's death, they were introduced by Mr Woolhouse of Glapwell, Derbyshire, to Mr Robert Durant, and after a probationary period he became their pastor in 1669.

Durant had been ejected from Risby, Lincolnshire, and moved to Redness, Yorkshire, where he preached privately. In 1666 he was fined at York Assizes for preaching, and in 1668 he was arrested with John Ryther (see above, Ferriby) and imprisoned. It was during this imprisonment that he became acquainted with Woolhouse, who expended much charity on Dissenting prisoners.

Durant remained as pastor until his death in 1678 and was licensed to preach in Fisher's house in 1672. He built up a considerable congregation, and before his death a Chapel had been built, in Waingate, Sheffield according to Dale,



and at Snig Hall according to Miall. Among the members were the Brights of Carbrook (see App.II, Pt.A). At some time after Fisher's death the Congregation apparently adopted Presbyterian principles, and this may have been under the influence of Durant. The conventicle report of 1669, however, suggests that some tendency in this direction existed before he was formally called as pastor. Certainly Edward Pryme, who frequently supplied as guest preacher after Durant's death, was a Presbyterian.

From 1678 to 1680 the group was without a fixed pastor, and relied upon Pryme's help until, in 1680, Timothy Jolly, son of Thomas Jolly, was asked to serve for a trial period. Born in 1656, Jolly had attended Frankland's Academy and in 1677 went to London to prepare for the ministry. In 1680 he was asked to return to Sheffield, and, after a year's probation, was called as pastor in 1681. He was thereupon ordained by his father, Heywood, Hancock and Bloom, and to satisfy those of the Congregation who retained strong Independent principles, was also set apart as pastor by the ruling Elders. He remained in Sheffield until his death in 1714, although his ministry was far from peaceful. In 1682 a warrant was issued against him under the Five Mile Act and he had to go into hiding. When he reappeared a further warrant was issued, and he was taken before Sir John Reresby. His goods were seized to pay a twenty pound fine, and when he refused to give bond to cease preaching, he was sent prisoner to York, where he remained for over a year. At first he was well treated and allowed to lodge in the city, but after an appearance at the Assizes where he still refused to be bound over, he was imprisoned for six months in the Castle.

At the end of 1683 he returned to Sheffield and resumed his ministry.

In 1689 several meeting-places were registered in Sheffield, of which the New Hall (Snig Hall) and the house of Margaret Moake were probably used by this group. In 1690-2 Jolly was described as pastor at Sheffield, having reasonable financial supply. He did not attend the Wakefield meeting which established the United Brethren in Yorkshire in 1691, although Pryme, Baxter and James Wright (then minister at Attercliffe, see below) did so. The reason for his absence is not known, but Jolly was certainly of moderate principles and his Chapel was attended by both Presbyterians and Independents. In 1698, with the death of Richard Frankland, Jolly took over the Academy, bringing it back to Attercliffe where Frankland had lived for some years (see List II, Rathmell). In 1700 the Congregation built a new Chapel, known as the Upper Chapel, and in 1712 was the largest Congregation in Yorkshire, having 1,163 members.

In 1714 Jolly died, and the Chapel was rent by severe quarrels between Presbyterian and Independent. Some ill-feeling had long existed, and came to the surface from time to time, as at Jolly's ordination, but his moderate principles and strong personality had held the Congregation together. Without him, however, a split was almost unavoidable, especially as his successor, Mr Wadsworth, began to show Unitarian tendencies. In 1715 a large group who could not accept these finally seceded, and built the Nether Chapel.

(Calamy, II, pp.448,785-6, 787-8, IV, pp.598-9; Dale, pp.57-60, 119-20,184-6; Matthews, pp.173-4,198-9,399; Miall, pp.110, 350-2; Freedom after Ejection, p.130; Heywood I, pp.233,305,



IV, pp.164-5; Northowram Register, p.143; Jolly, Note-book, Introduction, pp.XXVII - XXIX, Text, pp.19,29,31,32,41,42,44, 45,46,48,52,54,78,137.)

#### SHEFFIELD - ATTERCLIFFE

The Independent Church at Attercliffe grew from the labours of two ministers, Roland Hancock and Matthew Bloom. The area had a considerable history of puritanism with the Revs. Gower, Bayshaw and Blythe, son of William Blythe of Norton Lees, the commander of the Parliamentary forces in Sheffield, all preaching there before 1660. In 1660 Matthew Bloom was Curate of Attercliffe, while Hancock was Vicar of Ecclesfield. In that year the sequestered Vicar demanded Hancock's removal, but the Church Trustees, who included Sir John Bright (see App.II, Pt.A) enabled him to remain by appointing him as an assistant minister. In 1662 the Vicar at last succeeded in having this appointment rescinded, and Hancock was ejected, Bloom receiving a similar fate a few months later, in August. Both remained in the area, although not uninterruptedly. In 1665 Hancock was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave and take refuge with the Rich family, at Bull-house (see above, Penistone). He had returned by 1669, and was preaching in his own house, Shirecliffe Hall. He also preached occasionally at Wakefield, where he was arrested and imprisoned in 1668. Bloom was arrested shortly after his ejection for preaching at Attercliffe, and spent some time in York Castle, but by 1666 was living in Sheffield, where he paid tax on six hearths. Both ministers were reported as conventicle leaders in 1669, and both were licensed in 1672 (see above).

From the time of the Indulgence the two ministers seem to have formally organised their respective Congregations, and in 1676 decided to unite them. For two years they preached alternately to a Congregation of fifty-one, whose members included the Hatfields of Laughton and one branch of the Wordsworth family (see App.II, Pt.A). In 1678, however, a quarrel broke out over the site of a new meeting-place which Bloom believed Hancock to be trying to place at Shirecliffe. The Congregation broke up, twenty-two members joining Bloom at Attercliffe, the remainder staying with Hancock at Shirecliffe. After long efforts by Heywood, who knew and respected both ministers, some kind of reconciliation was effected in 1680, but the Congregation did not formally reunite. In 1682-3 when persecution reached a new height, Bloom was forced to take up the trade of maltster in order to support his family, and his Congregation could meet only occasionally. Shirecliffe Hall being more isolated and private, and Hancock financially independent, his Congregation fared rather better. In 1685, however, Hancock died, and his Congregation, bereft of their pastor, rejoined the group at Attercliffe.

In 1686 Bloom also died, and the Congregation faced some difficulties without a fixed minister. Preaching was made available by the efforts of Nathaniel Baxter (see above) but he had responsibilities elsewhere, and such arrangements were clearly unsatisfactory. By 1689 a new pastor had been obtained in the person of James Wright, whose house at Attercliffe was registered as a meeting-place in July 1689, along with a barn owned by Margaret Stainforth. In 1691 he attended the



Wakefield meeting of the United Brethren as pastor at Attercliffe, but the Common Fund Survey of 1690-2 described him, ominously, as 'of Attercliffe and other places, in need, having only twelve pounds a year and three children, going blind'. Certainly his activities were short-lived, presumably because of this affliction, for the Congregation were soon relying again upon preaching by Baxter and by Edward Pryme. Pryme had remained in Sheffield throughout the period, and preached fortnightly in his own house, but apparently did not formally gather and organise a Congregation. In 1689 he registered his own house as a meeting-place, but in 1690-2 was described in the Common Fund Survey as a travelling preacher. Until 1697 he alternated at Attercliffe with Baxter, but after the latter's death in that year, seems to have become pastor in practice although he was never formally called to that office. He was, of course, a Presbyterian and, according to Calamy, an Occasional Conformist, and may have well avoided such offices through some scruples concerning Separation.

In 1708 Pryme died, and again the Congregation had difficulty in obtaining a pastor. On this occasion these difficulties lasted for some time, and increasingly the members turned to the services of Jolly's Upper Chapel. In 1700 Prime and Jolly had agreed to admit each other's members to Communion, and this practice encouraged the Attercliffe group to turn to Jolly. By 1714 the Congregation had almost merged into the Upper Chapel, and by the mid-eighteenth century it had died out completely, its former members scattered among the other Chapels in Sheffield.

(Calamy, II, pp.786-7, 787-8; Dale, pp.20-1,64-6,119-20,176-8; Matthews, pp.38,61,246,399; Miall, pp.347-52; Freedom after Ejection, pp.129,130; Heywood, I, pp.255,306, II, pp.24,71,98,99, 101,106,165,199-200,201,238,293, IV, pp.83,164-5; Northowram Register, p.143.)

#### SHEFFIELD - STANNINGTON

A Chapel also emerged at Stannington, near Sheffield, in the parish of Bradfield. In 1653 a Chapel had been built at Stannington, Bradfield, by one Richard Spoone, the first minister of which was Ralph Wood, ejected from Saddleworth but conforming shortly after (see List II, Saddleworth). In 1662 its minister was Isaac Darwent, who was ejected, but continued to preach in the Chapel until a successor was appointed in 1663, and who remained in the area until the advent of the Five Mile Act. Nothing more is known of him, but he was still alive in 1671. According to Miall the Chapel was used from 1662 to 1689 by Dissenters, but they also followed the Prayer Book until the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. It is quite possible that a privately-built Chapel of this kind could be used by Dissenters, with some surface conformity to escape persecution, but Miall's account contains some oddities. If Darwent was ejected, one must assume some measure of control by the ecclesiastical authorities, sufficient to ensure the appointment of a successor who was a conformist. Miall says nothing of him, or how he connived with the Dissenters. According to him, the last minister to lead the Dissenters there, and to practise this superficial conformity was Abraham Dawson, later pastor at Cottingham (see above,



Cottingham), who was there until 1689. In fact Dawson was still at Stannington in 1690-2, when he was described in the Common Fund Survey as chaplain to the Gills of Carr-house and preacher at Stannington. There is no evidence in Dawson's background or later career to suggest that he would have been prepared to take part in this kind of partial conformity.

It is certain, however, that Dissenting activity occurred in Stannington and Bradfield throughout the period. From 1660 to 1662 Roland Hancock preached in Bradfield Chapel, with the connivance of the Curate John Hoole, until silenced by the Act of Uniformity. Hoole was ejected in 1662, but had conformed by 1664, when he became Curate of Coley. A far from hearty conformist, he was liked and respected by Oliver Heywood and disliked by the Vicar of Halifax, Dr Hook. In 1669 he returned to Bradfield, and remained until his death in 1701. Hancock had continued to preach in Bradfield (according to Calamy), holding a weekly lecture there, and in 1666 Oliver Heywood attended one of his sermons in that parish. By 1689 when 'a barn, late Richard Spoon's' was registered as a meeting-place, Dawson had taken over the preaching office, and may or may not have been officially called as pastor.

The early history of Stannington Chapel is thus somewhat obscure. Whether the Chapel was used by Dissenters, with some measure of Conformity to escape persecution, or whether it was simply one of several places in which they held conventicles is unclear. Its description in 1689 as 'a barn' may suggest that it was no more than a barn fitted up for meetings, but it is equally likely that it was so described in order to prevent the Anglican establishment claiming it, as they did elsewhere.

Certainly there was a privately-built and endowed Chapel in Stannington, to which the Dissenters could lay certain claims. Certainly a Dissenting Congregation was meeting in Stannington and Bradfield throughout the period. The most likely explanation is that they did use the Chapel, and having the sympathy of Hoole, used it regularly and publicly, possibly making the gesture of 'some few prayers' to avoid persecution. In 1689 they certainly obtained complete possession of the Chapel, again probably with the connivance of Hoole, and from that date at least, a properly constituted Non-conformist Congregation met in the Chapel at Stannington.

(Calamy, II, pp.786-7, 817; Dale, pp.48,64-6,83-4; Matthews, pp.158,246,275; Miall, p.352; Freedom after Ejection, p.130; Heywood, I, p.230; Northowram Register, p.143)

#### TOPCLIFFE

Topcliffe Independent Church was gathered by Christopher Marshall, minister at Woodkirk, near Leeds, probably in 1645. Marshall remained as pastor until his death in 1673. In 1662 he was ejected from Woodkirk, and the group found its main meeting-place at Topcliffe Hall, home of Captain John Pickering, who had been a friend of Oliver Cromwell, and as a leading member of the Congregation not only housed its meetings, but in 1670 donated land for a burial ground at Tingley. In 1663 Marshall and some of his members were imprisoned in connection with the Yorkshire Plot, but were all acquitted, unlike their Presbyterian friends at Morley (see above, Morley). In 1666 the Five Mile Act forced Marshall to move to Horbury, but he continued his services at Topcliffe without interruption. He also preached elsewhere,



being reported in 1669 as holding a conventicle at Swathe, and in 1672 he applied for a licence to preach in Morley Chapel, as well as at Topcliffe Hall, an application that was refused. Nevertheless he was an excellent and devoted pastor to a strong Church, whose members included other ministers.

Christopher Nesse and Josiah Holdsworth were formally released from membership at Topcliffe when they gathered their own Churches in 1674 and 1673. Topcliffe was also a popular place for visiting preachers, being isolated and hence relatively secure, and among the other Ministers who preached as guests were Holdsworth, Heywood, and especially, Thomas Jolly.

In 1673 Marshall died, and was succeeded as pastor by Samuel Bailey, who had been living and preaching in nearby Morley and occasionally assisting at Topcliffe. At the same time the Church employed Gamaliel Marsden, ejected from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1660 and from Chapel-le-Brears, Yorkshire in 1662, as a teacher and assistant to Bailey. In 1675, when Bailey died, Marsden succeeded him as pastor, until his own death in 1681. Thereafter the Church lacked a pastor for three years, and relied upon preaching by visiting ministers, especially Josiah Holdsworth of Heckmondwyke, who was reported for leading a conventicle there in 1682. In 1684 Mr Thomas Elston was called to the office. Educated at Frankland's Academy, he remained at Topcliffe until 1709, when he removed to Chesterfield. In 1689 Topcliffe Hall was registered as a Chapel, and the house of John Pickering in Tingley for other occasional meetings. In 1736 the Congregation moved to a new Chapel in Tingley, but in 1743, with the death of its minister, Mr Hesketh, seems to have died out.

In the early part of the period Topcliffe Chapel constituted an exceptionally strong group, but like many Independent Congregations it was subject to internal dissension, and from the early 1670s problems began to mount. In 1674 when Samuel Bailey was formally called, there was a serious quarrel over the necessity of ministerial ordination. Thomas Jolly, who was present, believed that Bailey should be ordained by ministers and Elders from other Chapels, as well as called by his own Congregation, but some Topcliffe members objected furiously, and, in the end, Jolly and his friends had to give in. Bailey was never ordained, but simply set apart by the Topcliffe Elders. In 1678 further quarrels broke out among the membership, ostensibly over the sale of a horse, and the quarrel was such that Jolly, Robert Pickering of Morley and Josiah Holdsworth were called upon to mediate. They reprimanded the whole membership, and as a result Topcliffe refused to send representatives to Jolly's inter-denominational association, then struggling to find a permanent foothold (see Chapter II pp. 144-5). From 1681 to 1684 when the Chapel was without a pastor, Jolly was a frequent visitor, and continually lamented the ill-feeling that existed within the Congregation. By 1690-2 more troubles had arisen, for the Common Fund Survey described the Church as being in great need. It was 'of longstanding, but recent deaths of important members mean that they cannot raise as much as twenty pounds a year, though they used to raise thirty and they do not know how long they can get that'. Nevertheless, the Chapel did survive.



Topcliffe Chapel is one of the few in Yorkshire whose early records have survived. Beginning in 1653 they show something of its services and discipline. Regular baptisms were held, and other Independents brought their children to Topcliffe when their own meetings lacked such organisation, or were without a pastor. The sons of Joseph Lister of Kipping, David and Accepted, were both baptised there. From 1662 to 1668 some eighty-two children were baptised at Topcliffe. In the same period, reference is made to fifty-eight different adult members, although this would not constitute a full list, and in 1685 the Congregation consisted of some thirty heads of families and probably a hundred to one hundred and fifty members. Members came from a fairly wide area, including Leeds, Horbury, Pudsey, and even Elland, and some were of considerable social standing. They included Madam Elizabeth Rokeby, Captain Pickering, Mr. Ralph Spencer and John Wordsworth of Swathe (see App.II for all these). It was probably the gradual loss of these members that led to the financial problems of 1690-2. The situation of Topcliffe Chapel is of considerable interest for, founded early, it was strong and well-organised when others were not, but later on quarrels and deaths caused problems, while the increasing availability of organised Churches in other parts of the area undoubtedly affected its membership. Topcliffe proved to be in the end less firmly established than Congregations in less isolated parts, especially in the larger towns, which had a more secure basis of local membership.

(Calamy, II, p.801, IV, p.946; Dale, pp.98-100, 104-7, 121; Matthews, pp.272, 339, 340-1; Miall, pp.382-3;

Lyon Turner, I, pp.163,210,261,422; Heywood, I, pp.263,276, 294,295,340, II, pp.9,99,101,103, III, pp.156,170, IV, pp.36, 306; Northowram Register, pp.131,142; Freedom after Ejection p.132; Jolly, Note-book, pp.14,41,42; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.1-11, 12-23.)

#### WAKEFIELD

Throughout the period Wakefield formed a strong centre of Dissent, with several resident ministers whose Congregations included most of the influential families of the town. In 1662 Joshua Kirby was ejected from his position as Camden Lecturer in the town, and thereupon built a pulpit in his own house, where he preached each Sunday until his death in 1676. Mr Josiah Holdsworth, ejected from Poppleton, came to Wakefield in 1663 after preaching for a year in Idle Chapel, and remained until his death in 1677. Although of the same name, this was a different minister from the Josiah Holdsworth of Heckmondwyke, who had been ejected from Sutton-upon-Derwent (see above, Birstall/Heckmondwyke). In addition the Five Mile Act drove two other ministers to Wakefield, where they found refuge at Flanshaw Hall, the residence of Mr. William Dinely, son of Mr. Robert Dinely of Bramhope (see App.II, Pt.A). Thomas Hawksworth was ejected from Hunslet, where he remained until 1665, and died in Flanshaw in 1668. Thomas Smallwood was ejected from Batley and moved to Wakefield in 1666, dying there in 1667.

The work of these ministers built up a considerable following in Wakefield, which was probably divided into two Congregations, although this is uncertain and the ministers



were close personal friends. Kirby was a Presbyterian, and by 1659, a Royalist, being imprisoned at Lambeth in the wake of Booth's rebellion. Holdsworth and Hawksworth were also Presbyterians, but Smallwood was an Independent, and wrote a treatise to discredit Occasional Conformity. In 1672 Kirby and Holdsworth were both licensed as Presbyterians to preach in their own houses and in a further meeting-place at James Dixon's house in Northgate, but the Kiln-house in Flanshaw Lane was licensed as an Independent meeting-place, although the first application did not specify denomination and the second specified Presbyterian. According to Walker's History of Wakefield, there were two Congregations, one led by Kirby at his house in Kirkgate, the other at Flanshaw Hall, until increasing numbers led to the conversion of a disused malt-kiln in Flanshaw Lane as a new meeting-place. However this may be, the denominational lines were certainly fluid, and both groups, if separate they were, worked in co-operation. In 1672 no minister was specified at the Kiln-house, and it is likely that Kirby and Holdsworth also preached there. These two certainly worked together, and Holdsworth's 'own house' would in fact have been Flanshaw Hall, or some part of it.

The 1670s saw the arrival of several new ministers, and the loss of the old. In 1675, when the Indulgence licences were officially withdrawn, William Hawden moved from Sherburn (see above, List II) and began preaching in his own house in Wakefield. In 1676, when Kirby died, his work was apparently taken up by Peter Naylor, who had been ejected in Nottinghamshire, had supplied for Swift at Penistone, and now settled in

Wakefield, though he also preached regularly at Pontefract until his death in 1690 (see above, Pontefract). In 1676 300 Dissenters were reported in Wakefield. It seems that the arrival of Naylor saw the two Congregations unite, if they had not already done so, for though he succeeded Kirby, Naylor lived at Killice House, adjoining the Kiln-house in Flanshaw. He was probably assisted by Hawden, who by 1690 had almost ceased to preach, being near-blind, and was described in the Common Fund Survey as being in some financial straits.

In 1689-90 several meeting-places were registered in Wakefield, at the house of Mr. Kirby where his widow still lived, and where the first meeting of the United Brethren in Yorkshire was held in 1691, and in the houses of Mr. Hawden, Mr. Joseph Hall and Mr. Peter Naylor. From 1690 the Congregation apparently lacked a settled pastor, and the Common Fund Survey referred to Oliver Heywood preaching there. Heywood had long been acquainted with the Wakefield Dissenters, and had often visited their various ministers, especially Kirby, whom he had ordained and whose son, God's-gift, was educated at Frankland's Academy with Heywood's own sons. He died in 1686, while preparing for the ministry. Another visiting preacher was Mr. Joshua Sagar, who had entered Frankland's Academy in 1683, and was now preaching in Wakefield and Pontefract as Naylor had done. In 1695 he was finally called to be pastor at Wakefield, and in the following year the now fully united Congregations built and registered a Chapel in Westgate, Wakefield.

In some aspects the history of Wakefield Dissenters is thus a little confused. Walker reports two distinct



Congregations, but these appear to have shared at least some facilities, and probably their ministers. If there was a proper pastoral succession, it appears to have lain in the persons of Kirby, Naylor and Sagar, with the other ministers assisting. Miall however did not believe that the Congregations were properly organised before 1695, and this is probably correct. It seems likely that Kirby retained a number of adherents, to whom he preached after his ejection, and that another centre of Dissenting activity lay in Flanshaw with the Dinely family and the ministers whom they succoured. These two groups, led mainly by Kirby and Holdsworth with assistance from others, each held separate conventicles, in different parts of the town, but also held joint meetings, especially after the fitting-up of the Malt kiln as a Chapel, so that by 1676, when Naylor replaced Kirby, they were in practice united, and when Holdsworth died in 1677 Naylor served both, with Hawden's assistance enabling him also to visit Pontefract. The formal institution of a united Congregation probably occurred in 1689, or more likely, in connection with the building of the new Chapel in 1695.

Certainly, however, there can be no doubt as to the strength of the group, which included the Dinely family, a rich mercer named Watkinson who purchased Flanshaw Hall when William Dinely succeeded his father at the Bramhope estate, and the Kirk family of Alverthorpe Hall. Such members were not, however, proof against persecution, for Joshua Kirby was imprisoned at least once under the Conventicle Act, and was buried in his own garden, being excommunicate. In 1674 Heywood and others were summoned before Justice Copley for conventicling, but escaped

through lack of witnesses. In 1682-3 the group had to meet secretly, and on several occasions dispersed early upon warning of the bailiffs' approach. Nevertheless, the Congregation prospered, and in 1716, numbered 400.

(Calamy, II, pp.794,801,810, IV, pp.942,946; Dale, pp.70-1,81, 93-5; Matthews, pp.254,310; Miall, pp.110,376; Freedom after Ejection, pp.129,130,131; Lyon Turner, I, pp.163,276,299, 306,321,385,388,399,507,529,557; Heywood, I, pp.118,137,161, 197,200,286,287; II, pp.45,152,232, III, pp.24-74 (poems of Joshua Kirby) 174,177; Northowram Register, pp.143,144,148, 149,151,154,155; J.W. Walker, Wakefield, its history and people, pp.306-9.)

#### WARLEY and MIXENDEN

The Congregation at Warley, lying to the west of Halifax, was gathered in the 1670s by Oliver Heywood, and his diary is the main source of our knowledge of it. In 1671 when Heywood's Congregation at Northowram was formally instituted, a number of Dissenters from Warley began to attend, and a year later decided to set up their own meetings nearer home. In May 1672 they hired the house of a leading member, John Butterworth, as a meeting-place, at five shillings a year, and asked Heywood to preach there. Having great hopes of 'doing good in that barren place', he agreed, and thereafter travelled to Butterworth's house to preach once a month. After a year, some of his own Congregation, led by John Bentley, objected to this, arguing that since Warley was so close to Sowerby, the Dissenters there could attend Justice Horton's meeting-place in Sowerby, (see above Halifax/Sowerby), where Heywood also



preached. Heywood argued that the two groups were separate, and that both needed him, but reluctantly gave way to pressure and decided to cease preaching in one place. At first he suspended his work in Sowerby, since three other ministers preached there also, but being troubled by this, agreed to give up his preaching at Warley, since membership there appeared to be declining. In August 1673 he therefore announced his intention at a meeting in Warley, but was begged not to do so by some 'good women' and finally decided that he must continue his work, no matter what effort it cost him. His dedication was apparently rewarded, for numbers increased again, and in 1676 he was able to set up a Young Men's Prayer Meeting as an adjunct to his own services. By the end of 1676 he was preaching there fortnightly, to a congregation of sixty, although the Warley members had to travel to Northowram for Communion, where they were admitted monthly by agreement of the two Congregations.

This situation continued until 1690-1, at which time the Rev. Matthew Smith left his position as pastor at Kipping and became pastor at Mixenden (see above, Bradford/Kipping), whereupon he was requested to preach also at nearby Warley. The group there had registered two meeting-places under the Toleration Act, and were desirous of more preaching, especially as Heywood's advancing age made travelling more difficult for him. Heywood was at first delighted to receive this help, but later became concerned about Smith's slightly unorthodox views, and tried unsuccessfully to procure his dismissal.

The Congregation at Mixenden had arisen from Smith's labours in the area while pastor at Kipping from 1681. An

early puritan movement had gathered there around Nathaniel Heywood, incumbent at nearby Illingworth in the 1650s, but had all but died out after his removal. Smith had been born in York in 1650, educated under Ralph Ward (see above, York) and prepared for the ministry at the University of Edinburgh. While at Kipping he became interested in the few Dissenters in Mixenden, but according to his son 'found there a people as rude and uncultivated as the soil they inhabited. Many never went to any place of Divine Worship, the few Dissenters from the establishment were rigid Antinomians, and he at first had only one man to encourage his preaching'. Nevertheless he persisted, despite some persecution, and soon gathered a 'flourishing Congregation', to whom he preached on alternate Sundays until 1689-90, when the Kipping Congregation began to complain about his absences. Like Heywood he refused to give up what he considered this necessary work, but as pastor of an Independent Church probably had less power than Heywood at Northowram, and in 1690-1 was forced to choose. In January 1690 he was still at Kipping, registering his meeting-place in that month, but by 1691 he was attending the Wakefield meeting of the United Brethren as 'Pastor at Mixenden'. In 1689 he had registered the house of James Dean in Mixenden as a meeting-place, and shortly after his arrival as pastor a new Chapel was built. In 1695 his own house was registered as an additional meeting-place.

The invitation to preach at Warley was very welcome to Smith, as the Mixenden Congregation was far from wealthy, and would have become less so in 1693 when some of his members who had travelled from Eastwood founded their own Chapel there.



In order to make up his stipend he received money from Stretton's fund through Ralph Thoresby, and an additional ten pounds a year from Lord Wharton through Oliver Heywood. For his sermons at Warley he was paid ten shillings per sermon. Until 1702 he remained as pastor at Mixenden and preacher at Warley, but in that year Heywood died, and Smith became pastor at both places. Neither Congregation being wealthy, he wrote to Ralph Thoresby, explaining his new position, and requesting that the money from Stretton's fund should continue. He was able to undertake the onerous duties of two pastorships because he had, by now, the assistance of his son, John, who frequently preached for him at Warley.

At this time the two Congregations were still separate and distinct, and in 1705 a new Chapel was built at Warley. Inevitably, however, the joint Pastorship led to closer co-operation, and in 1717 the Mixenden Chapel was abandoned and a new one built nearer Warley. It is likely that at this time the Congregations merged, for the same pastoral arrangements continued and in 1736 when Smith died, his son John took over both offices, now virtually merged into one. Much later, in the nineteenth century, the two separated again in a new Nonconformist revival.

(Heywood, II, pp.29,32-6, III, pp.108,131-2,133,146,147,149, and numerous other references. Northowram Register, pp.142, 143,148,153; Miall, pp.110,316-18,377; Freedom after Ejection, p.130; Thoresby, III, pp.412-13.)

APPENDIX I - PART B

THE QUAKER MEETINGS

At first the compilation of a comprehensive list of Quaker meetings appears to be a straightforward task, since the abundant and carefully kept records of the early Society have been as carefully preserved, and are for the most part available for examination. A closer examination however reveals that the task is no easier than for other Dissenters, and is in fact, more difficult. Not only are certain types of evidence not available, but there is also every possibility of being misled by some of the evidence which can be found. For example, the records of the Three Monthly Meetings in the East Riding contain lists of their constituent Meetings for Worship in the area. An examination of the records themselves however shows that the places listed were not necessarily the effective centres of Quaker life and administration. Collections for sufferings were taken from the individual Meetings for Worship, but the names of these do not always coincide with the lists mentioned above. Similarly the Monthly Meetings were to be held in the various constituent areas in rotation, but in fact were not always, and not only, held in the places listed. Nor were conventicles always held in the apparent centre of activity, and it is therefore clear that a simple acceptance of these lists would give an erroneous impression of the extent and spread of Quakerism in Yorkshire. It seems that, for the purposes of organisation, the Society divided and named its Meetings in a manner far more precise and clear-cut than was



often the case in practice. (More exact descriptions of these difficulties can be seen below in List III, under the East Riding, where the lists have been used to provide some outline of the meetings there, as the Quarter Sessions records are missing.)

These problems apart, the Quaker's own records are of very limited value in relation to the purpose of this appendix - the estimation of the numbers and geographical disposition of Dissent. The Quaker concept of invisible membership precluded any concern with lists of individual members, or their attachment to specific meetings. Hence their own records give no clue whatsoever to the numbers of Quakers in Yorkshire at any particular time, and very little as to the numbers in any particular meeting. It was not uncommon, particularly in the earlier part of the period, for Quakers to attend meetings other than their own, either because they had some reason for travelling, or because they simply travelled for that purpose. This did not apply only to the leaders and teachers, but to other Quakers as well. In 1661 John Blaykling of Sedbergh, Thomas Hackson and Robert Fowler of Bridlington, and Samuel Nellest, John Stockley, Thomas Allinson, William Hart, John and William Dove, Susannah Truthwaite and Laurence Heslam of Whitby were arrested and imprisoned for an attendance at a Conventicle in South Shields. Blaykling was a leader among the Sedbergh Quakers, and some of the others were seamen, which might explain their presence so far from home, but others were women and 'yeomen' who had clearly made the trip especially to visit the

Durham Quakers.<sup>(1)</sup> As the period progressed such travelling became less common, but it did still occur. In 1681 a conventicle of Pontefract and Knottingly Quakers was interrupted by the Constables at the house of Elizabeth Stones, but those arrested also included Abraham Brigg of Kildwick and Peter Barnet of Carlton, both in the Craven area.<sup>(2)</sup> Hence the names which appear in the records of the Monthly Meetings, which are obviously not a comprehensive list of members, may also at times include persons who were not members of that meeting and can only provide, at best, a very rough estimate of numbers.

Given such problems and limitations, it has been necessary to turn to other sources in order to estimate numbers of persons and meetings, but these also are fraught with difficulty. The problems involved in using the ecclesiastical surveys and the Sessions records have been discussed in Chapter IV, and apply no less to the Quakers than to other Dissenters. In the light of these, I have compiled three lists of Quaker Meetings. The first, the list of Monthly Meetings established by Fox in 1669, is comprehensive and correct, but provides very little detailed knowledge. The second is taken from the Survey of 1669. The reports contained in it of Quaker Meetings were rather fuller than those of other Dissenters, as Archbishop Sterne was particularly opposed to and concerned about the Quaker movement, but it cannot be called complete and authoritative. There is, for example, no

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1. NRQS No. 6. IV, Introduction, p.VIII.  
2. Northowram Register, p.135.



mention of a Quaker Meeting in Leeds, when one certainly existed in 1669,<sup>(3)</sup> and in the returns from the East Riding, no mention is made of any of the Meetings which went to make up the Elloughton Monthly Meeting, covering the south-western part of the Riding. In contrast, separate meetings are reported at Well, Bedale and Richmond in 1669, while later conventicle reports, which gave the names of those attending, make it clear that the Richmond Quakers were synonymous with those of Snape in the parish of Well, close to Bedale, and therefore probably with those of the latter. Thus it is likely that the three meetings thus reported exaggerate rather than minimise the extent of Quakerism. In fact many other place-names referred to in later Conventicle records do not describe new meetings, but simply those of 1669 meetings in different places.<sup>(4)</sup> For all its flaws, however, the survey of 1669 does provide a useful, if still incomplete, outline of Quakerism in 1669, and is not as sketchy as later reports of conventicles might at first glance make it appear.

The third list is compiled from the registration of meeting-places in 1689, when with characteristic efficiency the Quakers registered their meeting-houses under the Toleration Act in large blocks, with lists collected and taken to the Quarter Sessions by representatives of the Monthly Meetings. Again this evidence is not without its problems, for the registrations were of meeting-places, not meetings, and

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(3) W.Allot, 'Leeds Quaker Meeting', Thoresby Society, No.L (Miscellany No.XIV) (1965-8) pp.1-11.

(4) See reports of conventicles at Richmond (NRQS No.7,p.70.)

one meeting might well use many different houses, and thus tend to exaggerate numbers. However, these lists are also incomplete, as practice did not always match theory, and some meeting-houses were not registered by Monthly Meetings. Individual registrations cannot always be clearly assigned to any denomination, and some have therefore been ignored. Others, for example from the Scarborough area, are inexplicably absent. In addition, no registrations are available for the East Riding, since the Quarter Sessions records for this period have been lost. I have therefore substituted the list of Meetings taken from the Quaker records, in an attempt to provide some general picture of the movement there. It is, of course, a poor substitute, but seemed to be the best available.

For the intervening period, from 1669 to 1689, no major lists or surveys are available. The Census of 1676 did not specify denominations, and evidence can otherwise be gleaned only from the records of persecution, both Quaker and otherwise. Inevitably, however, these do not provide a complete picture, for they depend upon the incidence of persecution, and as such lie at the vagaries of informers and Justices. For example in 1670-1 an active informer, William Thornaby, informed of some eleven meetings in Richmond, four in Snape and fourteen in Masham, all involving the same people, and five in other parts of Swaledale.<sup>(5)</sup> Thornaby was in need of money, and took up this trade as a means of making it, but was active for only a year, and hence there were no persecutions of this group

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(5) Besse, Sufferings, I, pp.120-7.



from 1662 to 1670 or from 1672 onwards. Persecution records also involve the problem of deciding what constituted a conventicle, and whether meetings reported in one place referred to the same group as are reported on another occasion to be meeting in another place nearby.

In some cases, as with Richmond, Snape and Masham, the names of those arrested are given, and it is possible to decide, but in many other cases, such information is not available. For example, in 1684 a conventicle was reported in Leyburn, very close to Coverham, where a conventicle was reported in 1669, but there is no evidence to show whether or not this was the same group, although it seems likely.<sup>(6)</sup> The Quakers' own records frequently refer to fines or imprisonments of one or two persons from a given village for attending a conventicle. Clearly these alone did not make up a meeting, but there is no evidence as to the place of the conventicle, or by which Meeting or group it was held. It therefore seems impossible to draw up any useful list of Meetings from such sources, and I have not attempted to do so. Such evidence is valuable in showing that the movement was widespread, and drew its members from innumerable tiny villages throughout Yorkshire. Other records of persecution fulfil the same purpose, for example persecutions for recusancy and fines for tithes and Church dues, but these tell us nothing about the organisation and grouping of members into Meetings for Worship. Below, I have given two examples of this kind of evidence, to show the wide extent of the

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(6) NRQS, No.7, p.70.

movement, but otherwise I have simply used these records to add details of particular interest concerning the Meetings described in one or other of the main lists.

(a) Presentations for recusancy:- In 1674 some 850 recusants were presented at Richmond Sessions from the North Eastern area around Whitby and the moors, and some 1,409 others from the Central and Western North Riding were presented at Thirsk.

(NRQS, No.6, pp.195-202,204-13.)

(b) Conventicles:- 'Presented 12 July 1664 at Helmsley Sessions, for a conventicle at John Dickinson's house, William Gradell, John Graham, Christopher Skipper, James Mason of Scarborough, Edmund Mauleverer of Ayton, Joseph Thornhill of High Hawsker, John Hall of Whitby, Christopher Stephenson, William Baxter and Stephen Burge of Hackness, William Harland and James Postgate of Fylingdales, Ralph Stephenson of Irton, Nathan Bell, Henry Hodgson and Robert Rymer of Silfoe, Philip Bellerby of Suffield, Frances Beswick of Hutton Bushell, James Armstrong, Joseph Harrison and William Warfolk of Staintondale, Robert Johnson and Robert Trot of Burniston.'

(NRQS, No.6, p.79.)

(23 persons from 12 different towns and villages)

Despite all the difficulties and problems of the evidence, the lists below and such examples as those given above do give some clue as to the numbers and extent of the Quaker meetings in Yorkshire. No precise estimate of numbers of Quakers, or numbers of Meetings is possible, but it is clear that from 1669 to 1689 there was a considerable expansion and the numbers of Meetings increased significantly. The framework of the Monthly Meetings remained unchanged, but within that, there



was enormous growth, both numerical and geographical. In many cases, as at Aysgarth and Askrigg, the two conventicles mentioned in 1669 had developed and grown by 1689, so that they required meeting-places in half a dozen or more villages in the area. Allowing for possible exaggeration of numbers arising from the registration of meeting-places and not meetings in 1689, and for the incompleteness of both, the disparity between the two lists is still such as to demonstrate enormous expansion and growth. The lists also provide much evidence as to geographical disposition. Quakerism was always strong in the wilder areas and the rural parts, and unlike its orthodox puritan counterpart, this strength was maintained and increased in this period. In addition, however, there was even greater growth in the more urban and industrial areas, in the West Riding, where the movement began to compete in size and strength with the older denominations. In the eighteenth century the Society would undergo a process of urbanisation and contraction similar to that experienced in this period by the Puritan Dissenters, when for example, Kelk Monthly Meeting transferred its headquarters to Bridlington and Owstwick Monthly Meeting removed to Hull. At this time, however, urban growth for the Quakers was part of a general expansion, and was accompanied by no decline in the countryside. In fact given the scattered nature of the membership one could almost say that by 1689 there were Quakers everywhere in Yorkshire.

QUAKER MEETINGS

LIST I

The Monthly Meetings (formed 1668-9)

YORK M.M.

THIRSK M.M.

RICHMOND M.M.

GUISBOROUGH M.M.

SCARBOROUGH M.M.

MALTON M.M.

KELK M.M.

OWSTWICK M.M.

ELLOUGHTON M.M.

BALBY M.M.

PONTEFRAC T M.M.

BRIGHOUSE M.M.

KNARESBOROUGH M.M.

SETTLE M.M.

(This list appears in the minutes of Elloughton Monthly Meeting , dated 1669, and again in those of Kelk M.M. dated 1683. Hence there was apparently no change in this administrative structure during the period, although significant changes were made later.)



LIST II

Quaker Meetings mentioned in the survey of 1669.

(All page references are from Lyon Turner, I)

NORTH RIDING

ASKRIGG - 40 persons.(p.173)

AYSGARTH - 20 persons.(p.173)

BEDALE - 'some Quakers'.(p.173)

CLOUGHTON - in the house of William Norfolk.(p.153)

COVERHAM - 20 persons,(p.173) (referred to in later conventicle reports under the name of nearby Leyburn).

COXWOLD - 200 or 300 persons in the house of Isaac Lindley.(p.173)

GUISBOROUGH - 30 persons in the houses of Edward Hunter, Robert Jackson and William Jowsie.(p.160).(In 1670-1 thirty two people from Guisborough and Lazenby paid fines totalling £232. 9s. for meetings. Besse,I,p.131.)

GRINTON - 60 persons.(p.173)

HUTTON BUSHELL and WYKEHAM - 200 persons.(p.161)

KILBURN - 200 to 300 persons in the house of Thomas Rowland.(p.163)

LEVYSHAM (with Allerston, Thornton, Pickering, Sinnington and Ellerburn) - 100 to 200 persons.(p.153)

MALTON - 'sometimes 300, of mean quality'.(p.165)

RICHMOND - 40 to 50 persons.(p.173)

ROMALDSKIRK - 40 persons.(p.173)

RUSTICKE - 300 persons.(p.161)

SLEIGHTS - 'over 1,000 persons'.(p.165)

STARTFORTH - 'about 5 persons'.(p.173)

STOKESLEY - 30 to 40 persons in the house of Francis Rowntree, led by Henry Courtier, felt maker.(p.160)

WELL - 'of the poorer sort'. (p.173)

WHITBY - 'some scores in the houses of James Weemse, one Worseck  
Richard Thornhill, Richard Skipton and Roger

Hebden ... many sea-captains and well-to-pass'. (p.165)

(Whitby was a strong centre of Quakerism throughout the period and when the informer Thomas Ellis tried to seize their purpose-built meeting-house, they were able to sue him and regain it by legal means. CSPD, 1670, pp.230-2, 1671-2, p.57.)

#### EAST RIDING

BRIDLINGTON - in the house of Zachary Smayler. (p.153)

HILSTON - over 100 in the house of John Storr. 'He is able and rich, so there are many of the faction'. (p.164).

(The Storr family were Lords of the Manor at Hilston and at Owstwick, and devoted Quakers.)

HOLLYM - in the house of Anne Nicholson, 'they are favoured by Sir Robert Hildyard' (p.164). (This comment cannot be easily accepted, as Hildyard was a staunch Royalist, very active against the Quakers in 1660-1, but it is possible that by 1669 he had come to know the local group and to accept that they, at least, were loyal and peaceable. See CSPD, 1661, p.481, also N.J. Miller Winestead and its Lords (Hull 1932).)

HOLMPTON - in the houses of John Banks and Francis Howdell. (p.153)

LISSETT - 100 persons at the house of Joseph Manson 'several of quality'. (p.164)

PAULL - 20 people at the house of Andrew Adams. (p.153)



WEST RIDING

BALBY - 'a constant assembly of about 100, led by Thomas Killam, of the inferior gang, though some have considerable estates'. (p.164)

BENTHAM - 'about 60'. (p.175)

BISHOP THORNTON - 'some Quakers, but their meetings cannot be found'. (p.160)

BURNSALL and RYLSTONE - 'but a few'. (p.165)

CLAPHAM - about 60 people. (p.175)

DARFIELD - 'about 60, monthly, at the house of Francis Pennell'. (p.163)

HALIFAX - 100 persons in the houses of William Maud, James Whitaker and Abraham Hodson. (p.161)

HANDSWORTH - 'in some houses'. (p.160)

ILLINGWORTH - 20 to 30 persons at the house of Abraham Wordsworth. (p.161)

KNARESBOROUGH - 20 to 30 persons. (p.173)

RIPON - 'few and inconsiderable persons'. (p.162)

RIPPONDEN - Two meetings at the houses of Henry Dyson and John Fox. (p.161)

SEDBERGH - no details. (p.175). (Sedbergh was an important centre of Quakerism, and had the first purpose-built Chapel in Yorkshire.)

SOWERBY BRIDGE - 20 to 30 Quakers in the houses of John and Michael Bentley. (p.161)

(The above lists mention 3,690 Quakers, from twenty-eight meetings, while another thirteen meetings are included without numbers being given.)

LIST III

The Quaker Meeting-Houses registered in 1689-90

The lists below are reproduced as originally grouped by the Monthly Meetings, in geographical rather than alphabetical order.

NORTH RIDING

The following registrations were made at the North Riding Quarter Sessions, in the year 1689, by the representatives of the Monthly Meetings, and later by various individuals. There were six Monthly Meetings which covered the North Riding - those of Richmond, Thirsk, Guisborough, Scarborough, York and Malton. The main group of registrations was headed by a list of five Quakers who took Affirmations at the Sessions, and these were probably the representatives chosen from each Monthly Meeting to carry out the task of registration. Five would be the correct number, as there appear to be no registrations for the area covered by the Scarborough Monthly Meeting. The absence of this group is strange, and I can find no real explanation. It is possible that their registrations lie in the missing records of the East Riding Quarter Sessions, but this in itself would be odd, as many of the Meetings for Worship which made up the group certainly lay in the North Riding. The policy appears to have been to register the Meeting-houses in the Riding in which they were situated, and thus the York M.M. seems to have registered some of its meeting-places in the North Riding, and those in York itself at the York Quarter Sessions. In the same way the Malton M.M.



which covered parts of both the North and East Ridings, registered only the meeting-houses lying in the North Riding at these sessions, presumably registering the others at Sessions in the East Riding. There thus seems no good reason why the Scarborough Meeting should do otherwise, but it remains likely, as there are no registrations from the Scarborough area either in the main group, or in the later individual registrations below, and the nature of the terrain would certainly make a journey to Sessions in the East Riding an easier option.

The main group of registrations below thus covers five Monthly Meetings. The registrations of the Richmond M.M. come first, and are clearly distinguishable, first because they were grouped according to parish, and secondly because they end with Romaldkirk in the far North-west, being followed by Crayke and Stillington near York, which area is obviously part of another Monthly Meeting. From here it is harder to distinguish the different Monthly Meetings, until, towards the end, the registrations of the Guisborough Monthly Meeting are again clearly distinguishable, as another geographical leap is taken from Sherriff Hutton to Guisborough. The final list of registrations, made at later dates in the year, are made by individuals, and are clearly additions made by particular Meetings for Worship.

#### MEETING-PLACES

##### (1) Registered by Richmond Monthly Meeting:-

Aysgarth Parish - 2 at Countersett  
1 at Bainbridge  
1 at Hawse  
1 at Carperby  
1 at Burton

Coverham Parish - 1 at Carlton  
Wensley Parish - 1 at Leyburn  
Masham Parish - 1 at High Ellinton  
                  1 at Masham  
Well Parish - 1 at Snape  
Grinton Parish - 1 at Helaugh  
                  1 at Smarbar  
                  1 at Kirton  
                  1 at Helaugh Park  
Romaldkirk Parish - 1 at Cetherstone  
                      2 at Lartington

(2) Registered by York, Thirsk and Malton Monthly Meetings:-

Crayke

Stillington

Huby

Sutton (on-the-Forest)

Newbuilding

Wilden Grange

Amplethorpe

Thirsk

Woolpots

Ashbury House

Northallerton

Syelle (?)

Borrowby

Brompton

Harlesey

Ellerbeck

Thimbleby

Osmotherley

Hemmersdale

Appleton (Wiske)



Sawcock

Ingleby

Hulton (Whorlton) Moor

Harlesey Castle

Winton

Morton Flats

Rownton

Helmsley

Bilsdale

Westerdale

Danby, with three burial grounds.

Fryup

Lealham, with a burial ground.

Glaisdale, with a burial ground.

Kirby Moorside

Fodmoor

Welburn

Pickering

Thornton, Foston parish

Crambe, and one at Barton Hill, Crambe parish.

Strensall

Hovingham parish - Wrelton  
2 at New Malton

Sheriff Hutton Parish - Stitnam  
Sherriff Hutton  
Fosse House

(3) Registered by Guisborough Monthly Meeting:-

Guisborough

Stokesley

Carlton

Broughton

Ayton

Hetton-le-hole

Farndale

Rosedale

Liverton

Roxby

Hinderwell

Mickleby

Whitby

Staintondale

(NRQS, VII, pp.102-3.)

(4) Individual additions: (NRQS, VII, pp.111,119,122)

p.111 Lartington - the houses of John Kipling and John Heslop.

Cotherstone - the houses of Cuthbert Hutchinson and

Henry Walker, gent.

p.119 Grinton - house of Ralph Fryer.

Romaldkirk - houses of Elizabeth James and William Smith.

Gilmanby - house of Christopher Wilson.

Hartford - the school house.



p.122 Stokesley - the house of Ralph Potter.

Lazenby - house of Mark Lisle .

Bowsdale - house of Mark Lisle .

(Registrations in 1689 of Quaker Meeting-houses totalled 92 Meeting-houses in 82 places. Another 21 Meeting-houses were registered in the early months of 1690.)

### York

- In July 1689, registration of a house in Fairwater Lane, St. Mary's, Castlegate, York.

(York Quarter Sessions records, Vol.F.10,p.3.)

### WEST RIDING

The five Monthly Meetings which covered the West Riding were those of Balby, Brighouse, Pontefract, Knaresborough and Settle, and of these, four registered long lists of Meeting-places at the West Riding Sessions. There appears, however, to be no list from Pontefract Monthly Meeting, and I can offer no explanation for this. Among the later individual additions there is a small group of registrations from the Wakefield area which came under the Pontefract Meeting, and another from the area around Wetherby, which should have been attached to Knaresborough, but may in fact have come under Pontefract. If this was the case then the Pontefract Meeting did not collect registrations as the others did, and was constituted by a remarkably small number of meetings and members who were markedly late in registering their meeting-places. It seems rather more likely that the

list from the Pontefract Meeting has been lost, and that these are, in fact, later additions such as were made by other groups. The lists below are compiled from the Northowram Register, taken from the West Riding Quarter Sessions records, and follow the same outline as for the North Riding. In this case the registrations were made separately by the various Monthly Meetings, and there is therefore no difficulty in distinguishing between them. No clear distinction is made between parish and place, but unlike those of the North Riding, the names of house-owners are usually given.

Meeting-places

(1) Registered by Brighouse Monthly Meeting in 1689:-

(Northowram Register, pp.144-5.)

Stansfield	- house of James Stansfield. - house of James Bancroft. - house of John Fielding
Langfield	- house of Thomas Sutcliffe -house of Anthony Crossley - house of John Greenwood - house of Joshua Fielding
Warley	- house of Abraham Shackleton
Midgeley	- house of Henry Broadbent
Sowerby	- house of Joshua Smith
Scircoate	- house of Abraham Hodgson - house of Jonathan Laycock
Northowram	- house of Robert Cowling
Stansfield	- house of Daniel Sutcliffe
Nether Woodhouse	- house of John Eccles
Rastrick	- house of Jonas Preston
Brighouse	- house of Richard Hanson
Long Liversedge	- house of Thomas Green



Oakenshaw - house of William Pearson  
Greenhouse --house of Edmund Horsfall  
Quarmby - house of John Marshland  
Broadcarr - house of Timothy Hoyle  
Staincliffe - house of Robert Walker  
Bowling (Bradford) - house of Martha Philips  
- house of William Cooke  
Bradford - house of John Winn  
Bolton - house of Jonas Bond  
Eccleshill - house of Thomas Bonds  
Birkhouse-in-Shelley - house of John Kayes  
Wooldale - the meeting-place  
Totties - house of Henry Jackson  
Ossett - house of John Bradford  
- house of John Attack  
Ardsley - house of Joseph Naylor  
Midgley - house of Richard Laughton  
Longfield - house of John Whaley

(The Brighouse registrations are then signed, but below the signatures are two additions to the list:- Haworth - house of Jonas Smith, Sowerby - house of Henry Naylor.)

(2) Registered by Knaresborough Monthly Meeting in 1689:-  
(pp.145-6.)

Addingham - house of George Myers, Farfield, Addingham  
- house of Joshua Dawson, Gatecroft, Addingham  
- the meeting-place, Farfield, Addingham  
Kildwick - house of Thomas Bleaky, Silsden, Kildwick  
Bradley - house of Matthew Lupton  
Skipton - house of John Hall  
- house of Abigail Stott

Kirby Malzeard - house of Peter Hardcastle, Hartwith  
Ripon - house of Miles Oddy, Netherdale  
Pannel - house of William Reedshaw  
Arkendale - house of Jane Clarkson  
Knaresborough - house of Mary Middleton  
Asquith, Weston Parish - house of Henry Thompson.  
- house of Robert Smith  
- house of Edmund Greenwood  
Fewston - house of John Myers, Thackery  
Guisseley - house of John Overend  
Idle Thorpe - house of James Marshall  
Yeadon - house of Mary Walker  
Rawdon - house of Sarah Grimshaw  
Weston - house of Henry Thompson (probably repeated.  
from Askwith, above.)  
Hampsthwaite - house of Francis Emmott, Westsykegreen

(3) Registered by Settle Monthly Meeting in 1689:- (p.146)

Settle - the meeting-place, new-built  
Bentham - the meeting-place, new-built  
Giggleswick - house of Samuel Watson, Stainforth  
- house of George Atkinson, Roomhouses  
Clapham - house of John Moore  
Mitton - house of Henry Bailey of the Hill  
Slaidburn - house of John Walbank  
- house of Mary Peel  
- house of William Birkett  
- house of Nicholas Frankland  
- house of Thomas Turner  
Thornton - house of Benjamin Parker  
Carlton - house of James Dawtry  
Salterforth - house of Richard Boothman



Marton	- house of Thomas Wood
	- house of Margaret King
Stainton	- house of William King
Broughton	- house of William Ellis
Earby	- house of James Walton
Gargrave	- house of John Tomlinson
	- one at Flasby, built
Bellbush	- house of Phineas Parkinson
Malham	- house of Richard Wilkinson
Knowbank	- house of Richard Wilkinson (repetition??)
Cracoe	- house of William Moorhouse
Rylstone	- house of James Conyers
Hetton	- house of Christopher Moorhouse
Airton	- house of William Ellis
Arncliffe	- house of James Tennant, Scarhouse
Hawkswick	- house of James Scott
Dent	- house of Richard Harrison
Grisedale	- house of Edmund Winne
Garsdale	- house of Richard Wilson
Harrogate	- house of Matthew Hogg
Bilton-cum-Harrogate	- house of William Dickinson
Sedbergh	- Meeting-place at Brigg Flats (built 1675).

(4) Registered by Balby Monthly Meeting in 1689:-(p.147 - this document is decayed and many names cannot be deciphered.)

High Flatts	- house of Edward Dickinson
?	- house of William Marsden
?	- house of Abraham Roberts
?	- house of Caleb Broadhead
?	- house of William Keys of ??????

Lower ?	- house of Henry Dyson
?	- house of Thomas Barker
?	- house of John Firth
Barkisland	- house of Thomas Milton
Shephouse	- house of Henry Dickenson
Lang?????	- house of John ?
?	- house of Ralph Sanderson
?	- house of Jonathan Woodhouse
?	- ?
Hill	- house of William Shaw
Brookeside	- house of George Shaw
Sheffield	- house of Richard Webster
Carbrook	- house of Henry Roebuck
?	- house of Godfrey Watkinson
Rotheram	- house of John Beales
Hansworth	- house of Robert Heslam
?	- house of Godfrey Newbald
Dennington	- house of Francis Ellis
Brampton	- house of Henry Milner
Barnsley Wood	- house of Sarah Fletcher
Thorne	- public meeting-place
Pollington	- four houses, names illegible
Rawcliffe	- five houses, names illegible
Sharpe	- house of Richard Cook
	- house of Elizabeth Womersley



(5) Individual additions (1689-90)

(new places)

- Sawley Manor - house of William Holgate (p.148)
- Wetherby - house of Thomas Mason (p.148)
- Bramham - house of Richard Stables (p.148)
- Sherburn - house of Christopher Knapton (p.148)
- Barnoldswick - barn of Christopher Edmondson (p.148)
- Adlingfleet - house of Jane Morley (p.148)  
- house of Christopher Wilson (p.148)
- Alverthorpe, - house of John Wormald (p.150)  
(Wakefield)

(places where at least one meeting-house already registered)

- Shipton - house of Ingram Holmes, Dearston (p.146)  
- house of John Moore, Brownhill (p.146)  
- house of Mary Tenant, Beamsley (p.148)
- Rawdon - house of Henry Whitaker (p.146)
- Dent - house of James Greenwood (p.150)  
- house of Richard Harrison (p.150)  
- house of George Capstack (p.150)  
- house of Samuel Winn (p.150)  
- house of Anthony Mason (p.150)  
- house of Miles Burton (p.150)
- Garsdale - house of Edmund Rowe (p.150)  
- house of William Rowe (p.150)
- Sedbergh - house of John Blaykling (p.150)  
- house of Richard Wilton (p.150)  
- house of John Holmes (p.150)  
- house of Francis Blaykling (p.150)  
- house of John Atkinson (p.150)  
- house of Thomas Hawden (p.150)  
- house of John Knewstub (p.150)

(Registrations of Quaker meeting-houses in the West Riding in 1689-90 totalled 160 meeting-houses in, probably, 112 different places.)

EAST RIDING

Since there are no extant Sessions Records for the East Riding in this period, I have represented below the details provided by the Quakers' own records, the Minutes of the Monthly Meetings which covered most of the East Riding. Elloughton Monthly Meeting covered the south-western part, Kelk Monthly Meeting the north-eastern part. The north-western corner came under Malton Monthly Meeting whose records were not available, but this covered only a very small part of the Riding, the bulk of constituent Meetings for Worship lying in the North Riding. The records below provide only a general outline of Quakerism in the area and list Meetings, not Meeting-houses, which tends to minimise numbers in comparison with the North and West Ridings. Moreover these records show an official structure which was not altered from 1669 to 1689, and therefore cannot reflect the growth which almost certainly took place. Occasional clues to activity in places not listed as having Meetings for Worship are to be found in the Sufferings Records, and in the various collections taken to aid sufferers, but care must be taken, in using these, not to exaggerate the number of meetings by assuming that a Meeting for Worship existed in each town or village from which sufferers are mentioned. I have therefore ignored all references to a small number of sufferers from a given place, and mentioned, in addition to the listed centres, only those where Conventicles are specifically stated to have taken place. There is no doubt that these records are far from sufficient evidence to provide a realistic picture of Quakerism in the East Riding by 1689, but they appear to be the best available. The records are all



kept in the East Riding Record Office at Beverley.

(1) Elloughton Monthly Meeting (Minutes, D.D.Q.R.1,p.1)

The Minutes concerning the establishment of the Monthly Meeting state that the Monthly Meetings are to be held at:-

Cloughton

Weighton

Beverley

Howden

Burnby

Warter

Elloughton

Cave

Skipton

Holme

Sancton

These clearly made up the Constituent Meetings for Worship of this Monthly Meeting, and Sufferings collections seem to have been taken from these groups as stated.

(2) Kelk Monthly Meeting (Minutes, D.D.Q.R.12,p.79)

The list of constituent Meetings comprises:-

Kelk

Ulrome

Cottam

Kirby (Under) Dale

Bridlington

Kilham

Nafferton

Harpham

Sufferings collections, however, were also taken, at different times, from:-

Ouram (Arram, near Beverley)

Ernswell (Elmswell, near Drifffield)

Leslerton (probably Heslerton, midway between Malton and Filey)

Sufferings records (D.D.Q.R.16) also mention additional

Conventicles held at:-

Frodingham pp.171-172.

Elmswell pp.178-179.

(3) Owstwick Monthly Meeting (Minutes, D.D.Q.R.17, pp.1-2.)

The records of this Monthly Meeting are unusually full, and describe not only the main constituent Meetings, but also the various groups within those Meetings, who met in their own villages. It appears that villages were grouped into Meetings for Worship or Particular Meetings and met together to hold Conventicles in various places, but probably also met in small village groups to hold week-day Prayer Meetings. The records are clearly set out, and include the names of the representatives sent to the Monthly Meetings in 1669 when they were written, and Sufferings Collections were always sent from the villages to their central Meeting for Worship (Particular Meeting) and thence to the Monthly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting rotated between the six constituent Meetings for Worship (Particular Meetings) but occasionally was held in one of the other villages within the group. For example, in August 1669 the Monthly Meeting was held at Rennis, not at Owstwick, which was the designated centre, and in 1681 at Hilston instead of



Owstwick. In this case the records are so full that it is doubtful if any village which housed a significant number of Quakers is not mentioned below, although there may have been some unrecorded change in the disposition of the membership by 1689. The numbers of representatives granted to each Particular Meeting probably reflect the relative numerical strength of that Meeting.

Owstwick Particular Meeting:-

Owstwick

Hilston

Roos

Burton Pidsea

Elstronwick

Flinton

Aldbrough

Tunstall

Rennis

Waxholme

Halsham (15 representatives)

East End Particular Meeting:-

East End

Patrington

Welwick

Skeckling

Easington

Kilnsea

Newton

Holmpton

Withernsea

Hollym

Ottringham (10 representatives)

Paull Particular Meeting:-

Paull

Keyingham

Ryhill (4 representatives)

Sutton Particular Meeting:-

Sutton

Nagen (?)

Ganstead

Coniston

Bilton

Mumesrome (?)

Thirtleby

Skirlaugh (10 representatives)

Hull Particular Meeting:-

Hull

Marfleet

Newland (10 representatives - presumably because the numbers in these places were large)

Hornsea Particular Meeting:-

Hornsea

Seaton

Burton

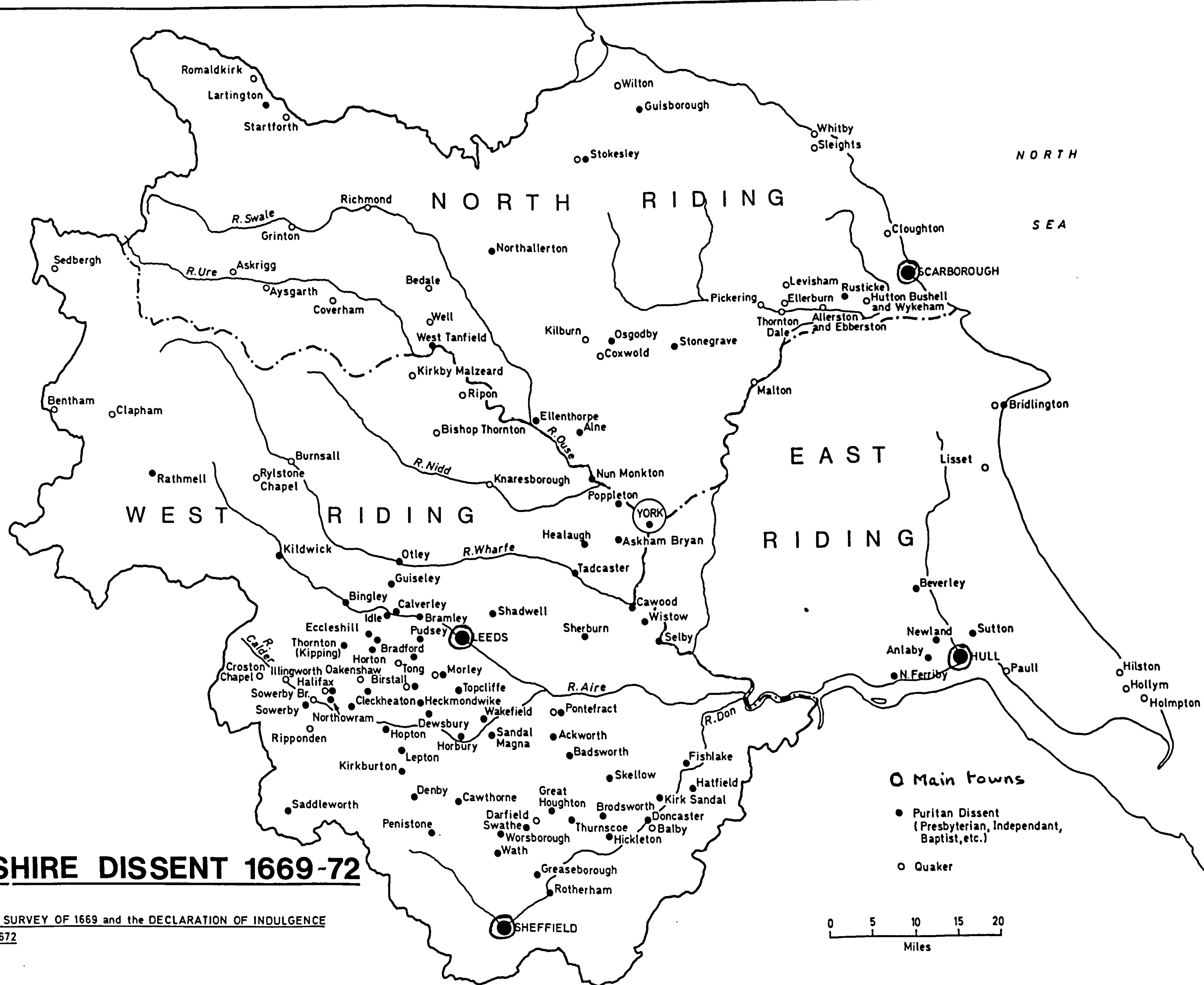


Nunkeeling

Hatfield

Cowden (9 representatives)

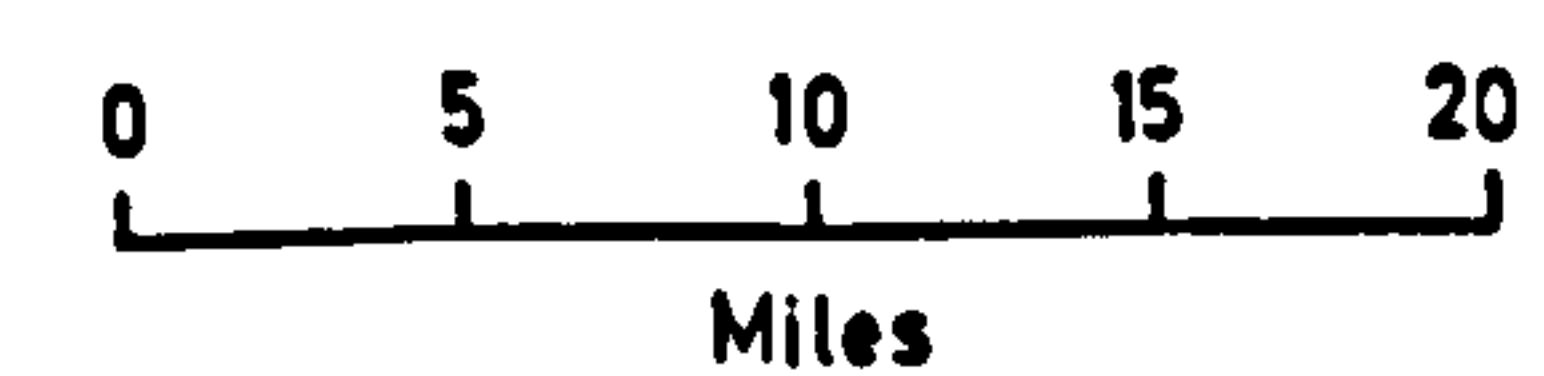
(These records refer to a total of 25 Meetings for Worship  
or Particular Meetings, with groups of Quakers in 59 places  
within that area.)











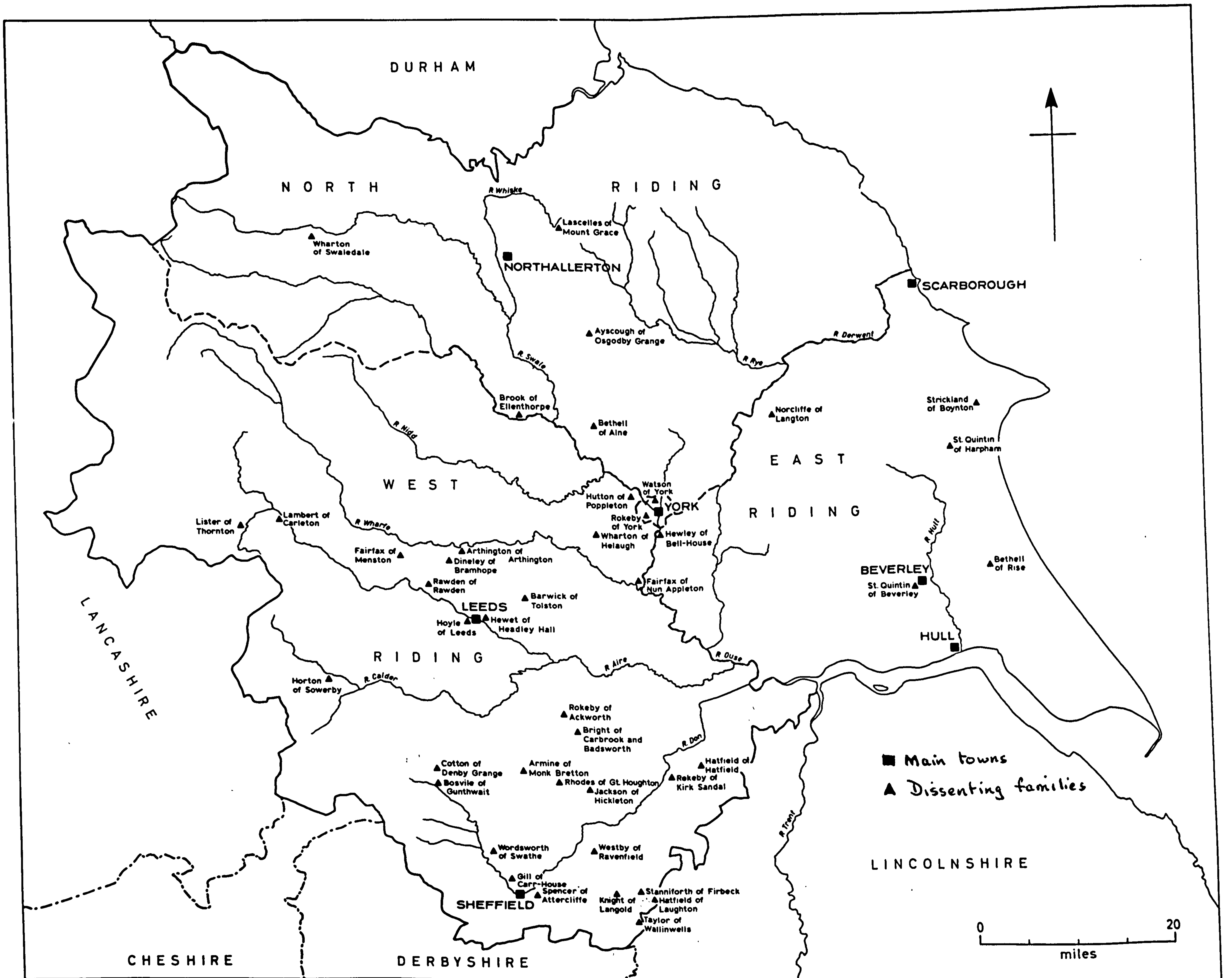


APPENDIX II : The Nonconformist Network.

One of the most important reasons for the survival of Dissent in Yorkshire was the existence of a network of Dissenting families, covering the whole county and beyond. Many Dissenters were not of great wealth or status, and little can be known of them beyond their names, mentioned in the memoirs of a minister like Oliver Heywood or in the records of conventicles or persecution. There were however, a number of families of importance in the county, linked not only by religion, but also by inter-marriage, blood, and common experience. The importance of their contribution to the survival of Dissent and development of Nonconformity is discussed in Chapter II. Below is a list of these leading lay Dissenters, with accounts of their lives, the positions they held in government and society, the help they gave to the Dissenting movement, and their links with other such families, personal links which for some time constituted the only kind of regional organisation among the Puritan Dissenters. Part A includes the county families, the gentry and substantial yeoman, of status and importance in the county as a whole. Part B includes the urban families, wealthy merchants, Aldermen, and substantial tradesmen, who through their power in the boroughs, upheld and protected Dissent in those vital centres. Of the thirty-six families mentioned in Part A, seven were still Nonconformist by the mid-eighteenth century. Of the other twenty-nine, six had died out by 1689 and eleven had conformed, one died out in the early eighteenth-century

and eight more conformed, while I have been unable to trace the fate of the other three.





PART A : The County Families

ARMINE OF MONK BRETTON - Sir William and Lady Mary.

A zealous supporter of Parliament in the Civil War, Sir William Armine was appointed one of the King's Judges, but refused to act. He nevertheless continued to support the Parliamentary cause and was a member of the Council of State until his death in 1651. Lady Mary, daughter of Henry Talbot, niece of the Earl of Shrewsbury was not an active Dissenter, apparently respecting godly ministers of all persuasions. She disliked denominational quarrels, and disapproved of the Act of Uniformity. Shortly after Bartholomew Day she gave five hundred pounds to Calamy to help the ejected ministers, and denied that, in so doing, she was encouraging schism. A friend of Richard Baxter, her biography was published by the puritan Samuel Clarke in his Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this later Age, in 1683. She did much charitable work, founding almshouses at Monk Bretton, and at her death in 1674, left a rent charge of forty-four pounds for ninety-nine years for the aid of poor ministers in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Huntingdonshire to be administered by Richard Stretton, then minister at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds.

(J. Wilkinson, Worthies of Barnsley and District, pp.252-67; DNB, I, pp.559-60.)



ARTHINGTON OF ARTHINGTON

Henry Arthington was elected M.P. for Pontefract in 1645, for Yorkshire in 1656, for Ripon in 1660, and for Aldborough in 1678-9. He died in 1681. A supporter of Parliament in the war, he was excluded in Pride's Purge but readmitted on entering his dissent from the vote for re-opening negotiations with the King, and sat for the county in Cromwell's second Parliament. In 1659 he was actively involved in Fairfax's negotiations with Monk, and joined the former in his seizure of York in 1660. A moderate man, he was accepted as partner by both the Reresby (Tory) and Copley (Whig) factions in the Aldborough election of January 1679. He was absent from the Exclusion division of that Parliament, having been excused by the House and retired into the country, on grounds of ill-health. This may have been an excuse to avoid that difficult subject, but is more likely to have been true, as he was an old man, and died two years later. His wife Mary was the sister of Lord Fairfax (the Lord General) and both were friends of Heywood, being visited by him, and buying copies of most of his works. They had one son, Cyril, who sat as M.P. for Aldborough in 1690, and whose religious affiliations are unknown.

(The Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H.Turner, No. I (1888), p.181; A.P.Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, pp.73-4, (Gooder states incorrectly that Arthington died in 1671, and assumes that it was Cyril Arthington who sat as M.P. in 1679. The other sources here listed make it clear that this is an error.)

AYSCOUGH OF OSGODBY GRANGE

Sir William Ayscough was elected M.P. for Thirsk in 1645, and was active for Parliament during the Interregnum. After the Restoration, he apparently retired from politics. An active Dissenter, he employed as his chaplain, Thomas Coulton, later assistant to Ralph Ward at St. Saviourgate, York, and pastor from 1693, after Ward's death. Ayscough's house was registered as a meeting-place in 1689, the minister apparently being Coulton who took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy at Thirsk Sessions, 8 October 1689. Ayscough himself took them at Osgarby, on 5 May 1690.

(The Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H. Turner, No. I (1888) p.46; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H. Turner, No. III (1893) p.128; History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District, ed. J.McDonnell, p.220; NRQS, No.7, pp.102,109)

BARWICK OF TOLSTON

Lady Barwick was the daughter of Walter Strickland of Boynton (see below) and widow of Sir Robert Barwick of Tolston, Recorder of York, who died in 1660. She was a friend to several Dissenting ministers. When Thomas Calvert was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave York, she gave him a home, and after he left, he continued to visit her regularly, dying after one such visit in 1679. She had also befriended Thomas Hardcastle while he was preaching at Shadwell, and when, at Bristol, he had a hand in the publication of the sermons of Richard Garbett (One come from the dead to Awaken Drunkards and Whoremongers, printed in 1675 by Francis Smith), he dedicated the work to Lady Barwick, hoping that 'your Eminency in Degree,



together with your Eminency in Piety and known enmity to Vice, together with your true countenancing of Virtues and Exemplary Strictness in Family Order and discipline might encourage many to the reading of this most useful and seasonable Treatise '.

She had one son, who 'often spoke against fanatics' and who was drowned in 1666. This was probably the William Barwick listed by Dugdale as claiming the right to bear arms, but who failed to respond to the Herald's summons and provide proof. His sister, Frances, married Lord Henry Fairfax (see below) and remained a Dissenter all her life. Lady Barwick died in 1682.

(Heywood, II, p.146; Northowram Register, p.67; Calamy, II, pp.783-4; Matthews, p.99; R. Garbett One Come from the Dead etc. - introductory Epistle by Thomas Hardcastle, cited in Miall, pp.110-11; Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, ed.R.Davies Surtees Society, No.36 (1859) p.XVIII.)

#### BETHELL OF ALNE AND RISE

The family had supported Parliament in the Civil War and had several puritan members, including Slingsby Bethell, a wealthy London merchant, Independent and Republican, and author of an anti-Cromwellian tract. In 1660 the family supported the Restoration, with Col. Hugh Bethell (later Sir Hugh of Rise, M.P. for the East Riding in 1654 and 1656 and for Hedon, 1660 to 1679) joining the forces raised by Fairfax. After the Restoration, many of the family seem to have conformed. In London, Slingsby Bethell retained his Dissenting views and became a leading Whig in the City. The position of Hugh Bethell is doubtful. He appears in the records of the East

Riding Quakers as a persecuting magistrate, but there is no evidence that he persecuted Puritan Dissenters. His nephew and heir, also Sir Hugh, was named by James II's agents as 'right' for the proposed Parliament in 1688. This may imply that he had Dissenting sympathies, though the King's agents tended to be over-optimistic. Only one member of the family in Yorkshire can be seen to have actively helped Dissenters. Lady Frances Bethell of Alne was the daughter of William Frankland of Thirkleby, and widow of Sir Hugh Bethell of Ellerton and Alne who died in 1662. In 1672 an application was made for her house at Alne to be licensed as a Dissenting meeting-place, though there is no record that the licence was ever issued. The Bethells cannot be counted as important among Yorkshire Dissenters, but Lady Bethell probably helped and encouraged those in her locality.

(Slingsby Bethell, The World's mistake in Oliver Cromwell (1660) in (Somers Tracts, Vol. VI; Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H.Turner, No. I (1888) pp.183-4, No. II (1889-90) pp.42-4; DNB, II, p.425 (Slingsby Bethell); 'King James II's proposed repeal of the penal laws etc.' ed. Sir G. Duckett, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No.5 (1879) pp.433-73)

#### BOSVILE OF GUNTHWAIT

There is little evidence available concerning this family. Dugdale listed the Bosviles of Warmsworth and of Braywell, but not this branch of the family. Godfrey Bosvile of Gunthwait was born in 1596, sat as M.P. for Warwick in the Long Parliament, and fought for Parliament in the War. In 1649 he was named as one of the King's Judges, but did not sit. He died in 1658.



His son William was a Captain in the Parliamentary Army, was pardoned at the Restoration, and died in 1662. The family had inter-married with the Copley family. Mary, mother of Godfrey, was the sister of Christopher Copley of Wadsworth, who fought for Parliament in the War, and who had married Elizabeth, daughter of Gervase Bosvile of Warmsworth. At the Restoration the Copleys conformed, but later espoused the Whig cause. The Bosviles of Gunthwait claimed the patronage of Penistone Church, and though this was disputed, they enabled Henry Swift to keep his place therewithout conforming. By the mid-eighteenth century the Bosviles had conformed, and Godfry Bosvile (1745-1813) was a high-living Anglican, though a determined Whig, with whom the family died out.

(Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.276; Clay, 'Yorkshire Gentry at the time of the Civil War', Yorks.Arch.Soc.Journal No.23 (1915) pp.353,382; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.189-90; Calamy, II, p.791; Matthews, p.72; DNB II, p.889.)

#### BRIGHT OF CARBROOK AND BADSWORTH

Stephen Bright, steward to Lord Sheffield and successful lead merchant, bought an estate at Carbrook in 1617, which was inherited and expanded by his son John. The family had inter-married with the Blyths of Norton Lees, of whom William Blyth was the Commander of the Parliamentary forces in Sheffield Castle, and his son, also William, was a puritan preacher at Attercliffe. Stephen himself married twice, both times into puritan families. His first wife was Joanna Westby (see below) of Emley; his second, Barbara Hatfield, daughter of Ralph Hatfield of Laughton (see below) and sister-in-law of

James Fisher, the Independent minister at Sheffield, to whose congregation the Brights belonged.

John Bright entered Grays Inn in 1639, but at the outbreak of War joined the Parliamentary Army, becoming a Colonel in 1643, and successively Governor of Sheffield, York, and Hull. He served under Cromwell in Scotland, but threw up his Commission in 1651. Under Cromwell's regime he became High Sherriff of Yorkshire in 1654 and 1655, and M.P. for the East Riding in 1654, and bought the estate of Badsworth which had been confiscated from Robert Dolman. In 1660 he was not an active supporter of the Restoration, and had raised a regiment for the suppression of Booth's rebellion, but did not actively oppose it, and was knighted by Charles II. After 1662 he employed Jeremiah Wheat, silenced in Derbyshire, as his chaplain, and made his house at Carbrook a refuge for Dissenting ministers. He was married four times. His first wife was Katherine, daughter of Sir Richard Hawksworth, widow of William Lister of Thornton in Craven (see below) whose son, also named William, married Sir John's half-sister, Martha Bright. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Dorothy Norcliffe, whose sister Catherine had married Christopher Lister, younger son of Bright's first wife. His third wife was Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Liddell, whose son Henry was one of the first students to enter Frankland's Academy in 1669, and who married Bright's daughter Katherine. Frances Liddell was the widow of Thomas Vane of Raby Castle, eldest son of Sir Henry Vane. The fourth wife was Susanne, daughter of Michael Warton of Beverley, an Anglican, but the Whig M.P. for Hull, 1679-81.



Bright was a wealthy and influential man in Yorkshire. The Bright Papers, now kept in Sheffield Central Library, contain little evidence concerning Dissent, but, being mainly business papers, show a good deal of Bright's wealth and power. He had wide connections among the Yorkshire Dissenters, with the Westbys, Hatfields, Listers, Norcliffes, Liddells and others. In 1675 Lady Norcliffe was writing to ask for his advice and help concerning the upbringing of her grandchildren, the children of Catherine Norcliffe and Christopher Lister (who were also Bright's grandchildren by one marriage, and niece and nephew by another). Catherine Norcliffe had by then married the Anglican Lord Winchelsea, and their grandmother was clearly concerned about their moral and financial condition. Bright also had some influence amongst the Royalist gentry, to members of which he had lent money. He does not, however, seem to have had any desire to use this influence politically, for he was never a candidate for Parliamentary election, nor is there any record of his having used it on behalf of others. Bright died in 1688, leaving only one daughter from his many marriages.

(Yorkshire Notes and Queries, ed. C.F. Forshaw, No. III (1907) p.25; Miall, pp.54-5, 348,350-2; Dale, p.214; Heywood, II, p.175; Northowram Register, pp.53,73,74; Dugdale's Visitation ed. Davies p.263; DNB, II, p.1241; The Bright Papers, NRA Report No. 203, especially pp.82-3, 98, 150-4, and letters, BR.73,74,78,79,79a,185,209.)

BROOK OF ELLENTHORPE

Ellenthorpe Hall, which was probably originally built by the Aldbrough family, was sold in 1654 to James Brook, Alderman of York, and Mayor in 1647 and 1660. In 1672, the Hall was licensed for preaching by Richard Hobson and Henry Forbes. Lady Priscilla Brook was also a devoted Dissenter, and had a Chapel built at Ellenthorpe, which she endowed in her Will with five hundred pounds. The first minister there was Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton, son of Robert Todd, ejected from Leeds, who had been living in Lord Wharton's house at Helaugh and preaching in the area. Lady Brook also left ten pound legacies to a number of leading Dissenters, including the ministers, Ralph Ward, Noah Ward, Thomas Coulton, Richard Frankland, Cornelius Todd and Oliver Heywood, and to two ministers' widows, Mrs. Hobson and Mrs. Durant. Lady Brook was a friend of Heywood's, and of other Dissenters, including Lady Watson and Lady Hewley of York. In the 1680s Ellenthorpe Chapel was regularly visited by Noah Ward, silenced by the Act of Uniformity, and later assistant to Ralph Ward in York. The Brooks had one son, Sir John Brook, made Baronet in 1676, and M.P. for Boroughbridge, 1679-85. He was not, apparently, a Dissenter, but had his house searched for arms in 1683 in connection with the Rye House Plot.

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.342,349,488; Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No.34 (1937) pp.73, 76-9.)



## COTTON OF DENBY

The Cottons were a family living at Denby Grange, near Penistone. Mr William Cotton was a prosperous iron-master, and the friend of many Dissenting ministers. After the Act of Uniformity was passed, he employed Christopher Richardson of Lassel-Hall as his chaplain, though Richardson continued to live in his own house, being licensed in both places in 1672. Cotton was often visited by Oliver Heywood, and conventicles were held in his house. He had several children, of whom Thomas was educated with Heywood's sons, first at Mr. Hickman's in Worcestershire and later at Frankland's Academy. Like Heywood's sons, he was then ordained to the ministry. (Lyon Turner, I, pp.306,321; Heywood, I, pp.288, 296, III, p.161; Matthews, p.110 (Matthews incorrectly calls William Cotton, Thomas Cotton); Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H.Turner, No. II (1889-90) pp.106-9.)

## DINELY OF BRAMHOPE AND FLANSHAW

Three different generations of this family are mentioned among the Dissenters, Mr William Dinely, his son Robert Dinely Esq., and his grandson Mr Dinely of Flanshaw. The family home was at Bramhope where William died in 1666. His son Robert had supported both Parliament and Cromwell, and was appointed by Fairfax as one of the Commissioners for settling the affairs of the Isle of Man. He was less wealthy and influential than some others, but was a great upholder of Dissent. He had an interest in Bramhope Chapel, having donated rents on 130 acres of land at 6s. 8d. an acre, as a salary for a preaching minister there, which was probably why he was able to

maintain Jeremiah Crossley as Curate, despite his failure to conform. After Crossley died in 1665, Mr. Robert Pickering, ejected from Barlby Chapel, Selby, and later minister at Morley, became Dinely's chaplain. Calamy says Dinely 'maintained a lecture' at his house in Bramhope, and certainly a number of ministers preached there, including Heywood and Cornelius Todd of Helaugh, who was arrested and imprisoned at Pontefract after a conventicle there. In 1666. Dinely and others were summoned before Sir William Adams for a conventicle, but were acquitted because the informer was drunk, and unable to prove his accusations. In 1669, a conventicle at the house of Robert Dinely of Bramhope was reported in Sheldon's survey. In 1673 when Heywood bought his house at Northowram, Dinely supplied him with young trees to plant around it. In November 1674 he was again summoned for a conventicle but escaped proceedings through the interference of the Duke of Buckingham, then in Leeds, who told the Justices to 'cease troubling their neighbours '.

Robert Dinely died in 1689, and the Bramhope estate passed to his son, who had been living at Flanshaw Hall, Wakefield, which he had apparently made a Dissenting colony. Joshua Kirby lived nearby, and the two of them sheltered several ministers; Thomas Smallwood, ejected from Idle and Thomas Hawksworth, both of whom died in 1666-7, William Hawden, and for a short while because of the Five Mile Act, Thomas Johnson of Painthorp. Heywood lodged and preached at Flanshaw on several occasions. In 1689 when Mr. Dinely moved to Bramhope, he had a son, then living in London, who apparently conformed, from which generation the family ceased to be Dissenters.

(Heywood, I, pp.192-3, 226,229,236,244,248,257,268,269,271,273,280,



281,284,287,293, II, pp.45,54,98,212, III, pp.52,96,185,213;  
Calamy, II, pp.804,809,811,948, IV, p.947; Northowram  
Register, pp.73,76,263; Lyon Turner, I, p.162; Thoresby,  
III, pp.109-10; Miall, pp.243-4)

#### FAIRFAX OF DENTON

This was the most important of all the Dissenting families in Yorkshire, not only because of wealth and eminence, but also because its connections through inter-marriage with other puritan and Dissenting families made it the core of an extensive network. Dorothy Fairfax, aunt of the Lord General, had married Sir William Constable, M.P. for Knaresbrough in the Long Parliament, and a regicide, who died in 1655. His sister, Mary, married Henry Arthington (see above), and another sister, Frances, married Sir Thomas Widdrington, M.P. for York in 1660, Recorder of the City until removed by the Corporation Act, and M.P. for Berwick in 1661. Both of these gentlemen were Dissenters, and aided Fairfax in his work for the Restoration in 1659-60. Another sister, Dorothy, married Richard Hutton of Poppleton, whose own sister was the wife of Edward Bowles, the influential minister at York Minster (see below). The Fairfaxes of Denton were the junior branch of the family, the senior being the Fairfaxes of Steeton, who had remained Catholic recusants, and whose representative in the post-Restoration years, Viscount Charles Fairfax of Gilling, was an ardent supporter of James II. One member of this branch, however, Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Gilling, married Sir Thomas Norcliffe of Langton, a puritan supporter of Parliament, was a member of the Independent Chapel at Dagger Lane, Hull, and was a great

supporter of Dissenters after 1660 (see below).

In 1659-60, Lord Thomas Fairfax, of whose earlier career no account need be given here, played a vital part in the Restoration by raising Yorkshire for Monk. Negotiating through Edward Bowles, and supported by many of the leading Yorkshire puritans, he fixed a rising against Lambert's forces for the first of January 1660. On that day he met with Henry Fairfax, his cousin and heir, Henry Arthington, Widdrington, Sir Thomas Slingsby and their levies, at Arthington, while at Knaresborough there met Sir Henry Cholmley, Colonels Bethell, Smithson and Strangeways, and the Duke of Buckingham, with their levies. On 2 January their forces joined at Marston Moor, where they drew up facing 1200 of Lambert's men. The latter presented Fairfax with a petition in favour of a Commonwealth, which he refused to accept, and put his forces into battle order. At the sight of this, Lambert's forces melted away, many of them actually joining Fairfax, who then marched on York, and despite resistance by Colonel Robert Lilburne, forced him to surrender it for Monk. It was this bloodless victory which cleared the route for Monk to march south to London, and thereafter, Fairfax used his influence to obtain a Declaration in favour of the Monarchy from the county of Yorkshire.

In 1660 Fairfax was elected to represent the county in the Convention Parliament. In 1661, however, he decided not to stand, and at a meeting of the gentry at Doncaster, Sir John Goodrick and Conyers Darcy were chosen. Fairfax then changed his mind, but feared, correctly, that it would prove too late. Thereafter he lived quietly at Denton and Nunappleton, taking no active part in politics. In 1663 it was rumoured that he was to



lead the forces raised in the Yorkshire Plot, but there is no evidence that he was in any way aware of it, and in October, when the remnants of the scheme came to a head, Fairfax was advising his son-in-law, Buckingham, about troop deployment for the rounding up of rebels and the prevention of further disturbances. He continued, however, to support peaceful Dissent, employing Richard Stretton as his private chaplain, and on his death in 1671 left one hundred pounds for the aid of poor ministers, to be administered by Stretton, Thomas Calvert, Joshua Whitton (whose son, Richard was Fairfax's legal agent) and John Gunter, all of whom had been ejected in 1660-2. He also left the tithes of Bilbrough to Stretton, for the provision of good preaching there.

(Markham, Life of Fairfax, pp.2-5, 19, 40, 346, 376-84, 390, 394, 440-6;  
Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, II, p.136;  
A.H.Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', Yorks. Arch.Soc. Journal, No. 39 (1946) pp.483-507.)

Lord Fairfax's uncle, Colonel Charles Fairfax, had also fought for Parliament, and in 1659 was Colonel of a regiment under Monk, which was described as 'a hot bed of sectaries'. In January 1660 he was left by Monk with a regiment of foot to garrison York, and in February he was sent to Hull to replace the Republican, Colonel Overton, on the orders of Monk and the Council of State. In that month his nephew and others were meeting to arrange the Yorkshire Declaration, and Charles Fairfax was ordered to prevent it. He warned Lord Fairfax of impending trouble, but did not prevent the meetings, or the Declaration. After the Restoration he lived mainly on his estate at Menston

(the inheritance of his wife, Mary Berkeley) although he was occasionally employed in an official capacity, as in 1662, when he was sent to investigate a possible plot in Hull. He had fourteen children, all of whom apparently conformed. One son, Henry, became a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Dean of Norwich, and was one of the Fellows who opposed James II in 1687, as a result of which he was expelled, although restored in 1689. Charles Fairfax, however, kept to his old faith and friendships, and was visited by Oliver Heywood, whom he welcomed and 'kindly entertained'.

(Heywood, I, p.226, III, p.53; Markham, Life of Fairfax, p.346 HMC, Popham MSS, pp.7,147-8,159,180,182; A.H.Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration'; DNB, VI, pp.994-5,998,1005-12.)

On the death of Lord Thomas in 1671, the title passed to Henry Fairfax, son of the Rev. Henry Fairfax, a puritan minister who resigned from the living of Bolton Percy in 1660, and died at his estate at Oglethorpe in 1665, and of his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Cholmley of Whitby. Henry Fairfax was a strong Dissenter, and maintained his connections with the movement, aiding it where he could. He supported the Restoration, with his cousin, Lord Thomas, and in 1663, was actively engaged in the suppression of the Yorkshire Plot. He was a J.P. and a Colonel of the Militia in Yorkshire throughout the period. From 1678 to 1681 he was M.P. for Yorkshire, with Lord Clifford, having the support of almost all the Yorkshire gentry, Anglican and Dissenter alike, except for a small group led by Sir John Reresby, who supported Sir John Kaye against him in 1679 and 1680. Reresby claimed considerable support for Kaye, but



the extant correspondence of the time among the leading gentry makes it clear that Reresby exaggerated. Fairfax supported Exclusion, and in the political climate of 1685, declined to stand again, despite the considerable support still available to him. Both he and his son Thomas were appointed to the Privy Council by James II in 1685. In 1687 Thomas Fairfax was expelled, because of his attitude to the repeal of the penal laws in religion, but there is no record of any active opposition to James by Lord Henry, possibly because he was now an old man, but equally possibly, because of his Dissenting beliefs. He died in 1688.

Lord Henry Fairfax is mentioned several times by Oliver Heywood. In 1674 he was visiting Halifax with the Duke of Buckingham, when the two publicly disapproved the Vicar, Dr. Hook's, persecution of Dissenters. He was also a friend of the Thoresbys, and Ralph Thoresby recorded 'the good order observed in my Lord's religious family,' with his chaplain, Mr. Clapham, preaching twice on Sundays, and regular prayers, Bible reading and psalm singing in the evenings. He visited and was visited by Thoresby on several occasions. Lord Henry was the recognised leader of Dissent in Yorkshire, and was described by Reresby as the leader of the 'Presbyterian Party'.

Lord Henry had married Frances, the daughter of Lady Barwick (see above) who died in 1684, and had three sons, Thomas, Henry and Barwick. Henry apparently followed his father into Dissent, was a great friend of Ralph Thoresby, and was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1691. Barwick Fairfax was M.P. for Malton in 1685. The eldest son, Thomas, who

inherited the title in 1688 was Captain of a Troop of Horse in James II's army, and fought against Monmouth at Sedgemoor. In 1687, however, he lost his commission and his seat on the Privy Council because he would not support James' religious policy. In November 1688, now Lord Thomas and a Deputy-Lieutenant of Yorkshire, he aided Danby in the seizure of York, for William of Orange, and was M.P. for Yorkshire in 1688-9. Lord Thomas was not a Dissenter. At his father's funeral he treated Thoresby and other Dissenters politely, but gave no sign of friendship or religious sympathy. Lord Henry's brother, Brian Fairfax, also apparently conformed. In 1660 he was only seventeen, but nevertheless aided the Restoration by carrying the news of Fairfax's rising to Monk. He then became secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, but left him later, unable to bear his extravagances. From 1670 to 1685 he was an equerry to Charles II, and held the same position for William from 1689 to 1694. He had certainly conformed by 1690, when he was secretary to Archbishop Tillotson. In 1694 he gave up that position, retiring to Yorkshire and devoting himself to his antiquarian interests until his death in 1711.

(Heywood, I, p.349, II, pp.148,151; Northowram Register, pp.53,72; Thoresby, I, pp.55,60,77,84,108,128,134,135,176,187,208, III, pp.101,103-4; Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, II, pp.138-40; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.48,128,188-9, 198,312,350,377,523-33; Markham, Life of Fairfax, pp.346, 377-81, 388,389; Memorials of Dean Comber, ed.C.E.Whiting.)



## GILL OF CARR-HOUSE

Originally owning estates at Norton, Derbyshire, the Gills acquired Carr-House in Yorkshire through the marriage in 1638 of Edward Gill with Elizabeth Westby, probably a relative of other puritan families in the area, the Westbys of Emley and Ravenfield (see below). Edward Gill had previously been married to Ruth Bright, sister of Sir John (see above), who died in 1635. He fought for Parliament, reaching the rank of Colonel, and succeeded John Bright as Governor of Sheffield Castle in 1644. He served on several committees in Yorkshire and Derbyshire for the Long Parliament, and represented Yorkshire in the Barebones Parliament, and the West Riding in Cromwell's Parliaments of 1654 and 1656-8. In 1659 he was appointed Commissioner for the Yorkshire Militia by the restored Rump.

Gill's sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of William Spencer of Attercliffe (see below), a leading puritan in Sheffield and a member of Fisher's congregation. His son, John, married Sarah Brook, daughter and heiress of Joshua Brook of New-House, in 1665, thus adding the estate there to his patrimony. After Sarah died in 1675, leaving one daughter, also Sarah, John re-married in 1679, with Martha, daughter of Joshua Horton of Sowerby (see below), a member of Henry Root's and later of Oliver Heywood's congregations. John Gill was High Sherriff of Yorkshire in 1692. The family were active Dissenters, and known to Heywood, who lodged and preached at Carr-House and supplied them with copies of his works. They probably attended the services of Luke Clayton at Rotherham, where Sarah Gill was buried. Martha Gill died in 1689, aged 31, leaving a son, Westby, who in 1735 was

appointed Master Carpenter to George II, and had presumably therefore conformed.

(Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.277; Clāy, 'Yorkshire Gentry in the Civil War', Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No. 23, p.384; Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, II pp.57-8; Heywood, II, pp.61,70,91,93,97,98,152,166, III, p.54, IV, p.68.)

#### HATFIELD OF LAUGHTON AND HATFIELD

Ralph Hatfield of Laughton-in-le-Morthen, a puritan and supporter of Parliament, had two sons and two daughters, all of whom were Dissenters and supported the movement after 1662. The elder son, Anthony, inherited the estates at Laughton, and he and his wife, Faith, daughter of George Westby of Ravenfield (see below) were members of the Independent Congregation at Attercliffe led by Roland Hancock and Matthew Bloom. They also attended conventicles at Rotherham led by the Presbyterians, Luke Clayton and John Shaw. Hatfield's sister, Elizabeth, had married James Fisher, Independent minister at Sheffield, ejected in 1662, who after being imprisoned more than once as suspected of plotting, lived with his brother-in-law until his death in 1667, a death undoubtedly hastened by the months he spent in the cells of York Castle. Hatfield also took in Richard Whitehurst, who was ejected from Laughton, until Whitehurst took up the pastorate of Kipping Chapel, probably in 1673, since he was licensed at Laughton in 1672. Heywood also visited and preached at Laughton.

Hatfield's younger brother, John, an ex-Captain in the



Parliamentary Army, was also a member of the Attercliffe Congregation. He had fought under Lambert, but in 1659 deserted and joined Monk. Shortly after the Restoration he settled at Hatfield with his wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Westby of Ravenfield, whom he had married in 1652. He was known as a Dissenter and in 1683 his house was searched for arms by a warrant signed by Reresby and Sir Ralph Knight (see below). John Hatfield was also a friend of Thoresby, having common antiquarian interests as well as religious feelings. He died in December 1694, aged 72, almost exactly a year after his wife's death.

The Hatfields intermarried widely with other Dissenters. Barbara, the second sister, had married Stephen Bright of Carbrook, (see above) and after his death, Thomas Westby of Ravenfield (see below), possibly the father, but more likely the brother, of John Hatfield's wife. In 1698 an Anthony Hatfield, who had been educated at Frankland's Academy, and was probably the grandson of the above Anthony, married a daughter of Elkanah Rich of Bull-house (see below). John Hatfield had several children. His eldest son, John, was a barrister who married Mary Hallows of Rochdale in 1690, and died in 1720, aged 61. Another son, Samuel, who moved to London, married Mary, daughter of Ralph Spencer of Leeds (see below), a Dissenting merchant, whose son Robert married Abigail, daughter of Andrew Taylor of York (see below), while Hatfield's daughter married Samuel Ibbotson of Leeds (see below). Anthony Hatfield's daughter, Martha, subject to fits and delirium, became famous as 'the Wise Virgin', her delirious ramblings being published as divine revelations by James Fisher. All these members of the family

were Dissenters, but by the mid-eighteenth century the family had apparently conformed, as its representative at that time was George Hatfield, Vicar of Doncaster from 1762 to 1785.

(Calamy, II, pp.785-6; Heywood, I, pp.233,245, II, pp.15,61, 91,92,135,180,181, IV, p.152; Northowram Register, pp.46,50, 63,95; Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, pp.185,270-1; York Minster Library, Hopkinson MSS, ed. Thomas Wilson, Vol.III p.335; Miall, p.348; HMC No.39, Hodgkin MSS, p.324; DNB, IX, p.154; Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, ed.C.Jackson)

#### HEWET OF HEADLEY HALL

Lady Katherine Hewet, the widow of Sir John of Headley Hall, who died in 1657, was the daughter of Sir Robert Beville of Chesterton, Huntingdonshire. A widow for many years, she was a friend of Oliver Heywood, and was visited by him and supplied with copies of his works. She had one son, Sir John, who probably conformed, and his son, Pyrrell, was the Anglican Rector of Stotter, in Lincolnshire. (Heywood, II, pp.44,104,154, 212,214,215, III, p.70, IV, p.92 Northowram Register, p.76; York Minster Library, Hopkinson MSS, ed. Wilson, Vol. I, p.179.)

#### HEWLEY OF YORK

John Hewley, M.P. for Pontefract, 1658-60, a lawyer and citizen of York, who entered Gray's Inn in 1638 and was later Recorder of Doncaster, was knighted after the Restoration in 1663. He was apparently ambitious of being an M.P., standing at both Aldborough and York in 1673, and



being defeated in both places. He petitioned against the result of the York election, but his petition was dismissed, and Henry Thompson, ex-Mayor of York, and friend of Andrew Marvell, was confirmed in his place. Hewley was finally elected in 1678 as Thompson's partner, and sat in the three Exclusion Parliaments, supporting the Exclusion Bill. He was named by Reresby as one of the leaders of 'faction' in the city, along with Thompson, and was clearly held in high esteem by the Corporation, for in 1682 his influence was sufficient for his ex-clerk, Peter Dawson, to be instituted as a freeman of the city, and in 1684, with the Tory reaction riding high, to be elected to the Common Council. He apparently took no active part in politics in James' reign, and was not involved in the seizure of York in 1688. He died at his home, the Bell-house, in 1697.

Both Sir John and Lady Hewley, who died in 1710, were active Dissenters, although Heywood implies that it was Lady Hewley who was the more devout. In 1662 Ralph Ward came to York, having been ejected from Hartburn, Northumberland, and became private chaplain to the Hewleys, until forced to leave the city by the Five Mile Act. He returned after a short while, and though living now in his own house, continued to preach at Bell-house. In 1672 the Indulgence permitted the formation of an organised Congregation, of which the Hewleys became members, although in 1671 they had employed Timothy Hodgson, son of Captain Hodgson of Coley, as their chaplain. Hodgson was ordained in 1680, with certificates from Sir John Hewley and Ralph Ward. In 1691 the Congregation built the Chapel of St. Saviourgate, and the

Hewleys attended regularly, being devoutly attached to Ward's ministry, and that of his successor, Thomas Coulton. Lady Hewley, however, also helped and supported other Congregations in the York area, notably those around Knaresborough (see App.I, List III, Knaresborough) She also gave much to charity, Anglican as well as Nonconformist, her most important work being the founding of the Hewley Trust for the support of poor preachers.

The Hewleys were well-known to Heywood, who lodged and preached at Bell-house on his visits to York, and who received a pension of five pounds a year from Lady Hewley. In his later years, when he was less able to travel, Heywood continued to correspond with Lady Hewley, and gave her advice and casuistic 'experiments'.

(Miall, pp.116-119; Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. Margoliouth, II, pp.313,314,316-17, 318,355; Reresby, Memoirs, pp.90,579-80. York Corporation Records, House Books, Vol. 38, pp.187r, 202; Calamy, II, pp.507,659; Heywood, I, pp.279,298, II, pp.44,104,197-8, 212,213,214,215, 216, III, p.277, IV, pp.92,117,148,156,186,196,198,231,232, 250,258,259,262,297; Northowram Register, pp.90,252; DNB, IX, pp.761-2.)

#### HORTON OF SOWERBY

Joshua Horton J.P., a member of the junior branch of the Hortons of Horton, had bought Leventhorpe Hall, Thornton, in 1640. He was a wealthy man, of some local influence. According to Heywood he had an income of a thousand a year and was one of the governors of the Free School in Halifax. In



1660. he was a member of Henry Root's Independent Church at Sowerby, remaining so until Root's death in 1669, when he and several others joined Heywood's congregation at Coley. He was apparently a partial conformist, giving eight pounds a year to the curate of Sowerby Chapel, but his Dissenting activities were sufficiently public to earn him the enmity of Dr. Hook, Vicar of Halifax. In 1672, after the Indulgence was issued, he built a Chapel at Quarry Hill, Sowerby, and paid four ministers ten shillings a sermon, to preach there on a weekly rota. These ministers were Heywood, Joseph Dawson, Eli Bentley and Timothy Root, three Presbyterians and an Independent. Although the Indulgence was withdrawn, he continued this practice until his death in 1679.

Horton had three sons, and one daughter, Martha, who married John Gill of Carr-house (see above). All his sons were educated, not at any Dissenters' Academy, but at Brazenose, Oxford. The eldest, Joshua, was known, and friendly, to Heywood, but there is no reason to think that he was an active Dissenter. Nor apparently were his brothers, Elkanah (1659-1729) and Thomas, a physician in London, who died in 1694.

(Heywood, I, pp.272,288,296,297,298,299,350, II, pp.31,45,65, 69,83,90,91,130,139,166,213,260-1, III, pp.52,57,66,125,127, 129,130,132; Northowram Register, pp.43,59; The Bradford Antiquary, ed. C.F.Forshaw, No. I. (1881-8) pp.13-14.)

#### HOYLE

Lady Hoyle, a widow living near Leeds was a friend of Heywood. Heywood visited her and preached at her house, as well as supplying her with copies of his works, until her death in 1668.

(Heywood, I, pp.251,256, III, pp.68,101.)

#### HUTTON OF POPPLETON AND PUDSEY

Richard Hutton, grandson of Matthew, Archbishop of York, and son of Sir Thomas of Poppleton, had married Dorothy, sister of Lord Thomas Fairfax (see above). There is no evidence that he held any official posts, or followed any political career, but he was a wealthy and influential man, and a constant supporter of the Dissenters. After the ejections, he employed Thomas Birdsall, ejected from Selby, as his chaplain, and in 1672 Birdsall was licensed to preach at both Poppleton and York. Hutton had previously performed a similar service for Mr Kershaw, the conformist Rector of Ripley, when he was sequestered from Wakefield in 1645, which suggests an attitude of respect for all good ministers, regardless of creed. The Huttons were friends of Heywood, who lodged and preached at Poppleton in 1671, and in 1677, as well as supplying them with copies of his works. Dorothy Hutton died in 1687.

They had three sons, Thomas, Richard and Matthew. Thomas inherited Poppleton, and there is no evidence that he had any sympathy with Dissent. Matthew, born 1640, was an Anglican clergyman, a D.D. and a Fellow of Brazenose, Oxford, and Rector of Aynhoe, Northamptonshire, and later of Croughton. Richard, however, became a clothier in Pudsey, and in 1682 married Beatrix, daughter of James Sale, pastor of a Congregation in Pudsey after ejection from Leeds. Beatrix Sale left Heywood a legacy of one pound on her death in 1701. Richard had a son, also Richard, who married Mary, daughter of Richard Thorpe, the Dissenting minister at Hopton Hall, in 1710. Mary Hutton died in 1729, leaving legacies to seven



poor Nonconformist Chapels, at Idle, Heckmondwyke, Cleckheaton, Topcliffe, Kipping, Eastwood and Bingley. Richard Hutton was a leading Dissenter in Pudsey. In 1689 he registered the house of his mother-in-law, Beatrice Sale, as a meeting-place for Dissenters, as well as two other houses in Wakefield and Pontefract. In 1710, a Richard Hutton, probably the father, was one of the Trustees who signed an indenture for land in Pudsey on which to build a Chapel.

(Calamy, II, p.793; Heywood, I, p.281, II, p.44, III, p.57, IV, p.246; Northowram Register, pp.72, 151, 152; Atkinson, Thoresby, I, p.228; DNB, X, p.358 (Matthew Hutton); Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H.Turner, No.III, (1893) pp.45-6.)

#### JACKSON OF HICKLETON

Sir John Jackson and his wife, Catherine Booth, sister of Lord Delamere, were useful supporters of Dissent in South Yorkshire. Living at Hickleton Hall, they employed the ejected minister, Hugh Everard, as private chaplain until his death, in 1665 according to Calamy, 1667 according to Dale, or 1668 according to Matthews. They also used their influence to allow Nathan Denton, ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearne, to preach in Hickleton Church for a year, until the new incumbent came in 1663, after which they housed conventicles led by Everard and Denton and were reported in 1669 as housing a regular meeting of sixty or eighty Presbyterians. In that year the conventicle was moved to William Smith's house, also in Hickleton, for unknown reasons. Jackson died in 1670 but his daughter Mrs. Everett continued to attend Denton's

ministry, at first in Hickleton, and later at his own house in Bolton, which was registered as a meeting-place in 1689.

Jackson had one son, Sir John, who was educated at Oxford, matriculating in 1670, and who did not follow his father's religious footsteps, but, according to Reresby, ruined the family fortunes by his extravagance.

(Calamy, II, p.790, IV, p.950; Dale, pp.50-1, 54;

Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.5; Matthews, pp.163,186;

Lyon Turner, I, p.163, III, p.760-1; Reresby, Memoirs, p.189.)

#### KNIGHT OF LANGOLD

Sir Ralph Knight of Langold, J.P., Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia (1684) and Deputy-Lieutenant of the West Riding in 1687, was a supporter of Dissent, though probably not an active member of any Congregation. He had fought for Parliament in the Civil War, holding a commission as a Major under the Earl of Manchester in 1643 and as a Colonel under Monk in 1659. He actively supported the Restoration, for which he was knighted in 1660, and for which he was, on Albemarle's testimony, excepted from a Proclamation ordering all ex-officers to leave London immediately in June 1662, and given twenty days' grace. He is mentioned in his various official capacities on several occasions by Reresby, and in 1679 Reresby says that he was one of the, according to Reresby, few in the Southern West Riding to support the election of Henry Fairfax as Knight of the Shire in opposition to Sir John Kaye (see Fairfax). Knight was known to Heywood, as a friend of the Taylors of Wallinwells (see below) and attended Firbeck Church on two occasions when Heywood was preaching there, with Major Taylor. In 1679 he and Taylor



visited Knight at Langold. In December 1682 Heywood travelled to London with the two gentlemen, and on the journey, while discussing the growing persecution, Knight declared that he would rather lay down his commission than act against 'those people'. A few months before, Knight had been present at a furious quarrel between Reresby and Francis Jessop, a sympathiser with Dissent, over this same matter, and although he apparently did not openly support Jessop then, it seems that he was much concerned with the problem. His son, John Knight, and his daughter Hester, had married into the Clarkson family, important puritans in Yorkshire, whose members included David Clarkson, a leading Divine and Tutor at Cambridge, ejected in 1660, and his sister Mary, mother of Thomas Sharp, minister at Mill Hill, Leeds. Knight died in 1691.

(Reresby Memoirs, pp.188,271 ff, 345,440-1; Heywood, II, pp.61, 92, IV, pp.83,85; Northowram Register, p.79; HMC Reports 13th Report, VI, pp.4-5; Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer, ed. J.H.Turner, No.I (1888) p.166; Clay, 'Yorkshire Gentry in the Civil War', Yorks.Arch.Soc.Journal, No.23,p.387.)

#### LASCELLES OF MOUTH GRACE AND STANK

Francis Lascelles of Stank was born in 1612, and entered Grays Inn in 1628. He married Frances, daughter of Sir William St. Quentin of Harpham, sister of Sir Henry of Harpham and Beverley (see below). A prominent and active Parliamentarian, he was a Captain of Foot from November 1642 to June 1644, serving at Selby, Guisborough and Yarm. In June 1644 he became a Captain of Horse and Colonel of Foot, and took part in the reduction of Scarborough, Skipton and Helmsley Castles,

later becoming Governor of Helmsley. He sat on all the Assessment Committees for Yorkshire and the North Riding, and on the North Riding Sequestration Committee in 1643. In 1645 he entered Parliament as M.P. for Thirsk, and took the Covenant on December 31st, 1645. He was not very active as an M.P., but in 1648, with the outbreak of the Second Civil War, he raised a regiment, joined Lambert in North Yorkshire, and accompanied Cromwell on the Preston campaign. He later served with Colonel Bethell in the seige of Scarborough. He sat as one of the King's Judges, but dissented from the proceedings, and refused to sign the death warrant. On 1 February 1649, he entered his dissent to the Parliamentary vote to re-open negotiations with the King, and re-took his seat, sitting until Cromwell dissolved the Rump, though mainly absent in Yorkshire on military business. He represented Yorkshire in the Barebones Parliament, and the North Riding in those of 1654 and 1656. In 1657 he was given leave to retire into the country, and is not mentioned thereafter. In Yorkshire, he sat on one or two Committees, but was not an active administrator. In 1659 he was on the Committee for the Militia, appointed by the restored Rump, and retook his seat, being one of those who pressed for the return of the excluded members. In 1660 he was returned to Parliament for Northallerton, and before it met, petitioned Charles at Breda for a pardon, citing his refusal to sign Charles I's death warrant, and received the King's Pardon. He was nevertheless expelled from Parliament. He was not excepted from the Act of Oblivion, but had to pay one year's full value of his estates to the King, and was declared incapable



of public office. After the Restoration he lived at a house at Mount Grace, which he had built on the site of the old Priory. He was still much suspected, and in 1661 his letters were being intercepted. In January 1663 he was imprisoned in Scarborough Castle, on rumours of a plot which proved to be the private revenge of a convicted forger, and he was then released, dying in 1667.

The problems of the Lascelles family were not, however, over. In 1663, with the discovery of the Northern Plot, a Captain Thomas Lascelles of Mount Grace, probably Francis' son, was implicated and arrested. After appearing at the Assizes in York, on 7 January 1664, he was ordered to be kept in prison for treason until gaol delivery. There is no record of any further trial, and according to Lyon Turner, he died in prison. This, however, seems unlikely, as in February 1665, a Captain Thomas Lascelles was arrested on suspicion of a plot after a meeting of Scots and English at Northallerton and Cowton. It seems likely that Lyon Turner was confusing him with his father, though incorrect in both cases. Again there is no record of any trial, but he was obviously released, and in 1667 he was arrested shortly after the escape of Captain Mason, one of the Northern Plotters. In 1668 he is referred to as still in custody, but in 1669 he was clearly free, and had better relations with the government, since Major Greathead, a Government spy since August 1663, sent a message to him and Captain Hanson of Halifax, offering to name four men involved but not convicted in the Northern Plot, if he were granted one fifth of their confiscated estates.

From this time, there is no further record of the family being at odds with the government, though they did remain Dissenters. In 1672, the house of Mrs Lascelles, widow, at Mount Grace, was licensed for meetings. This was probably Frances, wife of Colonel Francis Lascelles. There is no record of the death of Captain Thomas, but in 1688, James' agents reported that Mr Thomas Lascelles had an interest in the election at Northallerton, and had given a firm promise to use it on the government's behalf. This may have been Captain Thomas, or a son, but in either case, it is an interesting example of a Dissenter, or a man of Dissenting background, co-operating with James II's plans.

(Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, II, pp.58-60; Lyon Turner, I, p.582, III, pp.742-3; CSPD, 1663-4, pp.3,16,19,26, 1664-5, pp.201,211, 1667-8, p.273, 1668-9, pp.272-3; 'King James II's proposed repeal of the penal laws, etc,' ed. Sir G. Duckett Yorks. Arch.Soc.Journal, No.5,p.472; Depositions from York Castle, pp.110,112.)

#### LISTER OF THORNTON IN CRAVEN

An important and widely connected family among the Yorkshire Dissenters; Sir William Lister of Midhope, Thornton, a supporter of Parliament, married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Bellasis. After his death in 1650, Lady Lister moved to York, and there opened her house for conventicles, at which Peter Williams preached weekly. She protected him from persecution, despite the enmity of several in authority in York, until her death, probably in 1671, after which he preached with Ralph Ward at the house of Lady Watson (see below). Lady Lister



had several children, of whom Martin Lister was a physician to Charles I, dying in 1657, and Frances married John Lambert, the Major-General. Her eldest son, William, was killed fighting for Parliament at Tadcaster in 1642, and his widow, Katherine married Sir John Bright of Badsworth (see below). A second daughter, Anne, married Sir John Kaye of Woodsome, an Anglican and Royalist, who is mentioned as a persecutor by Heywood in the 1660s, but who later became more sympathetic.

William, the eldest son of William and Katherine Lister, married Martha Bright, half-sister of Sir John. His brother, Christopher married Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Norcliffe (see below) and had a son, Christopher, in 1665. Shortly after this, Christopher Lister died, and Katherine Norcliffe married Sir John Wentworth (see below) and after his death in 1671, Sir Heneage Finch, Lord Winchelsea.

John Lambert, son of the Major-General and Frances Lister, married a cousin of the Listers of Thornton, Barbara Lister of Arnoldsbiggin, Gisburn. This lady was a great upholder of Dissent in Craven, and a friend of Oliver Heywood, who preached regularly at Horton, Craven, at the houses of John Hey and Richard Mitchell, and at the Lambert home in Carlton when John Lambert was absent. In 1673, when Richard Frankland was forced by persecution to move from Rathmell, his Academy found a temporary home at Carlton before moving to Natland in 1674. Mrs Lambert also founded and upheld a congregation at Winterburn, and built a Chapel there. At her death, she left two hundred pounds to the pastor at Horton, for preaching eight sermons a year at Winterburn, and two hundred pounds to the Horton Congregation. Her friends also included Thomas Jolly, who recorded that in 1676 she was on the point of turning Quaker,

but he persuaded her not to, and she attended several ordinations held by him, Frankland and Heywood in Horton. John Lambert, who was Sherriff of Yorkshire in 1699, was apparently not a Dissenter, attending Kirby Malham Church regularly. A description of him by Thoresby, whose antiquarian interests he shared, portraying him as an 'excellent scholar, a man of much reading, great memory, admirable parts; and in the exercises of bowling, shooting and the like, excelling all the gentry of Craven', does not suggest a puritan way of life. Nevertheless, their daughter, wife of Sir George Middleton, apparently shared her mother's sentiments.

(York Minster Library, Hopkinson MSS, ed. Wilson, Vol. I, pp. 257-8; Dugdales Visitation, ed. Davies, p. 178; Miall, pp. 293-4; Calamy, II, p. 783; Matthews, p. 532; Heywood, II, pp. 48-9, 65, 185, 197, 199, 212, 213, 214, III, pp. 53, 56, 75, 76, IV, pp. 195, 198, 223, 260, 262, 268, 272; Northowram Register, p. 51; Thoresby, I, pp. 131-2; Jolly, Note-Book, p. 30; H. Speight, The Craven and North-West Yorkshire Highlands (1892) p. 382.)

#### NORCLIFFE OF LANGTON

Sir Thomas Norcliffe, born 1618, knighted at Durham in 1642, was a supporter of Parliament in the Civil War, and was with Fairfax at the storming of Leeds in 1643. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Gilling, first Viscount Emley, who died in 1636. The Fairfaxes of Gilling were mentioned in 1604 as Catholic Recusants, and though Sir Thomas appears to have joined the Anglican Church by 1608, his wife, Katherine, remained a Catholic all her life. This branch of the Fairfax family seems to have been variable in



both religion and politics. Of the ten children of Sir Thomas, Katherine married Sir Robert Stapleton, and then Sir Matthew Boynton of Barmston, who fought for Parliament, and Margaret married Watkinson Payler, and on his death, the Presbyterian, Sir John Hotham. The heir to Gilling, Thomas, apparently took neither side during the war, but his heir, Viscount Charles, was a Catholic, a supporter of James II, and after 1688, a Jacobite.

Despite her mixed descent, Lady Norcliffe was an active Dissenter, and a member of the Dagger Lane Independent Chapel, in Hull. According to Whitaker's History of Bowl Alley Lane Church, she joined the group at its inception in 1643, but she is not mentioned in the lists of members from 1643 to 1660, preserved in the church records. Her name first occurs in the records in 1669. In 1663, however, when Edward Atkinson, the Elder at Dagger Lane, was imprisoned at York in connection with the Northern Plot, she used her influence on behalf of many of the prisoners, and arranged for Atkinson to be a prisoner at her house, where he remained an honoured guest until his death. It seems likely, then, that she was acquainted with the Hull group by 1663, and became a member at some time between 1660 and 1669 a period when no records were kept.

Lady Norcliffe gave considerable help to the Yorkshire Dissenters, until her death in 1687 at the age of 66 years. (Sir Thomas died in 1680) She gave fifty pounds a year to the pastor at Langton, twenty pounds a year to Richard Astley, pastor at Dagger Lane from 1669, twenty pounds a year to Mr Oliver, her chaplain, who had been ejected from Glapthorn, Northamptonshire, and paid for his children's education, and

five pounds a year to Mr Wait, the ejected minister of Wetwang. In addition to this, in 1671, she donated forty pounds to Dagger Lane as a basic stock, to which her daughter 'our dear sister' Lady Katherine Wentworth, added a further twenty pounds.

In his account of the Norcliffes, Miall confuses this daughter with her mother. Lady Norcliffe had six daughters, of whom Katherine married (1) Christopher Lister, who died in 1666, (see above), (2) Sir John Wentworth, who died in 1671 (see below), and (3) Sir Heneage Finch, Lord Winchelsea. She is not mentioned in the records of Dagger Lane after 1671, and it appears that after her marriage to Winchelsea, her membership lapsed. Lady Norcliffe did not fully approve the third marriage, and in letters to Sir John Bright, expressed concern regarding her daughter's financial circumstances and the upbringing of her grandchildren, whose paternal grandmother was Bright's first wife. Another daughter, Elizabeth, was Bright's second wife.

(E. Peacock A List of Roman Catholic Recusants in the County of Yorkshire in 1604 (1872); Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.230; HMC Var. Coll. II, The Wombwell Papers, pp.111,115; Clay, 'Yorkshire Gentry in the Civil War', Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal No.23, pp.383,385,388; York Minster Library, Hopkinson MSS, ed. Wilson, Vol.I, pp.109-10; Miall, p.289; Calamy, II, p.834, IV, p.955; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H.Turner, No.III (1893) pp.186-92; Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, p.1.)



RAWDEN OF RAWDON

There is little extant evidence regarding this family, which was a junior branch of the family of Rawden of Stearsby in the North Riding, a family which was strongly Royalist and Anglican. In 1665 Francis Rawden was called by Dugdale to prove his right to bear arms, but apparently failed to attend the Herald. The Rawdon branch were certainly Dissenters. Oliver Heywood mentions visiting 'old Mr. Rawden' and preaching there on several occasions, as well as supplying the family with copies of his works. No mention of them is made, however, after 1669. From 1678, Mr. Coates, the ejected minister of Wath-upon-Dearne, was living and holding conventicles in Rawdon, which Heywood attended at times but he does not refer to the Rawden family. This evidence implies that the family there had died out, certainly as far as the Dissenters were concerned and probably completely. Francis had in fact, a son, Sir George, a supporter of Parliament but now resident in Ireland, through whom the family continued, to become Earls of Hastings. Another son, Marmaduke, a noted Antiquarian, had lived with his uncle in London and died in 1669. No meeting-place was registered at Rawdon in 1689, nor was a Chapel built in there until the 19th Century, but there were meeting-places in the parish (Guisseley) and in nearby Otley and Calverley.

(Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.XVIII; Heywood, I, pp.226,234,236,239,244,247, III, p.67; DNB XVI, pp.763-5)

## RHODES OF GREAT HOUGHTON

An important Dissenting family in South Yorkshire, the Rhodes aided numerous ministers and upheld conventicles for several years. Sir Edward Rhodes, brother-in-law of Strafford, had supported and fought for Parliament from the beginning, and in 1642, played an important part in forestalling a Declaration of Neutrality by the Yorkshire gentry. In the same year, Great Houghton was attacked by the Royalists. Later, Rhodes was disturbed by the growing radicalism, and was implicated in Hotham's plot, but, cleared of this charge, was active at the seige of Pontefract in 1648. He served under Cromwell at Preston, then accompanied him to Scotland, receiving a Colonel's commission from him in 1654, and becoming a member of his Privy Council. In 1651 he was High Sherriff of Yorkshire, and in 1656, M.P. for Perthshire. He appears to have supported the Restoration, and in 1661, was High Sherriff for the second time. After 1662, he made his house a refuge for Dissenting ministers, and housed conventicles, a policy continued by Lady Rhodes after his death in 1666. Lady Rhodes was an active Dissenter, much respected by Oliver Heywood, and when she died in 1681 she was buried at midnight in the Chapel at Great Houghton, built by Sir Edward in 1650, the patronage of which he had kept entirely in his own hands.

This chapel was one reason why Great Houghton was such a centre of Dissent. In 1662, Richard Taylor, ejected from Long Houghton, became family chaplain, and in 1669 he was reported as holding conventicles there, along with William Benton, ejected from Thurnscoe, Jonathan Grant and Mark Triggot, ejected elsewhere, but also living in Thurnscoe, and Nathan



Denton of Bolton-upon-Dearne. With such a Chapel available, these conventicles were almost public services, and as such, formed an attractive platform for many ministers. In 1672 Great Houghton was licensed as a meeting-place for preaching by Jeremiah Milner, and when the licence was withdrawn, Milner stayed on as family chaplain. In 1689, 'the house of William Rhodes' at Great Houghton, was again registered as a meeting-place. Heywood, and other travelling ministers, lodged and preached there on several occasions, and he speaks of the family with great respect.

Sir Edward Rhodes had thirteen children. The eldest son, Godfrey, inherited Great Houghton in 1666, but died childless in 1682. The second son, Edward, a barrister at Grays Inn, having also died young, the estate then passed to the third son, William, born 1639, who had married Mary, daughter of Richard Wilson, a puritan merchant of Leeds (see below). The fourth son, Hammond, was chaplain to his aunt, the Dowager Countess of Strafford, and apparently, therefore, conformed. He died, unmarried, in June 1688. The eldest daughter, Mary, married John Wordsworth of Swathe Hall (see below), but the third daughter, Millicent, married (1) Christopher Hutton, and (2) Robert Banks, the conformist vicar of Hull. The fourth daughter, Elizabeth, apparently suffered from fits and had a speech impediment. A devout Dissenter, she died, unmarried, at Wakefield in 1714, where she had been living for some years.

The Rhodes had very wide connections among the Yorkshire Dissenters. Apart from those above, they were related to the Sykes of Leeds (see below), of whom Anna Sykes was the wife of Ralph Thoresby (see below). In 1712 the Northowram Register records the marriage of Richard Rhodes of Great

Houghton and Martha, daughter of Elkanah Rich of Bull-house (see below) and of Mary Rhodes with William Rooks of Rhodes Hall. Richard was the second son of William Rhodes, the eldest, Godfrey, having died unmarried in 1709, at the age of 22 years. Richard died in 1730-1, leaving three children, William, who died, unmarried, in 1740, Mary, who died in 1789, and Martha, through whom the family estates passed to the Milnes family of Pontefract. With the passing of the Rhodes family, Dissent in the area also died out, a sign of how important were these social leaders in upholding the movement. The Rhodes of Great Houghton were Presbyterians, but another branch of the family, living at Barlborough, were Quakers. (Miall, p.55; Calamy, II, pp.793, 796; Lyon Turner, I, p.320; Heywood, I, pp.234,259,265,291, II, pp.61,67,93,143,212, III, pp.55,56,68,70,71,138, IV, pp.31,326; Northowram Register pp.143,171,206,207; Thoresby, I, pp.252-3; Dugdale's Visitation ed. Davies, p.266; J. Wilkinson, Worthies of Barnsley and District, pp.137-64, especially pp.140,141,143,144,145,148; Yorkshire Notes and Queries, ed. C.F.Forshaw, No. III (1907) p.4)

#### RICH OF BULL-HOUSE

The Riches were an active Dissenting family in South Yorkshire, living at Bull-House, two miles from Penistone. In 1662 the head of the family was Mr Sylvanus Rich, who gave refuge to Roland Hancock when he was driven from Sheffield by the Five Mile Act. In 1672 the house of Sylvanus Rich was licensed as a meeting-place for Nathan Denton of Bolton-upon-Dearne. The Riches also attended Penistone Chapel, where the Dissenting minister, Henry Swift, remained Vicar without



conforming, but in 1689, when he died and was replaced by a conformist, they ceased to attend, and Elkanah Rich registered Bull-House as a meeting-place for Daniel Denton, son of the above Nathan. By 1692, he had built a Chapel there.

The Rich family were well-known to Heywood, who lodged and preached at Bull-House on several occasions. In 1674 Sylvanus Rich was apparently falling off from his Dissent. Heywood records that, returning drunk from Wakefield Fair, he fell off his horse and almost drowned by Wakefield Bridge, adding his hopes that 'it may awaken conscience, this man hath made a profession, entertained ministers and meetings at his house, but of late hath given over, and often stays out late', and apparently indulged in a decidedly intemperate style of life. Whether or not Rich was recovered to Dissent is unknown, but his son, Elkanah, remained loyal, and Bull-House continued to be visited by Heywood and other ministers. Sylvanus Rich died in 1683, and Elkanah inherited the estate. The Riches inter-married with two other Dissenting families - the Hatfields of Laughton (see above) and the Rhodes of Great Houghton (see above).

(Miall, p.329; Calamy, II, p.786; Lyon-Turner, I, p.467; Heywood, I, pp.244,270,360, II, pp.61,71,167,215, III, pp.55, 57,71, IV, p.106; Northowram Register, pp.50,60,69,143; Memoirs of John Shaw, ed. C. Jackson.)

#### ROKEBY OF YORK AND ACKWORTH

An important and useful Dissenting family, the Rokebies came originally from the North Riding, but also owned estates in the East and West Ridings, and a house in York. Thomas

Rokeby, who was killed fighting for Parliament at Dunbar, left his houses in York and Burnby to his wife Elizabeth (nee Bury of Grantham) and she retired to York, where, after 1662, she opened her house for meetings held by Ralph Ward. His eldest son, William, inherited lands at Ackworth and Skellow in the West Riding, his house at Skellow being licensed as a meeting-place in 1672. The other family lands were divided between the three other sons, of whom the most important was Thomas, later Sir Thomas, Judge of the King's Bench in the reign of William III.

Sir Thomas Rokeby was born in 1631 and in 1646, entered Catherine Hall, Cambridge, becoming B.A. in January 1650, and Fellow from December 1650 to Michaelmas 1651. The family had a tradition of eminence in the Law, and in 1652-3 he entered Grays Inn, was called to the Bar in 1657, and was elected Ancient in 1676. Thereafter he practised law in London and York. A strong puritan in religion, he married Ursula, daughter of James Danby of Newbuilding, near Thirsk, his brother Joseph marrying one of her sisters. The Rokebies had wide Dissenting connections, and Thomas became the main adviser on legal and administrative matters to the Dissenters in the North of England. His friends included the Fairfaxes, Legards, Bouchiers, and Huttons, all families with Dissenting backgrounds, if not now active Dissenters. He was also consulted by the Hewleys, Lady Watson and Lord Wharton. In 1691, Lady Hewley was writing to Rokeby concerning the death of Ralph Ward, and asking for advice on who should succeed him at St. Saviourgate.

In 1688, according to Thoresby, Rokeby supported the seizure of York, and his part in the Revolution contributed



to his appointment as Judge of Common Pleas by William. There is, however, no evidence that he openly supported the rebels, and he certainly took no active part. In 1682 he was described by Reresby as one of the leaders of 'faction' in York, but in 1687 he was Sherriff of York for James, and, in that capacity, promoted an address to the King, thanking him for the Indulgence and his promise to maintain the Anglican Church. Thus his political attitudes were mixed, and though generally of Whig principles, he did co-operate with James to the extent of accepting an official position for the first time. Probably, like many Dissenters, he was prepared to support James to some extent, but turned against him because of the excesses of 1688. After the Revolution, he was appointed Judge of the Common Pleas, and living mainly in London, attended Richard Stretton's Congregation. Later he was made a Judge of the King's Bench, and knighted upon his appointment. At his death in 1699 he left a private journal, of a strongly and classically Calvinist nature, with its daily self-examination and frequent, formal renewals of his Covenant with God.

Rokeby's elder brother, Sir William lived at Ackworth Park. He was also a devout Dissenter, but apparently had severe financial problems, because of a large family and his extreme generosity, with which Sir Thomas helped him, on several occasions. The family were connected through inter-marriage with the Bosviles of Gunthwait (see above), Sir William's wife being Susan, daughter of Sir Gervase Bosvile, the Hothams, Bouchiers and Denbies and the Buries of Grantham, also of Dissenting leanings.

(Heywood, III, pp.56,57; Northowram Register, p.98;  
Lyon Turner, I, p.578; Yorkshire Genealogist and Bibliographer,  
ed. J.H. Turner, No.I (1888) p.114; York Minster Library,  
Hopkinson MSS, ed. Wilson, I, p.362; Reresby, Memoirs,  
pp.461-2, 580; DNB, XVII, pp.153-4; Brief Memoir of Sir  
Thomas Rokeby, ed. J. Raine.)

#### SPENCER OF ATTERCLIFFE AND BRAMLEY GRANGE

The Spencers were a strongly puritan family, living near Sheffield. William Spencer, baptised at Sheffield in January 1613, died in 1667. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and a Dissenter, but was nevertheless a J.P. in the West Riding in 1665. He married (1) Elizabeth daughter of Leonard Gill (see above) and (2) Sarah, daughter of George Westby of Gilthwayt, a cousin of the Westbies of Ravenfield (see below). He had several children, William, John, Samuel, and Sarah, who married John Wordsworth of Swathe (see below). The family were members of James Fisher's Congregation in Sheffield, and later, of that led by Roland Hancock in Attercliffe, both Independent groups.

(Miall, p.341; York Minster Library, Hopkinson MSS, ed. Wilson, III, p.337; Clay, 'Yorkshire Gentry in the Civil War' Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No.23, p.390.)

#### STANNIFORTH OF FIRBECK

There is little evidence available concerning this family but Jonathan Stanniforth, the son-in-law of John Shaw, who died in 1680, aged 52 years, was a friend of Oliver Heywood and enabled him to preach publicly in Firbeck Church at times. The family also attended conventicles at Rotherham, held by Shaw



and Luke Clayton, and later, by John Heywood.

(Miall, pp.340-1; Dale, p.143; Heywood, II, pp.61,91,92,98, 142,212.)

#### ST. QUINTIN OF BEVERLEY AND HARPHAM

Sir Henry St. Quintin, son of Sir William, owned estates at Harpham, near Bridlington, and a town house in Beverley, which he licensed as a Dissenting meeting-place in 1672. His sister, Frances, was married to Colonel Francis Lascelles of Stank and Mount Grace, and was also a Dissenter and a meeting-place owner in 1672 (see above). Sir Henry was apparently one of the Dissenters who supported James II in 1687-8, as he was listed by the King's agents in 1688 as suitable for a commission as a J.P., along with his son, William, in place of those Justices who had replied in the negative to James' 'three questions'. William was the husband of Elizabeth Strickland (see below). William had a son, William, who succeeded his grandfather as baronet, his father having died; he became M.P. for Hull and enjoyed an active political career until his death in 1723. There is no evidence that he was a Dissenter, though he may have been the William mentioned above, being born in 1660.

(Lyon Turner, III, pp.759-60; DNB, XVII, pp.663-4;

'King James II proposed repeal of the Penal Laws etc.' ed. Sir G. Duckett, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No. 5, p.440.)

#### STRICKLAND OF BOYNTON

Living at Boynton, near Bridlington, the Stricklands were active Dissenters throughout the period. Sir William Strickland, eldest son of Walter, was born in 1596, matriculated at Queens,

Cambridge in 1614, entered Grays Inn in 1617, was knighted in 1630 and created baronet in 1641. He was M.P. for Hedon from 1640 to 1653 and for the East Riding in 1654 and 1656. He was summoned to Cromwell's House of Lords in 1657. He married twice, his first wife being Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley of Whitby, and his second, Frances, daughter of Thomas Finch, first Earl of Winchelsea. Walter Strickland, second son of Walter, matriculated at Queens in 1619, after a year at Grays Inn, and was also a supporter of Parliament. He was in Holland from 1642 to 1648, as the representative of the Long Parliament, and returned there from 1648 to 1650, accompanying the Ambassador, Oliver St. John. Their sister, Frances, was Lady Barwick (see above) a devout Dissenter, and mother-in-law of Lord Henry Fairfax. Both sat in the restored Long Parliament in 1659.

After the Restoration, they remained puritan in religion, although Walter was Receiver of Hearth Money for the West Riding, and Receiver-General of Aids in Yorkshire in 1670. He died in 1671, followed by Sir William in 1673. Sir William had several children, of whom Frances married Sir Barrington Bouchier, son of the regicide Sir John Bouchier, who supported the Restoration and apparently conformed, and Elizabeth married William St. Quintin, son of Sir Henry (see above). His son, Thomas, inherited Boynton and the title, and was apparently also a Dissenter, as he employed James Calvert, ejected from Topcliffe, near Thirsk, as his private chaplain from 1675. In 1683, after the Rye House Plot was discovered, Sir Thomas was involved in the escape to Holland of two Scots plotters, one of whom, Sir John Cochrane, was the husband of his sister,



Margaret. He apparently sent Calvert to arrange a boat, and although Calvert was presented at the Assizes in York, he was able to plead ignorance, and escaped punishment. Sir Thomas had a son, William, born in 1660, who was probably the Sir William Strickland mentioned as 'right' by James' II's agents in 1688, in relation to the repeal of the penal laws in religion; his name was, however, later erased from the list. (Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.112; Gooder, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire, II, p.63; Clay 'Yorkshire Gentry in the Civil War', Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No. 23, pp.390-1; 'King James II's proposed repeal of the Penal Laws, etc.' ed. Sir G. Duckett, Yorks. Arch. Soc. Journal, No. 5, p.450; Depositions from York Castle, p.258; DNB, XIX, pp.54-6; Reresby, Memoirs, p.79.)

#### TAYLOR OF WALLINWELLS

The Taylors were a Dissenting family living on the border of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. Major Taylor had fought for Parliament, but in 1659-60 he was an ardent supporter of the Restoration. A wealthy man, worth five thousand a year, he died in 1679. His son, Richard, married a daughter of Sir Ralph Knight (see above) and died in 1699. Matthews says that he was Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and M.P. for Retford, but does not specify the dates. Heywood was a friend of the family and preached at Wallinwells, and in 1678 his younger son, Eliezer, became the family chaplain, in which position he remained for twenty years. He was generously treated by the family, who sent him to London to meet and hear eminent ministers and scholars, and in 1700, when he married, he was

given handsome wedding presents by Mr Taylor and his son-in-law, Thomas White. Eliezer had, for some time, also preached outside the family, as his father believed that there was a need of good ministers to fulfil the pastoral function, and on his marriage, left the family, to become pastor at Dronfield, Derbyshire, later moving to Mansfield. There can be no doubt of the great help given to him by the Taylors in fitting himself for this task.

(Heywood, II, pp.61,72,92,97,139,209,212,213,214,215, III, pp.53,56,298, IV, pp.23,141,152,162,179,181,259,262; Northowram Register, pp.51,59,79,95; HMC, Popham MSS, pp.217,220,221; Matthews, p.102.)

#### WATSON OF YORK

Stephen Watson, ex-Lord Mayor of York, died in 1661, leaving a widow who lived on for eighteen years. In 1661 Lady Watson advised Heywood to ignore a summons to the Ecclesiastical Courts in York, as they had not yet received power to prosecute him for refusing to use the Prayer Book. After 1662, she made her house a centre for conventicles, with Peter Williams and Ralph Ward preaching there each week. She also used her influence with the Corporation, which was considerable as a result of her husband's standing, to protect Dissenters as much as possible, and in 1663-4 was very active on behalf of those imprisoned in connection with the Northern Plot. In 1672 Ward was licensed to preach at her house, and in 1679, when she died, at the age of 70 years, she left the house to Peter Williams, as a place in which he could live and preach. Heywood always visited her, and preached there, when



he was in York.

(Miall, p.385; Lyon Turner, III, p.743; Calamy, II, p.783; Heywood, I, pp.180,280,298, II,pp.104,140,212; Northowram Register, p.60)

#### WENTWORTH

Sir John Wentworth employed Noah Ward, silenced as a student by the Act of Uniformity, as his private chaplain from 1662 until his death in 1671. Between 1666 and 1671 Wentworth married Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Norcliffe (see above) and widow of Christopher Lister of Thornton in Craven (see above). After Wentworth's death, Ward remained as family chaplain, until Lady Wentworth married Lord Winchelsea, who dismissed him. This was probably in 1671-2, as Ward was licensed at Askham Bryan in 1672. After her third marriage, Lady Winchelsea apparently ceased to be a member of Dagger Lane Chapel (see above, Norcliffe) and possibly ceased to be a Dissenter at all.

(Calamy, II, p.835, IV, p.958; Lyon Turner, I, p.388.)

#### WESTBY OF RAVENFIELD

A south Yorkshire family, the Westbies claimed the right to bear arms, and their genealogy was included in the record of Dugdale's Visitation in 1665-6, showing links with several other Dissenting families. Thomas Westby of Ravenfield, who died in 1659, had married Barbara Hatfield (see above), widow of Stephen Bright of Carbrook, as his second wife, while his daughter by his first marriage, Frances, married Captain John Hatfield (see above). Faith Westby,

sister of Thomas, had married Anthony Hatfield, the elder brother, while Sarah Westby, another sister, married William Spencer of Attercliffe (see above). The Westby family had employed Edward Prime as family chaplain before he was called to Sheffield, and after the Restoration, George, eldest son of Thomas Westby continued to support and aid Dissent. Heywood was visiting him in 1666 and his ties with the family later became much closer, when his son, John, became chaplain, and tutor to George's son, Thomas, to whom Heywood dedicated his work Youth's Monitor in 1689. In 1693, John Heywood became pastor to a Congregation at Rotherham, founded by Luke Clayton and John Shaw, of which the Westbys had long been members. He continued, however, to live at Ravenfield until his marriage, when his father recommended a replacement, Mr Isaac Bates. In 1691 Ravenfield had been registered as a Dissenting meeting-place. The family was also linked by the marriage of Westby's daughter to the Cotton family of Denby, Penistone, of whom Thomas had attended Frankland's Academy with Heywood's sons (see above).

(Calamy, II, p.787; Miall, pp.340-1; Heywood, I, p.233, II, pp.8,215, III, pp.53,56, IV, pp.106,112,125,138,141,147,152; Northowram Register, pp.45,95,108,150,303; Dugdale's Visitation ed. Davies, p.174)

#### WHARTON OF HELAUGH, SWALEDALE, ETC.

Philip, Lord Wharton, was probably the most important national figure, after 1660, to aid the Dissenters in Yorkshire. His long Parliamentary career and his own religious feelings had given him contacts among both Presbyterians and Independents,



and he was widely known and respected in Yorkshire. In relation to Yorkshire Dissent, his activities were of three kinds - gifts of money, aid, and employment to ejected ministers, the virtual foundation of a Congregation in Swaledale, where some of his Yorkshire estates lay, and the propagation of Nonconformity through his Bible charity and endowment of sermons in various places, isolated and otherwise. Several ministers were helped by him. Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton, and the son of Robert Todd, ejected from Leeds, was allowed by Wharton to live at his house at Helaugh, and given a pension of eight pounds a year to enable him to preach there and elsewhere. Mr John Gunter, ejected from Bedale in 1660, became Wharton's agent, living at Helaugh, preaching there and at Tadcaster, and distributing annual pensions from Wharton to other ministers, including Oliver Heywood, Edward Prime, Jonas Waterhouse and Thomas Sharp. When the much harassed Richard Frankland was finally excommunicated in 1677, he was granted a public absolution through the influence of Wharton and Thomas Rokeby (see above). Heywood, who dedicated his Best Entail to Wharton in 1693, also received occasional grants to distribute to ministers in need.

In Swaledale, the history of Dissent is difficult to document. Local legend points to a cave used for Dissenters' meetings, but there is no other evidence to substantiate this, and there were also Quakers in the area. In 1690 Wharton built a Chapel there, in which a Congregation of Independents met thereafter. In 1693 he founded a Bible Charity, aimed at educating poor children in puritan principles, in which Bibles were distributed and the children rewarded for any

aptitude shown in their study. Wharton left money for the continuation of this work, at his death in 1696, to be administered in Yorkshire by Ralph Thoresby and Oliver Heywood. He also endowed sermons, to be preached at York and Leeds in alternate years, at Bradford and Wakefield in alternate years, at Richmond annually, in Swaledale annually, at Helaugh, Tadcaster, Wetherby and Knaresborough in turn every four years and at Kirby Stephen, Rossendale, and Shap in turn every three years.

Politically, Wharton's views remained relatively unchanged. In 1663 he was mentioned in connection with the Yorkshire Plot, but there is no evidence that he was in any way involved. In the 1670s, he supported the Opposition to Danby, and was an Exclusionist, but not a leader of the first rank, nor of the most extreme and bitter. After the Exclusion crisis he was involved in very little political activity and spent much of James' reign travelling abroad. In 1689, he supported William's claims to the throne, and was much against any proposals for Regency.

Wharton's eldest son, Thomas, adopted his father's Whig politics, but not his religion. An active politician from 1679, more active in fact than his father, he was implicated in Monmouth's rebellion, corresponded with William of Orange in 1687-8 and joined him at Exeter in November 1688. He was also an Anglican, and made no attempt to cultivate his father's Nonconformist contacts, except for political purposes, as for example, in retaining their support for the Whig Junto, of which he was a member. His son Philip was given a strictly Protestant, even puritan, education, but was apparently an



untrustworthy and volatile character, who flirted with the Jacobites, the Whigs and others, before being converted to Catholicism in 1726.

(Miall, pp.107-16; Calamy, II, pp.284,811,820-1; IV, p.452; Thoresby, III, pp.106-8; 118-19; Heywood, II, p.6, III, pp.274, 277; IV, p.148; Northowram Register, p.82; Depositions from York Castle, p.108; for the Whartons' political careers, see: DNB, XX, pp.1318-21, 1329-33; D.R.Lacey, Dissent and Parliamentary Politics; G.F. Treva1lyn Jones, Sawpit Wharton.)

#### WORDSWORTH OF SWATHE

The Wordsworth family originated in Penistone, and there were several branches in the area, at Water Hall, Shepherd's Castle, Brook House, New Laithes, Monk Bretton and Falthwaite, as well as at Swathe Hall, Worsborough. Most were, apparently, Dissenters, Isaac Wordsworth of Penistone being mentioned by Heywood, but it was John Wordsworth of Swathe who was most notable for the support and aid that he gave to the movement, and who made Swathe Hall an important centre for Dissent in the West Riding. Before his death in 1690 he had married four times, one wife being a daughter of William Spencer of Attercliffe (see above) and another the daughter of Sir Edward Rhodes of Great Houghton (see above). In 1666, after the passing of the Five Mile Act, Richard Taylor, ejected from Long Houghton, had to leave the Rhodes family, and became private chaplain to Wordsworth, being licensed to preach at Swathe in 1672, after which he moved to Sheffield. In 1669 Swathe Hall was reported as a centre of conventicles, led by a number of ministers, including Luke Clayton of Rotherham, Mr Miller

(Jeremiah Milner) of Colehindry, Christopher Marshall of Topcliffe, Joshua Kirby and William Hawden of Wakefield, some of whom were Presbyterian and some Independent. Oliver Heywood was also a frequent visitor, as were Christopher Richardson of Lassells Hall, and Ralph Thoresby, whose wife Anna Sykes was related to the Wordsworths. Thoresby records also that Swathe Hall was visited by Thomas Jolly on at least one occasion. Wordsworth was apparently a more rigid Dissenter than some of his social position, for in 1682 he was presented at Rotherham Sessions for absence from Church, but 'came off well'. In July 1689 Swathe Hall was registered as a meeting-place, but Nonconformity there did not long survive Wordsworth's death in the following year, as he left only one daughter, and the property passed out of the family. (J. Wilkinson, History of Worsborough, (1872) p.197; Calamy, II, p.793, IV, p.941; Lyon-Turner, I, pp.261,268,306,361,362; Heywood, I, pp.231,232,233,256, IV, pp.61,91,98,262,293, IV, p.85; Northowram Register, pp.77,143; Thoresby, I, pp.37, 109.)



PART B : URBAN FAMILIES

ACKLAM OF HULL

The corporation of Hull was very sympathetic to Dissenters, and for most of the period there was little persecution in the borough, at least of puritan Dissent. Several important officials were probably Dissenters of the more conservative kind and remained in office through partial conformity. Examples of this were John Tripp, Mayor in 1670, and Alderman George Empringham. Among the more active of such men was John Acklam, Alderman, and Mayor in 1671. In 1669 he was partly responsible for John Billingsley, an ejected minister, preaching at Trinity Church (see Chapter 1 p.76 ) and was reported as threatening and abusing Alderman Crowle, who had had Billingsley removed. In 1672 he acted as agent for at least two ministers in Yorkshire, in obtaining their licences under the Indulgence - William Luke of Bridlington and Cornelius Todd of Helaugh.

Thus far, Acklam's connections were mainly Presbyterian, though Luke preached to a mixed Assembly. In 1672, however, the records of Dagger Lane Chapel, Hull, recorded two new members, 'John Akam' and 'Bernard Akam'. John Acklam had a brother, named Bernard, who was also an Alderman, though less eminent. It seems possible, therefore, or even likely, that 'Akam' was a mis-spelling of Acklam, and that under the conditions provided by Indulgence the two brothers decided to become members of the Independent congregation in Hull, which was more organised than its Presbyterian counterpart.

It is also likely that the Acklams of Hull were related

to the family of Peter Acklam, Lord of the Manor of Hornsea, and a leading Quaker in Holderness.

(CSPD, 1670, pp.233,240,249,267,270,289,366,477; Lyon-Turner, I, pp.354,366; Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, p.13)

#### BIELBY OF HULL

Michael Bielby was a prosperous Hull merchant, and a lifelong member of Dagger Lane Chapel. Joining the Congregation in 1672, he became Deacon between 1674 and 1677, with responsibility for keeping the Church records. In 1698 he was one of the Trustees responsible for buying land for the building of a Chapel.

In 1682, when Monmouth was removed from the Governorship of Hull, he was replaced by the Earl of Plymouth, who immediately complained to the Bench about the unchecked conventicles in the borough. As a result, the leading Dissenters, of whom Bielby was one, were summoned to the Bench. He was admonished and told to cease attending conventicles, a warning of which he clearly took no notice. At this time he was Chamberlain of the Borough, having been elected in 1681, and apparently had no difficulty in taking the requisite oaths. The sacramental requirement must, however, have been ignored, as Bielby was not a partial conformist, and in 1684 was fined twenty pounds for eleven months absence from Church. In the following year, he was one of those imprisoned in Hull in connection with the Monmouth rebellion. This is not evidence of complicity in the uprising, as the imprisonments occurred after Sedgemoor, and were probably intended to prevent known Dissenters helping the rebels to escape. In October 1687 Bielby complained to the Bench that



he had been distrained of two hundred and twenty pounds for not attending Church, on a warrant issued since the Declaration of Indulgence. The Bench denied knowledge of any such warrant, and declared that it would 'take remedy for this unjust charge', though there is no record of the result of their activity.

Bielby had a brother named Jonathan, who was probably not a member of Dagger Lane, but whose seven children were all baptized there from 1685 to 1695. He also had two sons, Michael, baptised in 1670, and Jonathan, baptised in 1673. It is likely that Michael died as a child, since he is not mentioned again. Jonathan, however, was imprisoned with his father in 1685, became a full Chapel member in 1699, and had acted as a Trustee with his father in 1698, when he also was described as a merchant. Michael Bielby died in c.1710, and the family continued their association with Dagger Lane, an Alderman Bielby being among the members in the mid-eighteenth century. (Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VIII, ff.18,111,170; Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol. I, pp.10,12,19,84, and reverse of Volume, list of baptisms, see 1670, 1673, 1685-95.)

#### BOYSE OF LEEDS

The Boyses of Leeds were a large family, of reasonable substance. Matthew Boyse had emigrated to New England, but returned before 1660, and in 1666 was assessed for payment of Hearth Tax on four hearths. A devout Dissenter, he was indicted in August 1683 for attending conventicles. He had sixteen children, of whom Joseph, educated at Frankland's Academy, became a Nonconformist minister. In 1680 he was

preaching at Newingham Green, and after several temporary pastorships in London, settled as pastor to a Presbyterian Congregation in Dublin. He was a close friend of Ralph Thoresby, and the two corresponded regularly. One of Joseph's brothers, however, Nathaniel, was educated at Oxford, being there in the early 1680s. Whether he fully conformed thereafter is not known. The family in Leeds, and other branches in Halifax and Wakefield, were also close friends of Oliver Heywood. An account of Joseph Boyse's career in London and Ireland is given in the DNB.

(Atkinson, Thoresby, I, pp.60,135,210,225; Thoresby, III, pp.11-12,13,14,48,69,92-7, 97-9, 101-3; Heywood, I, pp.239, 244,279,281,288,296,337; DNB, II, pp.1041-31; Letters to Ralph Thoresby, ed. W.T. Lancaster, Thoresby Society No.XXI (1912) p.1.)

#### CHAMBERLAIN OF HULL

Leonard Chamberlain, a prosperous Hull draper, who died in 1716, left a number of charitable bequests in East Yorkshire, in Hull, Hessle and Selby. At Selby, he founded the Millgate School, next to the Presbyterian Chapel, with the Presbyterian minister as its Master. All the Trustees of these bequests were members of Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, in Hull, which suggests that Chamberlain was also a member. Little is known of Chamberlain's life. He was not a member of the Corporation before 1689, but in 1685 was imprisoned in his own house in connection with the Monmouth rebellion (see above, Bielby). He was clearly a Dissenter, important for his charitable work, and obviously wealthy, though not of the first social rank in Hull.



(W.W. Morrell, History of Selby, pp.188,262,282; Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VIII, f.111.)

#### DIXON OF LEEDS

The Dixons were a substantial Leeds family, several of whose members held positions on the Corporation. The most eminent member was Thomas Dixon, chosen to the Common Council in December 1666, and elected Alderman in September 1667. He retained his position throughout the period, despite being a leading Dissenter, described as such by Joseph Boyse in 1683. Two other Dixons are mentioned in the official records of the town, Joshua Dixon, who signed the fulsome Address of Thanks sent by the Leeds Dissenters to James II in 1687, and Brian Dixon, probably the most active Dissenter of the family. In 1673 he was elected to the Common Council, but refused to subscribe to the Declaration against the Covenant, and was fined £13. 6s. 8d. In 1674 he and his wife were arrested at a conventicle with John Thoresby and others. In 1675 Heywood mentions a Mr. Dixon as a Trustee of Mill Hill Chapel, probably Brian Dixon, though possibly one of the others. In 1682 the authorities seized the key of Mill Hill, and the Dissenters were forced to meet in private houses, of which Brian Dixon's house was a favourite. In 1683 Thoresby records a meeting at the house of Elkanah Hickson, to discuss the Congregation's policy towards persecution, attended by Dixon and Michael Idle as well as Thoresby and Hickson. Brian Dixon was also named as a leading Dissenter by their chief enemy in Leeds, Alderman Headley. Despite his Dissenting enthusiasm, Dixon was a partial conformist, and on good terms with the Anglican ministers

in Leeds. It was perhaps for this reason that he did not sign the Address of Thanks to James II in 1687, though other partial conformists, including Ralph Thoresby, did so.

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.20-1,43-4; Atkinson, Thoresby I, pp.48,153-4,212,215-16; Thoresby, I, p.152; Heywood, I, p.336; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II'.)

#### FAWTHROPP OF HULL

Christopher Fawthropp, Chamberlain of Hull in 1683, was an active and wealthy Dissenter, the builder of Bowl Alley Lane (Presbyterian) Chapel. In 1682 he was one of those leading Dissenters summoned before the Bench as a result of the complaints of the new Governor, the Earl of Plymouth. He did not attend the Bench, and the matter was apparently not pursued further. He was not imprisoned in 1685, and was probably therefore known to be moderate. Like many other Presbyterians in Hull, he was a partial conformist and a supporter of a National Church. In 1671 the leading parishioners of Trinity Church petitioned the Mayor (John Acklam) for the replacement of William Ainsworth, Lecturer at the Church, by a more conscientious preaching minister, a classic Presbyterian priority. Among the signators of the petition were Fawthropp and other leading Presbyterians, such as Richard Barnes, whose house was licensed for Joseph Wilson in 1672, Richard Ververs, an Alderman in 1661 who was ejected for not subscribing to the Renunciation of the Covenant and the non-resistance Oath of the Corporation Act, and Anthony Iveson (see below). Hence it is clear that Dissent, exceedingly strong in Hull, was often of a fairly



conservative nature. The fact that Fawthropp built Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, however, suggests that as the period progressed, he came to accept the idea of a separate organisation, if only through necessity.

(Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VI, ff.455-9; Vol. VII ff.238,239. Vol. VIII f.18; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, pp.38,56)

#### HICKSON OF LEEDS

The Hicksons were among the leading Presbyterians of Leeds, Robert Hickson being assessed for taxes on five, and later six, hearths. A friend of Oliver Heywood, Hickson was married to the sister of John Gunter, ejected from Bedale, who was also the niece of Elkanah Wales, ejected from Pudsey, and sister-in-law of Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton. In 1664 Hickson was mentioned as an Overseer of Highways in Leeds, but was not a member of the Corporation. A Trustee of Mill Hill Chapel, he died in 1681, leaving a son, Elkanah, who was also an active Dissenter. Although not, apparently, a member of the Bench, Elkanah Hickson was one of those who presented the Corporation's Address of Thanks to King Charles in 1681, after his Declaration concerning the Dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. Hickson had signed the Address, as he signed those to James in 1685 and 1687, which suggests that, politically, he was far from being a convinced Whig. Of his Dissent, however, there is no doubt. In 1675 his house was used for conventicles after the withdrawal of the Indulgence Licences, until Mill Hill Chapel could again be used, and in the difficult days from 1682 to 1686 he was of great service to

Dissenters, according to Thoresby, in repeating the sermons of Thomas Sharp, who was at times prevented from preaching because of the intense persecution. Both Robert and Elkanah Hickson were friends of Heywood, and entertained him when he was in Leeds. (Atkinson, Thoresby, I, pp.60,109,212; Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.14,92,104; Thoresby, I, pp.97,171-2; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II.'; Heywood, I, pp.226,251,275,282,290,298,336,341, II, p.168.)

#### IBBETSON OF LEEDS

One of the most important and wealthy families in Leeds, the Ibbetsons, had a strong Dissenting element, although it is likely that they were also partial conformists. In 1666 Joseph Ibbetson was elected a member of the Common Council of Leeds, becoming an Alderman by 1676, at which time Joshua Ibbetson, possibly his son or a brother, was elected to the Council. In May 1680 Joseph was in trouble with the Bench, not having attended the Aldermanic Court for over a year. Thereafter he attended, and both members of the family signed the Declaration to the King in June 1680, that the Corporation Act had been adhered to. If this was so, both must have been partial conformists. In January 1681 Joseph was again in trouble for non-attendance, and his removal was threatened. He was, however, elected Mayor for that year, but refused the position, and resigned from his Aldermanship. His reasons are not given, but may have been old age or illness. Joshua Ibbetson was elected Alderman in February 1684 and Mayor of Leeds in September 1684 when, despite his attempts to fight it, the Town



Charter had to be surrendered, and he himself was replaced by the Court candidate, Gervase Nevile, when the new charter was issued in February 1685. He remained an Alderman, and was re-elected to the position of Mayor in 1686 and Treasurer in 1687, though this was voided because of illness. All members of the family were connected with Dissent. In 1674, Mrs Joseph Ibbetson was arrested at a conventicle with Thoresby, Brian Dixon and others. Samuel Ibbetson, probably a brother of the above, had married a daughter of Ralph Hatfield of Laughton (see above) and was a Trustee of Mill Hill Chapel. He also signed the Address of Thanks to James II in 1687. In the early eighteenth century a Joshua Ibbetson, probably the ex-Mayor of Leeds, purchased Nun Appleton, the home of the Fairfaxes, when the fortunes of that family fell low after the death of Lord Thomas Fairfax, son of Lord Henry, through the mismanagement of his widow, his son Thomas then being a minor. Ibbetson's agent in the purchase was Richard Whitton, son of the ejected minister, Joshua Whitton, and known in Yorkshire as the Nonconformist's lawyer.

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.20-1,56,58,74,77,81,89, 90,91,97,99,100,103-4,111; Atkinson, Thoresby, I, p.48; Heywood, I, p.336; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II!'; Markham, Life of Fairfax, p.419.)

#### IDLE OF LEEDS

Ralph Idle, a supporter of Parliament during the Civil War, had three children, all of whom were Dissenters. Ruth, his daughter, was the wife of John Thoresby, mother of Ralph. His younger son, Thomas, was a devout Dissenter, whose death in 1680, described by his nephew, Ralph Thoresby, showed the

classic dying moments of a puritan Saint. His eldest son, Michael Idle, was probably the least active Dissenter of the family, but his wife, Susannah, was one of those arrested at a conventicle in 1674 with Ralph Thoresby and others. In 1681, Thoresby mentions copying out a sermon by Thomas Sharp for his cousin Elizabeth Idle, probably Michael's daughter. Michael Idle was elected to the Common Council in 1678, described as 'Michael Idle, gent.', becoming an Alderman in June 1687. He did not sign the Address of Thanks to James in that year, and was elected to the position of Alderman by the normal procedure, not as a result of James' attempts to gain the support of Dissenters. He was, however, present at the meeting in 1683 at Elkanah Hickson's house, called to decide on the Leeds Dissenter's policy in relation to persecution, and was often consulted by leading Dissenters, including his nephew, Ralph Thoresby.

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.54,62; Atkinson, Thoresby, I, pp.21,48,212; Thoresby, I, pp.37,43,91; Letters to Ralph Thoresby, ed. Lancaster, pp.6-7.)

#### IVESON OF HULL

Anthony Iveson, chosen Sheriff of Hull in 1679, was a leading, and active Presbyterian. A partial conformist, he was one of those who petitioned the Mayor to replace Ainsworth at Trinity Church in 1671, (see above, Fawthropp). In 1682 he was summoned before the Bench as a result of the Earl of Plymouth's complaints regarding conventicles, but did not appear, and was apparently not pursued. In 1685, however, he was imprisoned in connection with the Monmouth Rebellion. In



September 1688, when James was trying to gain the support of Dissenters, he removed many of the Hull Aldermen and replaced them with leading Dissenters, of whom Iveson was one. Six weeks later, however, he restored the old Charter, and Bench. Despite this, Iveson survived the Revolution, and became Mayor in 1690, a rare case of successfully pleasing both sides. (Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, VII, ff.238,239,631, Vol. VIII, ff.18,111; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, p.56; J.R. Boyle, Charters of Kingston-upon-Hull, pp.219-22.)

#### JACKSON OF LEEDS

Joseph Jackson, though not as wealthy or eminent in the town as some others, was an ardent Dissenter. A friend of Heywood, he frequently entertained the minister, and allowed him to preach at his house. In 1672 the house was licensed as a meeting-place, the name of the minister not being specified. It is likely he was the Joseph Jackson mentioned among the members of Topcliffe Independent Chapel, near Leeds. In 1678 Heywood mentions a dispute between Jackson and another member, concerning a horse, when the pastor, Thomas Elston, and Captain Pickering, the owner of Topcliffe Hall (see below), took Jackson's part. Jackson was among those who signed the Address of Thanks to James in 1687.

(Heywood, I, pp.244,247,265,279,284; Lyon Turner, I, p.579; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II'.)

## MILNER OF LEEDS

The Milners were a wealthy family, headed, according to Thoresby, by a Jeremiah Milner, probably the Mr Milner who was a Trustee of Mill Hill Chapel. Other members of the family were also prominent Dissenters. One John Milner, probably a son or grandson of the above, described as 'gent.', was one of the Trustees for obtaining land for a Chapel in Pudsey in 1709. In 1676 a William Milner was a member of the Common Council of Leeds, and in that year, was disabled by the newly-passed Test Act, because he had not taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, or received the Sacrament. In 1687 William Milner and Joseph Milner were among the Dissenters who signed the fulsome Address of Thanks to James. They may have been brothers, or sons, of the above Jeremiah. The family are also mentioned by Heywood in relation to his visiting and preaching in Leeds.

(Thoresby, I, p.110; Heywood, I, p.336; Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, p.46; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed.J.H.Turner, No.III (1893) pp.45-6.)

## MOXON OF LEEDS

James Moxon actually lived in Pudsey, but was elected to the Common Council of Leeds in 1676, described as 'James Moxon, gent.'. He ignored the election, and was eventually fined twenty pounds, which he at first refused to pay. After threats of distraint, he paid the fine in September 1677, and was finally excused from office early in 1678. His refusal to accept the position was clearly a result of his Dissenting



beliefs, but according to Thoresby, he later joined the Council, and became an Alderman. It was probably in one of these capacities that he signed the Loyal Addresses to Charles and James in 1681 and 1685.

Moxon had been an active Dissenter for some years. In 1666, when Elkanah Wales was driven from Pudsey by the Five Mile Act, he left Moxon, Robert Hickson and John Thoresby to look after his property and affairs there. Later that year Moxon was writing to Wales, sadly informing him that his house had been seized, his goods sold, and that he and the other Trustees had been able to save only some of the books. In 1672 Moxon's house in Pudsey was licensed for preaching by the Presbyterian, James Sale. It is not clear whether Moxon was a member of Mill Hill Chapel. He was known to its ministers, Stretton and Sharp, as he was to Heywood, but may not have been a member. He did not sign the Address of Thanks to James in 1687. Possibly he was no longer alive. This is supported by the fact that the registration of meeting-places in Pudsey in 1689 was carried out by Richard Hutton (see above), Moxon having previously taken on such duties for the local Dissenters. In 1709, when land was acquired for a Chapel in Pudsey, Moxon was not a Trustee. He had one son, also James, who is mentioned in 1673 as a feoffee for the election of the Vicar of Leeds, but he died in that year, and was replaced by Joseph Ibbetson (see above).

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.44,58,60,63,84,104;  
Thoresby, I, p.176; Lyon-Turner, I, pp.441,502.)

## PICKERING OF TOPCLIFFE

John Pickering, Captain in the Parliamentary Army, close friend of Cromwell, was the owner of Topcliffe Hall, near Leeds, and a member of Christopher Marshall's gathered Church at Woodkirk. When Marshall was ejected in 1662, the Church moved to Topcliffe, a perfect spot, as it was isolated and more than five miles from any borough. Marshall himself lived at Topcliffe until the passing of the Five Mile Act, when he moved to Horbury, the home of his Elder, John Issot, later returning to Topcliffe Hall. Pickering housed the Church throughout the period. In 1672, Topcliffe Hall was licensed for preaching, and in 1689, both the Hall and Pickering's house in Tingley were registered as meeting-places. It is unclear whether Pickering had by then moved to Tingley, or whether he merely owned a house there. There is no doubt that he was a wealthy man, and he certainly owned land at Tingley, part of which he donated to the Chapel as a burial-ground in 1670. The Topcliffe registers refer to him as 'Mr Pickering' a sign of eminence accorded to few of those mentioned. When he died in 1699, he was described as an Elder of the Chapel, probably becoming so in 1689, on the death of a previous Elder, John Holdsworth of Wakefield.

The Pickering family were connected by marriage with several other Dissenting families. Pickering himself had married the daughter of Horatio Eure Esq., sister of the Lords Eure, a family with a puritan background, though not active Dissenters after 1662. He had several children, all baptised at Topcliffe. His daughter Bethia, born 1652, married Joseph Sykes, son of Richard Sykes of Ledsham Hall (see below) and



brother of Ralph Thoresby's wife, Anna (see below). The second daughter, Bathshua, married John Lister, a prosperous Leeds Dissenter, and a member of Topcliffe Church. His fourth daughter, Mercy, born in 1657, married the pastor of Topcliffe from 1684, Thomas Elston. Both Pickering and Elston signed the Leeds Address of Thanks to James II in 1687. Joseph Sykes also became a member of Topcliffe, and his twelve children were all baptised there. One daughter, Hannah, born in 1681, later married Robert Hesketh, minister of the Chapel when it moved from Topcliffe to Leafair in 1736, who died in 1743.

Topcliffe Chapel also had several other members of some social eminence, including Mrs. Elizabeth Rokeby (see above), Mrs. Spencer, wife of Ralph Spencer of Leeds (see below), and John Wordsworth of Swathe, who could only have attended rarely (see above).

(Lyon Turner, I, pp.320,442; Northowram Register, pp.131,142; Dale, pp.98-100, 104-7; Topcliffe and Morley Registers, pp.1,3,6, 12-13,15,18,21; 'The Note-book of Captain John Pickering', Thoresby Society, No.XI (1900-4) pp.69-100, especially pp.69-71; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II'.)

#### PRIESTLEY OF WINTEREDGE

The Priestleys were not strictly an urban family, being substantial yeoman farmers, but are placed here because considerably less eminent than those included in Part A. They were a family of the kind who normally left no detailed records, but Jonathan Priestley, close friend of Oliver Heywood, chose to write a short history of his family, and thus they can be

described as an example of one type of Dissenting family.

The family had lived in the Halifax area for over six hundred years, according to Priestley, and had a strong puritan tradition. They were of sufficient standing for Joseph Priestley, son of Jonathan's elder brother, John, to attend Grays Inn in 1662. Jonathan Priestley, writer of the first family memoir, was the son of Jonathan Priestley, who died in 1643 as a result of imprisonment by the Royalists. Among the members of the family described by him, all devout puritans, were his father's half-brothers, Francis, who married the widowed mother of Joshua Whitton, ejected from Thornhill in 1662, and Jonathan, who took care of young Jonathan's education, especially religious instruction, after his father's death. His elder brother, John, was engaged in the cloth trade in London, and a member of Simeon Ash's congregation until his death in the early 1660s, at the age of 40 years.

Jonathan Priestley of Winteredge was a devout Dissenter, a member of Heywood's congregation at Coley, and one of Heywood's closest friends, frequently mentioned in the minister's diary, at times in relation to his house being used for meetings. By his wife, Phoebe Hayle, he had several children, including Jonathan, a member of Heywood's congregation and leader of the 'Young men's meeting' there, John, whose own son, Jonathan, completed the family memoir, and Nathaniel, who was educated at Frankland's Academy and later became a Nonconformist minister at Elland. Jonathan was of sufficient wealth to leave estates to all three sons, that at Winteredge to Jonathan, at Whitewindows to John, and at Westercroft, to Nathaniel. The family remained Dissenters, attending Heywood's successor



at Northowram, Thomas Dickenson, after the death of the former in 1702. Jonathan Priestley was also known to Ralph Thoresby. (Memoirs of the family of Priestley, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soicety, No.77 (1883); Heywood, I - IV, numerous references; Northowram Register, numerous references.)

#### ROBINSON OF HULL

John Robinson, one of the most active Dissenters in Hull, was chosen and sworn Chamberlain of the Borough in 1667. Although he took the Oaths according to the Corporation Act, he was in fact a convinced Independent, having joined the Dagger Lane Church in 1660. By 1669, when Richard Astley came as pastor, Robinson held the position of Deacon in the Church, and between 1674 and 1677, was chosen Elder. For most of the period, he housed the Church meetings. In 1672 his house was licensed for preaching by Richard Astley, and in 1682 he was one of those summoned to the Bench as a result of the Earl of Plymouth's complaint about conventicles in Hull. He did not appear before the Bench, and was apparently not pursued on that occasion. In 1684, however, he was fined twenty pounds for eleven months absence from Church, and in 1685, a further twenty pounds for allowing his house to be used for a conventicle. In the same year Robinson was imprisoned in connection with the Monmouth rebellion, probably as a cautionary measure. Three years later, however, James's policy toward Dissent having changed, Robinson became an Alderman of Hull, James having turned out the majority of the old Bench and replaced them with Dissenters. His tenure lasted only six weeks, as on 18 October the King tried to win back Anglican support by

restoring the former Town Charter, and the previous Bench, as they had been constituted before the Quo Warrantos of 1684. It is not known when Robinson died, but he was not alive in 1699, when a list of members omits his name, and describes Bernard Scott as the sole Elder.

(Hull Corporation Records, Bench Books, Vol. VI, f.83, VIII ff.18,111; J.R. Boyle, Charters of Kingston-upon-Hull, pp.219-22; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, pp.56,64,67; Lyon-Turner, I, pp.346,519; Dagger Lane Chapel Records, Vol.I, pp.1,10,11,19.)

#### SHARP OF HORTON

John Sharp of Horton, Bradford, was a prosperous clothier, who had bought Horton Hall and its accompanying estate. Born in 1604, he had married Mary Clarkson in 1632, and had eleven children. His eldest son, Thomas, was ejected from Adel in 1662, and lived for a decade in his father's house at Horton, preaching to friends, before becoming minister at Mill Hill, Leeds, in 1675. The second son, Abraham, became a famous mathematician, and inherited Horton Hall from Thomas in 1693, dying there in 1742. The family were also cousins of John Sharp, later Archbishop of York, son of Thomas Sharp of Bradford, as puritan as his brother, but married to a Royalist who influenced their son, the future Archbishop.

John Sharp of Horton was a man of some education, and a great supporter of the Parliamentary interest in Bradford. After the town was seized by the Royalists, he fled to Lancashire, releasing his then apprentice, Joseph Lister, who was later Elder of Kipping Independent Chapel. For the



remainder of the war, Sharp served under Fairfax. He died in 1672, leaving portions in his will which totalled over six hundred pounds.

Thomas Sharp, born 1634, was a well-known and popular minister in the West Riding. He was educated at Bradford Grammar School, and Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he studied first under his mother's brother, the famous David Clarkson, and then under John Tillotson, later Archbishop of Canterbury. Returning to Yorkshire in 1660, he was episcopally ordained before being presented to Ad<sup>el</sup> by Henry Arthington (see above). After ejection in 1662, he returned to Horton, and concentrated mainly on his studies until 1672, when he emerged as an active preacher, and remained so, at Horton and Leeds, until his death in 1693. Throughout his life, Sharp was a partial conformist, attending Bradford Parish Church whenever he was able. His opinions were moderate and conservative, as were those of his closest friends, Heywood, Thoresby and Jonas Waterhouse. Horton Hall was licensed in 1672, and in 1689 both the Hall and Sharp's house in Leeds were registered as meeting-places under the Toleration Act. In 1668 he married a daughter of Mr Baginall, who died in childbirth, and in 1673, Faith Sale, daughter of James Sale, ejected from Leeds, now preaching in Pudsey.

(Joseph Lister, Autobiography, pp.9,39 (note5); Calamy, II, p.813; Dale, pp.139-41; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed.J.H.Turner, No. IV (1893) pp.46-51; Northowram Register p.149; DNB, XVII, pp.1338-9, 1346-9; Thoresby, I and III, numerous references; Heywood, I-IV, numerous references.)

## SPENCER OF LEEDS

Ralph Spencer, a wealthy merchant of Leeds, bought Holmes Hall, near Leeds, and sported a coat of arms, which was called in question by Dugdale in 1665-6. In 1666, Spencer was elected to the Common Council of Leeds, but in 1673 was disabled by the Test Act, having failed to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, or receive the Sacrament. Nevertheless, as an eminent citizen, he signed the Loyal Address to James II on his accession in 1685.

It is not clear to which Dissenting group Spencer belonged. A friend of Oliver Heywood, and known to Ralph Thoresby, he may or may not have attended services at Mill Hill. His wife was a leading member of the Independent Church at Topcliffe, but Spencer himself is not mentioned in the records (see above, Pickering). It is clear, however, that he was a Dissenter, and in 1687 he signed the Address of Thanks sent by the Leeds Dissenters to James II. The Spencers were also linked by marriage to other Dissenting families. Ralph's daughter, Mary, married Samuel, son of John Hatfield of Hatfield (see above) and his son, Robert, married Abigail, daughter of Andrew Taylor of York (see below). The Spencers were also distantly related to the Rhodes of Great Houghton and the Wordsworths of Penistone.

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.20-1,46,105; Atkinson, Thoresby, I, p.60; Heywood, I, pp.239,244,247,255,266; Thoresby Society, No.XXVIII (1923-7), pp.442-3, 'Address to James II'.)



SKYES OF LEEDS

Richard Sykes of Ledsham Hall was the son of Richard Sykes, Rector of Kirkheaton, who died in 1653. The family were of sufficient eminence to appear in Dugdale's Survey, though the Leeds Sykes were a junior branch, and Richard had bought Ledsham Hall from his own fortune. His mother, Grace, was the daughter of Alexander Stock, former Rector of Kirkheaton, and during the period of persecution she became a Quaker, to the displeasure of her family. Richard married the daughter of the famous Republican, Colonel Thomas Scott, and had several children, of whom Joseph married the daughter of Captain Pickering of Topcliffe (see above), and Anna married Ralph Thoresby (see below).

The family were devout Dissenters, though of what Church is unclear. After his marriage, Joseph joined the group at Topcliffe, while Anna accompanied her husband to Mill Hill. Richard and those living at Ledsham probably attended one of the many ministers in the Leeds area, possibly even being members of the Independent group at Call Lane. They were certainly more determined Dissenters than the Thoresbys, and when Ralph Thoresby conformed, his wife continued to attend Mill Hill for many years. Thoresby also records that one of their few quarrels came after he had conformed, concerning the religious education of their children. Some further evidence of the rigidity of Sykes' Dissent is seen in the fact that he was imprisoned in 1685, in connection with the Monmouth rebellion. None of the leading Dissenters at Mill Hill were so treated. Thoresby declared that there was

no valid reason for the imprisonment, and believed that Sykes connection with Scott, long dead, was responsible for his arrest. The Sykes were also distantly related to the Rhodes of Great Houghton.

(Dugdale's Visitation, ed. Davies, p.112; Thoresby, numerous references, especially I, pp.82,179,180,181; Atkinson, Thoresby, I, p.249; Letters to Ralph Thoresby, ed. Lancaster, p.viii.)

#### TAYLOR OF YORK

Andrew Taylor, a prosperous merchant of York, was one of the most devoted of the Independent Ralph Ward's hearers, and a great supporter of Dissent in York. Described by Calamy as 'that public spirited merchant who opened his doors for private meetings in the straitest times', Taylor housed conventicles from the early 1660s to 1689. In 1672 his house in Michaelgate was one of those licensed as meeting-places for Ward, and after the death of Lady Watson, in 1679, became the main centre of meetings until the building of the St. Saviourgate Chapel in 1691-2. In 1684, as a result of housing conventicles, Taylor was arrested with Ward, and imprisoned for a year, unable to gain a proper trial, until released by a King's Pardon on the accession of James II, without paying any fine. In 1689 Taylor's house was registered under the Toleration Act. There can be little doubt that his constant support played a large part in the emergence of an organised Congregation in York.

Taylor apparently took no part in political activities. He is not mentioned by Reresby in his list of factious York



Dissenters, and was never a member of the Corporation. As well as Ward, he was a friend of Oliver Heywood, who preached in his house at least once while visiting York. Taylor's daughter, Mary, married Robert, son of Ralph Spencer of Holmes Hall (see above).

(Lyon-Turner, I, p.395; Calamy, II, p.509; Heywood, I, p.298; Yorkshire County Magazine, ed. J.H.Turner, No. III, (1893) pp.126-9.)

#### THORESBY OF LEEDS

The Thoresbys were a devoted, but moderate Dissenting family, about whom a great deal is known; Ralph Thoresby, antiquarian and topographer, kept a full and careful diary, one of the main sources of evidence concerning Dissent in Leeds and the West Riding. John Thoresby, father of Ralph, was a cloth-merchant, son of Alderman John Thoresby. He had fought with Fairfax in the Civil War, much against the wishes of his father, who had desired to send him safely to Holland. His two brothers also supported Parliament, Joseph of Sykehouse, being a Captain in the Parliamentary Army, and George becoming Sheriff of Newcastle in 1657.

The family were devout, but moderate, Presbyterians. John Thoresby was one of those who tried to remove the virulently anti-Royalist minister, Peter Saxton, from Leeds Parish Church, and replace him with Elkanah Wales. A supporter of the Restoration Thoresby continued as a Presbyterian thereafter, but also attended the Anglican Church. He had influence with both Conformists and Nonconformists, and used both. He was a Trustee of Mill Hill Chapel, donating fifty pounds towards its

building in 1672, and was influential in obtaining the appointment of Richard Stretton as its minister. Later he was a close friend of Thomas Sharp. In 1677, he was also influential in obtaining the appointment of the Rev. John Kay as the minister at St. John's Church, Leeds, when the previous incumbent, Mr Milner, became Vicar of Leeds.

Thoresby's moderation can be seen in other ways. He believed in obedience to the law as far as possible, though he continued to attend conventicles. He disapproved of the Yorkshire Plot and, when his son Ralph went to London in 1677, forbade him to hear the preaching of Jeremiah Marsden, alias Ralphson, a Yorkshire minister who had fled to London after involvement in the Plot. His son, Ralph, was very much of the same mind. Thoresby's Dissent was, however, rigid enough for him to refuse election to the Common Council of Leeds in 1667, as he felt unable to take the Corporation Act Oaths and subscribe to the Declaration against the Covenant.

Born in 1658, Ralph Thoresby was educated at a private Grammar School in Leeds, kept by the puritan Robert Garnett. Later he was trained to succeed his father as a cloth merchant, travelling to London and Holland to learn the trade. Like his father he was a moderate Presbyterian, a great admirer of Stretton and Thomas Sharp. He attended services at Mill Hill, and private conventicles, but also several Anglican Churches, especially those held by moderate men such as John Kay and Mr Iveson. In 1684 Thoresby was indicted for a riot, having attended a conventicle in Leeds, but was acquitted. Thereafter, he increased his attendance at Church, though not at the expense of his Presbyterianism. After the death of Sharp, however,



the new minister at Mill Hill, Timothy Manlove, was a more rigid Presbyterian, and made plain his dislike of partial conformity. After some years of hesitation and doubt, of consulting other ministers, Anglican and Nonconformist, Thoresby found himself faced with a choice between total Dissent and total conformity, and by 1700 had conformed completely and ceased to attend Mill Hill.

As in religion, Thoresby's political opinions were similar to those of his father. In 1679, the year of John Thoresby's death, the two travelled to York to vote for Fairfax and Clifford as Knights of the Shire. Their support of the Dissenting Fairfax was wholehearted, but they had doubts about Clifford, since his style of life and morals did not fulfil Dissenting standards. Later, Thoresby's political attitudes are above all, cautious. In 1685 he disapproved of the Monmouth Rebellion, though sympathising with some of its aims. In 1687 he welcomed the freedom brought by the Indulgence, but was fearful of hidden dangers, though he signed the Address to James II. His fears were, however, more religious than political, being more concerned with Popery than Prerogative. In 1688 he records angrily that when James placed Dissenters on the Corporation, he was placed in 'the fag-end' of the list. His anger seems, however, to stem more from the implied insult than any political feeling. In 1688-9 he supported the Revolution, but clearly knew little of what was happening, and was simply willing to accept that the event had occurred.

The Thoresby family, Dissenters themselves, were also linked with other Dissenting families. The wife of John Thoresby was Ruth Idle (see above), and that of Ralph, Anna Sykes

(see above). Other families whom Ralph mentions as relatives were the Milners (see above) and the Dickensons, while many other Dissenters were close friends. It is Thoresby's Diary and Correspondence which provides much evidence concerning them. Thoresby was also known to Lord Wharton, and acted as an agent for his Bible Trust and other charitable bequests, while his friendship with Stretton made him useful in distributing the charities administered by Stretton.

(Thoresby, especially I and III; Atkinson, Thoresby, especially I; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II', 'Registration of Ralph Thoresby's house, 1689'; DNB, XIX, pp.762-4; Letters to Ralph Thoresby, ed.Lancaster.)

#### WARD OF TANSHELFE

Leonard Ward, Alderman of Pontefract, made his house at Tanshelfe a centre for Dissent in the area. When Mr Joseph Ferret was ejected from All Saints, Pontefract, in 1660, he went to Ward's house, and lived and preached there until his death in 1663. Thereafter preaching was carried out by Mr John Noble, ejected from Smeton, who was licensed at Ward's house in 1672, aided by occasional visits by Peter Naylor, living in Wakefield. After Noble's death in 1679, the congregation relied on visits by Naylor and other ministers, until John Heywood became Pastor in 1695. Ward's house was not registered in 1689, a barn in Tanshelfe being used instead. He may well have been dead by then. It is clear, however, that he housed meetings of the Pontefract Dissenters in the most difficult and dangerous years, until later, with Toleration, they were able to worship freely in Pontefract itself. Leonard Ward was a brother of Sir Patience Ward, M.P. for Pontefract,



a leading London merchant and Whig politician. Another brother, Sir Thomas, was the father of Sir John Ward, Lord Mayor of London in 1714.

(Calamy, II, p.407; Dale, pp.55-6, 114-5, 200-1; Matthews, pp.194, 361, 366-7; Lyon-Turner, I, pp.286, 458; Northowram Register, pp.142-3, 153; G. Fox, History of Pontefract, p.353; DNB, XX, pp.786-8.)

#### WILSON OF LEEDS

Little can be known of the Wilson family, although some at least were certainly Dissenters. A Mr Wilson is mentioned by Heywood as a Trustee of Mill Hill, and by Joseph Boyse as a leading Dissenter in 1683. There were, however, several Wilsons on the Corporation, and several who signed the Addresses to Charles and James in 1681 and 1685. Only two, however, Richard Wilson, and Thomas Wilson signed the Dissenters' Address of Thanks to James II in 1687. Since there are several Thomas Wilsons in the Corporation Records, it is impossible to distinguish which of them signed the Dissenters' Address in 1687. All that can be said is that the Wilsons were a prosperous and eminent Leeds family, and that some at least were active Dissenters.

(Leeds Corporation Court Books, I, pp.92-3, 104-5; Heywood, I, p.336; Thoresby, III, pp.54-5; Thoresby Society, No. XXVIII (1923-7) pp.442-3, 'Address to James II'.)

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### A Note on Sources

The primary sources for this dissertation have been mainly local, and are to be found in regional rather than national archives centres. Upon examination, many of the major collections proved to be of little relevance, except as background material. There is, for example, little relevant material in Dr. Williams' Library. The important records of the licences granted in 1672-3 (kept in the Public Records Office) have been published in full by G. Lyon Turner. Lord Wharton's papers, kept in the Bodleian Library (Carte MSS, Wharton MSS, Rawlinson MSS) are of great value in any study of Lord Wharton's career and of the political activities of Dissent after 1660, but contain little of value to the study of Dissent in Yorkshire. Wharton's political life centred upon London and his political power base seems to have centred upon his Huntingdonshire rather than his Yorkshire estates. His main role in the history of Yorkshire Dissent was that of benefactor, and information concerning these activities can be found in the papers of his local agents rather than in his own.

In contrast the various archives offices and libraries in Yorkshire provided much useful material, which has been rarely used and which proved to be of the most value to me. This was particularly the case with the Quaker sources, although I must regretfully record that I was denied access to the records of the Quarterly Meeting of York. I was permitted to spend one afternoon examining them, but a request to spend more time working upon certain selected documents was refused on the grounds that the Friends' Meeting House lacked the facilities to



accommodate outside students. This was in marked contrast to the attitude that I found at Chapels elsewhere, both Quaker and other denominations, which was extremely helpful.

A considerable proportion of my primary source material has not been in MS form, but in collected and published editions. In the late nineteenth century a great deal of work was done by a small group of Yorkshire antiquarians, which has resulted in the preservation of material now unavailable in MS form - presumably lost or destroyed. The interpretative value of this work is small, but the modern researcher must acknowledge a considerable debt to the careful and tireless collection of evidence and information by these men and the antiquarian societies through which they often worked.

The nature of this work has created a small problem of classification in the bibliography given below. In most cases the material has been published in book form, or in sizeable articles in the various periodicals issued by the societies, and can easily be placed under Primary Sources (published) or in the section covering Articles and Journals. In a few cases, however, these overlap. A number of journals edited by J.H. Turner of Bradford contain a mixture of editor's articles and reproductions of primary source material, which have furnished me with numerous scattered items of useful information. To separate these into primary and secondary sources and include the various page references would add greatly to the length of the bibliography, and I have therefore simply included the complete journal among the list of secondary sources. Where the evidence has occupied a sizeable portion of a periodical, I have, of course, entered it separately.

The same problem exists in relation to evidence found in the HMC Reports. These are included in the list of Primary Sources, but I have followed the same procedure, in specifically naming MS collections which have provided a significant amount of source material, and otherwise, where scraps of evidence have been gathered from various parts of a Report, I have simply listed the title or number of the whole Report. In cases where a single item has been found in a Report, I have not included that Report in the bibliography. If the item has been used in the above text, the source and page reference will be found in the footnotes. The same is the case in relation to other works, primary or secondary. The bibliography below lists only the sources which have been of greater value to me than the provision of one small item of evidence or information.

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