

**Scottish Influences upon the Reformed Churches in North-West England, c.1689-1829: a Study**  
**of the Ministry within the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in Lancashire,**  
**Cumberland and Westmorland.**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Ph.D**

by

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## Abstract

This thesis examines developments within the ministry of the Congregational churches of the north-west of England in the period 1689-1829, with a number of aims in mind. In focusing on the role of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers within these churches the attempt had been made to get away from the narrow national and denominational dogmas that have constrained our understanding of English Congregationalism. In line with recent historiographical attempts to produce historical explanations that recognise the inter-connectedness of the nations of the Union, this study attempts to assess the contribution of other national church traditions within one English region and to understand the development of British Evangelicalism amongst British Reformed churches, of which the Congregational Churches of Lancashire in the 1830s were such examples.

After providing the historical background of the Protestant Dissenting churches of Lancashire, an attempt to quantify the number of churches within emerging church traditions in the eighteenth century will be made and to assess the survival of orthodox Reformed churchmanship. The argument followed here, in contradistinction to the vast majority of denominational historians, is that denominational theories are poor in explaining the survival of orthodox piety amongst Dissent and that the social and economic profile of congregations provides a far better explanation of the ecclesiology of these churches. Cumberland and Westmorland are examined and an understanding of the geographical spread of Dissent is attempted, noting particularly the survival of orthodox piety in the rural north of the region and in particular the dependence of the churches of Cumberland on Scottish ministers, without whom Protestant Dissent in that county would have disappeared. Finally an attempt is made to assess the contribution of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers in the emergent Congregational tradition in Lancashire in the period 1770-1829.

Throughout the study an attempt is made to test all assumptions concerning the ministry by utilising a database of biographical information on ministers within these churches and thus providing figures on nationality and training, attempting to see whether the Scottish cohort within the sample was statistically significant before moving on to more qualitative assessments of their influence.

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## Abbreviations

BQ - Baptist Quarterly.

RRER - James E. Bradley, Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism, (Cambridge, 1990).

Chesh. CRO - Cheshire County Record Office.

CC - Congregational Calendar.

CHST - Congregational Historical Society Transactions.

CM - Congregational Magazine.

CYB - Congregational Yearbook.

CWAAS - Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.

DWL - *Dr. Williams's Library, London*.

J. Ecc. H - Journal of Ecclesiastical History.

English Presbyterians- Gordon Bolam et al., English Presbyterians: from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism, (1968).

EM - Evangelical Magazine.

Halley -Robert Halley, Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, 2 Vols, (Manchester, 1869).



Oliver Heywood's Diary - J. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), Oliver Heywood's Diaries, etc., 1630-1702, 4 Vols., (Brighouse, 1882).

Thomas Jolly's Notebook - Henry Fishwick, (ed.), The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A. D. 1671-1693: Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses A. D. 1649-1725, Chetham Society, Vol. 33, ns, Manchester, 1894.

Richard Kay's Diary - W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy, The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51, of Baldingstone, near Bury: A Lancashire Doctor, (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol. 41, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, , 1968).

TLCAS - Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

TLCHS - Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society.

Lancs. CRO - Lancashire County Record Office.

LN - B. Nightingale, Lancashire Nonconformity, 6 Vols, (Manchester, 1891-93).

McLachlan - H. McLachlan, English Education Under the Test Acts, (MUP, 1931).

MAUG - Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow.

Miall - J. G. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, (1868).

Notitia Cestriensis- Francis Gastrell, Notitia Cestriensis, with notes by the Rev. F. R. Raines, Vol. 1, Cheshire, (Chetham Society, 8, 1845); Vol. 2, part 1, *Lancashire, Manchester Deanery*, (Chetham

Society, 19, 1849); Vol. 2, part 2, *Lancashire, Warrington, Blackburn, Leyland Deaneries*, (Chetham Society, 21, 1850); Vol. 2, part 3, (Chetham Society, Vol. 22, 1850).

ONK - F. Nicholson, E. Axon, The Older Nonconformity in Kendal, (Kendal, 1915).

PP - Past and Present.

Powicke - F. J. Powicke, History of the Cheshire County Union of Congregational Churches, Prepared to Commemorate its Centenary, 1806-1906, (Manchester, 1907).

JPHSE - Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England.

Ralph Thoresby's Diary - Joseph Hunter, The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, FRS....now first published from the original Manuscript, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, (Colburn & Bentley, 1830).

Scott, Fasti - Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, 6 Vols, (Edinburgh, 1866-71).

Sell - Alan P. F. Sell, Church Planting: A Study of Westmorland Nonconformity, (Oxford, 1986).

Surman - Charles Surman's Index of Protestant Dissenting ministers. Dr. Williams's Library, London.

UCC/JRL - *John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Unitarian College Collection.

TUHS - Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society.

JURCHS - Journal of the United Reformed Church Historical Society.

Urwick - William Urwick et al., Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Cheshire, (1864).

**VCH - William Farrer & J. Browhill (eds), Victoria County History of Lancashire, (1911, 1912).**

**Peter Walkden's Diary - William Dobson, (ed.), Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden, Nonconformist Minister for the Years 1725, 1729, 1730, (Preston, 1866).**

**Transcript Walkden Diary, 1733-4 - Chipping Local History Society (eds), A Transcript of Part of The Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden, 1733-1734, from Chester City Record Office, ref. 678/1, January to June, 1733, (February to May, 1995).**

**Watts - Michael Watts, The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution, (Oxford, 1978).**

## Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines the creation of an historical identity amongst the congregations of English Dissent. Surveying such a broad period of time has brought me only to the point at which I initially asked my questions about the Congregational churches of the early Victorian period. Why, for instance, in the historiographical debates over the development of middle-class hegemony in the industrial towns of the north are the Congregationalists dealt with superficially in favour of focusing on the Unitarians? Congregationalists claimed to have a special mission to the middle classes at the time,<sup>1</sup> their congregations were overwhelmingly middle class by the 1830s and they far outstripped the Unitarians in the number of churches and congregants adhering to their connection. Part of the reason is that the Unitarians had been so successful at creating an historical identity for themselves as progressives, as agents of change, that perhaps renders them more familiar to historians operating in a secular age. Prominent Unitarians, ministerial and lay, made a point of getting involved in all the thorny moral and social reform issues of the industrial age and never missed the opportunity to promote the dissidence of their Dissenting tradition. The central concerns of the Congregational churches, the evangelical commitment to revealed truth and the defence of the Reformation, seem less familiar to the modern historian. The 'no-politics' platform of these churches and their institutional representatives during the Napoleonic Wars and afterwards seems to represent the diffidence of evangelical Dissent that may, like the Methodists, be lumbered with the historical judgement that they forestalled a revolution and were agents of social control. Yet, unlike the English Wesleyans, within these evangelical Congregational churches a vigorous culture of disrespect had emerged by the 1830s that warrants more attention. Congregationalists began energetically to promote voluntarist and anti-Church rate societies, culminating in the Congregationalist Edward Miall's Anti-State Church Association of 1844. Whilst connexional bodies remained neutral, many influential individuals from within Congregationalism promoted the defence of the Reformation in pan-Protestant movements with more or less overt anti-Catholic agendas, most notably the trans-Atlantic Evangelical Alliance, founded in Liverpool in 1846. The Congregational churches managed to wage lengthy litigation to

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<sup>1</sup> Joshua Wilson, 'The Second Centenary of the Ejectment of the Nonconformist Ministers from the Established Church', The Congregational Year Book, 1861, pp.63-65. Clyde Binfield, 'Thomas Binney and Congregationalism's "Special Mission"', TCHS, Vol.21, No.1, June, 1971, pp.1-10.



dispossess Unitarian congregations of their chapels and were successful in a number of instances, the Unitarians securing their trusts and properties only after the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill in 1844. These concerns might seem narrowly ecclesiological and firmly rooted in the early nineteenth-century evangelical ethos of reforming the individual within Reformed churches, but they hint at the energies latent in evangelical Dissent to redraw society in their own image. Their churchmanship, Bible based and opposed to hierarchical structures, informed every level of their interaction with the state and society. The vehemence with which elements within these churches sought to dispossess the Church of England of its privileges and the Unitarians of their old Protestant Dissenting chapels is striking. This thesis is, in part, an attempt to understand the sources of this radical critique of the church and state, focusing on the influence of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers within the English Congregational churches and trying to understand their contribution to developments within the Congregational churches in the north-west of England.

On grounds of numbers alone this church tradition requires that historians take it seriously. By the Religious Census of 1851 the Congregationalists were by far the largest of the old Dissenting denominations in England and Wales, representing 10.9% of the number of attendants of all denominations on census Sunday. The Church of England constituted 52%, the Original Connection of Wesleyan Methodists 12.5%. Of the other denominations in the old Protestant Dissenting tradition, the Particular Baptists were the next in the number of attendees at 6.5% and even the three Scottish Presbyterian denominations could muster more adherents (0.8%) than the Unitarians (0.5%).<sup>2</sup> Methodism stood in a fundamentally different relation to the state for most of the period reviewed here and arguably saw the possibility of engaging in Nonconformist politics only after the shock of the Maynooth Grant of 1845. The Particular Baptist churches retained a far more demotic social profile. The Congregational churches could argue from a position of numerical strength that they represented the most vigorous English Nonconformist tradition that could trace its roots back to the seventeenth century, that they were in some way representative of Dissent and enshrined the bourgeois ideals of the mid-nineteenth century. How did their historical tradition shape their critique of contemporary society and their own brand of middle class churchmanship? Any attempt to assess this tradition's impact on social reform, municipal politics or the religious and intellectual culture of

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<sup>2</sup> D.M.Thompson, Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century, (1972), pp.152-3.

the nineteenth century would need to understand what that 'tradition' consisted of, before attempting to integrate it into the debates on various issues and ascribe to it any explanatory function. Outlining this tradition, a task I originally thought would be straightforward, now constitutes the best part of this thesis.

I began with the assumption that what constituted mid-nineteenth century Congregationalism had a continuing institutional and intellectual heritage from the seventeenth century, with records to match, lovingly tended by conscientious archivists, committed to preserving their tradition's own unique theodicy. A small, scholarly community, dedicated to modernising our understanding of the internal lives of the churches and their relations to intellectual and social developments in the British Isles would provide a useful commentary from which to start a more detailed regional study. Needless to say, there exists nothing of the kind. The sources reflect the fissiparous nature of the antecedents of these evangelical Congregational churches, the flotsam of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. The purpose of this thesis is to assess which elements were eventually assembled to create the identity of the Congregational churches of the early nineteenth-century.

Because of this fissiparous tradition, there exists nothing comparable to the Quaker archives at Friends House or the Methodist Archives at the John Rylands Library in Manchester and next to nothing of a modern secondary literature discussing the internal lives of these worshipping communities, certainly for the period 1690-1750. Those who have been interested in the study of these churches have tended to be denominational historians, keen to appropriate or discard elements in the story that do or do not suit their own needs and with the decline of Nonconformity in the twentieth century, the oversight of their gathered historical sources degenerated. In the twentieth century these archives have gone to institutions broadly sympathetic to their preservation but the lack of academic or religious communities dedicated to codifying and disseminating the contents of collections means they remain much as they were gathered. The Manchester Unitarian College collection is currently being catalogued at the John Rylands Library but much of the Northern/Independent College collection awaits appraisal. It is unclear what happened to many of the eighteenth-century records held in the basement of the old Congregational Office in Deansgate, Manchester, though unseemly squabbling seems to have been engaged in over some portions of the collection between the Lancashire Records Office and representatives of the denomination. Material



was borrowed and never returned and discovered in the most unlikely repositories. Documents, published in extract by county historical societies in the nineteenth century, have disappeared. As well as the condescension that posterity bestows on unfashionable areas of the past, there lies the added problem that most of the extant historical commentary has been produced by historians from within competing church traditions, attempting to appropriate a shared heritage. The sources and the historiography have thus been Balkanised.

Denominational historians of the nineteenth century tried to write denominational histories of church traditions which, only by the greatest stretch of the imagination, could be constructed into a denominational framework. Under the strictures of the Toleration Act of 1689 Nonconformist ministers and the churches they gathered around them were denied the opportunity to form a denominational identity. Ministers and churches, who might describe themselves as Presbyterian, Independent or Baptist, were legally defined as Protestant Dissenters. The vagueness of the term proved useful as disparate elements within Dissent sought to create for themselves an identity outside the Established Church. Persecution forced Dissenters into forms of mutual co-operation under which they tended to play down their own denominational identity. This accorded well with their expressed desire not to abandon the principle of a uniform church but the reality of highly atomised church societies with increasingly irreconcilable ecclesiological traditions led to unbearable tensions. County Associations lumbered on after the failure of an attempted national union in 1695 but increasingly other, grander, unifying principles offered themselves in the eighteenth century to these disenfranchised groups. Some elements within Dissent began to interpret the core identity of Dissent as the application of reason to religion and the promotion of individual religious and political liberty. Seeing the greatest threat to their precarious measure of toleration as being the renewed chaos of religious enthusiasm and party politics, they pragmatically set about accommodating themselves to the Whig/Hanoverian settlement. Rational and polite religion was their contribution to the development of a civic moralism and identity. Religion, if it were demonstrated to be rational, would provide a common moral currency. It was part of their contribution to the creation of a British identity which would counter the competing claims of the nations of the Union, the colonies and the regions of the nation. Needless to say, it appealed to Dissenting communities where urban and commercial values

were uppermost and not surprisingly, religion in this tradition lost doctrinal distinctness and its emotional appeal to the individual.

The other unifying interpretation open to these Dissenting communities was that provided by the Calvinist International. The vast movements of displaced Protestant groups throughout Europe and the trans-Atlantic world in the early eighteenth century brought into contact diverse elements with shared Reformed traditions. Outbreaks of revival, often associated with Counter Reformation repression and the displacement to the frontiers of the known world, contributed to the sense of Protestantism under threat and millennial interpretations of events. The Calvinist community of letters sought to interpret and prepare their religious societies, watching and waiting for signs of revival, for the signs of Gods handiwork in history that would presage the end of history. For those who retained a commitment to revelation, the revived Calvinist international offered the hope that, despite being excluded from state churches, penalised and passed over in their respective lands, God was writing a bigger history in the remote corners of the world, in the Appalachians, in Silesia, in Scotland, and in the lives of ordinary believers. This interpretative schema appealed more to the marginalised within international Protestantism, the rural and the displaced. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine how Protestant Dissenting churches in the north-west of England responded to these developments. Both offered powerful visions of an inclusive order, with obvious appeal to the disenfranchised and the marginalised. In this thesis, I will focus on those churches who maintained orthodox Calvinist standards and aligned themselves with the developing evangelical tradition. In so doing however, one has to address the marked historical tendency for so many of these Protestant Dissenting churches in the region to enter a rationalist tradition, something I will detail in Chapter Two. Historians in both these traditions have claimed that it was distinctive denominational features that predisposed groups within Dissent to follow rationalist or orthodox paths of development, maintaining that Presbyterians 'became' Unitarians and Independents 'became' Congregationalists by the nineteenth century. It is the purpose of this study to show the weakness of this argument and to suggest that the social and economic profile of these congregations and their location as rural or urban congregations, is a far better indication of the trajectories these churches were subsequently to follow. Chapter Three takes up this point and throws into question the validity of denominational labels in the period 1689-1750. This detailed understanding of the indistinctness of the Nonconformist identity in

the early eighteenth century serves to highlight the historical problem of radically opposed theological and doctrinal camps emerging from the same group of chapels and ministers. Markedly partisan explanations were sought by denominational historians in the rational and orthodox camps which differed fundamentally, neither offering satisfactory explanations of the processes at work or even a basic chronology of developments.

In the period covered by this thesis, 1689-1829, these Protestant Dissenting churches functioned as individual worshipping communities, loosely affiliated. It is only towards the end of this period that national denominational identities were constructed. The Congregational churches in Lancashire attempted ministerial association in 1786 and again in 1798 but it was only in 1806 that the Lancashire Congregational Union was formed.<sup>3</sup> The creation of a national denominational body was achieved through the Congregational Union of England and Wales only in 1833.<sup>4</sup> The Unitarian churches claiming a seventeenth-century heritage only began constructing national denominational institutions in the same period, culminating in the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, an amalgam of several older bodies in 1825.<sup>5</sup> Before this, these churches had retained an identity that was not fully denominational but one that was constantly being mediated and re-interpreted between ministers, the laity and the chapel trustees comprising these congregations. Denominations emerged from this common soil of shared experience and assumptions, becoming estranged throughout the eighteenth century, hostile to each others assumptions concerning the nature of faith. National funding bodies, created to distribute the wealth of the London Dissenters to their provincial colleagues, became split along doctrinal lines in the eighteenth century but were still not denominational institutions. The only institutions which functioned nationally and retained the ethos of a common identity were London bodies established in the early eighteenth century to fight for the rights and liberties of Dissenters. The system consisted of individual, autonomous churches, whose ministers sometimes co-operated regionally in ministerial associations, with lobbying and financial clearing functions being undertaken by the London Dissenters on behalf of their provincial brethren.

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<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, The Story of the Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1906, (Manchester, 1906), pp. 12-21.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Peel, These Hundred Years: A History of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1831-1931, (1931), pp.62-78.

<sup>5</sup> Jeremy Goring, 'Unitarianism: History, Myth or Make-believe?', TUHS, Vol.19, No.4, April, 1990, p.217.



Ministers were often answerable to the needs of the trustees more than they were to the congregants or the neighbouring ministers gathered in county associations. Many of these chapels were treated like proprietorial chapels by the trustees, bought and sold, the minister chosen by the trustees often out of sympathy with the communicants. It would take unusually strong action by the church members to force trustees to concede to their wishes. Often the only choice they were left with was to leave.

Where ministers, trustees and congregants were in sympathy, the system worked because of personal contact between ministers. They acted as the foci of their congregations and negotiated the complex webs of individual, familial and institutional patronage that could secure their own and their congregation's survival. Dissenting academies and the ministers who ran them were perhaps the single most important institutions and individuals in this network, the education they dispensed determining the esteem in which a minister was held, the stipend he could command and the theology he was to preach. This system is representative of most of the period 1689-1829, and though denominational parties emerged throughout this period, the unifying myth of common Protestant Dissenting interests was only overtly renounced in 1836 when the Unitarian elements of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies and the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, seceded from these organisations after the Congregationalists and orthodox Presbyterians had sought to dispossess the Unitarians of their trusts and endowments in the Lady Hewley's Charities case.<sup>6</sup> Mutual defence and the creation of unifying identities, crucial under the workings of the Toleration Act, were no longer necessary after the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. This was, in a sense, only a formal recognition of the lack of mutual interests between elements in the Dissenting tradition that had been apparent since the early part of the eighteenth century. The unifying myth of legal discrimination no longer held them together. The way was open to construct more exclusive denominational identities. It was against this background that denominational historians set about appropriating parts of the shared tradition. But historians from the rational and evangelical traditions, Unitarian and Congregational, often glossed over the apparent historical conundrum that

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<sup>6</sup> The origins and operations of these London bodies are discussed in R. W. Dale, A History of English Congregationalism, (1907); N. C. Hunt, Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole, (Oxford, 1961); B. L. Manning & O. Greenwood, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies, (Cambridge, 1952), pp.69-93.

they traced their origins to the same group of churches, ministers and shared historical heritage. Contemporary theological preoccupations often clouded historical judgement.

This study mostly deals with the ministry within the Congregational Churches of Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland, with supporting material from adjacent counties where relevant. This study will attempt to ascertain how, as the old Protestant Dissenting academies became increasingly Unitarian, the emergent Congregational churches recruited and trained ministers. Chapter Two notes the reliance of the English Protestant Dissent on the Scottish Universities for training ministerial candidates. This continued to be the case as English Presbyterian churches became Unitarian. This study does not look at the influence of Scottish-born or Scottish-trained ministers on the emerging tradition of English Presbyterianism/Unitarianism, though there is plenty of scope for such a study, especially as they relate to the debates over non-subscription in the Synod of Ulster and within English Presbyterianism in the first half of the eighteenth century. The focus will be on orthodox Scottish ministers and their contribution to the survival and revival of orthodox Reformed churchmanship in the north-west, attempting to assess their numbers and importance.

This study focuses on the ministry, attempting to understand the sources for ministerial recruitment and attempting to understand its national, religious and intellectual composition. The role of the godly ministry was central in these chapel communities and mediated their historical self identity. The Protestant Dissenting tradition chose as its defining historical event the ejection of a body of church reformers from the Church of England under the Act of Uniformity in 1662, providing an Exodus narrative and a chosen people. However, the importance of the learned ministry within these churches and the example of those pious ejected ministers has led to much of the denominational history becoming hagiography and this has created a problem of sources for the historian. In churches in which ministers were often the only elements of visible continuity, denominational history has tended to resemble genealogy. Historians attempting to gain an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual lives of these religious communities, is constrained by the fact that so many of the historical sources tend to be by ministers about ministers. Historians attempting to understand lay piety must gain what evidence they can from ministers who saw their role as directing and interpreting the religious life of their communities. This creates a conundrum in this thesis, in that I argue that the survival of orthodox piety within the region was symptomatic of what one commentator has termed

the 'Triumph of the Laity'. In Lancashire the desire to implement a lay supremacy is most startlingly seen in the Puritan commitment to lectureships and the retention by Dissenters of chapels of ease, well into the 1700s in some cases.<sup>7</sup> The trustees of these chapels and the subsequent purpose-built Protestant Dissenting chapels, controlled the spiritual life of the chapel. In urban chapels with a high percentage of mercantile classes a rational and polite religion emerged. In the more rural chapels with a higher percentage of labourers and artisans the commitment to orthodox Calvinist standards remained stronger but in whatever location, it was the congregants and trustees who demanded innovation or tradition of their ministers and training institutions. In this study I have not, to any great extent, been able to present an examination of British pietistic and evangelical orthodoxy amongst the laity, or to assess the extent of orthodox devotional practice. I am aware that the religion of family, of periodic covenant renewal in preparation for the Lord's Supper, of schooling in the Assembly's Catechism, the singing of the Psalms and the reading of the works of seventeenth century divines, linked many English Protestant Dissenters by common practice and shared assumption with the laity of Scotland, likewise struggling against clerical aloofness and established hostility, who were alike desperately seeking the support of ministers who were sympathetic to notions of congregational independence and religious orthodoxy. I have tried in this thesis to indicate the existence in rural north Lancashire of networks of communicants and ministers who attempted to maintain orthodox Calvinist standards against the prevailing tide, indeed to indicate that there were substantial rock-pools of orthodox piety. What I have been unable to do is provide a detailed social history of orthodox communicants, assessing the social and economic factors that operated on these religious communities and the religious and intellectual networks that tied them together.

These religious communities saw themselves having a historical role and identity and the ministry was central to it. Richard Baxter spent his life collecting biographical and historical information on the lives of the nonconformist saints. Published posthumously in 1696 as the Reliquae Baxterianae it was so vast a compendium that it required constant re-editing. Edmund Calamy, in response to Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, published An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life and Times. With an Account of many other of those worthy Ministers who were Ejected...(1702). As N. H.

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<sup>7</sup> See for instance Claire Cross, Church and People, 1450-1660, (1976), Chapter Nine, 'Implementing the Lay Supremacy, 1640-1660'.



Keeble has noted, only eleven years after Baxter's death, it had departed from Baxter's text and had become a manifesto for Nonconformist misgivings over subscription rather than an edition of Baxter. Enlarged in two volumes in 1713, the Account was given a second volume and was augmented in 1727 with the two volume Continuation of the Account. To edit these Vitae became the greatest devotion a Nonconformist historian could offer, Samuel Palmer bringing out his The Nonconformist's Memorial in two volumes in 1775. A. G. Matthews brought out Calamy Revised in 1934, maintaining the format but with scholarly corrections in footnotes.<sup>8</sup> This historiography has thematically constrained the work of most denominational historians. In Benjamin Nightingale's six volumes of Lancashire Nonconformity, (1891-3), thematic treatment of Nonconformist history is subservient to individual chapel histories, and these in turn are often rendered opaque by masses of biographical detail concerning the ministry. The Rev. Bryan Dale's Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity. Illustrated by the Lives of the Ejected Ministers 1660 and 1662, edited by T. G. Crippen in 1909, is simply a list of the ejected ministers in Yorkshire. Methodologically this is potentially the fate of every historian who wishes to study these churches, such is the defining centrality of the educated ministry in these churches. In this study I have endeavoured to use the work of denominational historians critically. This makes sense, in that they frequently gathered huge bodies of primary information, they had access to oral sources and they lived within communities which were actively engaged in debating historical issues, collecting historical documents and knew where historical documents resided. Nonconformist ministers were great collectors of the manuscripts of their antecedents and contemporaries, trading such commodities amongst the larger eighteenth-century community of antiquarians and autograph hunters. There exist vast agglomerations of this material, poorly catalogued and seldom with a calendar, perhaps some of the most notable being the manuscripts collected by the Leeds antiquarian Ralph Thoresby, the Britannia Puritanica of Joseph Hunter at the British Museum and the Rawlinson collection at the Bodleian.<sup>9</sup> This tradition was very much maintained by the Nonconformist historians in the north-west in the nineteenth century. The Congregationalist ministers the Revs. Thomas Raffles and Richard Slate were central figures in the

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<sup>8</sup> N. H. Keeble, (ed.), The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, (1974), Preface.

<sup>9</sup> D. H. Atkinson, Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer: His Town and Times. 2 Vols, (Leeds, 1885). Letters of Eminent Men Addressed to Ralph Thoresby F.R.S., 2 Vols. (1832). British Library Additional MSS 1756-82, 4274-77, 4460, 4926-33. F. T. Wood, 'Britannia Puritanica. A Manuscript by Joseph Hunter', UHST, Vol.9, No.2, June, 1948, pp.101-107.

institutional consolidation of Lancashire Congregationalism.<sup>10</sup> They were also its early historians and assiduous collectors of Nonconformist correspondence, their collections residing at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, in the Northern/Independent College Collection. The Raffles Collection is particularly rich in material on mid-eighteenth century Dissent and the links being forged between orthodox Protestant Dissent and emergent Calvinist Methodism.<sup>11</sup> In this thesis I have been able only to sample these collections and the difficulties in using them should not be underestimated. The John Rylands Library houses large collections of material from subsequent regional historians of Nonconformity, for instance, the papers and correspondence of the Unitarian historians the Rev. Alexander Gordon (1841-1931) and the Manchester Unitarian laymen William E. A. Axon (1846-1913) and Ernest Axon (1868-1947). For Gordon, besides correspondence covering the period 1861-1921, there are 36 boxes of research notes and drafts for the 720 articles he contributed to the Dictionary of National Biography. The 1,471 letters of Ernest Axon do not even have a proper hand-list.<sup>12</sup> With absolutely no indication of most of their contents, these collections will reveal their secrets to only the most patient and carefree of historians. Problems, themes and theories discussed by these very able historians operating in the early years of this century lie forgotten in this correspondence.

In accessing predominantly the published works of these historians, I am very aware of the fact that insights and analysis I attempt to highlight as 'new' in this thesis may well have been commonplaces to these largely forgotten historians. I am also aware, however, that in their printed works they frequently omitted information which was distasteful to them and could maintain partisan interpretations and engage in heated printed exchanges. Between the years 1909-15, the Unitarian historians Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon argued in print with the Congregational Historians Bryan Dale and T. G. Crippen over the nature and extent of the non-subscribing schism at the

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<sup>10</sup> For the Rev. Thomas Raffles (1788- 1863), minister of Great George Street Congregational Church, Liverpool, (1812-1861) see LN, Vol.5, p.156 and Surman, 33. For the Rev. Richard Slate (1787-1867), Minister at Stand. Lancashire, (1809-26) and Grimshaw Street Congregational Church, Preston, (1826-61), see LN, Vol.1, p.53; Vol.3, p.228 and Surman, 1150.

<sup>11</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Autograph Letters Collected by Thomas Raffles', TCHS, Vol.21, No.1, June, 1971, p.21.

<sup>12</sup> H. McLachlan, Alexander Gordon (9 June 1841-21 February 1931): A Biography, with a bibliography, (Manchester, 1932). Clive D. Field, 'Sources for the Study of Protestant Nonconformity in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol.7, No.2, Summer, 1989, pp.103-139.

Ravenstonedale Protestant Dissenting chapel, the debate never getting beyond arguing whether the non-subscribers or the subscribers were the rightful possessors of the chapel and the true representatives of dissent. Alexander Gordon's scholarly commitment to the historical method led him to doubt some Unitarian 'creation myths', most notably the theory of the Open Trust promulgated by many Unitarian historians such as Nicholson and Axon. But he could not shake off the notion that early English Presbyterianism, the Presbyterianism of Cartwright and The Book of Discipline was anti-synodical, when clearly the early Presbyterian reform movement required the establishment of a hierarchy of church courts within an established church. This is not the place to rehearse all the arguments, but Gordon's line, that in England "presbytery" was held to denote the governing body of a particular church, has been followed by prominent contemporary Unitarian historians, notably Gordon Bolam and Jeremy Goring in their influential work English Presbyterians.<sup>13</sup> It has been called into question by Michael Watts and others.<sup>14</sup> So whilst these denominational historians have done a great deal of work collecting materials and synthesising ideas, in many ways the histories they produced are part of the phenomena they sought to explain. By carefully comparing the claims of contending historians, by using material from Baptist and Quaker historians not so immediately involved in contemporary disputes and by supplementing this with manuscript and printed diary sources, I hope to have tackled the documentary, chronological and thematic gaps the nineteenth-century denominational historians felt obliged to insert in their work. By utilising the work of contemporary academic historians who attempt to go beyond denominational platitudes, I hope to provide a new contribution to the understanding of these worshipping societies, of how they developed and interacted with the rest of society, the focus being on developments within the ministry.

Historical casuistry had always been a central part of the Dissenting identity. In defending themselves from the sin of schism, in engaging in debates over the nature of primitive episcopacy and in debating the nature of adiaphora, the Dissenters were continuing the debate over the nature of the Reformation from outside the Church of England. Historical methods were applied to the scriptures

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<sup>13</sup> Jeremy Goring, C. G. Bolam, H. L. Short, Roger Thomas, English Presbyterians: From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism, (1968). F. Kenworthy, 'In memoriam, Charles Gordon Bolam, M A, BD, (19 September, 1907-9 May, 1973)', TUHS, Vol.15, No.3, October, 1973, pp.111-2.

<sup>14</sup> Watts, pp. 56-60, 90. A. P. F. Sell, 'Presbyterianism in Eighteenth-Century England: The Doctrinal Dimension', JURCHS, Vol.4, part 6, May, 1990, p.355.



to justify the Dissent. Historical accounts of Dissent were churned out and became major points of contention with the Establishment, not least Daniel Neal's four volumes of The History of the Puritans, (1732, 1733, 1736, 1738) and history came to be part of the curriculum in the Dissenting academies, Priestley introducing it to the curriculum at Warrington.<sup>15</sup> Dissenters in the rational tradition tended to dominate the production of Dissenting history in the eighteenth century. The historical method had proved a major resource in biblical criticism and as an aid to the understanding of civic virtue, political theory and obligation, it had proved indispensable. Orthodox Calvinists tended to have a providential and degenerative, rather than progressive, model of human development and focused on the collection of accounts of providences and revivals. With the development of national denominational institutions in the early nineteenth century, evangelical Congregationalism began to turn its attention to history and to seek answers to questions about its identity. The great problem they faced, of course, was that as children of the Evangelical Revival, there was no institutional continuity and they faced the overwhelming problem of explaining their common heritage with churches that now styled themselves Unitarian. The production of Nonconformist history grew with the need to establish the provenance of many chapels in the early nineteenth century, peaking sometime after the celebrations of the bi-centenary in 1862 of the St Bartholomew's Day ejection's. The second half of the nineteenth century was the 'golden age' for Lancashire antiquarians and historians and the denominational historians played a full part in the workings of the printing clubs such as the Chetham Society and the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire and the more social societies, such as the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire and the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.<sup>16</sup> As Nonconformity itself declined in the twentieth century the historical debate became attenuated. That Nonconformist records survived and were retained in the north-west has been due in large part to the foundation of the John Rylands Library in Manchester in 1900, founded with the fortune of the Congregationalist industrialist with its management in the hands of influential Nonconformists.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> John McLachlan, 'Joseph Priestley and the Study of History', TUHS, Vol.19, No.4, April, 1990, pp.252-263.

<sup>16</sup> Alan J. Kidd, 'Between Antiquary and Academic: Local History in the Nineteenth Century', The Local Historian, Vol.26, No.1, February 1996, pp.3-14.

<sup>17</sup> D. A. Farnie, 'Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908), founder of the John Rylands Library', Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Vol.71, No.2, Summer 1989, reprint. Also C. D. Field, *Op.Cit.* p.103.

For the purposes of this study, the entry of orthodox denominational historians into the debate in the nineteenth century is important because it is they, in the main, who attempted to write regional histories of dissent. They not only sought to scotch Anglican claims to the rights of establishment and Unitarian claims to old Protestant Dissenting chapels but the struggle for the Reformation was played out in far more subtle ways between the orthodox Presbyterians and the Congregationalists in England. Perhaps the first attempt at orthodox Nonconformist history in the nineteenth century was David Bogue's History of the Dissenters, (1808), in three volumes. Trained for the Church of Scotland ministry in Edinburgh, he tutored in London and became a Congregationalist minister in Gosport. His DNB entry claims that whilst this was a work of painstaking scholarship, it was at times 'somewhat partisan and embittered'. In assessing the role of Scots in the Congregational ministry for this thesis, this pattern will be seen time and again. Drawn to England by the lure of educational and ministerial opportunities, they provided the intellectual and casuistical backbone for the Reformed churches struggling to explain what they perceived to be changeling Unitarianism. W. R. Ward claimed that it was the vigour of Scots ministers in Manchester in the 1820s and 1830s who added political bite to the Congregationalists' anti-Church/State campaigns, that it was the presence of United Secession Presbyterian ministers in Manchester such as William McKerrow that radicalised the Disestablishment campaign amongst Dissenters.<sup>18</sup> In part, it will be the purpose of this study to detail the numbers and influence of these ministers throughout the north-west and to assess their intellectual impact on Dissent in the north-west. They certainly influence the historiography of Dissent in the north-west. The author of the DNB entry for Bogue was the Scot, the Rev. Alexander Balloch Grosart, the minister of the Mount Street/Preston New Road United Presbyterian Church in Blackburn, (1868-1892). Whilst he was on good terms with local Congregationalists, one suspects resentment at Bogue's abandonment of Scottish Presbyterianism informs some of his opinions. As with Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter, contemporaneous issues were clouding historical judgement. Regional denominational history was being written by Scottish Congregational Ministers and Scottish Presbyterian Ministers who were ministering in English Congregational and English Presbyterian

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<sup>18</sup> W. R. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850, (Schocken, 1973), pp. 129-34. R. Buick Knox, 'The Relationship Between English and Scottish Presbyterianism, 1836-1876', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 1982, pp.43-66, p.66. D. M. Thompson, 'Scottish Influences on the English Churches in the Nineteenth Century', JURCHS, Vol. 2, No. 2, October, 1978, pp.30-45, p. 35.

Chapels, writing histories that argued over the nature of English Nonconformity but bringing in to play contemporary Scottish preoccupations with the role and purpose of the British Reformed churches. Whilst Congregationalist and Presbyterian could co-operate locally and combine to dispossess the Unitarians, the problem of property could drive a wedge between them. The trust deeds of many old Protestant Dissenting chapels did stipulate that they be used by Presbyterians, bringing up the problem that, not only would the orthodox oust the Unitarians but that the Presbyterians would remove the Congregationalists from old Protestant Dissenting chapels. Whilst both Congregationalists and Presbyterians co-operated to contest the Lady Hewley's Charities case, it was the Northumberland Presbytery that eventually gained control of the endowments, much to the consternation of the English Congregationalists. The Old Protestant dissenting chapel at Tunley was appropriated by a Church of Scotland congregation in Wigan and by 1834 had been absorbed into the United Presbyterian Church in Lancashire.<sup>19</sup> The Old Protestant Dissenting chapel at Risley was the subject of a two- year Chancery suit which in 1838 dispossessed the Unitarian minister and trustees and replaced them with Scottish Presbyterian trustees, the chapel aligning itself with the Presbyterian Church in England.<sup>20</sup> The fact was that only the Scottish Presbyterians managed to claw back Old Protestant Dissenting chapels from the Unitarians in Lancashire, despite the best efforts of George Hadfield in Manchester. When the Congregationalists seemed no longer able to maintain a presence in Old Protestant Dissenting chapels, the Presbyterian Church in England took over, as it did at Wharton Chapel in 1860.<sup>21</sup> Historical truths thus not only served to defend Trinitarian dissent but were increasingly employed to bolster specific forms of orthodox churchmanship, especially as the expansionist confidence and prestige of the Presbyterian churches emerged amongst the growing Scottish communities of Lancashire and the north-west in the second half of the nineteenth century. These developments had a bearing on the Nonconformist history that was being written.

The background of two of the most influential historians of Lancashire Dissent may have some bearing on the historical interpretations they chose to present. Robert Halley was minister in the Moseley Street/Cavendish Street Congregational Church in Manchester, (1839-1857) and the author

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<sup>19</sup> LN, 4, pp. 23-37. William Butlers Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan: A Record of Three Centuries, (Manchester, 1912), p.109.

<sup>20</sup> LN, 4, pp. 252-261.

<sup>21</sup> LN, 4, pp.108-117.



of Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, (2 Vols, 1869), written whilst he was principal of New College, London. He was born in Kent of a father who was a member of the Scottish Antiburgher Presbyterian Church. Whilst a committed member of the English Congregational Church, his historical work perhaps betrays his background, expressing a sympathy for the notion that post-Restoration dissent in Lancashire was dominated by Presbyterianism.<sup>22</sup> The Congregationalist Benjamin Nightingale on the other hand, writing in Lancashire Nonconformity twenty years later, took issue with Halley and was deliberately an obscurantist, often implying by omission that the Congregational churches of the county had a long and continuous history. His family were natives of Tockholes and had worshipped in the Protestant Dissenting chapel there since at least 1784. His work on the Tockholes Protestant Dissenting congregation implies that it was a thoroughgoing Congregational institution from its earliest inception, despite there being early evidence to the contrary. The two most influential ministers in the chapels eighteenth century history were Scots, trained for the ministry in the Church of Scotland and the Associate Presbytery.<sup>23</sup> Nightingale's apparent aim was to prove that the chapel, and others like it, were uniquely English and Congregational. The awareness of the other nations of the Union and other Reformed traditions, subtle and mediated through the generations in intangible ways, may have informed Halley's historical scholarship. He was perhaps more aware of the interconnectedness of the devotional lives of the people of the British Isles and less willing to accept claims to exclusivity. In this thesis I will use the modern historiography that attempts to write British history and which attempts to come to a better understanding of the developments within these churches in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, to correct this historical tendency to isolate explanations of religious development within national boundaries.

With the death of Alexander Gordon in 1931, one of the most subtle and scholarly commentators on the intellectual and religious lives of these Lancashire churches in the eighteenth century was lost. Other denominational historians filled in gaps; perhaps the most notable are the Rev. Dr. Herbert McLachlan, Principal of the Unitarian College, Manchester, and Lecturer in Hellenistic Greek at the University of Manchester and the Rev. H. John McLachlan, his son, both editors in their time of the

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<sup>22</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Halley, Robert, D. D. (1796-1876)', DNB, 8, pp.933-934.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, History of the Old Independent Chapel, Tockholes, Near Blackburn. (Manchester, 1886). *passim*. LN, Vol.2, pp. 194, 228; Vol.3, 146, 170; Vol.5, p.260.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, the latter retiring in 1987.<sup>24</sup> But with few notable exceptions, one cannot help thinking that the preoccupations of subsequent Unitarian historians has in the main been with 'family history', asking how and why Protestant Dissenters became Unitarians rather than how and why many Protestant Dissenters did not become Unitarians.<sup>25</sup> In this, their claims to understand early Protestant Dissent remains flawed.

The perspective of contemporary academic historians has also all too often been focused on Puritanism, on the revolutionary (or un-revolutionary) decades of the seventeenth century and whilst an understanding of the religious and intellectual lives of Puritans in these decades is crucial for what follows on, the Glorious Revolution seems to have become an intellectual iron curtain beyond which these religious communities withered into obscurity. I cannot but agree with John Morrill that Christopher Hill has done much to break 'religious' history and especially the history of religious ideas, free from 'denominational' history.<sup>26</sup> But Hill seldom goes beyond the Restoration period and the 'experience of defeat', with Bunyan and Milton pulling the temple of the Dissenting mind down around their ears. Only Geoffry Nuttall has done work which prefigured Hill's interplay of ideas and contexts and only Nuttall has extended the approach to the religious life of Protestant Dissent in the early eighteenth century. After the passing of the Toleration Act the focus shifts. Much historical effort has been expended on examining the Dissenters as political constituents and thinkers. This has often consisted of little more than repeating the Whig historical verities of eighteenth century Dissenting historians of Commonwealthman or Radical persuasions. Only recently have historians got away from the notion that reforming and radical politics was the preserve of the theologically heterodox dissenters, that the broad mass of averagely orthodox dissenters were politically quiescent. This is discussed in some detail in Chapter Three but I would single out here the work of James E. Bradley, in Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth Century Politics and Society, (Cambridge, 1990), who presents a far more detailed picture of the political

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<sup>24</sup> H. McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, (Manchester, 1950), consists of a range of essays which fill in many biographical gaps. H. McLachlan, The Unitarian College Library. Its History, Contents and Character, (Printed for Private Circulation, Manchester, 1939) gives some idea of the riches now residing in a large warehouse at the University of Manchester. Alan Ruston, (ed.), 'Festschrift in Honour of Rev. Dr. H. J. McLachlan', TUHS, Vol.19, No.2, April, 1988, pp.61-135.

<sup>25</sup> A notable exception is Jeremy Goring, 'Unitarianism: History, Myth or Make-believe?', TUHS, Vol.19, No.4, April, 1990, pp. 213-227, in which he argues that an ideological approach to Unitarian history has constrained even a limited historical self understanding.

<sup>26</sup> John Morrill, 'Review Article: Christopher Hill's Revolution', History, 1994, pp. 243-252.



complexion of the Body of Dissent.<sup>27</sup> With regards the internal lives of these churches, certainly for the period 1690-1750, there is a dearth of historical commentary. Certainly there is nothing to compare with the vast literature and debate on the intellectual and religious developments in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of colonial New England in the first half of the eighteenth century. No historical work comes remotely close to efforts like Harry S. Stout's The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England (Oxford, 1986), which represents nine years work reading over 2,000 sermons on all aspects of the religious life of New England.

It is a central contention of this thesis that we cannot understand English Protestant Dissent without understanding its relation to the other nations of the Union and the shared culture of the trans-Atlantic world, redressing the balance of nationalistic historiography. In this thesis I have not been able to deliver a proper assessment of the influences of Irish and Welsh Dissent in the development of evangelical Congregationalism in the region, or of the role of the Baptist churches of the north-west in sustaining orthodox pietism and accommodating Calvinist theology to evangelical necessity. I am aware of the gap this leaves in our understanding of these churches and will attempt to outline some of these areas in my conclusion. I have attempted to access the insights of recent historians who have looked in more detail at the continuity and diversity of orthodox pietism within a British and trans-Atlantic context, who have not assumed that the evangelical revival was a providential revival but the continuation of a painstaking practice of piety and preaching. John Walsh has done much to make us realise the shared practice of piety and reform between the spirituals in the church of England and English Dissent, essential to our understanding of the environment out of which Methodism grew, unrestrained as it was by the strictures of the Toleration Act, and has led us to an understanding of the continuity of spiritual and devotional practice across denominational boundaries.<sup>28</sup> Others have made us aware of the international culture of revival, common in what

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<sup>27</sup> Reviewed by Jan Albers in Albion, 23, 4, Winter, 1991, pp.755-756 and Kathleen Wilson, 'Whiggery Assailed and Triumphant: Popular Radicalisms in Hanoverian England', Review Article, Journal of British Studies, 1995, pp. 118-130.

<sup>28</sup> John Walsh, 'Religious Societies: Methodist and Evangelical, 1738-1800', Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History, Vol. 23, 1986, edited by W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods. John Walsh, 'Elie Halevy and the Birth of Methodism', Royal Historical Society Transactions, 5th series, Vol. 25, 1975, pp. 1-20. Craig Rose, Providence, Protestant Union and Godly Reformation in the 1690s', Royal Historical Society Transactions, 6th series, Vol. 3, 1993, pp. 151-169. John Walsh, 'Methodism' and the Origins of English Speaking Evangelicalism', in Evangelicalism. Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990, edited by Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk, (Oxford, 1994), pp. 19-37. John

might be termed the Celtic fringe and the settlement frontier.<sup>29</sup> I would single out here Leigh Eric Schmidt, Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period, (Princeton, 1989) as perhaps the best exposition of revival culture in its Scottish and Irish context. It will be an aim of this thesis to see whether the communion season and associated revival culture had any affect on the religious life of Cumberland and contributed to the survival and revival of orthodox pietism. Others, such as Susan O'Brien and David D. Hall have contributed to our understanding of shared print culture that did so much to form evangelical consensus.<sup>30</sup> W. R. Ward's The Protestant Evangelical Awakening, (Cambridge, 1992) has made available for the first time an analysis of the sheer scope and inter-connectedness of evangelical pietistic elements throughout Europe and the trans-Atlantic world. It has been exciting over the course of producing this thesis to see the emergence of more works which attempt to understand in more detail the social components of British religious history. Perhaps the two most worthy of note are Phil Kilroy's Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714, (Cork University Press, 1994) and under Margaret Spufford's editorship, The World of the Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725, (Cambridge, 1995). The latter work attempts to get at some of the most intractable questions for the social historian of religion: the social and economic status of rural Dissenters, the role of occupation in predisposing individuals and communities to dissent, the extent to which the Dissenting community was endogamous and the nature and role of shared print culture. This book's focus on the structure and practice of rural Dissent is a much needed corrective to a traditional focus on urban chapels and the 'urban myths' metropolitan and urban chapel culture told about its past. An emphasis on the rural chapels of the region will be made in this thesis. But I have to agree with Patrick Collinson in his 'Critical

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Spurr, 'The Church, the societies and the moral revolution of 1688', in The Church of England c. 1689-1833: from toleration to Tractarianism, edited by John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, pp. 127-142. Eamon Duffy, 'Primitive Christianity revived: religious renewal in Augustan England', Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History: Studies in Church History, Vol. 14, 1977, pp. 287-300.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance Michael J. Crawford, Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in its British Context, (New York, 1991) and Marilyn J. Westerkamp, Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, (New York, 1988). For a bibliographical appraisal of recent developments in this area see the introduction to Evangelicalism, (1994), edited by Noll, Bebbington and Rawlyk.

<sup>30</sup> Susan [Durden] O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Networks, 1735-1755', American Historical Review, 91, October, 1986, pp. 811-832. David D. Hall, Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement. Popular Belief in Early New England, (Harvard, 1990).



Conclusion' to Spufford's volume that the focus is on sectarian dissent to the exclusion of 'moderate' dissent:

The authors, perhaps unconsciously following the rights of way laid down by the denominational historians, and located as they mostly are in the periods before the mainstream Reformation or after it, seem to think mainly in terms of a radical and separatist dissent. Presbyterians and Independents, let alone those many puritans who were neither, scarcely get a look in. This is strangely at odds with what Plumb, Marsh, and Stevenson have discovered about those rather consistent habits of external integration, semi-conformity, and semi-separatism. In the cases of the Baptists and Quakers, these strategies were combined with strict ecclesiastical separation. But with Presbyterians and Independents, not to speak of those many 'Old English Puritans' who resist such labelling, they point to a kind of religious voluntarism which contrived to remain in some sense and degree within the religious establishment.<sup>31</sup>

This thesis is exactly about those English Protestant Dissenters who maintained this ambivalent attitude to the Established Church and the development of their religious identity, focusing on the survival of orthodox piety and the role of orthodox Scottish ministers in the development of a more distinctly denominational identity.

It will be my contention in this thesis that, whilst Scottish ministers play pivotal roles in ministries, education and the writing of Nonconformist history in the region, it is not the Scottishness of their churchmanship which is central to their importance but their shared culture of British Evangelical religion. This requires some explanation. Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers did dominate the Protestant Dissenting churches of Cumberland in the period of this study and, unquestionably, specifically Scottish church issues were fought out on English soil. These churches, however, were isolated and they began to explore the possibility of establishing denominational structures in England only towards the very end of the period of this study. The Scottish Presbyterian voluntarist churches in Cumberland, mainly the various branches of the Associate Presbytery, had a better established cross-border denominational system and were better suited institutionally to exploit the growth of Scottish immigrant communities in the industrial towns of the north-west but this began only towards the end of the period of this study. When Associate Presbytery ministers came south of the border what they often found was not the distinctness of their church polity but the many

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<sup>31</sup> Margaret Spufford, (ed.), The World of the Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725, (Cambridge, 1995), p.396.

similarities with English Congregational churches, where voluntarism and congregational autonomy, the *raison d'être* of the Associate Presbytery, were shared values. They frequently fitted into English Congregational institutions. What they shared was British voluntarist and emerging evangelical Calvinist traditions. English Congregational devotional literature had been central to the Scottish pietistic Calvinist revival in the Southern Uplands of Scotland in the period 1690-1730, exemplified by Edward Fisher's The Marrow of Modern Divinity, (1646).<sup>32</sup> Its re-issue by orthodox Scottish Calvinists in 1718 signalled the start of the counter-offensive against the Moderates in the General Assembly and the start of the campaign for congregational rights within the Church of Scotland which would lead to the secession of the Associate Presbytery and the Relief Church in the first half of the eighteenth century. Ministers from these churches in Scotland, in exercising their ministries in the English Congregational churches, provided crucial manpower in a time of flux for the English Protestant Dissenting churches. They shared Calvinist standards and the same confession of faith as the basis of their orthodoxy. They shared the same, trans-Atlantic devotional literature. They thrived on the extended epistolary network of the Calvinist International and shared signs of revival and renewal, their exclusivity diminishing in contact with foreign Protestants, their Calvinism modified as the eighteenth century wore on. What is most appreciable then, is the ease with which many Scots entered Congregational churches in England and the difficulty they found in establishing specifically Scottish churches in the north-west. They became central to the survival of orthodox Reformed churchmanship in the region and the provision of ministerial education. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

With this shared intellectual heritage, pinpointing anything specifically Scottish becomes problematic and we are left with ascribing to Scottish ministers a particular tone, a tendency to pulpit oratory and an irascible temperament, as many contemporaries did, to mark them out as different. The question here is how far did the Scottishness of ministers outlined in this study and their propagation of specifically Scottish ecclesiological and theological ideas, make them different from their English counterparts and how did it materially alter English regional Congregationalism? We have to be very careful here not to ascribe to national identity more explanatory power than it can

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<sup>32</sup> The best exposition of the influence of English Puritan devotional literature on south-west Scotland and the 'Marrow Controversy' is to be found in Peter Brooke, Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970, (New York, 1987), pp.95-100.



carry. There are some areas though, where they may have significantly influenced the emphasis of English Congregationalism. Scottish ministers brought with them a different Reformation historiography, altogether more sectarian and anti-Catholic than its English counterpart and given contemporary significance by the huge problems experienced with the established church in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Church of Scotland was demonstrably failing many of its parishes in Scotland and as a consequence the validity of church establishments was called into question. Ulster Presbyterians maintained that the establishment principle, often based on a majority rule argument, could logically be employed to justify the establishment of Catholicism in Ireland. Presbyterian churches in the Middle Colonies of America could point to the fact that their voluntary status had given them the freedom to proselytise that had erupted in the Second Great Awakening, whilst at home the Church of Scotland closed its pulpits to itinerant evangelists and the British government made concessions to the Catholics of the British Isles. The debate over the survival of the Reformation thus emerged earlier in Scotland than in England and it is the contention of this thesis that the presence of Scottish ministers in English Congregationalism served to heighten English Nonconformity's sense of British Calvinism and international Protestantism and by importing other, more sectarian historical models of Protestantism under threat, augmented and re-invigorated the dissident tradition in English orthodox Protestant Dissent. In a sense, most of the developments one can point to along this line fall outside the period of this study but I will briefly refer to some of them in the conclusion.

Given the nature of the available sources it seemed reasonable to focus on the ministry and examine institutional and intellectual developments in their training and recruitment and to ask questions about how this change the nature of the churches. One of the clearest areas that could be highlighted was the presence of ministers of different nationalities within the ministry of these churches. Various commentators such as Nightingale, Halley, Sell and Ward had noted, anecdotally and almost in passing, the presence of Scottish ministers within these churches and ascribed to them an influential role in the development of these churches in the north-west. I therefore set out to quantify their numbers before attempting to assess their impact, constructing a biographical data-base of all ministers within Congregational churches. Information was taken from county denominational histories, the Surman Index at Dr Williams's Library, contemporary evangelical publications and

other primary and secondary sources that will appear in the footnotes. I have compiled a complete list of ministers in the Protestant Dissenting churches of Cumberland and Westmorland for the period 1689-1829, and a complete list of the ministers in the Congregational churches of Lancashire for the period 1770-1829. Though it does not form part of this thesis, the database for Lancashire is complete up until 1890, providing the basis for a forthcoming article on developments within the Congregational ministry for the period 1830-1890. Broken down by decade, this information will be analysed and its implications drawn out in Chapters Four and Five. I have also attempted to ascertain the numbers of congregations and adherents to better gauge the constituency in which ministers functioned. These come from denominational surveys, Quarter Session registrations under the Toleration Act, Episcopal visitation returns and various government religious census. These are used critically and their validity discussed in the body of the text.

In Chapter Two - *Protestant Dissent in Lancashire and the North-West, 1689-c.1750: The Growth of Rational Dissent and the Decline and Division of 'the Body of Dissent'* - I attempt to explain why a large constituency within English Protestant Dissent created an identity for itself which championed liberty and reason. Its attempt to rationalise Reformation theodicy led to speculation, modification and denial of aspects of orthodox Protestantism, placing them outside a Trinitarian consensus. To explain this intellectual development I have emphasised how legal constraints and socio-economic developments enhanced traditional Puritan tendencies. Stress has been placed on the desire for a learned ministry, the growth of educational establishments and the intimate links between English Protestant Dissent and the Scottish universities. This process of the embourgeoisement of endogamous chapel communities and the rationalisation of belief has been characterised as a dominant process within Protestant Dissent in the eighteenth century; this was not least because Whig historiography and the denominational and church history written by historians in the rational tradition has ignored the survival of orthodox piety within English Protestant Dissent. In stressing the continuity of the development from Presbyterian to Unitarian, with the retention of institutions and chapel property, orthodox elements have been marginalised. Denominational historians in the orthodox tradition have similarly underplayed the survival of orthodox piety, 1689-1750, relying on providential renewal to explain the revival of orthodox Congregationalism in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Most have not sought to look beyond the role of Methodism in creating the

dominant evangelical ethos, and of Calvinistic Methodism in particular in providing training, ministers and a modified theology to which a re-vivified Congregationalism could adhere. In the next chapter, by looking at the figures for the numbers of chapels in the 'orthodox' and 'Presbyterian/Unitarian' tradition in Lancashire in the eighteenth century, I hope to provide a statistical basis for arguing that the 'growth of heterodoxy' within Protestant Dissent was an urban phenomenon, and that the survival of orthodox expressions of piety in the rural chapels of the north-west has been underestimated.

Chapter Three- *Desiccation and Decline: Piety and Renewal. Protestant Dissent in Lancashire, 1689-1800* - has two main purposes. The first is to outline the numerical decline and institutional decay experienced by Protestant Dissent: the loss of inclusive institutions such as the county associations and academies, stemming from the increasing tendency of groups with hostile theologies to separate and construct distinct denominational identities and institutions, and the demographic decline within both traditions. The same will be attempted for the Protestant Dissenting churches of Cumberland and Westmorland in Chapter Four. The second is to assess the validity of the statistical information available on Reformed churches in Lancashire, and then to present it in an accessible form with suitable analysis.

The old Protestant Dissenting congregations founded in the period 1689-1749 are identified. The problem of their denominational identity is addressed. This section then looks at the tradition these churches enter, whether 'Presbyterian/Unitarian' or 'Orthodox/Congregational'. The findings, that 23% of the old Protestant Dissenting churches in Lancashire remained orthodox and aligned themselves with the new regional evangelical and national Congregational institutions in the later eighteenth century, should act as a corrective to the dominant historiography outlined in Chapter Two, contributing to the historiographical debate over whether the English Presbyterian churches became Unitarian. Traditionally, 'denomination' has been singled out as the critical factor determining the nature of developments within the church. Orthodox piety survived in the rural chapels; the growth of heterodoxy was a feature of the urban chapels. This suggests that socio-economic indicators are of far more use in explaining the nature of ecclesiology and doctrine that congregations were willing to accept. I will also make the case that the nature of property ownership through trusts is of crucial importance in understanding these developments. In the next part of the



chapter I look at the period c.1750-1800 and examine the institutional growth in the by-now distinct traditions, and the degree to which denominational growth was urbanised. It is clear from these results that the 'Presbyterian/Unitarian' tradition was stagnant, the 'Orthodox/Congregational' expanding vigorously, matching the Unitarian tradition in a vigorous programme of church building towards the end of the century. Tables with decennial change in the numbers of churches are incorporated in Appendix D.

These churches are looked at in more detail. In particular the rural Protestant Dissenting churches in north Lancashire are examined for the period 1690-1750. The nature of religious practice, for instance the seasonality of religious expression in catechising and administering the Lords Supper, the use of orthodox creeds and psalmody, and the national origins of the ministry in the period 1689-1750 are given particular attention. The importance of these surviving orthodox congregations as bases for missionary efforts into the industrialising towns of the north in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is indicated. Most importantly, I have identified a group of ministers in the north of Lancashire who, whilst Presbyterians, began to form alternative forms of association and funding to maintain evangelical and Calvinist orthodoxy in the rural chapels of north Lancashire. A case is made that their links were far stronger with the orthodox ministers and churches in Yorkshire than with the large urban congregations of south Lancashire. Their evangelical concerns meant they co-operated with Baptists, Scots Presbyterians and Calvinistic Methodists in the 1740s, building alternatives to the county associations. The roots of the identity of the evangelical Congregational churches of the second half of the eighteenth century are to be found in this diversity.

The first section of Chapter Four- *Cumberland and Westmorland: the Survival of Popular Orthodoxy and the Dominance of the Scottish Ministry, 1689-1829* - covers division and decline within Protestant Dissent in these counties. 1689-1750, forming the basis for an understanding of why Scotland was turned to for a supply of ministers. It is supported by tables and appendices, with biographical information on individual ministers and tabular information on the size of congregations. I will detail the extent to which Scottish ministers dominated Protestant Dissent here, making the case that English Protestant Dissent would have dwindled and disappeared without a supply of Scottish ministers. An emphasis will be placed on outlining the peculiarly fractured nature of the religious composition of these counties. With the development of expatriate Scottish

communities after 1707, the divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism become replicated within Cumberland. Combined with geographical remoteness, individual congregations existed to an even greater degree than those in Lancashire in complete isolation. It will attempt to explain why c.1780 the reliance on the Church of Scotland was superseded by the Associate Presbytery Churches, and the implications of that shift. It will also examine the role of these counties in the step-wise migration of ministers into Lancashire. The evidence presented, that virtually all of the old Protestant Dissenting chapels remained orthodox and that growth in the second half of the eighteenth century was dominated by the orthodox churches, adds weight to the previous arguments for the continuity of rural, orthodox piety.

Emphasis will be placed on the legal position of these ministers in England and outlining how entering a different church tradition might alter distinctly Scottish views, and how Scottish views on theology, Reformation history and ecclesiology might alter the outlook of the English churches. For instance, what was the legal position of the licentiate of the Church of Scotland, a member of the established church, when he ministered in a Dissenting congregation in England? Where Church of Scotland ministers dominate the ministry, as in Cumberland in the period 1730-1780, views of the Protestant Dissenting body based on English generalisations are invalid. The dominance of Cumberland Dissent by the General Associate (Anti-Burgher) Presbytery after 1780 sees the promotion of disestablishment and virulent anti-Catholicism being preached on English soil a good forty years before it is generally accepted to have become a shibboleth within English Dissent.

In Chapter Five - *The Role of the Scottish Ministry in the Revival of Evangelical Congregationalism in Lancashire, 1770-1829* - using the biographical data collected on the Congregational ministry 1770-1829, I attempt to quantify the national composition and type of training amongst the ministry. I attempt to quantify the number of Scottish trained Heckmondwick students ministering in Lancashire, the number of Calvinistic Methodists, the number of Scottish Independents and so on. It will test the assumption that in the period 1750-1789 it was Calvinistic Methodism that provided the manpower behind the revival in Congregationalism. This period witnesses the most secessions from the old Protestant Dissenting churches to form orthodox Congregational churches. By 1800 they had matched the Unitarians who controlled most of the old chapels, by 1830 they had surpassed them in a massive church building campaign. The years 1789-

1830 also see the growth of Congregational denominational structures which mark a significant break with the past.

The chapter also explains the growth of orthodox Trinitarian Presbyterian churches amongst Scottish immigrant communities in Lancashire, which will complement the findings in Chapter Four. Mainly in Liverpool and to a lesser extent in Manchester, these churches again began an aggressive expansion campaign in the period 1789-1830, even wresting four old Protestant Dissenting chapels from the Unitarians in the 1830s. Their relationship and influence with the Congregational church will be outlined. As the tension between two conceptions of the Presbyterian church's identity emerge, whether to be the church of the Scottish immigrant community in England, or an English Presbyterian church, I want to focus on the emergent voluntarist identity. English Presbyterianism's disillusionment with the Church of Scotland led it to throw in its lot with the Free Church in 1843. Its concerns for the Reformation and Protestant union meant it supported the Evangelical Alliance. Both of these groupings were areas where pan-Protestant energies were tinged with anti-Catholicism. What emerges immediately after the period of this study is a constituency of churches in Lancashire and the north-west, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, which saw themselves as engaging in the promotion of the politics of the British Reformation.



## **Chapter Two-Protestant Dissent in Lancashire and the North-West, c. 1689-1750: The Growth of Rational Dissent and the Decline and Division of 'the Body of Dissent'.**

### **Toleration.**

The Toleration Act of 1689 provided the legislative framework that destroyed the seventeenth-century Puritan vision of a unified, fully reformed English church, transforming dissenters into a second-class sub-community. Its ramifications would lead to a numerical decline in the eighteenth-century, exacerbated by deepening theological fault lines. Fundamental to our understanding of nonconformity and nonconformity's understanding of itself is that the passing of the Toleration Act did not represent the victory of the principle of toleration. 'The victory of toleration was normally a victory of expediency over principle'<sup>1</sup> and it was very much so in this instance:

Toleration, in short, was in its realisation less the fulfilment of a tendency towards cultural rationalism than the product of deep-rooted fears and prejudices directed against Catholicism which, momentarily, produced a political alliance between Anglicans and dissenters in their common struggle against James II's attempt to reclaim the throne following the Glorious Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

This temporary alliance soon crumbled and much of the subsequent history of dissent is concerned with the attempts of nonconformists to establish the principle of toleration and then by extension to achieve an equality before the state with the established Church of England from which they had been excluded.

### **Comprehension and Toleration, 1660-1689.**

Up until 1689 there was still some chance that moderate Nonconformists could be comprehended within the Restoration Church. The biggest obstacle to this was the power of High Church Anglicans in Parliament who championed a broad-based, popular reaction against the sectarian excesses of the Civil War period.<sup>3</sup> In the Nonconformists' favour Charles II had committed himself to a measure of

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<sup>1</sup> C. Russell, Arguments for Religious Unity in England, 1530-1650, in Unrevolutionary England, 1603-1642, (Hambledon Press, 1990), p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Ashcraft, Latitudinarianism and Toleration: Historical Myth versus Political History, in R. Kroll, R. Ashcraft and P. Zagorin (eds), Philosophy, Science, Religion in England, 1640-1700, (Cambridge U.P., 1992).

<sup>3</sup> Tim Harris, Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715, (1993), pp. 42-44.

toleration in the Declaration of Breda and to comprehension for Presbyterians in the Worcester House Agreement of the 25th of October 1660. Many Presbyterians therefore welcomed the Restoration but their hopes soon evaporated during a hostile Parliament. It must be stressed again here that the willingness to listen to tolerationist arguments historically has often been proportional to the difficulty of suppressing dissenters, and in the years 1660-88 suppressing dissent proved all too easy.<sup>4</sup>

The religious settlement of the Cavalier Parliament was a victory for the High Church Anglicans and a blow against comprehension. The Act of Uniformity and the subsequent penal legislation dubbed 'The Clarendon Code' initiated a period of intense persecution for Dissenters.<sup>5</sup> Against this background negotiations to comprehend sober Nonconformists still went ahead but increasingly it became clear that the putative unity of the English Church would have to be abandoned. Negotiations stuck on the Presbyterian demand for a legislated revision of the Act of Uniformity. Recent commentators have stressed that, on the other side of the debate, the 'policy of comprehension advanced by Anglicans functioned as part of an attempt to defeat the policy of toleration, while legitimating the prosecution of religious dissent'.<sup>6</sup> In other words, prise the Independents from the Presbyterians and treat the former as sectaries, outside the church and proscribed by law. The Presbyterians, having co-operated with the Independents at the local level since the breakdown of the Presbyterian Classical system in the late 1640s, grew increasingly unwilling to abandon the Independents by accepting comprehension without toleration for those who would remain outside Anglicanism.

Bills for comprehension and indulgence were presented steadily throughout the Restoration period<sup>7</sup> and foundered on what recent historians have characterised as the almost total opposition within the Church to the principle of toleration, even amongst those traditionally ascribed with rationalizing tendencies, the Anglican Latitudinarians. In fact 'Latitudinarianism is not a moderate middle ground between contending extremes; it is rather, part of one of the extremes. It is the

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<sup>4</sup> G. F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick, (eds), From Uniformity to Unity, (1962), p.9.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Watts, The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution, (Oxford, Clarendon 1978), pp.221-262.

<sup>6</sup> Ashcraft, 'Latitudinarianism and Toleration', p.154. See Mark Goldie, 'The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England', in O. Grell, J. L. Israel and N. Tyacke, (eds), From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England, (Oxford, Clarendon 1991), pp.331-369.

<sup>7</sup> Spurr, 'The Church of England', pp.931-941.

acceptable face of the persecution of religious dissent'.<sup>8</sup> In this atmosphere of intransigence on both sides, the best chance of a settlement was missed with the introduction by the Earl of Nottingham of two bills, one for comprehension, one for toleration on the 27th of February 1689. The first provided generous terms by which Dissenters could be admitted to the Church of England, the second a limited toleration. The High Church party threw out the Comprehension measure and would not accede to William's suggestion of repealing the Test and Corporation Acts. Only the Toleration bill passed into law. The Toleration Act, designed to suppress sectaries, now became the legislative vehicle for dealing with all Nonconformists, perhaps over half a million sober and responsible subjects.<sup>9</sup> Dissenters were still to suffer under the penalties of the Test and Corporation Acts, though they were exempted from other penal legislation if they took new oaths of allegiance, submitted to most of the Thirty Nine Articles and conducted themselves as good subjects, meeting in unlocked buildings that were registered with the local bishop or justice of the peace, paying their tithes and so on.<sup>10</sup> With the refusal of Convocation in the autumn of 1689 to accept any more measures for comprehension, Nonconformists found themselves under a settlement that excluded them from the Church, from civil and military office, from local corporation office. Recent research by Bradley has questioned the efficacy of remaining penal legislation, marshalling impressive evidence of avoidance of the strictures of the Corporation Act through occasional conformity<sup>11</sup> and submitting to religious tests to obtain government positions<sup>12</sup> and he suggests that there was a general contentment among the Dissenters with Toleration and its operation; agitation against the Test and Corporation Acts was not begun by the Protestant Dissenting Deputies until 1732.<sup>13</sup> But if Toleration worked through compromise on the ground it was not fully enshrined in principle and those who remained Nonconformists were adamant about religious principle. That many were doctrinally and theologically compatible with Anglicans is confirmed by their willingness to affirm and consent to most of the Articles. What had fundamentally changed was the Nonconformists' notions of church unity and authority.

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<sup>8</sup> Ashcraft, 'Latitudinarianism and Toleration', p.155.

<sup>9</sup> G. V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in G. Holmes (ed.), Britain After the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714, (1969), pp.161-2.

<sup>10</sup> James E. Bradley, Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth Century Politics and Society, (Cambridge, 1990), pp.51-2.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, pp.69-80.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, pp.80-84.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p.59. Bernard Manning and O. Greenwood, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies, (Cambridge, 1952) pp.19-33.



High Church Anglicans were still promoting notions of church unity almost as old as Christendom, that religious unity (they meant uniformity) was the basis of civil government and the state, that all civil and religious authority had its basis in religion. Thus 'while a toleration would "establish a schism by law" a comprehension "would introduce a schism into the very bowels of the church and lay a foundation for perpetual feuds" '.<sup>14</sup> Anglican Latitudinarians would argue not that religious unity was unnecessary but that the differences were over inessentials (rites, ceremonies) and that on essentials of faith there could be agreement.<sup>15</sup> But Nonconformists were drawing on the Puritan traditions of seeking authority in scripture and not in church traditions. There was a New Testament blueprint for the Church containing what was essential for it; 'only acts directly and explicitly commanded by God deserved the name of worship and that all others devised by men were not merely will-worship, but idolatry'.<sup>16</sup> Issues of church government that Latitudinarians labelled 'inessentials' were in fact fundamental.

Moderate Nonconformists increasingly came to realise there was to be no room for their fundamental principles within the Church of England. 'The weight of moderate nonconformist opinion was shifting reluctantly, but with noticeable acceleration after 1672, away from the ideal of an inclusive national church towards an acceptance of sectarian status'.<sup>17</sup> In this the Presbyterian moderates were following the path taken previously by the separatists, Independents and other gathered churches, a choice forced on Presbyterians to a certain extent by their links with Independents at the local level, forged in a common experience of persecution. With the passing of the Toleration Act a large element who saw their role as reforming the English Church were excluded from it. As Conrad Russell has characterised it, the Toleration Act witnessed the final separation of the two churches that had been struggling to get out of the Church of England.<sup>18</sup>

Thus in 1689 Nonconformists were left with a problem of identity outside a unified, reformed English Church. The sense of loss was greatest amongst the Presbyterians. They had to abandon their traditional desire for an instauration of the English church through the perfecting of discipline

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<sup>14</sup> Spurr, 'The Church of England', pp.941-2, quoting John Evans, Moderation Stated (London, 1682), pp.47-8. John Spurr, The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1688, (Yale, 1991), passim, for the extent to which unity became a defining rationale for Restoration Anglicans of all hues.

<sup>15</sup> Russell, 'Arguments for Religious Unity', p.189.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p.190.

<sup>17</sup> Spurr, 'The Church of England', pp.944-5.

<sup>18</sup> Conrad Russell, The Causes of the English Civil War, (Oxford, 1992), p.82.

and accommodated themselves to the alternative Separatist conception of the church as the gathered church to which only confessing believers could be admitted to membership.<sup>19</sup> But they had come a long way towards abandoning their traditional ecclesiology, forging a common identity with the Independents. This had much to do with their having to labour under the same legal strictures c.1660-1689, a position that was further formalised by the Toleration Act, as we shall see. It is to a brief overview of the forging of a common Protestant Dissenting identity which found its authority outside of the traditional, visible, established church that I want to turn to next.

### **The Forging of a Common Protestant Dissenting Identity Before 1689: Lancashire and the North West.**

That Presbyterians and Independents should find common cause at all is one of the stranger turns of fate. Their ecclesiological principles, though not their theology, had been a point of bitter division in the first half of the seventeenth century. Both claimed scriptural sanction for their churchmanship. Presbyterians claimed that a hierarchy of church courts, rule by presbyters containing an eldership and an equality of ministers was the scriptural form of the church and that this should be implemented within the parochial system. The Independents claimed that only gathered churches of visible saints accepting no external oversight of the congregation was the true church form. The polemics raged fiercest in the early 1640s when the future and nature of the English Church was fought over.

Apart from London, Presbyterianism was probably nowhere better established than in Lancashire in the mid-1640s, the county being divided into nine Classical districts by the Ordinance of the 2nd of October, 1646.<sup>20</sup> The Presbyterian ascendancy was, however, short lived:

The prestige of Presbyterianism was fatally undermined by the alliance between Charles I and the Scots which ushered in the Second Civil War in May, 1648, and the defeat of the Scots in Preston in August ensured that, though legislation establishing Presbyterianism would remain on the statute book until 1660, it would never be fully implemented.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Watts, p.57.

<sup>20</sup> This has something to do with the continuity of Puritanism in Lancashire from the Presbyterian movement of the 1590s, which was suppressed by Archbishop Whitgift; see R. C. Richardson, Puritanism in North-West England, (Manchester, 1972), p.67.

<sup>21</sup> Watts, p.219.

Shorn of its power by the Ordinance of Toleration of September 1650, Presbyterianism gave way to an Independent ascendancy that was soon to crumble with the fall of the Barebones Parliament (1653-4). After this, both the Presbyterians and the Independents found themselves somewhat out in the cold, struggling to make their theories of churchmanship work within the ill defined Protectorate parochial system.

At the regional and local level, adherence to denominationally distinct ecclesiology was giving way to a spirit of co-operation, driven by the common abiding commitment to reform the Church. After Thomas Jolly's arrival at Altham, Lancashire, parish church in September 1649, the godly of the parish were keen to 'establish good order', 'but found themselves much at a loss what to do, because of some unhappy differences betwixt the Presbyterian and Congregational parties'.<sup>22</sup> They decided to lay aside denominational labels, though the church undoubtedly became Congregational in polity, in the early 1650s even wondering whether it was allowable for a Congregational church to extend 'the right hand of friendship' to the neighbouring gathered church at Walmsley.<sup>23</sup> Complete congregational Independency was, however, impossible to maintain and the benefits of co-operation very soon began to impress themselves on the Altham church. Walmsley and Altham were practising intercommunion together by 1653 and Jolly had begun working for a wider union of Congregational churches in the north on the lines of Richard Baxter's Worcestershire Association of 1653.<sup>24</sup> At some point between 1656 and 1658 Jolly 'Met with other ministers and brethren 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'.<sup>25</sup> This conference issued the Declaration of the Sense of the Associated Congregational Churches in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, published at Sheffield in September 1658<sup>26</sup> just before Jolly represented these churches at the Savoy Conference of Congregational churches in London, beginning on the 29th of September, 1658. The Savoy Declaration 'agreed upon and consented to' on

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<sup>22</sup> Henry Fishwick, (ed.), The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A.D. 1671-1693: Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses A.D. 1649-1725,....., (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol.33, ns, 1894), p.120.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p.124.

<sup>24</sup> Watts, p.291.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p. 129.

<sup>26</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Assembly and Association in Dissent, 1689-1831', in G. J. Cumming and L. C. D. Baker, (eds) Councils and Assemblies: Studies in Church History, 7, 1971, p. 302. DWL. MSS. 12.78.1.



October the 10th consisted of a lengthy justificatory preface, a confession of faith and a platform of discipline. The Confession of Faith differed in only a few particulars from the Presbyterian Westminster Confession but those differences are crucial to our understanding of future developments. The preface makes clear that in theology it was evident 'how little we differ in these things from our Presbyterian brethren'.<sup>27</sup> But the parts of the Confession dealing with church order differ substantially. The Congregationalists insisted that God had delegated authority to particular churches, not synods and that church membership could be restricted to the elect, 'Visible Saints'. Presbyterians believed that the elect could not be identified with any certainty and that the earthly church contained an unknown admixture of the regenerate and the damned.<sup>28</sup>

What we have here is one of the seeming paradoxes that should make us bear in mind Christopher Hill's cautionary note on dealing with denominational terms in the seventeenth century, that 'the words Presbyterian and Independent are productive of a great deal of confusion'.<sup>29</sup> The Savoy Conference was a national gathering of Congregational churches hammering out polity and order from the mass of functioning gathered churches. We should be wary of accepting the theory that the Independents advanced at the time, that 'the generality of our churches have been....like so many ships....launched singly, and sailing apart and alone in the vast ocean of these tumulting times'.<sup>30</sup> Congregationalists have always faced the growth of denominational consciousness and structures with protestations of congregational sovereignty. Watts claims that some historians<sup>31</sup> have mistaken the willingness to subsume denominational labels with a lack of a denominational sense, or a willingness to abandon denominational identity. He argues for the strength of the Congregational polity and identity in the flux of Interregnum churchmanship:

Those Congregational church records which have survived from the Interregnum reveal a complicated nexus of ties by which Independent churches exchanged advice on, and gave approbation to, the drawing up of church covenants, practised intercommunion and gave and received the right hand of fellowship, sent

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<sup>27</sup> A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and Practiced in the Congregational Churches in England.... (London, 1659), in P. D. Schaff, The Creeds of the Protestant Churches, with Translations, (Hodder and Stoughton, 1877) pp. 707-729.

<sup>28</sup> Watts, p.169.

<sup>29</sup> C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, (1964), p.15.

<sup>30</sup> A. G. Matthews, (ed.), The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, (1959), p.60.

<sup>31</sup> Christopher Hill, 'History and Denominational History', Baptist Quarterly, 22, 1967-8, pp.66-8; Claire Cross, 'The Church in England', in G. E. Aylmer, (ed.), The Interregnum, (1972), pp.118-19.

representatives to each others churches on the ordination of pastors, and transferred members from one church to another .<sup>32</sup>

In fact these Congregational churches were not thrashing around blindly in some denominational pre-history in this period but were 'inheritors of an ecclesiastical system which had been tried and developed in the Netherlands and in New England'.<sup>33</sup> The fact was that in the flux of the Interregnum, Independency worked and Presbyterianism, shorn of its legal enforcement, failed. Independency was drawing on far stronger English traditions. Collinson has argued that after Whitgift had harried the Presbyterian movement and James I had flatly rejected the Presbyterian system at the Hampton Court meeting of 1604, the concept that the gathered church could be reconciled with communion with the established church had a natural appeal to the Puritans.<sup>34</sup> It dominated English Puritan thinking up to 1640 as a method that could be employed to pursue reformation at the parochial level whilst national reformation was out of the question. The Presbyterians were damned for their 'Scottish discipline'; Independency was seen far more as an English development. Unable to enforce the Classical system the Presbyterians became *de facto* Independents. Under the Restoration they were further weakened by their ambivalent relation to the state church and the continual loss of conformists from their ranks.

By the strict definitions of the time then, what existed in Cheshire and in Lancashire by 1650 was not Presbyterianism fully formed. What is quite clear is that on the ground, ecclesiology was still being worked out and that various admixtures of Presbyterian and Congregational practices existed. With such issues unresolved, it is easy to see how the identity of 'Puritan' or 'Protestant Dissenter' was more serviceable than denominational labels. increasingly so for Presbyterians with the discrediting of Scottish discipline. On the basis of this common identity co-operation was begun somewhat later in Lancashire. On the 13th of July, 1659 'nineteen Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were present at a meeting in Manchester, and came to a happy agreement, with particulars'.<sup>35</sup> This

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<sup>32</sup> Watts, p.167.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p.168. For other material detailing the interconnectedness of international Congregationalism, see Francis J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's Friends: The Trans-Atlantic Congregational Network of the Seventeenth Century', Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 94, 1984, part 1, pp.59-96; F. J. Bremer, Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692, (Boston, 1994); William L. Sachse, 'Harvard Men in England, 1642-1714', Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol.35, 1951, pp.119-144.

<sup>34</sup> P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, (1967), p.380.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.130. A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised, Being A Revision of Edmund Calamy's "Account" of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-1662, (Oxford,



agreement was destroyed by Sir George Booth's Rising of August 1659 and the events that were to follow.

The Restoration period is the crucible in which a common Protestant Dissenting identity was forged in adversity, Presbyterians and Congregationalists alike being ejected from their livings under a 1660 Act to return sequestered livings and the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Under such strictures co-operation became increasingly difficult and nonconformists were forced to seek out the quiet corners of the county, at least five miles from their old livings or corporation boroughs under the Five Mile Act (1666) and persecuted for meeting in conventicles under the Conventicle Acts (1664,1670). The repeal of Charles II's Indulgence in March, 1673 marks the watershed of Presbyterian attitudes. Many had taken out licenses rather apologetically in the previous year, protesting that by so doing they were not intending to compete with the established church, that they were not intending to preach during the service at the parish church. Lingering hopes for comprehension remained. The Presbyterian Philip Henry of Malpas, Cheshire,<sup>36</sup> feared that the registration of meeting houses would disturb what he still called 'our parish-order'.<sup>37</sup> Persecution followed repeal in 1673. The last evidence of Congregational association was in 1674 when the Savoy Declaration was adopted by the 'Associated Churches of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire'.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Jolly wrote to Increase Mather in Massachusetts on the 18th of February, 1677/8 that

We kept up our association meetings for some time at two several seasons. viz before the change [ ie 1660 ] and since, but it is now a long while since I could gett a meeting of the churches in these parts .<sup>39</sup>

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Clarendon 1934, 1988), p.Ixix gives the date incorrectly as 1657. See also William A. Shaw, Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-1660, Part Three, Chetham Society, 1891, ns 24, p.400 listing the signatory ministers. Shaw, Manchester Presbyterian Classis, Part One, Chetham Soc., 1890, ns.20; Part Two, 1891, ns.22. Shaw, Minutes of Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657, Part One, Chetham Soc., 1896, ns 36; Part Two, 1898, ns 41. Shaw, Materials for an Account of the Provincial Synod of the County of Lancaster, 1646-1660, (Manchester, 1890). Charles E. Surman, Classical Presbyteries in England, 1643-1660, unpublished Manchester University M.A. dissertation, 1949.

<sup>36</sup> A.Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, (Manchester University Press, 1917), p.15. Matthew Henry, Memoirs of the Life of Philip Henry, (1698); corrected and enlarged by Sir J. B. Williams. (1825), reprinted in The Lives of Philip and Matthew Henry, (Banner of Truth Trust, 1974). Lawrence, Descendants of Philip Henry, (1844). Alexander Gordon, 'Philip Henry (1631-1696)' DNB, 9, pp.575-577.

<sup>37</sup> Lee, Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, (1882), pp.250-1. The Christian Life, 1883, pp.129ff.

<sup>38</sup> Nuttall, 'Assembly and Association', p.302. DWL.MSS.12.78.1.

<sup>39</sup> 'The Mather Papers', Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th Series, 8, p.321.



Persecution atomised dissent in the years that followed, becoming heaviest in the early 1680's and the Tory Reaction. The diaries of Adam Martindale and Oliver Heywood give ample evidence of the sufferings involved.<sup>40</sup>

Formal association and the development of structures that represented Nonconformist identity could not therefore be pursued until 1689 and Toleration. This atomisation left individual churches, congregations and ministers to fend for themselves, further enforcing *de facto* Independency on the Presbyterians.<sup>41</sup> There were some reasons peculiar to Lancashire however that enabled Nonconformity to survive even the most intense persecution until respite came in the late 1680s. Chief amongst these reasons was that Lancashire Nonconformists managed to retain the use of many of the unendowed chapels that differentiated Lancashire from so many other counties.<sup>42</sup> Nonconformists were technically ejected from them but except under the most intense persecution 'the Nonconformists were allowed to use the chapels, principally because they were so valueless that clergymen could not be found to take them'.<sup>43</sup> Adam Martindale, ejected from his Cheshire vicarage and living in Manchester

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<sup>40</sup> Rev. R. Parkinson, (ed.), The Life of Adam Martindale, by Himself, (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol. 4, 1845). J. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), Oliver Heywood's Diaries, etc., 1630-1702, 4 Vols., (Brighouse, 1882). See also Richard Parkinson (ed.), The Autobiography of Henry Newcombe, M.A., 2 Vols, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1852, numbers 26 and 27).

<sup>41</sup> John Waddington, Congregational History, 1567-1700, Vol.2, (1869-1880), pp.615-6 mentions a lay circular from members of the Church of England in 1681 stating 'We find now that the Presbyterians, because they cannot enjoy tithes, are fain to be content with the contributions of their church members, and so they and the Independents are become one fraternity'.

<sup>42</sup> Ernest Axon, 'Nonconformity in Lancashire During the Seventeenth Century', TLCAS, 35, 1918, passim. Axon, 'Ellenbrook Chapel and Its Seventeenth Century Ministers', TLCAS, 36, 1920, pp. i-34. See also Watts, pp.277-279 for a discussion of this phenomenon; 'by 1650 Lancashire had nearly twice as many chapels of ease as it had parish churches.' W. I. Williams, Some Aspects of Non-Conformity in North-West England, 1650-1750, unpublished M.A., University of Wales, Bangor, 1973, pp.30-31 claims that twenty-six chapels of ease were occupied by Dissenters in Lancashire. A. G. Cumberland, 'The Toleration Act of 1689 and Freedom for Protestant Nonconformists', unpublished London Ph.D. Thesis, 1957, pp.139-143. J. G. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, (1868), pp.294-5,320-1. J.K.Walton, Lancashire, A Social History:1558-1939, (Manchester, 1987), p.37. H. Fishwick, (ed.), 'Lancashire and Cheshire Church Surveys, 1649-55', Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, 1. 1879, pp.110-111. C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire, (Cambridge, 1975), pp.31. 66-67. R. C. Richardson, Puritanism in North-West England, (Manchester, 1972), p.3.

<sup>43</sup> H. McLachlan, Warrington Academy: Its History and Influence, (Manchester, Chetham Soc., Vol.107 ns, 1943). For Bishop Stratford's efforts to gain control of the chapels of ease see the Historical Monuments Commission. Kenyon Papers: 713 p.233, 736 p.242, 805 p.271, 808 p.272, 813 p.273/4, 863 p.290, 870 p.291/2, 1022 p.410, 1024 p.411/2, 1033 p.413, 1042 p.417/8, 1043 p.418, 1055 p.422, 1061 p.424, 659 p.212/3, 716 p. 234/5. My thanks to Richard Harrison for these references. P. J. W. Higginson, 'Some Leading Promoters of Nonconformity and their Association with Lancashire Chapelries following the Revolution of 1688; Rivington, Ellenbrook, Coppull, St.Helens and Hindley', Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Vols 75-6. 1965-66, pp.123-163.

was able to preach openly in the Episcopal chapels of Gorton, Birch, Walmsley; Darwen, Cockey and in Bolton and Burnley parishes; indeed around 1671 Bishop John Wilkins of Chester proposed terms whereby Nonconformists could officiate as curates in charge at chapels of ease. This was blocked by the Archbishop of York.<sup>44</sup>

Gentry patronage further ensured Nonconformist survival. Samuel Eaton's Duckinfield church met in Colonel Duckinfield's chapel at Duckinfield Hall and another church was gathered at Chester castle when Duckinfield was military governor there in 1650.<sup>45</sup> The Rev. Christopher Jackson was ejected from his living at Crosby Garrett, Westmorland, but came to preach for Lord Wharton at Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, where a chapel was built for him sometime before 1700.<sup>46</sup> The examples could be multiplied from all over Lancashire. In summary then the point to be made is a well worn one; where the Anglican parochial system was weak and ill served, Dissent flourished. The inadequacies of Restoration and Augustan Anglicanism allowed Lancashire Nonconformists a rare measure of respite. So too would Toleration, after a fashion, but its legal strictures worked in such a way that it initiated a numerical decline in dissent that was not reversed for a century.

#### **The Effects of Toleration: The Common Identity.**

Legal toleration was to do formally what legal persecution had been doing practically for thirty years. forge a common Protestant Dissenting identity. This is largely to do with its being a measure designed for sectaries, containing an emphasis on restricting liberties. In effect what the 1689 legislation did was to legally define dissenters in such a way that the exercise of their religion was

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Not much had changed by 1717. Evans, analysing Bishop Gastrell's visitation returns for the northern deaneries in the Diocese of Chester noted 'One is immediately struck by the paucity of properly beneficed livings. Almost two thirds of the places where clerical duty was done were curacies and chapelries. Only six livings overall retained full tithe rights as rectories'; pp.225-6 in E. J. Evans, 'The Anglican Clergy of Northern England', in Clyve Jones, (ed.), Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes, (1987), pp.221-240.

<sup>44</sup> William Urwick et al., Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Cheshire, (1864), pp.xlvii, pp.10-11.

<sup>45</sup> Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.31. See Watts, pp.105-111, for the importance of Independency in the Army. Alexander Gordon, Historical Account of Duckinfield Chapel and its School, (Manchester, 1896), pp. 7-22.

<sup>46</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, Lancashire Nonconformity, Vol. 1, ( Manchester, 1893 ), pp.309-10.

Alan P.F.Sell, Church Planting: A Study of Westmorland Nonconformity, (Oxford, 1986), p.29.

P. L. Woodger and J. E. Hunter, The High Chapel: The Study of Ravenstonedale Congregational Church, (1962 ), 2nd edn., with supplement by the Rev. J. D. Owen (1987).



confined to the congregation or chapel, 'For the law gave no status to parties or denominations. What the law recognised were the properties, meeting-houses and ministers of the Dissenters'.<sup>47</sup> This precluded a legally defined denominational identity and led to a blurring; Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists were one community in the eyes of the law, their

ministers, meeting-houses, and trusts were subject to the same authorities, governed by the same rules, restricted to the same uses, exonerated from the same burdens, and entitled to the same privileges. The ministers carrying on no trade save that of schoolmaster, although elsewhere known as Presbyterian, Independent or Baptist, were recognised in law equally, and only as licensed teachers.<sup>48</sup>

This increased the Presbyterian similarity to the Independents and, as Halley observed in Lancashire and Cheshire, 'the distinction of the two denominations was practically obliterated'.<sup>49</sup> Likewise the distinctiveness of the Independents was softened by the fact that 'ministers and trustees alone had status before the law as representatives of congregations'.<sup>50</sup> The law was impartial to Congregational claims to be the discernible elect. The crucial point to bear in mind from this was that 'Dissenting polity was to be influenced by functions established at law'.<sup>51</sup> Ideology, experience and law had forged this common identity from various parts, forming the 'Dissenting Interest' so well attested to in the contemporary literature.<sup>52</sup> The denominational distinctiveness of the metropolis became even less valid in the provinces.

The exigencies of country life, unions between congregations, short lived congregations, social intercourse amongst ministers and congregations nearby, occupancy of pulpits by men of different denominations, all had the effect of undermining denominational self-consciousness.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> R. E. Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration on Eighteenth Century Dissent', Journal of Religious History, 8, 1974-5, pp.350-363.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Halley, Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, 2 Vols. (Manchester, 1869), p.292.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p.384.

<sup>50</sup> Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration', p.351.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, p.352.

<sup>52</sup> Bradley, p.53. J. E. Bradley, 'Toleration, Nonconformity and the Unity of the Spirit: Popular Religion in Eighteenth Century England', in J. E. Bradley and R. A. Muller, (eds), Church, Word and Spirit: Historical and Theological Essays in Honour of Geoffrey W. Bromiley, (Grand Rapids, 1987).

<sup>53</sup> Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration', p.356.



This process encouraged an even greater degree of fluidity 'both as to the denominational label of some ministers, and as to the local churches, some of which included both Independents and Presbyterians'.<sup>54</sup>

#### **Forging the Common Identity: The Toleration Period.**

Organisation and co-operation began again under James II's indulgences but really took off in 1689. A measure of toleration had squeaked through the Scylla and Charybdis of the High Anglican clergy's fears. Fears of James II's catholicising tendencies under his Second Indulgence of April 1688 had forced High Anglicans into an alliance with the Nonconformists that ushered in the Revolution. They almost inevitably returned to fearing sectaries, once the Catholic threat seemed to have diminished under the Revolutionary Settlement. Toleration from the outset was threatened by Tory and High Church claims that it promoted heterodoxy and irreligion. From the mid-1690s, High Church Anglicans would begin to rally around the cry of 'Church in Danger'.<sup>55</sup> Tory opposition to Toleration grew as they realised that the thin end of the wedge had been driven into a uniform church and that it would effect the church and clergy financially. Dissenters were competing for the hearts, minds and revenue of the clergy's parishioners. A ground-swell of support for Tory, High Anglican principles emerged amongst the clergy, championed by Francis Atterbury and eventually dominating the lower house of Convocation, constantly pressing for legislation that would cripple dissent.

Most Nonconformists were well aware that their small measure of toleration was all they were likely to get and they began to erect institutions for mutual support and ultimately defence. These were ministerial associations with advisory powers only, beginning nationally in the summers of 1689 and 1690.<sup>56</sup> By April 1691 the Happy Union of Congregational and Presbyterian churches had been signed under the Heads of Agreement in London.<sup>57</sup> Similar efforts were made in the provinces. A West Riding Association was inaugurated at Wakefield, 2nd September 1691, Oliver Heywood of Northowram, Halifax being the driving force. Heywood was a firm friend of Jolly who initiated the

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<sup>54</sup> A. P. F. Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society, Vol.4, part 6, 1990, p.356.

<sup>55</sup> Harris, Politics Under the Later Stuarts, pp.152-3.

<sup>56</sup> Nuttall, 'Assembly and Association', pp.298-9. Moves were afoot under James II's Indulgence; see Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.85.

<sup>57</sup> English Presbyterians, Chapter 4.

Lancashire Association in 1691, the county being divided into four regions: Manchester, Warrington, Bolton and 'the North'.<sup>58</sup>

The Cheshire Classis met for the first time in 1691.<sup>59</sup> but evidence for a Cumberland and Westmorland Association is fragmentary and has to be pieced together from sermon and other evidence. Like Lancashire there were movements for association during the Interregnum, but repression during the Restoration was harsh in these counties and few incumbents did not conform. Those few who did not mostly left the counties.<sup>60</sup> The London Protestant Dissenters were financing a lecture at Penrith in 1694 but the first concrete evidence J. H. Colligan came up with for a Provincial Meeting in these counties was at an ordination at Brampton, Cumberland, August 10th 1709. No separate minutes were kept, minutes being entered in the registers of the church at which the Provincial met.<sup>61</sup> The history of the Cumberland and Westmorland Provincial Meeting will be dealt with in Chapter Four, having great bearing on my thesis, for this first bit of information of its existence that Colligan unearthed was the ordination of a Scot, James Campbell M.A., licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and the ministry of orthodox congregations in Cumberland was to be dominated by a Scottish ministry in the eighteenth century.

These northern associations operated wider membership than other county associations in England at the time. Some ministers were members of both the Lancashire and Cheshire Associations and 'the Cheshire Association welcomed ministers not only from other adjacent counties such as Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Denbighshire but from Warwickshire and Yorkshire'. The vision of the old Interregnum Associations was still there, it would seem, and this kind of intercommunion was

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<sup>58</sup> These divisions were rather confusingly called 'Classes', though there was no ruling eldership involved. see M. Mullett, Sources for the History of English Nonconformity, 1660- 1830, (1991), p.80. Transcripts of minutes of eight meetings (1719-22) of the Warrington Division, made in 1888 from a MS at Renshaw Street (now Ullet Rd.) Unitarian church, Liverpool, DWL.MSS.38.56. A. Holt, 'Minutes of the Warrington Classis, 1719-1722', Transactions of the Unitarian History Society, 7, 1939-42, pp.12-17.

<sup>59</sup> Alexander Gordon, (ed.), Cheshire Classis Minutes, 1691-1745, (1919). The Cheshire Classis merged with the Lancashire Provincial Association in 1765, when both were Unitarian. George Eyre Evans, Records of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, (Manchester, 1896). James Drummond, Ecclesiastical Comprehension and Theological Freedom as Illustrated by the History of the Provincial Assembly. The Provincial Assembly Lecture, (Manchester, 1811).

<sup>60</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland: Their Predecessors and Successors, (Manchester, 1911), 2 Vols, passim. Sell, pp.23-25.

<sup>61</sup> J. H. Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', CHST, Vol 4, no.3, October 1909, p.161.

necessary to overcome the physical constraints of large, remote rural and upland catchments.<sup>62</sup> Even as these associations were emerging, however, forces were at work that would break them up. Fidelity to distinct ecclesiology could not be overcome and with this differences over theology and doctrine emerged.

#### **Division: Differences Over Church Government and Theology.**

This has much to do with distinctions in church polity that remained and how church government encouraged the growth of heterodox theology. What I have been emphasising up to now is how a common dissenting identity was formed. Denominational differences were subsumed but not removed. These differences might seem vestigial but they were to assume greater importance.

I have argued that the Presbyterians became more Independent, indeed may never have been fully 'Presbyterian'. Only Daniel Williams in the late seventeenth century was arguing for any kind of synodical structure and Sell claims he can 'discover no eighteenth century written lamentations concerning the absence of such a structure'.<sup>63</sup> From their common experience with the Independents they had absorbed admixtures of Independent ideas on congregational sovereignty and liberty of conscience, free from the coercion of church courts. Edmund Calamy's second part of his A Defence of Moderate Nonconformity (1704), taken up by Presbyterians in England at the time as almost a statement of faith, was avowedly anti-synodical, in fact Calamy said it was almost an Independent scheme.

There were still distinctions in churchmanship however. The name 'Presbyterian' was retained and contemporaries identified with what it signified, a parity of ministers. Its retention must have indicated to some their willingness to accept a measure of comprehension; indeed, we know that Archbishop Tenison was considering such a measure privately in 1696.<sup>64</sup> Presbyterians still practised ordination at large, before the call, a remnant practice that would have made more sense in a parochial system. The Congregationalists, on the other hand, would only ordain a minister to one gathered church after he had received the call. Implicit in the Presbyterian form of ordination is that

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<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, 302. Cheshire is adjacent to a small part of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

<sup>63</sup> Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.355.

<sup>64</sup> G.V.Bennett, 'King William III and the Episcopate', in J. D. Walsh and G. V. Bennett. (eds), Essays in Modern English Church History Presented to Norman Sykes, (1966), p.124.



ministers, as a body, have a degree of oversight of individual churches; in Congregational churches this power was limited to church members only. Indeed, 'The Presbyterians preferred to trust the management of their affairs to a small number of people generally thought to be trustworthy rather than to large numbers who claimed to have had a particular religious experience'.<sup>65</sup> With synodical oversight stripped away, the minister in a Presbyterian church obtained far more power than his Congregational equivalent. 'After the passing of the Toleration Act the Presbyterian ministers had no inclination to subject that authority to higher ecclesiastical jurisdiction or to share it with lay elders'.<sup>66</sup> The problem of financing Dissent meant that the wealthy layman/donor, often as trustee, attained a position of authority:

His hand, strong because of the chapel's financial straits, was given further sanction in law. The chapel's property owning function was conferred on trustees. Trusteeship became often a self-perpetuating autocracy in the chapels.<sup>67</sup>

With trustees' further control over endowments, power in the chapel was often economic, not theological. In English Presbyterianism, without synodical oversight or any form of Congregational democracy, this lay/ministerial oligarchy assumed complete control. It distrusted the spiritual democracy of popular religion and evangelical revival. Wealthy benefactors demanded to be kept abreast of theological advances and pursued the polite religion that accompanied economic advancement. Their commitment was to be to rational religion.

The Presbyterians took from the Independents their ideas on liberty of conscience and tolerationist ideas but could ignore congregational demands for orthodox pastoral theology. This rooting of Tolerationist ideas in the somewhat foreign soil of Presbyterianism is part of the cause of subsequent division. Most English Presbyterians were of the opinion that under the Toleration Act, which allowed Dissenters to form a church at will, attempting to enforce discipline was pointless. Having suffered persecution themselves, open to Lockean philosophy on Toleration, a strange conflation of

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<sup>65</sup> English Presbyterians, p.25.

<sup>66</sup> Watts, pp.290-291. Edmund Calamy, Historical Account of My Own Life, (1829), Vol.1, p.361 noted that some Presbyterian ministers appointed their own assistants and successors.

<sup>67</sup> Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration', p.357. See also Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', pp.380-381. J. H. Colligan, 'English Presbyterian Trust Deeds', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1, No.2, May 1915; 'the Trustees of that period by quietly transferring the property and endowments to new Trustees did more to bring about the Arian movement among the Dissenters than did the ministers themselves'.

the parochial/established church ideal and the reality of isolated congregations occurred within English Presbyterianism. John Locke, in his Letter Concerning Toleration had envisaged freedom for each worshipping community in which those who would disagree could, without persecution, join another worshipping society. In the writings of Calamy and in the minds of many late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Presbyterians, this toleration was extended to within the worshipping community itself for, if toleration was to be exercised within the church, then the only fora to practice toleration available to Nonconformists under the Toleration Act were the individual congregations and chapels.<sup>68</sup> With a lay/ministerial oligarchy keen to accommodate theological advances and a theory of churchmanship based on the toleration of dissent, even to within the individual congregation, theological heterodoxy, inimical to older orthodoxy, flourished within English Presbyterianism.

This point is vital, for Presbyterian development was to be precisely along these lines of a reluctance to discipline the heretic within the gates, whereas the Independents, some of whom welcomed Locke's teaching on Toleration as much as Calamy had done, continued to think of each particular church exercising discipline within its own society and they assumed that an accepted standard of orthodoxy might be exacted of members.<sup>69</sup>

What was to emerge from this open polity practised by the Presbyterians was a theological progression, potentially open-ended. Two concepts of what a church was to be were to develop within the body of English dissent. Those who retained orthodox theology were to maintain John Calvin's definition of a True Church; A church wherein the Word of God is preached and the sacraments administered properly.<sup>70</sup> This could be bolstered by orthodox confessions of faith like the Westminster Confession, Shorter Catechism, or Savoy Declaration. The other conception was to follow Locke:

I esteem that Toleration to be the chief Characteristical Mark of the True Church. For whatsoever some people boast of the Antiquity of Places and Names, or of the Pomp of their Outward Worship; Others, of the Reformation of their Discipline; All, of the Orthodoxy of their Faith;( for everyone is Orthodox to himself: ) these things,

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<sup>68</sup> English Presbyterians, pp.130-131.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, p.132. A. P. F. Sell, 'Confessing the Faith in English Congregationalism', in Dissenting Thought and the Life of the Churches, (San Francisco, Mellen, 1990) details how Congregationalists integrated confessions of faith into all aspects of church life and therefore retained orthodox theology (by being constantly reminded of divergence from it).

<sup>70</sup> Euan Cameron, The European Reformation, (Oxford, 1991), p.147.

and all others of this nature, are much rather Marks of Men striving for Power and Empire over one and other, than of the Church of Christ.<sup>71</sup>

Two churches, it would seem, were struggling to get out of the body of Protestant Dissent.

### **Rational Religion, Education and the Growth of Heterodoxy.**

Locke makes it clear that externals and the forms of worship are the 'Marks of Men', not the marks of a True Church. This is in the Reformation tradition. Where he diverges from that tradition is that he finds the identity of the True Church not in Scripture, its preaching and the administration of its sacraments, but in the abstract notion of 'Toleration', a truth evident to men's consciences through the application of reason. He goes on to 'appeal to the consciences of those that persecute, torment and destroy, and kill other men upon pretence of religion' that 'The Toleration of those that differ from others in Matters of Religion, is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine Reason of Mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind, as not to perceive the Necessity and advantage of it, in so clear a light'.<sup>72</sup> Something fundamental has changed here. Alongside the Reformation's 'Gospel of Jesus Christ' is placed another authority, the 'Reason of Mankind'. This section will deal briefly with how this second source of authority came to dominate the churchmanship of English Dissent up to 1750.

Locke held the authorities of Scripture and reason in a precarious balance. Thus in Book Four, Chapter Eighteen of An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,<sup>73</sup> 'Of Faith and Reason, and their Distinct Provinces', the Divine revelation of God is not questioned as an authority but it is confined to operating on the individual conscience where reason could be the only arbiter of Scripture and traditional authority. This work came out in various abridgements after 1690 and came to dominate the thinking of dissenters. Immediately the implications of this epistemological paradigm shift began to ramify. Welcomed by Arminian divines who regarded reason as complementary and confirmatory of Scripture, they were horrified to find Deists like John Toland in his Christianity Not Mysterious (1696) using Locke's system to attack the authority of sacred books.<sup>74</sup> Locke had to immediately

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<sup>71</sup> John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration (1689), edited by James H. Tully, (Indiana, Hackett, 1986), p.23.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, pp.23,25.

<sup>73</sup> John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding: An Abridgement, (First published in England, 1690), Selected and Edited by John W. Youlton, (J.M.Dent, 1977), pp.378-384.

<sup>74</sup> English Presbyterians, p.188.



defend himself before Bishop Stillingfleet on account of Tolland's extension of his doctrine of ideas. This extension of the role of reason is the central theme of this section.

### **Scripture and Reason: The Puritan Tradition.**

It has been the goal of many churchmen down the ages to prove the reasonableness of religion. The utility of such a unitive theory began to impress itself on thinking men as Renaissance and Reformation epistemologies began to diverge. Squaring the circle of reason and revelation provoked the Pansophic visions of Bruno, Bacon, Comenius and later Leibniz, visions of the union of science and religion.<sup>75</sup> The Cambridge Platonists of the mid-seventeenth century had the same concerns for the church and its survival; their *via media* would steer the church between the extremes of Puritanism and atheism, with reason and learning harnessed to the task.<sup>76</sup> These were elite visions though. The same concerns for the church's survival and reformation were shared by the English Puritans; though they were influenced less by Renaissance humanism, there were distinct tendencies within their tradition that would predispose them towards rationalism.

For English Puritans, Scripture was their source of authority. Its truth was paramount. Thus their critique of the English church was based on removing human inventions. They 'were particularly sensitive to any suggestion that there could be sincere dispute about the meaning of Scripture'.<sup>77</sup> This led to a polarising of attitudes:

Such emphasis on the obviousness of truth inevitably produced doubt, or even denial, of the sincerity of opponents. Such denials raised the question of the erroneous conscience: it was impossible to claim liberty of conscience for dissenters if no erroneous conscience could be regarded as a genuine conscience. For many people, conscience was not a product of the workings of reason, which might or might not be erroneous, so much as an innate idea of the type later attacked by Locke, or simply submission to Scripture.<sup>78</sup>

This underscores the bitterness of the Presbyterian and Independent debates on reforming the church. I have described how Presbyterians were forced into *de facto* Independency by their shared experience

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<sup>75</sup> F. E. Manuel and F. P. Manuel, Utopian Thought in the Western World (Oxford, Blackwell 1979), *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Joseph M. Levine, 'Latitudinarians, Neoplatonists and the Ancient Wisdom', in Kroll et al., Philosophy, Science and Religion in England, 1640-1700, pp.85-108.

<sup>77</sup> Russell, 'Arguments for Religious Unity in England, 1530-1650', p.190.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, p.191.

of persecution. They also made an intellectual transition from a conception of the church as unitary, with authority invested in innate ideas, to accepting Independent ideas on the plurality of churches and Lockean conceptions of liberty of conscience. Increasingly their concerns centred on demonstrating the reasonableness of revealed religion. It is part of the purpose of this section to explain this *volte face* on behalf of a large constituency within Dissent. That the change was significant should not be doubted. It has been noted that by the 1730's 'Independent, which under the Commonwealth had stood for toleration, now came to mean theological conservatism. Presbyterian, which, theologically speaking, had meant doctrinal consensus, now stood for latitude'.<sup>79</sup> Dissenters succumbed to the sheer intellectual weight of tolerationist ideas coming from the Independent tradition and also continental Arminianism, powerfully synthesised by Locke and supported by his empiricist epistemology. These ideas took off in the strongly intellectualised tradition of English Puritanism.

The tendency to intellectualise in the Puritan tradition stemmed from its belief in Scripture sufficiency and was part of 'the Protestant theological emphasis....to elevate teaching, discussion and the rational element in religion generally, against the sacramental and ceremonial aspects'.<sup>80</sup> A rather scholastic tendency emerged: 'The study and exposition of the Bible in English....ultimately tended to produce a more rational and critical attitude'.<sup>81</sup> Laudian reforms were aimed at just such an emphasis. The Arminian John Howson complained c.1603, 'that preachers were turning churches into schools, a complaint which was not just a rude phrase, but an expression of serious concern that an oral appeal to understanding was being allowed to blot out worship and an appeal to the senses'.<sup>82</sup> This is not the place for a discussion on the Puritan commitment to preaching, the popularity of a preaching ministry and its survival in parishes in which the vicar was chosen by parishioners or where lectureships were in the gift of town councils.<sup>83</sup> What I want to stress is the effects of the Toleration Act on this intellectualised tradition.

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<sup>79</sup> Gordon, Duckinfield Chapel, (1896), p.47.

<sup>80</sup> C. Hill, 'The Preaching of the Word', in Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, (1964), p.55

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>82</sup> C. Russell, The Causes of the English Civil War, p.99.

<sup>83</sup> C. Hill, 'The Ratsbane of Lecturing' in Society and Puritanism, pp. 78-120 and The Economic Problems of the Church, (Oxford, 1968), pp.296-7. Richardson, Puritanism in North-West England, *passim*.

I have mentioned before how the Toleration Act constrained Dissent, recognising only its legally registered premises and its ministers as licensed teachers. Increasingly 'denominational identity was dependent and a function of the religious life of individual congregations'.<sup>84</sup> Religious life was atomised, Puritan zeal crushed. The minister, excluded from any office of government, relying for his stipend on voluntary subscription, often took one of the few occupations still open to him, that of tutor or schoolmaster. This drew on the Puritan tradition of combining preaching with teaching. Unlike the Puritans before them however, who esteemed lecturers but distinguished between the ministerial offices of teacher and preacher, the Dissenters post-1689 collapsed ministry into teaching:

Indeed, especially among the clergy inclined towards rationalism but also among the orthodox, not only were the two occupations, teaching and ministry, frequently pursued together, but also the ministry came increasingly to be understood as a form of education. Religious instruction became all too frequently the purpose of the ministerial office and the ministerial charge became keeping the congregation abreast of advances of advances in religion.<sup>85</sup>

This change, the loss of the Puritan conception of ministry, though retaining the commitment to Scriptural truth, lost its evangelical zeal. The teacher in the Interregnum Congregational churches, as distinct from the pastor, was a public preacher, evangelising the neighbourhood.<sup>86</sup> The weekday lecture in the towns of Lancashire in the early eighteenth century, however, increasingly dealt with speculative theology rather than awakening souls, and defending the House of Hanover rather than proclaiming King Jesus. This new approach was predicated on the Lockean conception of religion: 'All the Life and Power of true Religion consists in the inward and full perswasion of the mind.'<sup>87</sup> Constrained by law to the interiors of their chapels, inward persuasion was all that remained open to them. What congregations all too often became was subscribers to lectures. The Puritan office of teacher became the sum of the Dissenting ministry.<sup>88</sup>

The importance of teaching to the Puritans and Dissenters was always recognised as a point of vulnerability by their opponents. The fourteenth century Stamford oath was sometimes enforced after the Restoration, obliging graduates not to teach outside the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration', p.359.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, pp.360-1.

<sup>86</sup> Gordon, Duckinfield Chapel, p.12.

<sup>87</sup> Locke, Letter Concerning Toleration, p.26.

<sup>88</sup> Richey, 'The Effects of Toleration' p.362.

<sup>89</sup> H. McLachlan, English Education Under the Test Acts, (Manchester, 1931), p.76.



The Act of Uniformity imposed a £40 fine on Dissenters who earned a living by teaching.<sup>90</sup> John Chorlton, who ran a Manchester Dissenting Academy, was brought before the assizes in 1703 for keeping a public academy.<sup>91</sup> The Schism Act of 1714 is seen as the last throw of the Tories, unenforced and repealed in 1719 by a subsequent Whig ministry but it by no means marks the end of the attacks on Dissenters' academies. Doddridge was prosecuted by the chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln as late as 1733 for running his academy at Northampton and for failing to apply for an Episcopal license to teach in the diocese.<sup>92</sup>

The retention of the preaching/teaching emphasis was from the Puritan tradition. From the Separatist tradition the Dissenters inherited the opposition to set forms of prayer, 'an attitude which had not been shared either by the Puritans of the sixteenth century or the Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly'.<sup>93</sup> The amalgamation of these tendencies created a predisposition not to subscribe to doctrinal formulas. Refusal to subscribe to doctrinal articles had kept them out of the English church and the issue of Non-subscription to creeds was to come to divide Dissent. The refusal to accept the oversight of a hierarchy of church courts and the refusal to have one's conscience regulated by submitting it to doctrinal formulas reflect the same shift in mentality. An intellectual process of individuation has begun. The trend is to place the definition of a church in an individual's conscience, a comforting philosophy for those excluded from almost every other exercise of religion. What this led to was an academic exploration of theology, an intellectualised evangelicalism, not trying to convert people with the proofs of revelation but trying to convince people through the workings of reason.

### Theology.

First a note of warning. The theological and denominational terms discussed meant different things to different people at different times and they were frequently used, and their sense modified, as pejoratives. They tell us a great deal more about those who used them than they do about those

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<sup>90</sup> Watts, p.367.

<sup>91</sup> McLachlan, p.115.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Jones, 'The Polite Academy and the Presbyterians, 1720-1770', in J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason, A. Murdoch (eds), New perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland (Edinburgh, John Donald, n.d. [1982]), p.162.

<sup>93</sup> Watts, p.305.

against whom they were used. For instance, the Presbyterian Richard Baxter attacked the supralapsarian, extreme-predestinarian theology of some contemporary Independents in his first work Aphorismes on Justification (1649); 'to be revenged on me for calling them Antinomians', 'they have resolved to call me Arminian, Socinian, Papist and Jesuit'.<sup>94</sup> As William Lamont has noted

Political and religious polemic thrived on the assimilation of one's opponent to a discredited polarity: popery versus puritanism, pelagianism versus antinomianism. The claim made for ones self was the ability to hit upon a golden mean between the two extremes.<sup>95</sup>

These terms generated much heat and little light and all too often subsequent historians have accepted contemporary nomenclature as indicative of someone's theology. Hence a brief discussion of the terms involved follows.

#### **Arminianism, Arianism, Socinianism.**

Arminianism is a modification of Calvinism. The original intention of Jacobus Arminius, professor of theology at Leyden in the early seventeenth century was to iron out the logical inconsistency of a loving God condemning many to a life without hope. His followers, developing his thoughts, addressed the Five Articles of the Remonstrance to the States General of Holland in 1610, replacing Calvinist articles with Remonstrant revisions. What this system did was to restore human agency to the relationship between humanity and God, in contradistinction to the simple determinism of Calvinism. It offered hope by taking apart Calvinist dogma on predestination and the indefectibility of the saints which produced the idea of a fixed and unalterable division of mankind to which every canon of Scripture was made to fit. Arminian scholarship claimed to have proved this covenant to have no Scriptural basis.

This approach had obvious attractions to the anti-Calvinist elements in the English church: the doctrine of universal atonement has more utility in an established, parochial church, hence Laudian

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<sup>94</sup> Richard Baxter, Richard Baxter's Confession of Faith, (1655), pp.2-3,6, from Watts, p.294.

<sup>95</sup> William M. Lamont, 'The Puritan Revolution: a historiographical essay', in J. G. A. Pocock et al., (eds), The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800, (Cambridge, 1993). pp.124-5, citing the article by Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present, 87, (1980), pp.98-127, for pointing out the need for Englishmen engaging in religio-political debate in the period to see the world in terms of binary opposition and inversion.

Arminianism.<sup>96</sup> While Laudian Arminianism was little more than anti-Calvinism, Dutch Remonstrant Arminianism pursued a very different course. The Remonstrants were persecuted almost immediately, condemned at the Synod of Dort 1618-19 and removed from the Dutch Reformed Church. Remonstrant Arminianism developed a liberal and comprehensive nature, with obvious attractions to English Presbyterians in the same position regarding the state church. All those who sought a wide church settlement were attracted to their ideas. The Cambridge Platonists were greatly influenced by the Dutch Remonstrants, notably the works of Episcopius.<sup>97</sup> Presbyterians appreciated the Dutch Arminians' emphasis on relating reason to revelation, as it was mediated to them through the writings of Limborche, LeClerc and Locke.<sup>98</sup> As Nuttall has characterised it, within the English Presbyterian tradition this was to become very much an 'Arminianism of the Head',<sup>99</sup> rather than Wesleyan Methodism's 'Arminianism of the Heart' which could be likened to an evangelical Calvinism that had opted out of predestination and had closer affinity to the Arminianism of Arminius and the early English Caroline divines.<sup>100</sup>

What must be realised is that Arminianism represented not a new theology but a new approach to theology. It attempted to avoid the predestinarian errors of exalting divine agency and the Pelagian errors of exalting human agency:

Arminianism claimed to have stated, for the first time, with scientific care a balanced judgement on those relations of God and Man in which their harmony and

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<sup>96</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, 1590-1640, (Oxford, Clarendon 1987), *Passim*. Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, 101, 1983, pp.34-54. William Lamont, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', PP, 107, 1985, pp.227-231. N. Tyacke, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', PP, 115, 1987, pp.201-216.

<sup>97</sup> R. L. Colie, Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Remonstrants, (1957).

<sup>98</sup> L. J. VanHolk, 'From Arminius to Arminianism in Dutch Theology', in G. O. McCulloch, (ed.), Mans Faith and Freedom, (1962), pp.42-47. J. van den Berg and G. F. Nuttall, Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and the Netherlands, (Leiden, Brill 1987). G. F. Nuttall, 'Why did the English Presbyterians Become Unitarian?', in Miscellanea Anglo-Belgica, (Leiden, Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1987), pp.7-17. Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.364. E. H. Kossman, 'Freedom in Seventeenth Century Dutch Thought and Practice', in Jonathan I. Israel (ed.), The Anglo-Dutch Movement: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact, (Cambridge, 1991). O. P. Grell, 'From Persecution to Integration: The Decline of the Anglo-Dutch Communities in England, 1648-1702', in Grell, Israel, Tyacke, (eds), From Persecution to Toleration, pp.97-129.

<sup>99</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'The Influence of Arminianism in England', in McCulloch, Mans Faith and Freedom, pp.42-47.

<sup>100</sup> A. P. F. Sell, The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism and Salvation, (Worthing, H.E. Walter, 1982) for eighteenth century evangelical Arminianism.



mutual recognition could be stated as a working principle, verifiable and verified by experience.<sup>101</sup>

This appealed to the party within English Presbyterianism pursuing comprehension during the Restoration. Its influential proponents like Richard Baxter therefore aligned himself with Anglican Arminians among the Cambridge Platonists and Anglican Latitudinarians. This alliance had a common purpose, that of reducing fundamentals so that division could be healed. This would be done by basing authority on the Bible alone and 'repudiating all human additions and gratuitous interpretations that led to conflict'.<sup>102</sup> This is not a radical departure from Reformation principles. But where mid-seventeenth century Arminianism could be seen to be departing from the Reformation was in its commitment to reason. Continental Arminianism had a strong streak of Erasmian Humanism, a belief in human reason, the progress of time and the educated man. This simply was not shared by many Calvinists with views on the utter depravity of man's nature and reason, and more millenarian views of time. This reliance on reason was forced on them to a certain extent by the conundrum of the Scripture sufficient stance that I pointed out earlier. Two sides can agree on the sufficiency of Scripture and totally disagree on the truths contained therein. Another arbiter is needed. English Arminians became convinced of the need to apply reason: 'reason was not dismissed as carnal and corrupt, but was given a position of first importance. Reason was the inalienable badge of humanity which no man could surrender and remain human'.<sup>103</sup> Their critics noted that although reason was emphasised to be used as a critique of creeds and in support of Scripture, there was a tendency for it in fact to become a substitute for creeds and Scripture. The latitude offered in the Arminian approach left scope for theological innovation, a progression towards theological heterodoxy.<sup>104</sup> Combined with the sectarian tradition of eschewing forms of worship ' "Arminianism" came to signify the application of unfettered reason to Scripture regarded as supreme (especially over creeds and confessional statements)'.<sup>105</sup> Its salient points were an emphasis on intellectual freedom, an insistence that salvation did not depend on agreement over doctrinal formulas: it placed

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<sup>101</sup> J. Hastings. (ed.), The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh, 1908), p.814.

<sup>102</sup> English Presbyterians, pp.103-104.

<sup>103</sup> English Presbyterians, p.104, quoting from Richard Baxter, The Scripture Gospel Defended (1690).

<sup>104</sup> Sell, 'Arminians, Deists, Reason', in Faith and Freedom, 23, 1979, pp.19-31.

<sup>105</sup> Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.253.

exceptional stress on practical Christianity and pioneered the modern study of the Bible.<sup>106</sup> This is what Baxter's unnamed detractors meant by Arminian in the earlier passage: 'Arian, Socinian, Papist and Jesuit' they feared were a natural progression from it. In their opinion Baxterian Arminianism left the door wide open for the heresiarchs.

The triumph of heterodox theology was a long way off however. There was no Arian movement in English Presbyterianism.<sup>107</sup> The tendency has been for historians unsympathetic to the theological developments in English Presbyterianism to label its thoroughgoing Arminianism as some form of crypto-Arianism, labelling all with the thoughts of a few and accelerating Restoration and Augustan churchmanship into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>108</sup> Arianism is a mildly subordinationist Christological heresy, which still acknowledged the pre-existence of Christ, looked upon him as in some sense divine and retained some sense of the Atonement. Socinianism is far more subordinationist, denying the divinity and pre-existence of Christ and rejecting the doctrine of vicarious atonement. Intending to exalt God's oneness, it destroyed Trinitarian orthodoxy.<sup>109</sup> A few individuals held these opinions but the vast majority of Dissenters did not. Arminian Presbyterianism at this time should not be seen as some sort of lapsed Calvinism but as a sincere desire to renew primitive Christianity, to reveal 'the religion of Christ....in its original simplicity and native beauty, free from all adulteration and mixture'<sup>110</sup> emphasising the rational. Even after the Salters Hall controversy of 1719 there was little sympathy for Arians amongst the Dissenters. Those who favoured Samuel Clarke's scheme elucidated in the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, (1712) defected to the Church of England, where tolerance of Arians was greater.<sup>111</sup> In the eighteenth century, English Presbyterians continued to assert the truths of Scripture and believe in the supernatural. Only with the

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<sup>106</sup> English Presbyterians, p.174.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>108</sup> Thus R. W. Dale, History of English Congregationalism, (1907), p.541, 'drifting fast into Aranis'; D. Coomer, English Dissent Under the Early Hanoverians, (1946), p.28 calls it a blight; D. Bogue and J. Bennett, The History of the Dissenters, (1833), Vol.2, p.210 likens it to a disease. John T. McNeil, The History and Character of Calvinism, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1967), p.370; Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark, 4 Vols. (London, 1808-1814), Vol.4, pp.554-5. A. H. Drysdale, The History of the Presbyterian Church in England, (London, Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1889), p.550.

<sup>109</sup> Watts, p.371. H. J. McLachlan, Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England, (Oxford, 1951), pp.13-15.

<sup>110</sup> English Presbyterians, p.23.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, p.173.

aggressive materialism of Priestley late in the eighteenth century can it be said that a Unitarian scheme became common. Even for Priestley the change was gradual. When he went to Daventry Academy in 1751 he was Arminian and a believer in free will; he came out Arian in theology and in philosophy a determinist.<sup>112</sup> When he arrived at the newly opened Warrington Academy in 1757, he could say that the only Socinian in the district was John Seddon of Manchester, 'and we all wondered at him'.<sup>113</sup> Even after Priestley's view advanced to a Unitarian scheme after reading Nathaniel Lardener's Letters on the Logos, (written 1730, published 1756), the adoption of Unitarianism was resisted by many, notably Priestley's good friend the lifelong Arian, Richard Price.<sup>114</sup>

The Trinity then was not generally the problem, rather it was having to assent to doctrinal formulas, the traditional bugbear of Arminian reformers and Separatists. There is a sense in which having been made Dissenters by doctrinal formulas, dissenting against doctrinal formulas became part of their rationale and identity. More importantly, Lockean empiricism had taught them that religion was in the persuasion of the individual's mind. If doctrinal formulas did not convince, then they should not be subscribed to. But non-subscription went further than that. Even if there were no qualms about the theology contained in the doctrinal statement, it should still not have to be subscribed to, on principle, because it contained nothing of what true religion was; reason applied to Scripture operating on the individual mind. It also made a lot of sense as well if you were holding advanced theological views. Unitarians were excluded from the workings of the Toleration Act under a clause which provided that nothing in the Act should be construed to extend to 'any person that shall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrines of the blessed Trinity'.<sup>115</sup> Individuals were also liable upon a second conviction for three years in jail for denying the Trinity under the 1697 Blasphemy Act.

Thus it was not the scheme of Athanasius that was initially under threat but that of Calvin. In churches with little structure or oversight each new generation of ministers took their freedoms allowed them and ran with them, each time further from the creedal orthodoxy of their forebears. Thus the New Scheme preachers of the 1730's were 'In theology....Arminian, in philosophy Lockean.

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<sup>112</sup> Alexander Gordon, The Heads of Unitarian History, (1895), p.106.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*, p.227. John Seddon, Discourses on the Person of Christ; on the Holy Spirit, and on Self Deception; with an Account of the author by Ralph Harrison, (Warrington, William Eyres 1793).

<sup>114</sup> C. B. Cone, Torchbearer of Freedom: Richard Price, (Lexington, Kentucky 1952).

<sup>115</sup> R. W. Dale, The History of English Congregationalism, (1907), p.530



in churchmanship Baxterian'.<sup>116</sup> A full scale revision was under way, bitterly dividing Dissent. John Cumming, a Scot and orthodox Calvinist at Cambridge summed up the mood of the age in a pamphlet, The General Corruption and Defection of the Present Time, As to Matters of Religion, (1714):

Their proud maxim is that they are bound to believe nothing of which they have not a distinct idea. Socinianism and Arianism threaten to lay the axe to the root of Christianity: not only the Arminian errors, but even the vile texts of Pelagius are the only notions now in vogue. The Doctrines of Election and Predestination [and he goes through the catalogue of Calvinist tenets] are not only generally exploded as irrational, but profanely bantered and laughed at as ridiculous.<sup>117</sup>

The struggle became increasingly bitter between those who exalted reason and those who retained an orthodox belief in its depravity. The tide was firmly against the orthodox, seemingly defenceless against the critiques of successive generations and the intellectual weight of argument stacked against them. John Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin (written 1735, published 1740) was described by one orthodox minister as 'a bad book and a dangerous book and an heretical book; and, what is worse than all, the book is unanswerable'.<sup>118</sup> Taken with his other major works, the Key to the Apostolic Writings (1745) and Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement (1751), his critique evinced such unanswerable scholarship and was so immensely popular amongst laity and clergy alike that it has led one commentator to say that the effect of Taylor's works 'was to hasten the decline of strict Calvinism as a religious force not only in England but also in Scotland and America'.<sup>119</sup>

As a codicil to this discussion, it should be noted that these theological positions are not "Deist", defined by Redwood as 'that belief which stripped religion of all but a remote Creator who had left a mechanical universe to its own devices'<sup>120</sup> and was hostile to the revelation of the Christian Scriptures. Deist writings always provoked a swift attack from Arminians and Arians. Thus Locke's The Reasonableness of Christianity was a response to a draft of Toland's work. Samuel Bourne took time off from excoriating the Calvinists in the 1730s to refute Matthew Tindal's Christianity as old as

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<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, p.181.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*, p.144.

<sup>118</sup> Gordon, Heads of Unitarian History, p.37.

<sup>119</sup> English Presbyterians, p.185.

<sup>120</sup> J. Redwood, Reason, Ridicule and Religion: The Age of Enlightenment in England, 1660-1750, (1976), p.11. M. C. Jacob, The Newtonians and the English Revolution, 1689-1720, (1976) pp.202-205.

Creation. (1730). The problem the Christian divines faced was keeping the rational spirit and the empirical method from being used in a thoroughgoing critique of Christianity. In defending the Christian revelation they 'not infrequently found themselves on suspect ground, and this for the simple reason that they often fought with the same weapons as their antagonists. Theirs too were the accoutrements of rational debate'.<sup>121</sup>

#### **Division in Dissent, c.1690-1750.**

Theology thus came to play an increasingly divisive role, wrecking attempts at union for the Protestant Dissenters. The Happy Union broke down in the early 1690s over issues of churchmanship but the fears of both sides were expressed in theological terms. Independents became increasingly unwilling to accept Presbyterian pretensions to enforce some mild discipline; the attempts of London Presbyterian ministers to discipline a provincial Independent minister were seen as interference in the workings of a sovereign congregation. The subsequent mutual recriminations emphasised the divergent theological approaches of the two parties. Thus Daniel William's insistence on disciplining Richard Davies provoked *ad hominem* attacks from Independents, Nathaniel Mather charging Williams with 'Semi-Socinianism' at the Merchants' Lectures at Pinner's Hall in 1694. The Union was in tatters by the autumn of 1695 when the Congregationalists abandoned the Common Fund for the support of ministers and formed their own Congregational Fund.<sup>122</sup> Division deepened as the Congregationalists campaigned for legislation aimed at the Arminian Presbyterians, succeeding with the passing of the Blasphemy Act of 1698. Independents were increasingly hostile to Baxterian Arminianism's obviously divergent course from theirs, just as many Presbyterians were increasingly hostile to the Calvinist dogma of many Independents that smacked to them of Antinomianism. The point to be stressed here is that each side was attacking tendencies in the other side. Many Presbyterians could still happily assent to Calvinist creeds and many Independents had imbibed the rationalising spirit of the age. The theological squabbles of the metropolis took a long time to see

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<sup>121</sup> G. Holmes. The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722, (1993), p.371. R. H. Popkin, 'The Deist Challenge', in Grell, Israel, Tyacke, (eds), From Persecution to Toleration, pp.195-217.

<sup>122</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, (1907), p.506. John Waddington, Congregational History, Vol. 3, 1700-1800, pp.261-263. Calendar of the Congregational Colleges of England and Wales, (1885), pp.43-44.

their implications fully worked out in the provinces but forces were at work, however, that would lead to a stronger identification between polity and theology.

Chief amongst the forces working to distil Dissenters into two denominational groups with antagonistic theologies was the workings of the two Funds. The Presbyterians retained control of the Common Fund, which only changed its name to the Presbyterian Fund in 1771.<sup>123</sup> Whilst this Fund retained a common ethos, supporting ministers with a variety of theological outlooks, the Congregational Fund, especially after 1719, would only support ministers who remained loyal to Calvinist orthodoxy:

With the poorer churches in the country only orthodox ministers could gain admission to the Congregational Fund, so that the less orthodox naturally gravitated to the other Fund and made it, as time went on, progressively heterodox.<sup>124</sup>

In Lancashire there had been many small, rural chapels that were simply 'Protestant Dissenting', receiving help from both Funds. Increasingly, if they could not satisfy the Congregational Fund of their ministers' orthodoxy, they became readily identifiable as Presbyterian causes. In other cases, to maintain the support of the Congregational Fund

Congregations whose government had been in the hands of a vague aggregation of trustees and principle subscribers (a typically Presbyterian arrangement) were reorganised in such a way that authority was vested in the 'church', or the whole body of communicants.<sup>125</sup>

More typically in these Protestant Dissenting causes the trustees would be of the Arminian party, retaining the church building, the cause eventually becoming Unitarian. A secession would occur of those elements unhappy with the loss of orthodox theology, either forming a new Congregational church or joining another church.

The watershed for this process of the formation of two parties within Dissent is generally held to be the year 1719. Prior to this the theological wrangling of the metropolis had died down as Dissenters became preoccupied with defending their civil liberties once more from Tory persecution under Queen Anne. The General Body of Protestant Dissenting ministers in and about London was formed early in

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<sup>123</sup> M. Mullett, Sources for the History of English Nonconformity, p.80. W. D. Jeremy, The Presbyterian Fund (London, 1885).

<sup>124</sup> English Presbyterians, p.166.

<sup>125</sup> ibid., p.214.



the eighteenth century to campaign for Dissenters' rights.<sup>126</sup> It was not a formal union but was the only representational organisation working nationally, other than the two Funds. On the 24th of February 1719 it met at the Salter's Hall in London to decide what advice to give the Exeter Assembly (a ministerial association similar to the Lancashire Provincial Assembly) on the matter of some ministers of heterodox theological views.<sup>127</sup> By a small margin the General Body voted not to advise that ministers must subscribe to Trinitarian orthodoxy. It was not a vote for anti-Trinitarian theology but for the toleration of dissidence and diversity within Dissent. 'The non-subscribers affirmed their belief in the Trinity: what concerned them was that by seeking such a vote the principle of the sole sufficiency of Scripture had been compromised'.<sup>128</sup> The victorious Nonsubscribers were not all Presbyterians; many Independents and most General Baptists voted for nonsubscription and many Presbyterians voted for subscription to orthodox Calvinist decretals. The vote however stung orthodox Calvinists into action and soon national divisions between liberal and creedal Dissent were getting larger than ever.

To conclude then. I have outlined how the rational elements in the English Protestant Dissenting tradition cohered eventually under the old and somewhat flexible denominational title 'Presbyterian', but it was by no means inevitable. Division was not inevitable; the Church of England managed to contain a far greater variety of rational elements without schism. It was only the failure of the campaign within Anglicanism in the 1770s for non-subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles that saw defections to Unitarianism.<sup>129</sup> The Church of Scotland, where enlightened Moderatism came to dominate the General Assembly in the eighteenth century, had the counterbalance of presbyteries and congregations that were deeply hostile to anything that strayed from the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly.<sup>130</sup> The schisms of the 1730s and 1750s were relatively small affairs. Most

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<sup>126</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, pp.497-8. Paper by Rev. Thomas James in The Congregational Yearbook, 1867, pp.406-17.

<sup>127</sup> Roger Thomas, 'The Non-Subscription Controversy Amongst the Dissenters in 1719: The Salters Hall Debate', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 4, 1953, pp.162ff.

<sup>128</sup> Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.365.

<sup>129</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, pp.564-568. Though the Anglican campaign failed, the Dissenters did succeed in being released from subscribing to the Thirty Nine Articles. See English Presbyterians, pp.228-9 for more concerning Theophilus Lindsey. G. M. Ditchfield, 'The Subscription Issue in British Parliamentary Politics, 1772-1779', Parliamentary History, 7, 1988, pp.45-80.

<sup>130</sup> A. L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church, 1688-1843, (Edinburgh. St. Andrew's Press 1973), pp.31ff.

ministers and presbyteries continued their defence of Calvinism from within the established church. All churches at the time were feeling the force of the rage for rationalism. In New England the split emerged within the established Congregational church which had been under constant pressure to liberalise its membership criteria in the seventeenth century.<sup>131</sup> In Ulster a fully articulated Presbyterian system, the Synod of Ulster, had been in existence since 1690, the first Protestant Dissenting Synod in the British Isles. The same spirit of the age meant nonsubscription became an issue there. In 1721 the Synod required ministers to make a voluntary subscription to their belief in the eternal Sonship of Christ and to renew their subscription to the Westminster Confession. Those who would not were lumped together into a Non-Subscribers Presbytery, the Presbytery of Antrim. In 1726 this Presbytery was expelled from 'juridical communion' with the Synod, unable to sit, deliberate or vote in the Synod. They were still recognised as valid ministers however, so the Synod's ministers could and did share pulpits and join them in communion.<sup>132</sup> Thus outright division was avoided. English Presbyterianism simply lacked any features that were conservative or protective of theological orthodoxy that in other communions slowed or stopped rationalist advances. Without a fixed liturgy, a stable form of government, a commonly accepted creed, a unifying hymnody or a conservative membership, the largely middle-class English Presbyterians capitulated to the spirit of rationalism; their 'tradition had become rationalism'.<sup>133</sup>

### Education.

It should be no surprise from what I have already outlined that there was a strong desire within Dissent for an educated ministry. 'The Presbyterians in particular could not conceive of a well-ordered church without an educated ministry'.<sup>134</sup> The English universities were closed to them, however, at the Restoration, so that at Oxford the Thirty Nine Articles had to be subscribed to on

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<sup>131</sup> Watts, p.379.

<sup>132</sup> Peter Brooke, Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970, (Gill and Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1987), p.84.

<sup>133</sup> J. C. Spalding, 'The Demise of English Presbyterians, 1660-1760', Church History, 28, 1959, pp.63-83.

Richey, 'Did the English Presbyterians Become Unitarian?', p.60.

<sup>134</sup> Watts, p.366.

matriculation, at Cambridge on graduation.<sup>135</sup> Dissenters sought their higher education in Scotland and the Netherlands. Doctrinal subscription was not required in these universities of foreign students, only faculty and ordinands in the national established church.<sup>136</sup> It is doubtful whether Dissenters would have found much to please them at Oxford and Cambridge if they could have attended, being of the opinion that they were 'licentious pastures that could swallow up fortunes without noticeable benefit to the indulgent, whereas the Scottish universities were thriftily structured through the class fee, non-collegiate system that still permitted a degree of pastoral care in the towns'.<sup>137</sup> The old universities were increasingly given a bad name by Whig propagandists such as Nicholas Amhurst and John Toland in his The State Anatomy of Great Britain....the Second Part, (1717).

The failure of Stanhope's University Bill only served to confirm critics in their opinion that Oxford was a nest of Jacobites and High Tories endlessly reiterating the pedantic jargon of the scholastics when they were not indoctrinating their pupils with the tenets of divine right and priestly rule.<sup>138</sup>

Advances in learning were slow to be reflected in the English universities.<sup>139</sup> John Wynne, tutor at Oxford, had written to Locke in 1694 requesting permission to write an abridgement of Human Understanding for his students<sup>140</sup> but by 1703 Locke's writings were censured in Oxford and 'reading of Human Understanding forbidden'.<sup>141</sup> In the Dissenting academies Locke was the text book of the age. Thomas Dixon at the Whitehaven Academy was incorporating Locke into the curriculum as early as 1710 as were many of the Presbyterian Fund supported academies. Locke was also used in the

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<sup>135</sup> McLachlan, p.1. This simplifies it somewhat. At Cambridge for some degrees the student had to declare himself a member of the Church of England, for others courses to subscribe to three articles of the thirty sixth canon.

<sup>136</sup> *ibid.*, p.29.

<sup>137</sup> A. C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society, (1986), p.44.

<sup>138</sup> Jones, 'The Polite Academy', p.174. See also P. Lanford, 'Tories and Jacobites, 1714-51', p.108. J. Youlton, 'Schoolmen, Logic and Philosophy', pp.565ff. V. H. H. Green, 'Reformers and Reform in the University', pp.607-637 in L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Volume Five, The Eighteenth Century, (Oxford, Clarendon 1986).

<sup>139</sup> A. P. F. Sell, 'Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century Dissenting Academies of England and Wales', in History of the Universities, Vol.11, 1992, pp.75-112. Sell summarises some recent work that should make us cautious of overemphasising the advances of the Dissenting academies. See also O. Lewis, The Teaching of Science in English Dissenting Academies, 1662-1800, unpublished Open University M.Phil., 1989. John Gascoign, Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment. Science, Religion and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution, (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>140</sup> J. W. Youlton, 'Introduction' to John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, (1977).

<sup>141</sup> McLachlan, p.28.



Congregational Fund supported academies of John Jennings at Kibworth and Philip Doddridge at Northampton.<sup>142</sup> In Scotland, Gerschom Carmichael (1672-1729), who was regent and professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow from 1694 until his death, did much to prepare the way for an acceptance of Locke, developing through the 1690s from a Cartesian to an empirical position. His views on natural law and ethics though derived from Pufendorf's<sup>143</sup> seem not that far from Locke; 'knowledge of natural laws is not innate in men's minds....but rather is to be derived from the nature of things and their uninterrupted course, and the proper use of reason'.<sup>144</sup> Though scholars may differ over Carmichael's position as an Enlightenment or pre-Enlightenment figure, it seems clear that Locke had been incorporated to a large degree. A Lancashire ministerial student at Glasgow, Jonathan Woodworth, in writing to his cousin the, Rev. Peter Walkden of Hesketh Lane, Lancashire, noted in 1715 that he had been attending Mr. Carmichael's private class:

In logick he reads Ars cogitandi his own Thesis, and a smaller compend He has printed. He follows Mr. Lock much in yt part, as indeed in all ye parts of humane Learning....In Ethicks he reads Puffendorff de officio hominis & civis, with his own theses. He often differs from Puffendorff. Particularly where he makes ye end of ye Law of Nature to be confined to this Life.<sup>145</sup>

Francis Hutcheson, Carmichael's student and successor in the chair, did more than anyone else to disseminate Locke and other Whig writers, acknowledging the debt to Locke explicitly in A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy (1747).<sup>146</sup>

<sup>142</sup> English Presbyterians, p.140 McLachlan, pp.134-152.

<sup>143</sup> James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, 'Gerschom Carmichael and the Natural Jurisprudence Tradition in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in I. Hont and M. Ignatieff (eds), Wealth and Virtue: the Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, (Cambridge, 1983), p.74. James Tully, (ed.), Michael Silverthorne, (translator), Pufendorf: On The Duty of Man and Citizen According to Natural Law, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>144</sup> Roger L. Emerson, 'Science and Moral Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment', in M. A. Stewart, (ed.), Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, (Oxford, Clarendon 1990), p.19, quoting E. G. Forbes, 'Philosophy and Science Teaching in the Seventeenth Century', p.33 in G. Donaldson, (ed.), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life.1583-1983, (Edinburgh 1983). For confirmation that this was essentially Locke's position, see W. von Leyden, (ed.), Essays on the Laws of Nature, (Oxford 1954), pp.96-7.

<sup>145</sup> James Bromley, 'Correspondence of the Rev. Peter Walkden. Letters from a Lancashire Student at Glasgow University During the Rebellion of 1715', TLCHS. Vol.36, 1884, pp.15-32.

<sup>146</sup> This was the English translation of his Latin Compend of Moral Philosophy (1742, 2nd edn. 1745). Richard B. Sher, 'Professors of Virtue: The Social History of the Edinburgh Moral Philosophy Chair in the Eighteenth Century', in M. A. Stewart, (ed.), Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, (Oxford. Clarendon 1990), pp.94-5.

If Locke was not on the curriculum at the academies the students read him anyway and carried on clandestine correspondences with known Arians in the Church of England, Samuel Clarke and William Whiston.<sup>147</sup> To heterodox ministers such as Henry Grove, principal of the Taunton Academy from 1706 to 1738, Locke was the prophet of reasonable religion. To ministers like John Bull, orthodox opponent of Grove in the Exeter controversy of 1718, Locke was a heresiarch. He noted the hold Locke had on the students in the academies; 'such New Lights and great masters of reason as Mr. Locke' 'is so much admired and recommended to students in divinity' and he blamed on Locke the disappearance of the fear of Hell.<sup>148</sup>

### **The Dissenting Academies to c.1750.**

To prepare students for university and to generate income the Dissenters opened academies. The first generation of these were run by ministers trained at Oxford and Cambridge and perpetuated the traditions of a classical education.<sup>149</sup> They were under-funded, reliant on one minister, moving if his charge moved, folding upon his death or transferring to a new tutor.<sup>150</sup> Subsequent types of academy received more funding from the national funds, increasingly providing a grounding in more practical subjects, emphasising scientific and mathematical training, incorporating new authors into theology lectures. They thrived by providing a basic education for those intending secular professions. Thus of the twenty-three Dissenting academies in 1690, half were open to those intending careers other than the ministry. At the largest, Richard Frankland's at Rathmell, of the 308 students enrolled, 110 became pastors.<sup>151</sup> Of necessity patronised by those seeking to make their way in trade and commerce, this obviously had a secularising effect on the academies. They were also open to Anglicans; Frankland's academy trained many a Whig/Low Church curate and a number of eighteenth-century Bishops were trained in English Dissenting academies.<sup>152</sup> In the 1730's in

<sup>147</sup> English Presbyterians, p.140

<sup>148</sup> H. Grove, Sermon at the Ordination of Thomas Amory, (1730), countered by J. Ball, Some Remarks on a New Way of Preaching, 1736, pp.17,21-22. H. Grove, Letter to John Ball, 1737, in English Presbyterians, p.191.

<sup>149</sup> J. W. Ashley Smith, The Birth of Modern Education, (1954), pp.10-11.

<sup>150</sup> McLachlan, p.19.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid.*, pp.69-70. F. Nicholson and E. Axon, The Older Nonconformity in Kendal, (Kendal, 1915) has a list of Frankland's students, pp.552-612.

<sup>152</sup> See Anon, Remarks on Mr.Peploe's Sermon preach'd at the Assizes holden at Lancaster, April the 7th, 1710. In a Letter of Advice, By a hearty lover of the Church and present constitution. (Printed for William Grice, Booksellers, in Ormskirk, 1710), in which Peploe is taken to task for employing a



England 'the liberal education offered in the Dissenting academies began to be recognised increasingly by the burgeoning middle class as the best available modern education'.<sup>153</sup> Their example was such that they were imitated by the Episcopalians in Scotland and were seen as a threat to the universities in the eighteenth century.<sup>154</sup>

The first Dissenting academy in the north of England was begun by Richard Frankland. Ejected from his living in County Durham he returned to his native Rathmell, West Riding, and opened his academy there on the 8th of March, 1669/70.<sup>155</sup> Founded in the persecution period, the college had to move frequently. The successors to Frankland's academy were established by Timothy Jolly at Attercliffe, Yorkshire, and by John Chorlton in Manchester (1699-1713), the town being a haven for Nonconformists because the Five Mile Act could not be applied to them there.<sup>156</sup> Thomas Dixon's Academy at Whitehaven (c.1708-23) had the support of two of the largest and wealthiest Dissenting congregations in the country. Dixon wrote to John Evans in 1717 that the 'Dissenters here by trade have such an influence on elections that with the Dissenters at Cockermouth, they turn them as they please'.<sup>157</sup> It was subsequently at Bolton (1723-1729), a strong Nonconformist centre in Lancashire.

Frankland's academy was theologically Calvinist, though a theological progression occurred with his students. Very early on he had established links with the Scottish universities, six of his students

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curate who was trained in a 'Presbyterian Seminary' and who he advised to attend university in Glasgow, 'laying before him several Arguments as to the pure Discipline there taught, and undefiled Religion there profess'd'. I would like to thank Richard Harrison for bringing this reference to my attention. E. G. Rupp, Religion in England, 1688-1791, (Oxford, 1986), pp.173, 280.

<sup>153</sup> A. C. Chitnis, Scottish Enlightenment, p.42.

<sup>154</sup> Smout, History of the Scottish People, pp.445-449.

<sup>155</sup> Richard Frankland, (1630-1698), DNB, VII, pp.626-9. ONK, pp.113-195. Matthews, Calamy Revised (1934), pp.211-12. E. Calamy, Abridgement, ii, pp. 284-88; Continuation, pp.452-3. McLachlan, pp.62-70. T. Whitehead, The History of the Dales Congregational Churches, (Keighley, 1930), pp.46-56. K. W. Wadsworth, Yorkshire United Independent College, (1954), pp.19-29.

<sup>156</sup> The Act stipulated that Nonconformists could not come within five miles of a city, corporate town or parliamentary borough, or any parish, town or place in which he had formerly been 'parson, vicar, curate or stipendiary lecturer or had conducted any Nonconformist service'. Ejected ministers had thus flocked to Manchester during the Restoration; though exempted from the Act under Toleration it was not removed from the statute book until Castlereagh's New Toleration Act of 1812 after various J.P.'s hostile to evangelical preachers tried to enforce it. See Dale, English Congregationalism, pp.430.575-77.

<sup>157</sup> John Evans MS List of Dissenting Congregations and Ministers in England and Wales, 1715-1729, Doctor Williams's Library, MS.38.4.pp.19-20. Bradley, p.101. J. V. Beckett, 'The Making of a Pocket Borough: Cockermouth, 1722-1756' Journal of British Studies, pp.140-157. Watts, p.356 claims one Presbyterian merchant at Cockermouth was worth £ 20,000 p.a. The information is from the Evans List.



attending Edinburgh at the end of the 1676 session<sup>158</sup> 'which was possible at Edinburgh after one year's residence. such was the high opinion entertained by the university authorities of the course of instruction at the academy'.<sup>159</sup> By 1695 Frankland had eighty students. The course was heavily based on logic and theology, the teaching in Latin. Textbooks were 'Latin works by Protestant divines', 'Ponderous and scholastic in form and content, many of them championed a traditional orthodoxy in logic, theology or philosophy'.<sup>160</sup> By his death in 1698, twenty of his students had graduated in Arts at Edinburgh, one at Aberdeen; seven in medicine at Leyden, one each at Utrecht and Padua; seven at Cambridge and one at Oxford.<sup>161</sup>

His work was carried on by several of his students. Timothy Jolly, (son of the Rev. Thomas of Altham) founded an academy at Attercliffe, West Riding (1691-1738). Many of Frankland's students finished their education there. Jolly remained a Calvinist and the Presbyterian Fund supported no more students there after 1696, the Independent Fund taking up the burden.<sup>162</sup> The lineal successor to Rathmell was John Chorlton's Manchester Academy (1699-1713). Chorlton was one of Frankland's students, assistant to Henry Newcome senior<sup>163</sup> at Cross Street Chapel Manchester<sup>164</sup> for eight years. Chorlton moved the academy to Manchester on Frankland's death and in March 1699 'set up teaching university learning in a great house'.<sup>165</sup> In 1700 Chorlton gained the assistance of James Coningham M.A. (Grad. Edinburgh 27.2.1694) in both charges. After Chorlton's death in 1706 Coningham remained until 1712, leaving over divergent theological opinions in the congregation.

The students benefited from the somewhat more cosmopolitan atmosphere of Manchester. James Clegg (M. A. Aberdeen 1729) moved with the academy from Rathmell to Manchester to complete his studies and to make use of Chetham's Library. Here he came into contact with so many of the books that would influence the minds of the next generation of Dissent:

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<sup>158</sup> ONK, p.128

<sup>159</sup> McLachlan, pp.23-30, 64.

<sup>160</sup> ibid., p.20.

<sup>161</sup> ibid., p.70.

<sup>162</sup> David Hey, The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire: Sheffield and its Neighbourhood, 1660-1740, (Leicester, 1991), p.266.

<sup>163</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp.317-8; Matthews, Calamy Revised p.362.

<sup>164</sup> LN, 5, pp.81-107.

<sup>165</sup> McLachlan, p.115.

It was there [Chetham's] I first met with the works of Episcopus, Crellius etc. The writings of Socinus and his followers made little impression on me only I could never after be entirely reconciled to the common doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>166</sup>

In many of the academies while the old Protestant Latin texts were still read most of the students were reading far more widely. The effect this had on students' theological orthodoxy can be illustrated with reference to two of the Manchester Academy's ablest pupils, Samuel Bourne and Thomas Dixon.

Samuel Bourne the younger (1689-1754)<sup>167</sup> was the son of a Calvinist Nonconformist divine from Bolton.<sup>168</sup> He seems to have acquired non-subscribing tendencies under Coningham's tuition, for at his ordination at Crook, Westmorland, in 1711 he refused to subscribe to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism and the neighbouring ministers were unable to concur in his ordination. He maintained the theology of his father until 1719, though Toulmin says he found the Calvinism of his neighbouring ministers irksome.<sup>169</sup> Upon reading the debate between Samuel Clarke and Daniel Waterland he accepted the Clarkean scheme, became an Arian and left Crook in 1720 for Tunley near Wigan. In 1727 he accepted the pastorate of Chorley and in 1732 he was called to the New Meeting, Birmingham.<sup>170</sup> Here he began a full scale attack on catechisms in his An Address to Protestant Dissenters, (1736), issuing his own instructional work, Lectures to Children, (1738). Bourne's catechism was approved of by the major English Arminian Presbyterian divines and became something of an Arminian manifesto; it went into three editions with an especially popular one in 1748 and its popularity led to children in Presbyterian schools being taught not the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism but 'the principles of common Christianity'.<sup>171</sup> Bourne's introduction to the third edition, Religious Education Begun and Carried on in Three Catechisms, (1748) illustrates how far the progression had gone:

Let your children know that religion is a nobler thing than sectarian bigotry, dry opinions and fruitless faith; that it lies in the image of God on the Soul, a likeness to God and Jesus Christ in Justice, kindness and charity; that it consisteth in heavenly

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<sup>166</sup> *ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>167</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Samuel Bourne the younger (1689-1754)', *DNB*, 2, pp.933-935.

<sup>168</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Samuel Bourne the elder (1648-1719)', *DNB*, 2, p.932. Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp.218-19.

<sup>169</sup> Sell, p.46. Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', p.161. The source for this comment is Joshua Toulmin, Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bourne, (1808).

<sup>170</sup> Bourne kept in touch with Lancashire; both his sons ministered in the county, Joseph at Hindley near Wigan 1746-65 and Samuel at Rivington, 1742-54, after which he proceeded to Norwich and a joint pastorate with John Taylor. Both sons held Glasgow degrees.

<sup>171</sup> English Presbyterians, p.184.

dispositions, devout affections, in rectitude of spirit, purity of soul and universal goodness.<sup>172</sup>

This replaced the stern interlocution of the Shorter Catechism that Bourne had rejected at his ordination:

Question Five: Are there more Gods than One?

Answer: There is but one only, the living and true God.

Question Six: How many persons are there in the Godhead?

Answer: There are three persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory....

Question Thirty Nine: What is the Duty that God requireth of Man?

Answer: The duty which God requireth of man is obedience to his revealed will.<sup>173</sup>

Bourne was a close friend of George Benson and both exemplify the New Scheme preachers of the 1730s. Benson was a native of Great Salkeld, Cumberland, studied under Thomas Dixon of Whitehaven, was forced to leave one congregation because of his Arminianism and settled in London where he became one of the promoters of The Old Whig, a Presbyterian newspaper (1735-1739) printed to reaffirm the principles of civil and religious liberty.<sup>174</sup> Benson later became a Socinian and in print called Locke a prophet.<sup>175</sup> He was very much pre-eminent in the advanced Presbyterian Arminian party, keeping up a huge correspondence with provincial ministers, notably the Rev. Henry Winder of the Benn's Garden/Castle Hey congregation, Liverpool, between 1718-52.<sup>176</sup> What marks these New Light men out is their increasing hostility to Calvinism. Bourne was Benson's contact with Caleb Rotherham at the Kendal Academy and when Benson became one of the Presbyterian Fund managers in 1740 he managed to maintain the funding for Kendal against the wishes of the more

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<sup>172</sup> *ibid.*, p.XV.

<sup>173</sup> P. D. Schaff, (ed.), The Creeds of the Protestant Churches with Translations, (1877), pp.677,684. Other Lancashire ministers produced Scripture catechisms, perhaps most notably the Rev. James Mottershead, trained by Timothy Jolly at Attercliffe, minister of Manchester Cross Street Presbyterian church, 1718-1739; The Plain Catechism for Children, (Manchester, R. Whitworth 1752).

<sup>174</sup> C. Robbins, The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman, (Harvard, 1959), pp.241-43. The newspaper was brought into being by the failure of the campaign to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. Its second number talks of 'inalienable rights'.

<sup>175</sup> G. Benson, The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion as Delivered in the Scriptures, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn J. Waugh, London, 1746), p. 342. This was an attack on the Deist Henry Dodwell; see English Presbyterians, p.189.

<sup>176</sup> Rev. Dr. Henry Winder, (b. Hutton John, Greystock, Cumberland), trained by Dixon at Whitehaven and Boyse in Dublin. Minister respectively at Tunley 1714-19, Liverpool 1719-1752. DD.Glasgow, 1740. See LN, 6, pp.113-4. UCC/JRL/Cupb.B1.12, Benson Collection 4, Henry Winder to George Benson, six letters, 1734-1745.



orthodox members of the board. Benson was vehemently opposed to the middle way of the Independent Arminian Philip Doddridge at the Northampton Academy and saw Rotherham's efforts as a counter to Doddridge. They came to see their cause increasingly as a Manichean struggle. Bourne writing to Benson on the 2nd of December, 1743, claimed that 'in almost every town' in the Midlands 'there is a struggle between Light and Darkness'.<sup>177</sup>

Thomas Dixon was the other eminent student to emerge from the Manchester Academy, there 1700-05, graduating M.A. Edinburgh in 1709.<sup>178</sup> He became minister of the Whitehaven Presbyterian church in 1708, assisted by John Barclay (M.A. Edinburgh 1705) as tutor in mathematics until 1713 when he became minister in North Berwick, East Lothian.<sup>179</sup> In 1718 Dixon was awarded M.D. from King's College, Aberdeen. In 1723 he removed the academy to Bolton practising there until his death in 1729. Whilst at Whitehaven, Dixon was involved in a secession from the Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, Protestant Dissenting church during the ministry of the Rev. John Magee (appointed 1713/14). The split seems to have been between Arminians and Calvinists.<sup>180</sup> Dixon, a native of Ravenstonedale, sent one of his students, Caleb Rotherham, to minister to the seceders for a year before his removal to the Kendal pastorate in 1716.<sup>181</sup> Dixon administered the sacraments to the seceders and sent another student, James Mallinson<sup>182</sup> to serve them before his removal to York in 1717, the seceders eventually returning to the original church.<sup>183</sup> Dixon's most notable graduates

<sup>177</sup> English Presbyterians, p.199, p.188, Benson MSS, Bourne to Benson, 27.10.1739 calls Calvinists 'Antinomian bigots'. A. P. F. Sell, 'A Little Friendly Light: The Candour of Bourne, Taylor and Towgood', JURCHS, Vol. 4, num. 9, December 1991, pp.517-540; Vol. 10, May, 1992, pp.580-613.

<sup>178</sup> Charles Surman's Index. DWL, 1269. C. J. Street, Bank Street Chapel Bolton, (1896). J. H. Turner, The Nonconformist Register...Compiled by...O. Heywood, (1881), p.304.

<sup>179</sup> ONK, p.295.

<sup>180</sup> Sell, pp.44-5.

<sup>181</sup> *ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>182</sup> J. H. Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', CHST, 3, 1907-08, pp.218 is of the opinion that Mallinson was from Penruddock, Cumberland, and had come under the influence of Joseph Dodson, minister there who was subsequently charged at the Provincial Meeting at Keswick, 1719 by the orthodox Jonathan Atkison of Stainton, Westmorland. of holding an Arian interpretation. See Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', pp.160-62.

<sup>183</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', suggests they returned immediately. Sell, p.45, suggests they returned in 1723 with the cessation of the Presbyterian Fund grant. See also W. Nicholls, The History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale, (Manchester, 1877). B. Dale and T. G. Crippen, 'The Ancient Meeting House Ravenstonedale', CHST, 3, 1907-08, pp.91-103. F. Nicholson and E. Axon, 'The Ancient Meeting House at Ravenstonedale', CHST, 4, num.1, January 1909, p.59. P. L. Woodger and J. E. Hunter, The High Chapel: The Study of Ravenstonedale Congregational Church, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn with supplement by the Rev. J. D. Owen, (1960).

were the aforementioned George Benson (b. Great Salkeld, Cumberland, 1699), John Taylor (b. Lancaster, 1694) and Caleb Rotherham (b. Great Salkeld, 1694).

Caleb Rotherham the elder (1694-1752) was minister to the Kendal Dissenters from 1716 and founded the Academy in 1733, Dixon having been dead for four years. Halley claimed that it was Rotherham's students that did much to turn Lancashire Protestant Dissent Unitarian.<sup>184</sup> Other academies played a role in this development, notably the Presbyterian Fund supported academies at Findern near Derby (?1710-1754), Taunton (1670-1759) and Carmarthen (1668-1820).<sup>185</sup> The Findern Academy was a major source of Arminian divines. John Barker, the orthodox member of the Presbyterian Fund who opposed Rotherham, was equally hostile to Ebenezer Latham's Findern Academy.<sup>186</sup>

The Congregational Fund established academies to stem the tide of Arminianism but they became just as liberal as the Presbyterian Fund academies. The Congregational Fund's London Academy was orthodox under Isaac Chauncey (1701-12) but under his successor, the Arminian Independent John Eames, the academy became more liberal. The King's Head Society, founded in 1730 by Congregationalists to counter Arminianism, merged its academy with the Congregational Fund in 1744.<sup>187</sup> They were reduced to eventually sending their students to other academies and with one student left in 1798 were dissolved and reformed.

The apotheosis of the process of liberalisation can be seen in the academy at Northampton run by the Arminian Independent Philip Doddridge (1729-51). He taught both sides of any theological argument, the epitome of a middle way Arminian approach. He likened himself to his old tutor: 'He does not follow the doctrines or phrases of any particular party but is sometimes a Calvinist, sometimes an Arminian and sometimes a Baxterian, as truth and evidence determine him'.<sup>188</sup> Halley was of the opinion that the students at Northampton surpassed even Rotherham's students :

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<sup>184</sup> Robert Halley, Lancashire; Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, (1869), Vol.2, pp. 394-5.

<sup>185</sup> English Presbyterians, pp.192-3. McLachlan, pp.131-34, 70-75, 52-62.

<sup>186</sup> Barker writing to Doddridge in 1750 claimed that Latham was incompetent and that his students did no honour to the Dissenting cause. G. F. Nuttall, The Calendar and Correspondence of Philip Doddridge D.D., (HMSO 1979), p.158

<sup>187</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, p.501. The Congregational Calendar, 1885, pp.43-46, 561, 558-89.

<sup>188</sup> English Presbyterians, p.195.

On comparison of the Lancashire ministers belonging to the middle of the century, those educated in the Independent academies of Northampton and Daventry, under Doddridge and Ashworth, were more decided and active in promoting the new theology than those who had been educated in the Presbyterian academy under Dr. Rotherham in Kendal.<sup>189</sup>

With the closing of these broadly catholic institutions: Northampton in 1751, Findern in 1752 and Taunton in 1759, the tradition of the academy as a unifying force in English Dissent was over. Academies began to be established on denominational lines and run by trustees, such as Warrington, opened in 1757, training Presbyterians and Anglicans for university and secular professions but decidedly not attractive as a theological college for the Congregational ministry.<sup>190</sup> The parting of the ways is clear in the experience of the successor academy to Northampton, at Daventry (1752-89).<sup>191</sup> The students there learnt orthodoxy from the principal Caleb Ashworth and heterodoxy from his assistant Samuel Clark and were challenged to make up their own minds. Daventry had very few Congregational Fund students<sup>192</sup> despite ostensibly being an Independent college, funded by the orthodox Coward Trust<sup>193</sup> which withdrew its support after the Divinity tutor Thomas Belsham became Unitarian.<sup>194</sup>

### The Scottish Universities.

The Scottish universities that Frankland's students experienced in 1676 were very different affairs after the Revolution. Prior to 1689 the Knoxian view outlined in the Book of Discipline of 1561 prevailed; the function of the university was to turn out ministers.<sup>195</sup> A purge took place in 1690, a

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<sup>189</sup> Halley, 2, p.381.

<sup>190</sup> UCC/JRL/ MSS cupb. B, The Proceedings of the Trustees of the Warrington Academy, 2 Vols. from the original in Manchester College, Oxford, by Francis Nicholson, December, 1886. P. D. O'Brien, Warrington Academy, 1757-1786: its predecessors and successors, (Wigan, 1989).

<sup>191</sup> McLachlan, pp.152-65.

<sup>192</sup> English Presbyterians, pp.212, 225.

<sup>193</sup> Records in the URC Library, according to William St. Claire, The Godwins and the Shelleys: The Biography of a Family, (1989), 'Chapter One'.

<sup>194</sup> Thomas Belsham, 1770-81, Mathematics tutor, 1781-89 Divinity tutor. T. Belsham, Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey, (1820), pp.218-22. Belsham became increasingly radical. Friend of Priestley, tutor at Hackney, minister at the Essex Street Chapel London 1805 onwards. When the British and Foreign Unitarian Society was founded in 1825 it was Belsham who opposed the entry of Arians and the Irish nonsubscribers. Ian Sellers, The Political and Social Ideas of Representative Unitarians, 1795-1850, unpublished B.Litt. Thesis, Keble College, Oxford.

<sup>195</sup> T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830, (1969), p.68. Jones, 'The Polite Academy', 1982, p.159.



political and religious realignment: 'All principals and regents were required to subscribe an oath of allegiance and to declare their belief in the articles of faith of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland'. A new breed of man came in under Whig patronage. Gerschom Carmichael obtained his regency at Glasgow in 1694 through the patronage of his kinsman Lord Carmichael, Chancellor of the University from 1692 and Secretary of State for Scotland from 1696. As a result of this vested interest in the Revolutionary settlement, a secularised function became increasingly important in the universities, that of teaching Whig theories of government and the bases of citizenship, hence the emphasis on moral philosophy that was to come to dominate Glasgow. Carmichael followed Samuel Pufendorf in conceiving of moral philosophy as 'nothing but the study of natural jurisprudence or the demonstration of the duties of man and the citizen from knowledge of the nature of things and the circumstances of human life'.<sup>196</sup> The function of the university was no longer to turn out ministers but citizens, though one should not underestimate the degree of conflict this provoked as Moderate and orthodox Presbyterians continued to debate the principles of clerical education.<sup>197</sup> By 1720 the Arts degree course structure had collapsed:

Whereas in theory the student went through each prescribed part of the Arts curriculum in a pre-ordained order, and then proceeded to Divinity, Law or Medicine, in fact from 1720 onwards the practice of taking the M.A. virtually disappeared. The only students interested in fulfilling the degree requirements were the dwindling number passing on to the Divinity school; for the rest, they simply attended such classes as were thought to be most useful to them.<sup>198</sup>

I want to examine the institutional and intellectual changes underlying this and to examine the role of English Dissenters in the changes and the influence of the Scottish universities in English Dissent.

Adam Smith in the Wealth of Nations was convinced that the class fee system, whereby students paid for individual classes, was what marked the Scottish universities out as best approximating to the classical ideal of learning in the eighteenth century. 'Only under such conditions would a teacher find

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<sup>196</sup> James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, 'Gerschom Carmichael and the Natural Jurisprudence Tradition in Eighteenth Century Scotland' in L. Hont and M. Ignatieff, (eds), Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, (Cambridge, 1983), p.76.

<sup>197</sup> Nicholas Philipson, 'Politics and Politeness: Anne and the early Hanoverians', in J. G. A. Pocock et al. (eds), The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800, (Cambridge, 1993), pp.211-245, p.240. Nicholas Philipson, 'The Pursuit of Virtue in Scottish University Education: Dugald Stewart and Scottish Moral Philosophy', in Universities, Society and the Future, edited by N. T. Philipson, (Edinburgh, 1983), pp.82-100.

<sup>198</sup> *ibid.*, p.158. J. B. Morrell, 'The University of Edinburgh in the Later Eighteenth Century: Its Scientific Eminence and Academic Structure', ISIS, LXII, 1971, pp.168-9.

it worth his while to provide his pupils with what they required, and the pupil have a real interest in seeking out the best teachers'.<sup>199</sup> Student fees supplementing salaries were considered to promote academic excellence:

Eighteenth century commentators noted that wherever such incentives were lacking, such as at Oxford and a handful of Regius chairs at Edinburgh, professors tended to give up lecturing and regard their chairs as sinecures.<sup>200</sup>

In part this system was forced on the Scottish universities through expediency. Intellectually trailing in the wake of the Dutch universities in the seventeenth century the universities suffered from the increasing tendency for the gentry to send their sons to the Netherlands for a first rate education.<sup>201</sup> The class fee and the replacement of regenting with the professorial system were part of the response. Instead of the regent taking the student through the whole four year course the professorial system was intended to offer a degree of specialism and professionalism. Edinburgh initiated the changes in 1708. The Principal of Edinburgh University from 1703 (and Moderator of the General Assembly) was William Carstares<sup>202</sup> who had experienced the professorial system at first hand in the Dutch universities. The reorganisation was intended to relieve the financial burden the town council bore. The institution of the chair of 'Pnewmatics and Moral Philosophy' in 1708 illustrates the importance of the class fee.<sup>203</sup> Moral and religious training for young men was still considered an important component of education. Because the Moral Philosophy class tied up loose ends of the curriculum with lectures given at odd hours a special financial arrangement was needed: the professor was given £50 on top of his salary on the condition that no fee be charged. Initially when student fees were under a guinea and the college only had 400 students the arrangement favoured the professor:

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<sup>199</sup> Jones, 'The Polite Academy', p.158. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, (eds), Adam Smith's An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations, (Oxford, 1976), pp.758-82.

<sup>200</sup> Richard B. Sher, 'Professors of Virtue: The Social History of the Edinburgh Moral Philosophy Chair in the Eighteenth Century' in M. A. Stewart, (ed.), Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, (Oxford, Clarendon 1990), p.90. Thomas Reid, 'A Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow' in W. Hamilton, (ed.), Philosophical Works of Thomas Reid, Vol.2. (repr. Hildesheim, 1967), p.733.

<sup>201</sup> Jones, 'The Polite Academy', p.156.

<sup>202</sup> A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Scottish Church, 1688-43, (Edinburgh St. Andrew's, 1973), pp.1-21.

<sup>203</sup> A. Bower, The History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh 1817), pp.70-75. A. Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh, Vol.1, (London, 1884), pp.258-64.



As the years passed, however, inflation, the rapid growth of the college, and the increase in the real income from student fees that came with rising prosperity, greatly decreased the value of this chair relative to others.<sup>204</sup>

Sher claims this had much to do with the weakness of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh up until 1764, an area which Glasgow came to dominate. There were some distinct advantages to Glasgow not abandoning the regenting system until 1727, which I will discuss subsequently. Glasgow also did not have the baleful disadvantage of the Edinburgh town council filling chairs with undistinguished philosophers of the correct moral and religious persuasions on the basis of kinship ties.<sup>205</sup>

Institutional and intellectual developments increased the attraction of the Scottish universities to the English Dissenters; there was even an attempt at Edinburgh to formalise the relationship. Carstares corresponded with major English Dissenters, planning a residential college for the English. This opportunity to increase the flow of hard currency from the south was scuppered by the Edinburgh town councils refusal to finance the scheme.<sup>206</sup> The Common/Presbyterian Fund had been supporting students abroad from 1690, favouring Utrecht<sup>207</sup> but from 1700 it became normal to go to Scotland and usually to Glasgow where Daniel Williams supported a number of students and endowed a scholarship.<sup>208</sup> Carstares' reforms made Edinburgh somewhat more attractive but the town was still too tainted with Jacobitism for most English Dissenters' liking. Intellectual developments at Glasgow made it more attractive.

Another structural reason for the English Dissenters' rush to the Scottish universities was the dropping of Latin as the language of instruction. Francis Hutcheson at Glasgow is credited with the innovation but John Stevenson at Edinburgh has some claim too.<sup>209</sup> Charles Morton at his Newington

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<sup>204</sup> Sher, 'Professors of Virtue', pp.90-91. For the rapid growth of the university and the intricacies of the fee system see R. L. Emerson, 'Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1800', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 167, 1977, pp.453-74.

<sup>205</sup> Sher, 'Professors of Virtue', p.89. Marischal College Aberdeen and St. Andrew's abandoned regenting mid-century, King's College Aberdeen in 1795.

<sup>206</sup> Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS., La.11.407, 'Consideration and Proposal for encouraging of parents in sending theis sones to the Universitye of Edinburgh' and letters from Carstares to Edmund Calamy, Daniel Williams, Charles Taylor, 1709. Jane Rendall, The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment, (1978), pp.51-2.

<sup>207</sup> O. M. Griffiths, Religion and Learning, (Cambridge 1935), pp.178. Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.182, citing the Common Fund Minutes for the 15th of February, 1691/2. Mr. John Toland, a young student [M.A. Edinburgh, 1690] residing at present in or near this City, granted £8 Bursary to perfect his studies at Utrecht or Leiden.

<sup>208</sup> *ibid.*, pp.181-2. University of Glasgow MSS Stirling Correspondence with Daniel Williams. English Presbyterians, p.196.

<sup>209</sup> Professor M. A. Stewart informs me that teaching was going on in the Medical faculty in English and there is evidence for the earlier use of English.



Green Academy, London (c.1675-1686) had taught some studies in English.<sup>210</sup> Doddridge at Northampton taught only in English. Between 1720-50 'the predominance of Latin as the language of academic discourse seems to have been broken for good'.<sup>211</sup> This is a function of intellectual developments as well. The Scots had been trained in the Dutch universities, which had dominated the translation of English theology and the scholastic Latin of Protestant Orthodoxy into the vernacular tongues of Europe for a century.<sup>212</sup> In adding notes and scholia on the Dutch texts, in writing their own compends and introducing English authors, the lingua franca of continental scholarship was abandoned. A good Lockean would realise the problems of natural demonstrations penetrating the shoddy Latin of many of the students.<sup>213</sup> The adoption of English also has a great deal to do with the efforts at integration after the Act of Union, as witnessed by the growth of Literary Societies and *Belle Lettrism* in Scotland. 'The success of the new policy of teaching in English may be judged by the way in which a net export of Scottish students gave place to a net import of Englishmen and other foreign students'.

#### **Intellectual Developments in the Scottish Universities: Moral Philosophy and the English Dissenters.**

The growth of advanced thinking and heterodox theology in the Scottish universities must be viewed against the growth of Moderatism in the Church of Scotland and the Moderates control of the General Assembly. This was doggedly resisted by the presbyteries and congregations in the Scottish church. This struggle between popular evangelical conceptions of the church and denominational, polite and rational conceptions reflect developments common in all eighteenth century churches.

The Presbyterianism returned to Scotland with the Revolutionary settlement was by no means monolithic. The extreme covenanting Presbyterians had rejected the settlement.<sup>214</sup> William III clipped the wings of the General Assembly, insisting on toleration, indeed the Episcopalians nearly

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<sup>210</sup> McLachlan, p.78; W. Wilson, Memoirs of Daniel Defoe, i, p.21.

<sup>211</sup> Jones, 'The Polite Academy', pp.172-3.

<sup>212</sup> W. R. Ward, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening, (Cambridge, 1992), pp.10-11

<sup>213</sup> Part of Simson's defence in 1715-1717 was that his student did not have sufficient Latin to comprehend his meaning.

<sup>214</sup> W. J. Couper, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1925). I. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-88, (1976). M. Hutchinson, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: Its Origins and History, 1680-1876, (Paisley, 1893).

managed to convince William of a measure of comprehension.<sup>215</sup> Most ministers conformed, obliterating older Presbyterianism. William's plea to the second sitting of the General Assembly in October 1690 sees the rise of the Moderate party. The men who led the Church of Scotland increasingly lost any connection with their covenanting past. There was little that would have divided Carstares in outlook and theology from his friend Gilbert Burnet. By the time of John Currie's Moderatorship in 1709, we have someone who had no experience of any office during the Restoration. Moderator William Hamilton from 1712 (also Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh 1709 onwards) exemplified the change. Wodrow said of him 'by severalls who knew him well' 'it is thought he is departed from the Calvinist doctrines taught in the church'.<sup>216</sup>

The Act of Union scuppered the General Assembly's hope of enforcing Presbyterianism throughout Scotland. The Greenshields case of 1709, upheld when it came to the House of Lords in 1711,<sup>217</sup> put an end to the General Assembly trying to discipline those outside their communion and the 1712 Acts of Patronage and Toleration further strengthened the Episcopalians and property owners power, ensuring the gradual decay of popular control of the church. A bitter struggle ensued between a Moderate dominated General Assembly supporting the rights of heritors under the 1712 Patronage Act to intrude educated ministers into livings and congregations and presbyteries seeking the right to retain the call of a minister. The ministers the Moderates required from the universities were polite, Erastian and willing to uphold Principal Robertson's central contention, that membership of a society meant obeying its rules.

Certainly from 1689, and arguably before this date, theology was in decline in the Scottish universities and moral philosophy was in the ascendant. This was a function of the decline in the importance of turning out ministers, the change in the conception of the ministry and the need under the Whig settlement to turn out good citizens in defence of the church and nation against Jacobite, Episcopalian, Covenanter and Catholic.

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<sup>215</sup> F. Goldie, A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1976). J. P. Lawson, History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, (1843).

<sup>216</sup> Robert Wodrow, Analecta; or Materials for a History of remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scottish Ministers and Christians, 4 Vols, (Edinburgh, 1842), Vol. 3, p.139.

<sup>217</sup> D. Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-1714, (Edinburgh, 1984), pp.86-7. P. J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-27, (1964), p.233.

Scholastic Calvinism had been on its way out during the Restoration. The dominant minds of the Scottish Restoration universities had been Episcopalian churchmen and scholars: Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow (1669-71), Robert Leighton and Henry Scougal. Leighton (1611-84) was Principal of Edinburgh University 1653-62, Bishop of Dunblane and then Archbishop of Glasgow. Whilst somewhat accommodating to natural religion he came down firmly on the side of revelation in faith and morals<sup>218</sup> as did Scougal (1650-78), Episcopal regent and professor at King's College Aberdeen.<sup>219</sup> Both taught a mystical fideism that had a strong influence in the Scottish universities well into the eighteenth century through their championing by Presbyterian regents and professors. The survival of the Episcopalian theologians in the eighteenth century has much to do with the lack of theological works published after 1689. Theological controversy had been discouraged under the delicately balanced mechanism of the Second Episcopate. Post-1689 'the new generation of churchmen had lost the old theological passion. Despite an enormous flood of pamphlets no theological writings of any quality were produced by either side for many years'.<sup>220</sup> The Episcopalians recycled the works of the English Non-Jurors. Theologians in the Church of Scotland were constrained by the Westminster Confession; they could not publish speculative theology. Their silence in publishing theological works only served to confirm to many that they doubted Calvinist dogma. Only the Covenanters still revered the theology of Samuel Rutherford and his view that 'the natural understanding is the most whorish thing in the world'.<sup>221</sup>

By 1700 philosophers were replacing divines as the chief inquirers into the grounds for acceptable belief and applying the epistemological shift in natural philosophy to moral philosophy. The retention of the regenting system at Glasgow was therefore something of an advantage:

Because Scottish regents taught all areas of philosophy to their charges over a three or four year period, any novelty which interested them was likely to be reflected in

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<sup>218</sup> J. Aikman, (ed.). The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, DD., (Edinburgh, 1832). R. L. Emerson, 'Science and Moral Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment', in M. A. Stewart, (ed.), Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, (Oxford, Clarendon 1990).

<sup>219</sup> G. D. Henderson, The Mystics of the North East, (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1934).

<sup>220</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, pp.11,103-4. Brooke, Ulster Presbyterianism, pp.93-4. Andrew Thompson, The Origins of the Secession Church, (Edinburgh, 1848), p.188. The importance of imported English theology is discussed later.

<sup>221</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, p.66. John A. Lamb, 'Samuel Rutherford 1600-1661', in R. S. Wright, (ed.). Fathers of the Kirk, (Oxford, 1960).



more than one field of enquiry', 'Natural philosophy shaped moral philosophy and tended to shape it in a way which emphasised human choice and freedom.'<sup>222</sup>

The Revolution boosted this trend, bringing in new men and promoting a moral philosophy emphasising the basis of government and the nature of political obligation:

All the eighteenth century moral philosophy courses operated within a general ideological framework which was fundamentally Whig-Presbyterian. Professors of this subject were expected to teach natural religion and instil conventional moral and religious principles, as well as respect for the Hanoverian establishment and "constitution".<sup>223</sup>

The Moderates within the Church of Scotland and the English Dissenters therefore had a common cause. Explicit in Carstares plan for the English college was the notion that the presence of the English in Edinburgh would counter the effect of Jacobitism in the town

A strong case can be made for the English and to an even greater extent the Irish students radicalising their tutors in the early eighteenth century, the class fee giving them obvious leverage. The Irish students came from a highly charged atmosphere in the north. The Toleration Act was not extended to Ireland until 1719.<sup>224</sup> The Schism Act was repealed in the same year having crippled Irish academies for five years. Irish Presbyterians had suffered a Church of Ireland counteroffensive from the 1690's onwards, culminating in a 1704 penal law against Catholics that was returned from the English parliament with a clause barring Irish Protestant Dissenters from public office if they refused to take the sacrament according to the Church of Ireland.<sup>225</sup> Issues of Toleration were therefore pressing to Irish Dissenters and they forced them to be debated at Glasgow.<sup>226</sup> At the same time the battle over creeds and confessions was raging in the Synod of Ulster; John Abernathy's Belfast Society had begun the movement for non-subscription:

The ministers of the Belfast Society were more up to date in Biblical criticism and more humane in their religion than most of their Scottish counterparts. The students they sent to Glasgow put intolerable strains on a Divinity Professor who, despite his own Arian leanings and willingness to allow considerable open debate, had at the

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<sup>222</sup> Emerson, 'Science and Moral Philosophy', pp.17, 34.

<sup>223</sup> Sher, 'Professors of Virtue', p.88.

<sup>224</sup> J. C. Beckett, Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 1687-1780, (1968), Vol. Two of 'Studies in Irish History', edited by T. W. Moody, R. D. Edwards, D. B. Quinn; Chapter Seven. 'The Toleration Act of 1719'.

<sup>225</sup> Brooke, Ulster Presbyterianism, p.67.

<sup>226</sup> I. M. Bishop, The Education of Ulster Students at Glasgow University During the Eighteenth Century, unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's, Belfast, 1987.

same time, to watch his rear from attacks from a highly conservative neighbourhood.<sup>227</sup>

Robert Simson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow was inevitably accused of heterodoxy at the General Assembly of 1714. Simson had been reading Locke and had 'adopted some hypotheses different from what are commonly found among orthodox divines, that are not evidently founded on scripture, and tend to attribute too much to natural reason'.<sup>228</sup> There is evidence of at least one English student at Glasgow supporting Simson.<sup>229</sup> Jonathan Woodworth had been to Charles Owen's ill fated academy in Warrington before it was closed down by the 1714 Schism Act.<sup>230</sup> He then entered Glasgow university as a theology student, graduating in 1715. In letters to his brother in law in Lancashire, the Rev. Peter Walkden<sup>231</sup> he describes how 'a minister in Edenburg accused ye Professor of Heterodoxy and teaching doctrines contrary to ye confession of faith'. Woodworth and others transcribed Simson's defence to hand to the members of the presbytery before the Assembly. The case went into committee until 1717 when Simson conformed and claimed he had been misunderstood.

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<sup>227</sup> M. A. Stewart, 'Academic Freedom: The Origins of an Idea', Bulletin of the Australian Society for Legal Philosophy, Vol.16, No.57, 1991/2, pp.1-32; M. A. Stewart, 'John Smith and the Molesworth Circle', Eighteenth Century Ireland, pp.90-102.

<sup>228</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, p.32.

<sup>229</sup> James Bromley, 'Correspondence of the Rev. Peter Walkden: Letters from a Lancashire Student at Glasgow During the Revolution of 1715', THSLC, 36, 1884, pp.15-32.

<sup>230</sup> There were many other individual initiatives in which ministers undertook tutorial work. The Rev. Edward Rothwell was trained by Frankland and from 1693 at Bispham, Tunley and Holcombe (1699-1731) where he trained young men for the ministry; see LN, 3, pp.158-160.

<sup>231</sup> William Dobson, (ed.), Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden, Nonconformist Minister for the Years 1725, 1729, 1730, (Preston, 1866). For some other English students at Glasgow at the time see the Nicholson MSS, UCC/JRL/cupb.D 68, material dealing with Stand school and Glasgow University; 20 letters from Matthew Nicholson to his sons at Stand grammar school and to Samuel Nicholson at Glasgow University 1721-1735; four letters from Dorothy Nicholson to Samuel at Glasgow, 1733-1744. Both John Dean and Timothy Nelson from Cumberland attended Glasgow 1755-1760 and were subsequently ministers at Alston and Great Salkeld, Cumberland. See Adam Dean's (Kirkoswald) letters to George Benson. A letter exists from six eminent London ministers, including Edmund Calamy, to the Rev. Mr. Stirling, Principal of Glasgow University, 15th of October, 1717. They were seeking information about Joseph Steadman, an English student expelled from the faculty of Divinity for drunkenness in 1712 and his calumnies against Samuel Lawrence, a student from Nantwich, Cheshire; see Charles E. Surman, 'Records', UHST, Vol. 9, n.4, October, 1950, pp. 222-225. Richard Baron, b. Leeds, attended the University of Glasgow, October 1737-May, 1740, studied under Hutcheson and Simson. Assistant minister to William Pendlebury at Rotherham chapel. Radical Dissenter, produced an edition of Milton, moved to London, ord. Pinners Hall 1753; see Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman, pp.259-261. Oliver Heywood's two sons attended Edinburgh in the mid-1670s, see Oliver Heywood's Diary. Richard Kay in his diary notes that his school friend John Ashworth had attended Glasgow after their schooling together and there is more than a hint of regret in the comments that his former equal was 'upon a level with my Self, and now so far outstripping and excelling me thro' his Education in many amiable and desirable Accommodations and Recommendations'; W. Brockbank and the Rev. F. Kenworthy, The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51 of Baldingstone, near Bury: A Lancashire Doctor, (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol. 41, 3rd series, 1968), pp.13-14.



What should be stressed here is the interconnectedness of divines and academics from England, Ireland and Scotland who shared an cross-border intellectual traffic that continued to monitor developments in the separate nations of the union. Clearly our understanding of the English Protestant Dissenting community or the Protestant Dissenters of Lancashire in the period before 1750 cannot be understood at all if we ignore this continual transfusion of ideas and people. One example should suffice. Henry Winder, born at Hutton John in Greystoke parish, Cumberland in 1693, attended Dixon's academy at Whitehaven (1708-1712). The Whitehaven church had been founded in 1693, it was said by Presbyterian refugees from Ireland. He completed his training with Joseph Boyse in Dublin (1712-1714). Boyse was a Presbyterian polemicist, a vindicator of Protestant Dissent, controverting with the Church of Ireland clergy over the nature of primitive episcopacy, whose co-pastor until 1702 had been the anti-Trinitarian, Thomas Emlyn.<sup>232</sup> Boyse supported the New Light in the Irish Presbyterian subscription controversy of the 1720s. He was a patron of Dixon's Whitehaven Academy and he was probably instrumental in securing Francis Hutcheson to run the Dissenting Academy in Dublin (1719-1729), in which Boyse taught divinity until his death in 1728.<sup>233</sup> Winder became minister of the Protestant Dissenting chapel at Tunley, Lancashire, in 1714, though he retained his links with Boyse. He moved to the Castle Hey/Benn's Garden chapel in Liverpool in 1719, the Protestant Dissenting community there having built the Hope Chapel specifically for Irish Presbyterians. Developments in Ireland were carefully monitored by him, after the need for Irish Protestant Dissenting ministers to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles had been dropped under the 1719 Toleration Act (Ireland). Winder, an ardent supporter of non-subscription, was an observer at the Belfast sub-synod debate on subscription in 1723, and Boyse, though in the Southern Association, took a healthy part in arguing for non-subscription. The debate ended with the non-subscribers of the Presbytery of Ulster being lumped together in the non-subscribing Presbytery of Antrim in 1725.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> ONK, pp.541-542. Joseph Boyse was a student of Richard Frankland, (16th of April, 1674) and Edward Veal in London. Correspondent with Ralph Thoresby. His nephew Thomas Jackson, similarly from Leeds, may have been trained by Frankland, see ONK, p.611. He attended St. Andrews and received his M.A. from Edinburgh in 1694. Joined Boyse in Dublin, probably minister of Downpatrick, 1700-1708. Correspondent with Ralph Thoresby. See also H. McLachlan, 'The Irish Academies' in Essays and Addresses, pp.171-175 for the Dublin Academy. Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3. Joseph Boyce, British Library Additional MSS, 4275, f.84; 4275, f.56; 4276, f.139; 4276, f.223; 4275, f.311; 4275, f.329; 4275, ff.78-83; 4301 ff.242-249.

<sup>233</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Joseph Boyse, (1660-1728)', DNB, 2, p.1041.

<sup>234</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Henry Winder (1693-1752)', DNB, 21, p.637. Henry Winder's lost letter of the 6th of August, 1723, describing his observations in Belfast was printed in the Christian



The defining issue of the age was subscription. Abernathy led the revolt in Ireland against the imposition of tests and synodical oversight, the Irish students at Glasgow waged a legal campaign against lack of representation and clerical interference. The defence of Whig /Presbyterian conceptions of the church promoted a huge polemical outpouring: Boyse in Dublin and William Jameson,<sup>235</sup> the Glasgow historian, both churned out anti-Catholic and anti-Episcopal works. Of more specific interest to the Protestant Dissenters of Cumberland, as will be seen in Chapter Four, they turned their hand to anti-Quaker writings. The boisterous nature of debate certainly had a strong influence on the New Scheme preachers of the north-west of England.

Proponents of each side flowed in either direction. Principal Chalmers of Aberdeen University attended the third meeting of the Salters' Hall debate of 1719, voicing his support for Thomas Bradbury and the cause of subscription.<sup>236</sup> The fate of Simson remained an important issue for the English Dissenters. In 1727 commissioners from several presbyteries demanded that the Assembly investigate Simson on his understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>237</sup> The trial was attended by Charles Owen of Warrington, Moderator of the Warrington Classis and the Cheshire Classis. The Owen family were firm supporters of Whig party interests in Lancashire. His nephew Josiah, minister of Rochdale Protestant Dissenting chapel (1740-52) was chief literary agent for the Whig cause in Lancashire.<sup>238</sup> Simson was suspended but not deposed. Owen received an honorary D.D from Edinburgh University, ostensibly for his Wonders of Redeeming Love but 'the action of the

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Moderator, October, 1827, p.274, from a copy by the Rev. John Porter (1800-1874), the then minister of Toxteth Park Chapel, Liverpool. George Eyre Evans, A History of Renshaw Street Chapel and its institutions: with some account of the former chapels in Castle Hey and Benn's Gardens, Liverpool, (C. Green, London, 1887), pp.2-4 is not very informative but does list some of Winder's MSS. It should be noted that upon Winder's death in 1752, he was succeeded by the Rev. John Henderson, whose family were connected with the Eustace Street congregation, Dublin.

<sup>235</sup> James Tait, 'William Jameson', DNB, 10, pp.672-673. H. McLachlan, The Unitarian College Library: Its History, Contents and Character, (Manchester, 1939), p.70.

<sup>236</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Thomas Bradbury, (1677-1759)', DNB, 2, p.1058. Edmund Calamy, An Historical Account of My Own Life, (1829), Vol. 2, p.403.

<sup>237</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, p.32.

<sup>238</sup> Charles Owen, The Danger of the Church and Kingdom from Foreigners: consider'd in several articles of high importance, (Liverpool, S.Terry and D.Birchall, 3rd edition 1712). Copy owned by the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire. Josiah Owen, National Gratitude Just Tribute for National Deliverances: exemplified in the Discovery of the Powder Plot and Accession of the Prince of Orange to the Throne. A Sermon preach'd to a Society of Protestant Dissenters at Rochdale, November 5th, 1742, (Manchester, R. Whitworth 1742), Manchester Central Library: J. Owen, Jacobite and Non-Juring Principles, freely examined: In a letter to the Master-Tool of the faction at Manchester. With some remarks on...A Christian Catechism etc. said to be wrote bt Dr. D-c-n. (Manchester, R. Whitworth 1747), Wigan Public Library.

university in conferring its diplomas upon four non-subscribers, including Owen, was viewed as a protest against the suspension of Simson'.<sup>239</sup> The practice of awarding honorary degrees to English Dissenters was a measure of the intensity of the struggle going on between the Moderates in the universities and the power of the conservative presbyteries in the General Assembly and a measure of the belief the Moderate university men held that theirs was a common cause with English Dissent.<sup>240</sup> The same heresy trials would have to be endured by Campbell for the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at St. Andrew's in the 1730's and by William Leechman for the Moral Philosophy chair at Glasgow in 1744.<sup>241</sup> Leechman subsequently succeeded in getting Glasgow to confer the DD. on John Taylor in 1756,<sup>242</sup> soon to be tutor at the Warrington Academy, but could not get Glasgow to honour another of Dixon's Whitehaven students who had attended Glasgow, George Benson; they considered him a Socinian.<sup>243</sup> 'Benson's diploma, like that of Doddridge and a great many other Dissenting divines, came eventually from Aberdeen'.<sup>244</sup> In total thirty nine DD.s, ten Doctors of Civil Law and seven MD.s were given as honorary degrees to English Dissenting teachers and authors in the eighteenth century.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> McLachlan, Warrington Academy, p.10.

<sup>240</sup> Sell, 'Philosophy in the Dissenting Academies of England and Wales', p.83 states that 15 out of the 40 tutors in the Dissenting academies received honorary Scottish DDs. Aberdeen awarded 11, one from each of its colleges to Philip Doddridge. Nine of these went to conservative and moderate thinkers and two to theological liberals. Glasgow honoured Taylor; Edinburgh awarded three to theological liberals, notably Caleb Rotherham. C. Robbins, The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman, p.247, James Foster, (1697-1748), eminent contributor to the Old Whig, received a D.D. through the good offices of Fordyce and Blackwell. Isaac Watts received two D.D.s from Edinburgh and Aberdeen, p.263. John Ward, (1679-1758), lecturer at Gresham College, received an Edinburgh D.D. from William Wishart, p. 263. Cotton Mather in Boston, Mass. received a Glasgow D.D. See Kenneth Silverman, The Life and Times of Cotton Mather, (New York. 1984).

<sup>241</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, p.48; Leslie Stephens, 'William Leechman', DNB, 11. p.832.

<sup>242</sup> Wodrow, 'Life of Leechman' prefixed to a Collection of *Sermons*, (1789). J. E. Taylor, History of the Octagon Chapel Norwich, p.31.

<sup>243</sup> Benson was instrumental in obtaining Dr. Williams's exhibitions for many students in the north west, for instance John Dean, the son of Adam Dean (Kirkoswald, Cumberland, Appendix E 2.5). When Dean took his son to Glasgow in 1755 Leechman obtained a pulpit for him to preach in before the magistrates, and they drank a toast to Taylor and Benson. For some elucidation of Benson's contacts with Glasgow see George Benson MSS (5), UCC/JRL/ cupb.B 1.13, Letter from James Gordon in Glasgow on the reverse of a letter from Francis Hutcheson, 17th of March, 1735; Letter from Francis Hutcheson to George Benson, 17th of March, 1735; eight letters from William Leechman to George Benson, 1744-1748, which probably contain information on his trials for the chair of Moral Philosophy.

<sup>244</sup> English Presbyterians, p.197.

<sup>245</sup> N. Hans, New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century, (1966), p.247.



With such a common outlook a deeply symbiotic relationship developed. Scots began to attend English Dissenting academies for their pre-university training. Doddridge at Northampton 'was particularly successful in attracting a number of sons of Scottish gentlemen away from their gravitational drift to the universities of the Netherlands'.<sup>246</sup> Doddridge trained David Fordyce, subsequently Professor of Philosophy at Marischal College Aberdeen (1742-50), whose Dialogues Concerning Education had such a major impact on American and Scottish educational reform.

Central to the relations between the Scottish universities and English Dissent was the huge reputation of the apostolic succession of moral philosophers at Glasgow. Their influence was huge throughout Protestant and Catholic Europe and marks the culmination of the golden age of European moral philosophy, in which British moralists, from Hobbes to Adam Smith, had been of the first importance.<sup>247</sup> Gerschom Carmichael, born in England of Scottish parents, was regent from 1694 to 1727 and was therefore responsible for teaching moral philosophy, natural philosophy, logic and metaphysics.<sup>248</sup> He became Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1727-29. Although in many ways he must be seen as a pre-Enlightenment figure he prepared the way for his student and successor, the Irishman of Scottish extraction, Francis Hutcheson, who held the chair from 1729 to 1744 when he was succeeded by William Leechman. Above all it was Hutcheson who was the darling of the English and Irish Dissenters. 'A whole generation of students for the ministry sat at his feet and absorbed his dispassionate ethics'.<sup>249</sup> Hutcheson preached Whig principles on civil and religious liberty in their eighteenth century "real Whig" or commonwealthman manifestation,<sup>250</sup> recommending a militia over a standing army, mixed government over a simple one and so on. He was so persuasive Leechman claimed 'no student ever left the course without favourable notions of that side of the question which

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<sup>246</sup> Jones, 'The Polite Academy', p.165.

<sup>247</sup> Ward, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening, (Cambridge, 1992), p.11. Norman Fiering, Jonathan Edwards' Moral Thought in its British Context, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981), p.5

<sup>248</sup> Moore and Silverthorne, 'Gerschom Carmichael and Natural Jurisprudence', p.76. James McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy: Biographical, Expository, Critical, from Hutcheson to Hamilton, (London 1875). John Veitch, 'Philosophy in the Scottish University', MIND, 2, 1837, pp.74-91, 207-234.

<sup>249</sup> Drummond and Bulloch, Scottish Church, p.47.

<sup>250</sup> Robbins, Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman, (1959), pp.185-196. William Robert Scott, Francis Hutcheson: His Life, Teaching and Position in the History of Philosophy, (New York, 1966), pp.185-256.



he espoused and defended'. 'Learned and liberal minded, Hutcheson was a firm Whig in politics, a moderate Presbyterian in religion, and a dedicated moralist in the class room'.<sup>251</sup>

In conclusion then many English and Irish Dissenters shared with elements within Scottish Moderatism an elite culture, refined and rational. To many who retained an orthodox pietism these ministers, trustees and professors had gone as far as one could go whilst still retaining the name Christian. A reaction was soon to set in: David Hume's scepticism would force many to re-assess the power of reason and the evangelical revival reawakened the popular piety of the ordinary communicant. In the early 1750's however there did not seem much hope for orthodox Dissent in England; ministerial supply could only be obtained from academies who seemed ineluctably to turn out 'moderate men', some of whom were decidedly immoderate in their hostility to Calvinist orthodoxy, indeed this is what those middle class power brokers in the chapels and meeting houses seemed to require, a minister and a 'creed' that served as an intellectual ornament for their commercial success and social advancement. John Witherspoon caught the mood of what he called this 'Athenian Creed' in his satire of the Moderates in the Church of Scotland. Ecclesiastical Characteristics (1753):

I believe in the beauty and comely proportions of Dame Nature....I believe that the Universe is a huge machine.... and that I myself am a little glorious piece of clockwork'. 'In fine I believe in the Divinity of Lord Shaftesbury, the saintship of Marcus Antonius, the perspicuity of Aristotle, and the perpetual duration of Mr. Hutcheson's works, notwithstanding their present tendency to oblivion. Amen.'<sup>252</sup>

In this chapter I have stressed the transformation of the mentality of Protestant Dissenters in England, examining it as a function of legal restraints and political realities. The intellectualisation of their chapel culture was concurrent with the embourgeoisement of their chapel communities. The increasing endogamy of these communities and the loss of evangelical zeal lead to a numerical decline in the eighteenth-century. In the next chapter I want to examine the extent to which this process effected Lancashire Protestant Dissent. It is essential to understand the nature and extent of this development if we are to understand why those elements that remained loyal to orthodox theology and confessionalism in Lancashire turned to Scotland for the supply of orthodox ministers.

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<sup>251</sup> Sher, 'Professors of Virtue', pp.94-6.

<sup>252</sup> A. L. Drummond, 'Witherspoon of Gifford', Scottish Church History Society, xii, p.190.

### Chapter Three-Desiccation and Decline: Piety and Renewal. Protestant Dissent in Lancashire, 1689-1800.

#### **Historiography.**

In Chapter Two I outlined the development of 'rational' Christianity in the first half of the eighteenth-century, characterising it as monolithic within Protestant Dissent. The process was marked, but historians' concentration on it has tended to obscure the remnants of popular piety within English Protestant Dissent, c.1690-1750. Consequently, little work has been done attempting to outline how these elements were perpetuated and interacted with the new agents of evangelical revival. Denominational historians have often been the worst offenders in this respect. It became convenient and expedient to ignore the complexity and diversity of a denominationally ill-defined orthodox piety at work in the old Protestant Dissenting communities in the fifty years before the first Methodist evangelists reached the north-west in the 1740s.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency for the denominational historians in the 'evangelical' tradition was to view the eighteenth-century as the realm of 'Socinian darkness' until the Evangelical Revival transformed many of the old congregations. The emphasis was on discontinuity, on historical decay, interrupted by providential renewal.<sup>2</sup> It stemmed from a Calvinist, providentialist schema that stressed humanities fallen nature. This emphasis was not divorced from evangelicalism until the second half of the nineteenth-century when a more progressive, Incarnationalist theology superseded a theology based on the Atonement.<sup>3</sup> It might at first seem odd that historians in the evangelical tradition should underestimate the survival of orthodox piety. Heirs of the Reformation tradition of the persistence of a visible church of believers, they should have seen in the flux of eighteenth-century piety the members of what Calvin said was the true church, seeking out the Gospel preached and the sacraments properly administered. The problem for denominational historians was that orthodox piety in the period

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<sup>1</sup> One of the few works that treats this theme is Reginald Mansfield's 1951 Manchester University University M.A. thesis, 'The Development of Independency in Derbyshire from the Restoration to the Methodist Revival' and Reginald Mansfield, 'History of Congregationalism in Derbyshire'. Manchester Ph.D. thesis, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Russel E. Richey, 'Did the English Presbyterians become Unitarian?', *Church History*, 42, 1973, pp.58-72, fn. 1-2. Richey cites Thomas M'Crie in *The Annals of English Presbytery*, (1872), who saw the cause of decline in the eighteenth century as 'the withdrawal of God's Spirit from the churches of the Reformation'.

<sup>3</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of the Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865*, (Oxford, 1988).

c.1690-1750 did not exist within a denominationally distinct framework. Appropriating the Protestant Dissenting tradition proved awkward. A new Congregational principle had emerged in the 1780s and 1790s but before that, things were murky. Upon close inspection, one might find the Independent churches of the 1690s were not the Congregational churches of the 1790s, bringing into question property rights in some of the old Protestant Dissenting chapels. As this study shows, many of the Congregational churches claimed by Congregational historians as having historically been Independent congregations, were just as much Presbyterian in their early history. Thus the period 1690-1750 became the realm of platitude amongst denominational historians.<sup>4</sup> A peek into the early eighteenth-century was profoundly discomfiting, for the overwhelming evidence was that the majority of Protestant Dissenting chapels had entered a rationalist tradition, some congregations had become extinct and a very few had remained orthodox by the skin-of-their-teeth. A pneumatic, providential explanation was as good as any. If anyone recognised a sub-current of orthodox pietism within these old societies, its complexity seemed to defy analysis. Laying claim to it on a continual institutional/denominational basis could not be done. There was a vast discontinuity.

Historians in the 'rational' tradition stressed continuity, laying hold of an unbroken tradition from Presbyterian to Unitarian. Their case seemed stronger, having retained institutional structures and properties over the period in question. Historical continuity was essential to secure property. We should not underestimate the problem of property to these voluntary churches c.1790-1830, and the extent to which denominational historiography was propaganda. Lengthy litigation raged over the rightful ownership of Protestant Dissenting chapels for the first half of the nineteenth-century. The Congregationalists argued that the original intent of the trustees should be honoured and therefore the chapels should be used by orthodox Trinitarian Dissenters. Early eighteenth-century trust deeds generally stipulated only that the chapel be used by Protestant Dissenters: this would not have included Unitarians. The Congregationalists' reasoning behind their argument for entitlement was based, therefore, on a theory of structural discontinuity but essential continuity. Congregational historians such as William Urwick were committed to notions of an invisible history, written in the hearts of believers. This notion underscored such statements as 'The Cheshire Congregational Union

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<sup>4</sup> For instance J. Fletcher, History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England since the Reformation, (1847).



[of 1806] may be called the successor and representative of the first Cheshire Association of 1653, and of the second Cheshire Association formed in 1691'. In 1864, this was not calculated to win friends amongst the Unitarian ministers of the Provincial Meeting of Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, the lineal successor to the 1691 Association. To men like Urwick, the Unitarians were little more than usurpers; he noted that the Chester

'Crook-street Chapel, built by orthodox Nonconformists, under the protection of the Toleration Act, for the orthodox Matthew Henry, is now with its endowments (which are considerable) in the hands of Unitarians. The true representatives, in Doctrine as well as in Dissent, of the Nonconformists of 1662 and 1688 worship Christ elsewhere'.<sup>5</sup>

The criticism that the Unitarians had abandoned what was fundamental to Dissent was possibly calculated to offend them just as much as the claim that they had abandoned what was fundamental to Christianity. Partiality of this type informs all the nineteenth-century histories of this subject and was particularly acute in the burgeoning of historical publications after the celebrations of the bi-centenary of the St. Bartholomew's Day ejectments in 1862. Historians were faced with the task of explaining how a common dissenting origin could produce the diametrically opposed offspring of Congregationalism and Unitarianism. The Unitarians advanced the theory of the developing or open trust, allowing a theological progression to take place within an institutional framework. The Unitarians were eventually vindicated in their interpretation in the Dissenters Chapels Act of 1844,<sup>6</sup> though the eminent Unitarian historian, Alexander Gordon, subsequently came to debunk 'the lulling myth of the Open Trust'.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Urwick. pp.lxv, 38.

<sup>6</sup> George Hadfield, The Manchester Socinian Controversy, (London, 1825), written with the Rev. R. Slate. G. Hadfield, The Report of His Majesty's Commissioners concerning Dame Sarah Hewley's Charity, (1829). Lady Hewley's Charities. A Full Report of the Hearings in the House of Lords, (London, 1839). T. S. James, The History of the Litigation and Legislation Respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849, (1869). P. N. Tindall, 'The Manchester Socinian Controversy: Its Background and Its Sequel', Newcastle University M.Litt. thesis, 1979. H. R. Martin, 'The Politics of the Congregationalists, 1830-1860', Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 1971, passim for George Hadfield. The Personal Narrative of George Hadfield, M.P., MS. Manchester Central Reference Library. Parliamentary Debates on the Dissenters Chapels Bill, (London, Nonconformists of Great Britain and Ireland, 1844).

<sup>7</sup> Herbert McLachlan, Alexander Gordon (9 June 1841-21 February 1931): A Biography, with a Bibliography, (Manchester University Press, 1932), p.73-74. W. Whitaker, 'The Open Trust Myth', TUHS. Vol.1, pp.303-314. Not surprisingly, this was not accepted by mid-nineteenth-century

It should not surprise us then that the Unitarians were inheritors of a somewhat Whiggish view of their own ecclesiastical history, concomitant with the Whig view of eighteenth-century history. Just as it took a long time to dislodge Whig verities in political history, so it has in the denominational and general religious history of the eighteenth-century. The conception that the role of Protestant Dissent in the eighteenth-century was one of glorious struggle for liberty was hard to shake off, even for Congregational historians. It was part of their tradition but clearly it was not the sum of it. Congregational historians tended to dwell on the Separatist and Independent luminaries of the first half of the seventeenth-century and move quickly on to the revived Congregational principle of the 1790s. As a consequence, 'evangelical' historiography has underestimated the roots of popular and orthodox piety in the early eighteenth-century just as assuredly as those in the Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition ignored them and wrote them out of history, despising the 'enthusiasm' of the small rural chapels in which orthodox confessionality clung on. Whatever the causes of this historical preterition, a careful exposition of how orthodox piety survived and was transmitted 'before Methodism' in the Protestant Dissenting churches was not attempted.

What is perhaps more startling is that the revision undertaken on Whig historiography in general has failed to come to terms with any new conception of eighteenth-century Dissent, accepting a traditional interpretation of the role of Dissent as the vanguard of liberty and theologically heterodox through-and-through. Bradley has noted that what passes for 'Nonconformist' history is usually only a preoccupation with the Dissenting elite of the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, interpreted through their own Whig historiography.<sup>8</sup> J. C. D. Clark makes this mistake when he ascribes radical contractarian politics in the 1780s and 90s solely to the theologically heterodox Dissenters.<sup>9</sup> His approach is based on the false assumption that it is their heterodoxy that makes them radical, placing them outside the generally Trinitarian ethos of the *Ancien Regime*. As Bradley has pointed out, it is not theological heterodoxy that promotes their radicalism but the centrality of two pivotal doctrines—that of Biblical authority and the nature of the gathered church—that provide a long-standing

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Congregational historians either; see William Urwick's 'Introduction' to Urwick et al., *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in Cheshire*, (1864), p.liii.

<sup>8</sup> James E. Bradley, 'Whigs and Nonconformists: "Slumbering Radicalism" in English Politics, 1739-1789', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.9, n.1, Fall, 1975, pp.1-27.

<sup>9</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, (Cambridge, 1986), chapter 5, 'The Ideological origins of English Radicalism, 1688-1800'.



orientation against the hierarchical conception of society. This religion of resistance is widespread amongst Protestant Dissent, not confined solely to the self-conscious radical Dissenting elite of the 1790s.<sup>10</sup> For instance, Thomas Bradbury, from the inception of his ministry in Yorkshire in 1697, during his ministry in Newcastle, and to the end of his career in the Fetter Lane Independent congregation in London in 1759, was an uncompromising Calvinist, Independent and scourge of all forms of theological declension. His evangelical piety was thoroughly political, reflecting an age before the radical/heterodox Dissenters had hijacked the cause of liberty and evangelical Dissent was seeking to distance itself from Jacobin radicalism. His 5th of November sermon The Ass or the Serpent: Issachar and Dan compared in their regard for civil liberty: Nov.5, 1712. [A Sermon, Genesis xlix, 14-18], (London, 1712) was reprinted in Boston in 1768. His other sermons leave one in no doubt that, whilst firmly 'inside' the general Trinitarian ethos, he was adverse to restrictive government, absolutism and the disenfranchised status of Protestant Dissent.<sup>11</sup> As one of the Congregational Fund board managers he was instrumental in the survival of an orthodox ministry in the north of England up to c.1750. Bradley noted the influence of the Scot James Murray (1732-1782), minister of the orthodox High Bridge Street Presbyterian chapel in Newcastle. His Sermon to Asses, (London, March, 1768) preceded and rivalled in importance Joseph Priestley's The present State of Liberty in Great Britain and her Colonies, (1769). It went through five editions and was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1774.<sup>12</sup> Clearly, orthodox Trinitarian Dissent cannot be construed as politically quietist up until the 1790s but neither was it a movement or a denomination. It existed within a spectrum of belief within Protestant Dissent. Jan Albers has made the point that emerging divisions between the more theologically conservative Independents and Baptists on the one hand and the Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition on the other, weakened Protestant Dissent's ability to mount campaigns informed by their political principles.<sup>13</sup> That is beyond doubt. What should be stressed is

<sup>10</sup> RRER, pp.1-48.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, the sermons The Lawfulness of resisting Tyrants [1 Chron. xii, 16-18], (5th of November, 1713, four editions). Eikon Basilike; a sermon [Hosea vii, 7] preached 29th of May, with Appendix of papers relating to the Restoration, 1660, and the present settlement, (1715). The Divine Right of Kings inquired into [Proverbs viii15], (1718). The Primitive Tories; or...Persecution, Rebellion, and Priestcraft [Jude 11], (1718, four editions). D. H. Atkinson, Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer, His Town and Times, Vol.2, (Leeds, 1887), p.211, notes that in Hunter's MS Britannia Puritanica, Bradbury was called 'the flaming Whig Divine'.

<sup>12</sup> Bradley, RRER, pp.128-129.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Albers, 'Review', Albion, 23, 4, Winter, 1991, pp.755-756. Russell E. Richey, 'The Origins of British Radicalism: The Changing Rationale for Dissent', Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol.7, n.2,



that theological orthodoxy was not inherently non-political, heterodoxy was not inherently radical. We need to understand this if we are to explain the Congregationalist led campaign to disestablish the Church of England in the 1830s and if we are to understand the fervour behind Urwick's barbed comment that the Unitarians had abandoned the 'principles of Dissent'.

Context is everything. Just as Russell could argue that Calvinism was not necessarily revolutionary in the early seventeenth-century<sup>14</sup> it needs to be noted that theological liberalism was not necessarily revolutionary in the late eighteenth-century. Christopher Hill noted that the revolutionary effectiveness of Calvinism was short lived, becoming conservative, repressive and etiolated after the early revolutionary crisis in the early 1640s.<sup>15</sup> Alan Heimert's work on the American Revolutionary war has shown that it was the Calvinist clergy who were in general the staunchest revolutionaries. The theologically heterodox were generally patrician and conservative, despising enthusiasm and with vested interests in the status quo.<sup>16</sup> The only minister to sign the Declaration of Independence was the Scot and anti-Moderate, John Witherspoon. He left Scotland for New Jersey in 1768, after fifteen years spent continually criticising the Moderates in the Church of Scotland, to become 'the founding father of Common Sense in the universities of the New World'.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, David Hempton and D. Miller's work on the United Irishmen of 1798 has lain to rest the notion of a theologically heterodox-radical correlation.<sup>18</sup> The Calvinist clergy in America and Ireland were revolutionary. Their critique was based on the anti-hierarchical principles of church government extended into the political sphere<sup>19</sup> and on principles of justice based on the Bible, as well as secular authorities like Harrington

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1773/4, pp. 179-192, is wrong to claim that a 'Whig self-understanding was to displace both sectarian and the anti-Anglican statements' defining Dissent. Despite the hopes and propaganda of the Middle Way, the sectarian was never very far from the surface of relations between orthodox Calvinists and theological innovators.

<sup>14</sup> C. Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, (1990), pp.85-6.

<sup>15</sup> C. Hill, *Milton and the Puritan Revolution*, (1977), p.270.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution*, (Harvard, 1966), pp.413-552.

<sup>17</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, 'Political Thought in the English-speaking Atlantic, 1760-1790. Part 1: The Imperial Crisis', in Pocock et al, (eds), *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp.246-282, p.250. Essays on Witherspoon in Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey B. Smitten, (eds), *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, (Princeton, 1990). Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Centre: Constitutional Developments in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788*, (Athens, GA, 1986, NY, 1990), pp.155,172.

<sup>18</sup> David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, (1992), p.25. D. Miller, *Presbyterianism and Modernization in Ulster, Past and Present*, 80, 1978, pp.66-90.

<sup>19</sup> The revolutionary potential of the democratic gathered church model has been the staple of historians dealing with the Puritan revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. See for instance the

and Locke. We perhaps should see the Jacobinism of late eighteenth-century Arian and Unitarian Presbyterian elite as rather exotic then. If it were not for the continuing injustice of the penal laws and the need for the Presbyterians constantly to define their tradition as one being the struggle for liberty and against forms of enthusiastic religion, one suggests a commercial and patrician conservatism would have been the measure of the late eighteenth-century English Presbyterians. Pocock is right to support Clark's thesis up to a point.<sup>20</sup> From the Feathers Tavern Petition of 1772 to the Unitarian Relief Act of 1813 there was a genuine fear of an Anti-Trinitarian alliance between elements within the Church, Radical Dissent and from overseas, destroying the confessional state, but to still see eighteenth-century Dissent through the lenses of the Two Acts of 1795 is to fundamentally misunderstand the vast majority of Protestant Dissenters. Evangelical Dissent had been differentiating itself from the theologically heterodox from before mid-century. Though orthodox Dissenters may have supported subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles as a defence against heterodoxy this did not mean they were politically quietist. Bradley has begun to show the extent of agitation within Protestant Dissent by his study of petitions against the American War. More needs to be known about the participation of orthodox Dissent in the campaigns to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts in the 1790s. By then, fear of Jacobinism was forcing Evangelical Dissent to pursue the reform of the individual rather than of the state. By the 1820s however the breakdown of Evangelical consensus, growing denominationalism and increasing friction between orthodox and heterodox Dissent saw the renewed campaign for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts followed by the Congregationalist led campaign to disestablish the Church of England. Pocock hints at this 'evangelical' component in the culture of disrespect.

That such an outmoded conception of Dissent can survive is proof enough that a new analysis of the eighteenth-century Dissenting community is needed, on a par with recent re-assessments of Georgian Anglicanism achievements and the extent and diversity of the Evangelical Revival.<sup>21</sup> Assessing the

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introduction to A. S. P. Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647-49) from the Clarke Manuscripts, (1938).

<sup>20</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, 'Political Thought in the English Speaking Atlantic, 1760-1790. Part 2: Empire, Revolution and the end of early modernity', in The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800, eds. Pocock et al., pp.283-317, especially pp.278-280, 287, 308.

<sup>21</sup> The continuity of Anglican piety, one strand of which cohered into Methodism, has long been noted. The rehabilitation of eighteenth century Anglicanism has taken much longer, as has an international appraisal of the Evangelical Revival. E. A. Duffy, 'Primitive Christianity Revived: Religious Renewal in Augustan England', Studies in Church History, 14, (Oxford, 1977), pp.287-



continuity and strength of orthodox piety before 1750 runs up against a problem of sources however. Nascent Methodism has been the revitalising component that most commentators have used to explain the renewed Congregational ideal in the second half of the eighteenth-century but few analytical or regional studies have been undertaken to assess its impact on the old Protestant Dissenting congregations, or to look beyond it. The problems are not to be underestimated. Orthodox elements existed within a fissiparous Protestant Dissenting tradition, often quiescent and emerging in new institutional forms. These churches survived in rural and remote areas, their records are scattered and sparse. Congregations may have had as many incarnations as ministers. Whole renewal movements may have waxed and waned in remote areas, as with the Inghamites and Sandemanians in Westmorland, before regional and national institutions once again took an interest in the congregations there. Locked into the developments in the Calvinist International in the first half of the century, it relied for news of the revival of religion on printed ephemera and correspondence. A national bias has also masked an underlying continuity. The importance of the Calvinist pietistic revival in the Scottish lowlands has never been assessed as a source of orthodox piety in England c.1690-1750. The role of the Scottish established and Secession churches must be assessed if we are to avoid the lemma 'Wesley' equals 'revival', as facile a presupposition as assuming only the religiously heterodox were politically radical.

I hope in this and the subsequent two chapters to provide the basic information that will redress the discontinuity view of eighteenth-century orthodoxy. I will outline the survival of orthodoxy within Protestant Dissent from a statistical basis, asking how many Protestant Dissenting congregations in Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland retained an orthodox tradition and why. In dealing with the first part of that question I will address the question 'Did the English Presbyterians Become Unitarian?' which is usually phrased more presumptively 'Why did the English Presbyterians become Unitarian?' With this goes the less often addressed question 'Did the English Independents become the Congregationalists?' The key to answering these questions lies in an assessment of the validity of

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300. J. D. Walsh, 'The Origins of the Evangelical Revival', in G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh, Essays in Modern English Church History in Memory of Norman Sykes, (1966), pp. 144-8. P. G. Green, 'Charity, Morality and Social Control: Clerical Attitudes in the Diocese of Chester, 1715-1795', THSLC, 141, 1992, pp.207-234. F. C. Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship, 1714-1830', J.Eccl.Hist., 36, 1986. Peter Virgin, The Church in the Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and the Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840, (Cambridge, 1989).



denominational labels in the first half of the eighteenth-century. Answering how and why some congregations remained orthodox will involve analysis of social, economic and demographic factors affecting Dissent, the most notable being a decline in the numbers of Dissenters over the eighteenth-century. It will become clear that a classification of chapel communities on a rural and urban basis will be far more indicative of the survival of orthodoxy than putative denominational labels. I then go on to outline the components of rural, orthodox piety.

### **The Evans List.**

The most accurate information we have for the number of nonconformists and their congregations in the early eighteenth-century is Dr. John Evans' list of Protestant Dissenting meetings in England and Wales, collected between 1715-1718, with further information added until 1729.<sup>22</sup> Evans was secretary to the Committee of the Three Denominations in London<sup>23</sup> and the survey was prompted by the 1714 Schism Act. The information was essential for presenting any new case for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. It assessed the political muscle of Dissent, specifically asking how many votes congregations could command. The culmination of this process of metropolitan lobbying was Lord Stanhope's moving on the 13th of December, 1718 to repeal the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts. Though he had to drop the clauses repealing parts of the Test and Corporation Acts the legislation went through in 1719 along with Stanhope's Act for Quieting and Establishing Corporations.<sup>24</sup> Thus Dissent secured a measure of financial security, intellectual liberty and political enfranchisement. The list was updated until after the first Indemnity Act of 1726 had emasculated the Corporation Act.<sup>25</sup> Another record of the survey was made by the Congregationalist Daniel Neal, though this is now lost<sup>26</sup>. It exists only in a copy made by the Baptist Josiah Thompson for his survey in 1772-3 and is less comprehensive than the Evans List.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> DWL.MS.38.4.

<sup>23</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, pp.497-8.

<sup>24</sup> ibid. pp.517-8; RRER, pp.69-70.

<sup>25</sup> The Corporation Act required that the sacrament should be taken according to the Church of England one year before election to Corporate office. Indemnity meant that the sacrament could be taken after taking office, bringing it into line with the Test Act. RRER, pp.69-70. K. R. M. Short, 'The English Indemnity Acts, 1726-1867', Church History, 42, 1973, pp.366-376.

<sup>26</sup> R. Thomas, 'The Evans List: The Hidden Neal List', TCHS, Vol. 19, No.2, August 1961.

<sup>27</sup> Thompson List, DWL.MS.38.6. published with some notes in 'A View of Nonconformity in 1773', TCHS, 5, 1911-12, pp. 205-222; 261-277; 72-385.

Watts submitted the Evans List to close scrutiny;<sup>28</sup> he concluded, after comparing the list with church membership lists, Episcopal visitation returns and Baptismal registers, that it was 'largely a reliable base from which to estimate the numerical strength of Dissent in the years 1715-18'.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Watts claims it is the best estimate of Dissenting numbers until the 1851 Religious Census.<sup>30</sup>

Watts' summary of the Evans List gives 42 Presbyterian congregations in Lancashire with 16,630 'hearers' which represented 8.48% out of an estimated county population of 196,120. This was the highest percentage of Presbyterians in any county in England, only Devon had more Presbyterians in absolute terms. It was also the highest percentage of a county population of any denomination (including General and Particular Baptists and Quakers). Taken together, Lancashire had the second largest Dissenting percentage of population in England at 10.33% of the county population (only Monmouthshire has a higher one, at 10.47% of a county population of 29,200). Watts reports that the Evans List records only three Independent congregations with 1,370 'hearers', representing 0.70% of the county population. Taken together this provides us with 45 Presbyterian and Independent congregations, with 18,000 auditors, 9.18% of Lancashire's population c.1715-18. I want to discuss three problems related with this material and its analysis: Is the Presbyterian/Independent distinction valid in this period? Can we arrive at a satisfactory number of congregations? and can we rely on the returns for an impression of the number of Nonconformists?

#### **Denominational Distinctions.**

As was argued in Chapter Two, making denominational distinctions in this period is difficult, many provincial congregations preferring the title Protestant Dissenting. Halley realised this in his use of the Evans list, merely stating that it indicated forty three [sic] Presbyterian and Independent congregations.<sup>31</sup> Nightingale in the six volumes of Lancashire Nonconformity, (1893) made no attempt to pin down a congregation's denominational adherence in this period, with good reason. The problem has continued to confound the modern historian. In his study of early eighteenth-century Protestant Dissent in the Archdeaconry of Doncaster, D. G. Hey noted

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<sup>28</sup> Watts, pp.267-89, 491-510.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p.504.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p.268.

<sup>31</sup> Halley, Vol.2, p.294.

The terms by which the Dissenters were described are somewhat baffling at this time, for congregations sometimes changed allegiance, and the term 'Presbyterian' seems to have been a general one that occasionally included Independents and Unitarians.<sup>32</sup>

The first obvious question to ask is why the overwhelming preponderance of Presbyterian churches over Independent? Watts' answer is straightforward: those counties that had been in the front line against popery in the sixteenth century and had seen most of the fighting in the Civil War period- Yorkshire, Lancashire, the North Midlands and the West Country- were where Puritanism could least afford the luxury of internal divisions, hence Dissent was overwhelmingly Presbyterian. In the counties where Protestantism was well established and for most of the war were well behind Parliamentary lines 'Puritans had felt sufficiently secure to push their views on church government to the point of Independency'.<sup>33</sup> Whilst this is undoubtedly true, I want to point out some problems that arise if we assume this information on the ostensible denomination of the congregation tells us anything about the churchmanship and character of the church.

Watts implies that the Evans List contains the denomination of the congregations, given to Evans by his correspondents.<sup>34</sup> It is by no means clear if this is the case however. In Chapter Four it will become clear that the polemical nature of some of the correspondents' figures should make us wary. In comparing Watts' abstractions from the Evans List it seems clear to me that he is equating being in receipt of the Common/Presbyterian Fund as indicating a 'Presbyterian' church, and being in receipt of the Congregational Fund grant as indicating an Independent church, c.1717-1719. As these are the only distinctions made in the Evans List, this is the only basis for enumerating denominations. Evidence presented in Chapter Four will also call this assumption into question. It should be noted here that the Evans List describes as Presbyterian ministers who were Congregational, but were serving in Presbyterian churches, for instance 'Gamaliel Jones of Hitherlow, Cheshire. is marked Presbyterian but he. like his father. John Jones of Marple. was a Congregational'.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> D. G. Hey, 'The Pattern of Nonconformity in South Yorkshire, 1660-1851', Northern History, Vol.8, 1973, pp.86-118.

<sup>33</sup> Watts, p.281.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, p.491.

<sup>35</sup> R. Tudur Jones. Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962, (1962), p. 125.



This still begs the question on what basis would a minister and church define itself? Would its self-definition be based on the Trust deed, the registration document or any other definition at law? Was the minister's definition of the church on the basis of his own conception of what the church was, or that of the trustees, or the congregation, or the population at large? The central contention I wish to make is that most of the Protestant Dissenting churches of Lancashire were Presbyterian in so far as they did not contain the distinct ecclesiology of the Baptists and Independents; they were not anti-paedobaptists and did not institute church covenants or govern through church-meetings and they practised ordination at large, before the call. Having said that, these 'Presbyterian' churches exhibit markedly different tendencies according to whether they are rural or urban and would have contained congregants with differing views on ecclesiology. One of the things this section will emphasise is that a rural location seems a far stronger indication of an attachment to orthodoxy than having a formally constituted Congregational church, thus historiographical arguments I have previously cited about the development of heterodoxy in Presbyterianism and the conservative nature of the Congregational polity will have to be re-assessed for Lancashire.

First there is the issue of the popular and legal uses of the term 'Presbyterian'. It is not at all clear if legal documents in the restoration period specify denomination accurately. Under the 1672 Indulgence Oliver Heywood took out two licences as a 'Presbyterian teacher' but was minister of an Independent church in Yorkshire with a church covenant 'void of Presbyterian peculiarities'.<sup>36</sup> A. G.

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<sup>36</sup> Alexander Gordon. 'Oliver Heywood (1630-1702)', *DNB*, 9, p.785. What Gordon possibly means here is that the church was independent Presbyterian rather than classical Presbyterian. A. H. Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, (1963). F. Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organized Dissent*, (Liverpool, 1908). G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, (3 Vols. 1911-12) prints information from Archbishop Sheldon's inquiries of 1665, 1669, 1676 and details of licences in 1672. These licences were issued en-bloc in London to all Dissenters and often had the same wording according to David Wykes. However, Lyon Turner noted some regional variations. For instance, the Walmsley nonconformists took out a license under the indulgence on the 2nd of May, 1672, registering 'Thomas Key to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Francis Norbury of Entwistle in the Hundred of Salford Lancastr.' See F. Kenworthy, 'The Story of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel', *UHST*, Vol. 9, No.1, p.10. W. J. Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and his congregation', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods.(eds), *Voluntary Religion, Studies in Church History*, Vol.23, (Oxford, 1986), 273-4. Urwick, p.xlix, lists the 1672 Licenses for Cheshire and they do distinguish between the denominations, as do those for Cumberland in Nightingale. *The Ejected*, Vol.2, pp.1365-1371. *LN*, Vol. 5, p.85, lists the licenses issued in Manchester, which do indicate denomination was distinguished, for instance '30th of April, 1672, A Private Oratory belonging to Thomas Birch, Esq., of Birch Hall, Lancashire. Cong. & Presbyt.' Alexander Gordon, *The Christian Life*, 1923, xlix, p.71, 'Indulgence Licenses'. Abram, *History of Blackburn*, p.189 lists the licenses for Blackburn parish, which distinguish between Cong. and Pr.

Matthews assessed the 1672 licenses as a source for ascertaining the denomination of those ministers listed in Edmund Calamy's Account of the ejected ministers; his conclusion was that mistakes had been made over the denomination of applicants and that 'the niceties of these distinctions were not always carefully registered by the clerks of Whitehall'.<sup>37</sup> Christopher Hill noted

John Gibbs, who wrote a preface for Bunyan's A Few Sighs from Hell (1658), was licensed in 1672 as a pastor to a Presbyterian church in one place and a Congregationalist church in another. In the next decade he was also pastor in a Baptist congregation. It does not make much sense to ask what his denomination was.<sup>38</sup>

Problems were caused for the compilers of the Compton Census of 1676 because the returns showed that many Dissenters were of no sect or denomination.<sup>39</sup> Baxter claimed that the common sort called any reforming church Puritan 'Presbyterian' and he hated the term because it smacked of the fanaticism of Parliamentary and Scottish Presbyterianism.<sup>40</sup> Like so many denominational terms it found common currency as a pejorative term. Its legal use in 1672 may tell us nothing of the churchmanship of the licensee or the church, as illustrated in the Heywood case. The term Presbyterian served purposes on both sides during the Restoration; for High Church Anglicans forcing a Dissenter to register as a 'Presbyterian teacher' identified him with Scots covenanting fanatics and at the same time denied his ministry. For church Puritans it marked them out as moderates, seeking comprehension and distinct from Anabaptists, separatists and Quakers. There is a sense then in which the term was too entrenched in everyday use for it to be abandoned: just as everyone insisted on calling the Friends 'Quakers', to the common sort after 1689 the Protestant Dissenters were still 'Presbyterians'. Sell claims that after 1689 older ministers would still have had an attachment to the term as it signified their attachment to a parity of ministers over against the Anglican view and stood for ordered worship when compared with the sectaries. It would signify their suitability for inclusion in the Church if another measure of comprehension should ever be

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<sup>37</sup> Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.xlii.

<sup>38</sup> Christopher Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution, (1993), p.36.

<sup>39</sup> John Spurr, The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1688, (Yale, 1991), p.72. J. H. Turner, The Nonconformist Register, (Brighouse, 1881), pp. 109-116, list the 1672 Licensees for Yorkshire and applicants have the denominations P, C, In., A/B beside their names. It is not clear whether this reflects the wording of the documents or Oliver Heywood's accurate notation of applicants denomination. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 49-62, has a long discussion of the methods by which the Indulgences were obtained.

<sup>40</sup> English Presbyterians, pp.46-7.



presented.<sup>41</sup> Under Toleration though no denomination was legally recognised and under the Happy Union and countless county associations denominational distinctiveness was subsumed. How then did a congregation retain its denominational identity ? Unquestionably this must have something to do with the workings of the funding bodies as outlined in Chapter Two and the nature of the ministers education. Here I want to examine whether the legal definition of Dissent contributed to denominational self definition as 'Presbyterian'.

### **Popular and Legal Definitions of Dissent: Registrations under the Toleration Act of Dissenting Meeting Houses.**

Though no legal rights pertained to the denominations under the Toleration Act, a certain amount of differentiation was retained in the legal records of the state and church authorities. At the administrative level the Anglican church could be meticulous. Bishop Gastrell in 1717 used the term Presbyterian accurately in his visitation returns and differentiated in marginalia between Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers and Independents.<sup>42</sup> At the other end of the spectrum the parochial clergy were more likely to ignore denominational niceties and use denominational terms as a form of invective and political rhetoric. Episcopal visitation returns for the Deanery of Furness in the Diocese of Chester, as late as the period 1789-1824,<sup>43</sup> show that the parish clergy use the term 'Presbyterian' persistently of the Baptist congregations of Furness, there being no Presbyterian congregation in Furness since the early years of the eighteenth-century. Unquestionably the term 'Presbyterian' had come to be loaded with rhetorical meaning in a religio-political context. The Jacobite mobs who destroyed eight Lancashire Meeting-houses in 1714 at the accession of George I only attacked Presbyterian chapels. Manchester Jacobites in 1749 firmly equated Whigs and Presbyterians, alike 'guilty of killing Charles I, embracing heterodox theology and putting the church in danger.'<sup>44</sup> This type of animosity reinforces other reasons why the Presbyterians were loath to use

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<sup>41</sup> Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.356.

<sup>42</sup> Francis Gastrell, *Notitia Cestriensis*, (Chetham Society, 19, 1849), Vol. 2, part i, entries for Oldham, Manchester and Bury. Part ii, pp.296-7 for Tockholes.

<sup>43</sup> David Borwick, 'An English Provincial Society: North Lancashire, 1770-1820', Ph.D.thesis, Lancaster University, 1994, Chapter Six, Cheshire Record Office, EDV/7.

<sup>44</sup> Jan Albers, ' "Papist Traitors" and "Presbyterian Rogues": religious identities in eighteenth-century Lancashire', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, (eds), *The Church of England, 1689-1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, (CUP, 1993), p.321, paraphrasing John Byrom and Robert Thyer, *Manchester Vindicated*, (Chester, 1749), p.12. For Anti-Presbyterian rioting in



the denomination 'Presbyterian'. The notion of the body of Protestant Dissenters devoid of denominational distinctions does not suffer repudiation until well into the second half of the eighteenth century. The Common Fund did not change its title to the Presbyterian Fund until 1771.<sup>45</sup> Many Protestant Dissenting churches did not stipulate their use by Presbyterians in their Trust deeds until the 1780s and 1790s when they were long since Arian or Unitarian. Thus at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, the word Presbyterian did not appear in any Trust concerned with the chapel until 1761, using the form of words "commonly called by the name Presbyterian" and it only appeared in the Chapel Trust in 1778, describing the congregation as worshippers ' "commonly distinguished or known by the name of Presbyterian". The term, here as elsewhere, was used simply to mark off Liberal Dissenters from their more orthodox brethren'.<sup>46</sup> They could only safely use the denomination 'Presbyterian' after the bogey of Jacobite politics had been laid to rest. The title Presbyterian only served any purpose in a period of growing denominational disharmony, when the search for a denominational/historical identity emerged in the 1770s and 1780s.

Understanding that the term 'Presbyterian' is value laden well into the eighteenth-century is important. Definitions at law are also not always accurate, as with the 1672 Indulgences. For the historian trying to ascertain the number of churches for each denomination, much of the legal documentation is not of much help. Trust deeds written in the period of the United Brethren and county associations almost always stipulate that the chapel should be for the use of Protestant Dissenters. This was precise enough to ensure that Episcopalians and Catholics did not get their hands on the property, and should have ensured orthodoxy, as the minister would have had to have accepted most of the doctrinal articles of the church of England upon registering.<sup>47</sup> Gordon made the

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Lancashire see John Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870, (1979), pp.20-23. Nicholas Rogers, 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England', in Eveline Cruickshanks, (ed.), Ideology and Conspiracy, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.70-85. Paul Monod, Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788, (Cambridge, 1989), pp.173-194. Having the Presbyterians cut off Charles's head after Pride's Purge plays fast-and-loose with history, though see J. H. Hexter, 'The problem of the Presbyterians and Independents', in Reappraisals in History, pp.163-184, for the Presbyterian elements of the Independent Rump. In this context the term 'Presbyterian' has come to mean 'sectary'.

<sup>45</sup> Watts, p.345. Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.184.

<sup>46</sup> McLachlan, 'Cross Street Chapel in the Life of Manchester', in Essays and Addresses, p.94.

<sup>47</sup> Clearly there was avoidance of subscription to the 39 Articles. Edmund Calamy is known to have advised young ministers to evade the requirement and he ordained Irish non-subscribers in 1728 when they could not receive ordination in Ireland without subscribing to Westminster formularies.

point that these were not Open Trusts, as James Martineau would have had it in the 1860s. They did not foresee, or make accommodation for, developments in theological positions:

since, the Toleration Act permitting no dissent from the doctrines of the Established church, it was not foreseen that heresy would arise in Presbyterian churches, and their founders, like those of the Independent and Baptist chapels, not having abandoned the hope of Comprehension, framed their trusts so that the buildings could easily be taken over by the Church of England.<sup>48</sup>

Chapel trustees only began to stipulate denomination well into the second half of the eighteenth-century in most cases.<sup>49</sup>

Surprisingly enough, the registrations under the Toleration Act<sup>50</sup> do preserve some degree of denominational differentiation, though they are difficult to interpret and should be treated with caution. Quakers are distinguished early in the records, the Baptists are not.<sup>51</sup> There were slightly more Baptist congregations than Independents in Lancashire. Watts listed six Particular Baptist and

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<sup>48</sup> McLachlan, Alexander Gordon, pp.73-4.

<sup>49</sup> The Dissenting chapel at Gataker changed its trust deed in 1787, declaring that the minister must be Presbyterian, as opposed to Quaker, Anabaptist, Independent, Methodist: LN, Vol. 6, p.200. The danger of imprecise trusts was realised by the churches forming during the Evangelical Revival. John Bennet's Independent chapel at Duke's Alley, Bolton, said in its trust deed it was to be used by Protestant Dissenters but tied the occupants to Westminster Confessionalism: LN, Vol. 3, p.19; John Bennet's Diary, unpaginated, JRL; Rev. W. H. Davison, Centenary Memorials of Duke's Alley Chapel, (1854), p.48; J. C. Scholes, History of Bolton with memorials of the Old Parish Church, (Bolton, 1892), pp.357-361. S. R. Valentine, 'The Independent Years of Wesley's John Bennet: 1752-1759', JURCHS, Vol. 4, n.5, October 1989, pp.315-318. However, there is some evidence that denominational terms did find their way into early trust documents. One, for Dundee Chapel, Holcombe, for 1722 did state that it was to be used by Presbyterians. This may to some extent explain the chapels retention by orthodox Dissenters in the nineteenth century. Deeds for bequests to the Bury chapel, dated July, 1735, use the form of words 'Protestant Dissenters commonly called Presbyterians': see W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy, (eds), The Diary of Richard Kay, 1715-51, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 16, 3rd ser, 1968), p.5. ONK, p.263 discusses rather partially the secession in 1714 of a group of orthodox Dissenters from the Upper Chapel, Sheffield, to form the Nether Chapel, which became Congregational in the later eighteenth century. Nicholson and Axon claim that in the trust deed of the Nether Chapel in 1737 there was no denomination specified, with the trust of 1827 being strongly Calvinistic. From 1736, trust deeds belonging to congregations were entered on the Close Rolls (PRO, C 54), see Mullett, Sources for the History of English Nonconformity, p.16. Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.163 notes the endowment and renewal of the Trust of the Newton-in-Bowland chapel in 1756. The new trustees were all orthodox?

<sup>50</sup> Lancashire Records Office. Register of Dissenting Meeting Houses at the Quarter Sessions from 1689, QDV4. Lancashire Dissenters could also register at the Archbishop's Consistory court at Chester. However, the Diocesan Registry for the Diocese of Chester has lost all the registrations before 1752, only having records from 1752-1852. Cheshire CRO/EDA 13.

<sup>51</sup> Lancaster Quarter Sessions, 8th of October, 1689, registering 23 premises.



no General Baptist congregations in Lancashire c.1719. They may appear in the register as 'Protestant Dissenting' but there is no distinction 'Baptist' made until 1747.<sup>52</sup>

Focusing on the Independents and Presbyterians, from a careful reading of the registrations it would seem that the Independents in Lancashire registered early and were allowed a form of words that would do no harm to their tender consciences. This latitude did not last long however. Thus at the Preston Quarter Sessions of the 18th of January, 1689, Thomas Jolly registered five buildings for use as 'a place of meeting for him and his congregation' situated around Pendlebury (Appendix B.1). The question to be asked is how descriptive is this form of words? It is certainly unusual. The Toleration Act allowed only that the term Protestant Dissenters be used and entries immediately before and after this entry use only the term Protestant Dissenters. I would argue that the recording clerk is allowing the Independents to so define themselves. A great deal of confusion reigned over the implementation and implications of the Toleration Act in its immediate aftermath and I would suggest that the Independents are taking advantage of the confusion and of the benign composition of the new bench under the new Lord Lieutenant. This argument is strongly supported in Jolly's case by the registration at the same Quarter Session by Thomas Dugdale. Jolly was at the time attempting to exorcise Dugdale's son at a barn in Surey, near Whalley. The exorcism attracted large crowds and Jolly would have been aware of the need to have the premises licensed. However, the barn was not the meeting place of a gathered church and was therefore registered under the default title 'Protestant Dissenting'. Caution does need to be exercised here.<sup>53</sup> The Independent church at Darwen does use this formula whereas the one at Walmsley does not (see appendices B.3 and B.4). It is noticeable that dissenters still retaining Anglican chapels-of-ease also register very early, one assumes to guarantee their title. Among these are a number of Presbyterian churches that subsequently show a strong adherence to orthodoxy (Tockholes, Elswick, Greenacres), some of their ministers using the form of words 'registered for him and his congregation' (Elswick and Greenacres). This may indicate Independent sympathies of the minister or an understanding amongst the congregation that they should retain the right to appoint the minister, even in a church where the trustees and the church were formally

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<sup>52</sup> Manchester Quarter Sessions, 22nd of January, 1747, with 'Particular Baptist' being recorded on the 19th of January, 1749.

<sup>53</sup> The Presbyterian Henry Newcombe records a place at the Manchester Quarter Sessions of the 25th of July, 1689, for him and his congregation.



Presbyterian. This would certainly be more likely in the rural locations of the chapels-of-ease. This evidence is by no means conclusive; but it may shed some light on why some Presbyterian chapels show an early adherence to orthodox theology that eventually sees them form into Congregational churches in the later eighteenth-century.

What is appreciable about these Toleration Act registrations is that they very soon resort to the uninformative form of words 'Protestant Dissenter' for most entries. The handwriting of the recording clerk changes after the Manchester Quarter Session of the 23rd of January, 1690, and after that all entries that are not for Quakers use the words 'of the Presbyterian persuasion' or 'Dissenting Protestants', used synonymously. As all of Lancashire's Independents had already registered, this form of words is fairly accurate, though ignoring the distinct polity of the Baptists. Possible evidence that recording had been tightened up in line with the spirit of the Act comes from the Preston Quarter Sessions of the 12th of January, 1693, when John Jolly, nephew and assistant minister to Thomas Jolly, registered a house in Clitheroe for 'Protestant Dissenters'.

The record is complete up to the Manchester Quarter Sessions of the 12th of October, 1710, with a subsequent break in the records until the Manchester Quarter Sessions of the 24th of November, 1744, when it resumes. The subsequent registrations are very little use in determining denominational adherence. Arguably the first new Independent church in Lancashire, John Bennet's church at Duke's Alley, Bolton in 1754, was recorded as Protestant Dissenting.<sup>54</sup> The Independent secession from Manchester Cross Street chapel in 1756 built a church in 1762, which again was recorded as Protestant Dissenting.<sup>55</sup> The first use of the denomination 'Independent' in the Toleration Act Registrations comes in 1758 but was for an Inghamite Methodist chapel (Appendix D.1.4). The first definitely Independent chapel recorded in the register as 'Independent' was that at Lancaster, founded in 1772 and recorded at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 13th of July, 1773. Needless to say, there is no guarantee that denominational terms are used accurately after this date.

In the orthodox churches that emerge in the second half of the eighteenth-century there were many elements at work in the process of forging a denominational identity as Independents: Calvinistic Methodism. Inghamite churches. dissatisfied orthodox elements within the old Presbyterian causes,

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<sup>54</sup> Manchester Quarter Sessions, 2nd of May, 1754, 'new building, Battersbys Croft, Bolton, for Protestant Dissenters'.

<sup>55</sup> Lancaster Quarter Sessions, 20th of April, 1762.

Scottish Calvinist ministers and churches and non-denominational efforts engendered by the revival. I have attempted so far to assess the usefulness of legal definitions of denomination in the period 1690-1750 and have outlined certain problems in attempting to enumerate denominational strength with Protestant Dissent. The problem for the historian is that denominational identities were mutating throughout the eighteenth-century, appropriating anachronistic terms to define a denominational identity, part of an attempt to lay hold of an historical tradition. Denominational distinctiveness grew as Dissent declined numerically throughout the eighteenth-century. The growth of patrician, polite religion, outlined in Chapter Two, was marked in the towns of Lancashire but a pietistic, if not evangelical, orthodoxy hung on in the rural chapels and was crucial in the renewal of evangelical Congregationalism in the last quarter of the century, becoming the springboards for missions to the newly industrialising towns. I want briefly to discuss the decline and desiccation of the Dissenting Interest before moving on to discuss the numerical strengths of the various denominations and the reason for the survival of orthodoxy within Lancashire Presbyterianism.

#### **Decline in the Body of Dissent and the Growth of Denominationalism.**

Between 1689 and 1750 contemporaries noted fault lines emerging within old Dissent. Numerical decline was everywhere apparent. Occasional conformity<sup>56</sup> and the taking of the Test<sup>57</sup> offered routes into local and national government. The embourgeoisement of the chapel communities was mirrored by the shift in emphasis from evangelical outreach to educational and social advancement, a trajectory that could lead into full conformity with the established church.<sup>58</sup> In the early eighteenth-century the number of polemical works dealing with the re-baptism of conforming Dissenters indicate the level of the problem.<sup>59</sup> Chapel societies were increasingly endogamous and faced with the prospect of

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<sup>56</sup> J. Flanigan, 'The Occasional Conformity Controversy: Ideology and Party Politics, 1697-1711', *Journal of British Studies*, 17, 1977/8, pp.38-62. *RRER*, pp.69-80.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

<sup>58</sup> The anonymous *Some Observations Upon the Present State of the Dissenting Interest* (1731) noted that some 50 Dissenting ministers had conformed since 1714; see Watts, p.384. See also Ian Sellers, 'Liverpool Nonconformity, 1786-1914', Keele Ph.D. Thesis 1968, p.10, where the 1750s and 1760s are described as the black decades for the Liverpool Presbyterians, with many of the leading families in Dissent conforming.

<sup>59</sup> See for instance Charles Owen's *Donatus Redivivus; or a Reprimand to a Modern Church-Schismatick, &c.* (1714), reprinted under the title *Rebaptization Condemned, &c.* (1716). Also, in the early eighteenth-century play *Kelly, or the Modern Reformer*, attributed to the Presbyterian minister of Hesketh Lane, Chipping, the Rev. Peter Walkden, the protagonists, consisting of churchmen and a Presbyterian teacher hold an 'uncomplimentary theological fight on the question whether the validity



numerical decline. Doctrinally and theologically old Dissent was splitting, a self consciously rational and polite religion was emerging. It did so in part by defining itself against a more demotic orthodoxy.

A rash of Jeremiads emerged in the 1730s, lamenting the state of the 'Dissenting Interest'. Strickland Gough's An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest, (1730) exemplifies the type, arguing that village chapels should cease to be supported, likewise the education of children of mechanical persons. The funding of Dissenting chapels should be consolidated, gentrified, urbanised. The Independent Philip Doddridge responded in his Free Thoughts on the Most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest, (1730), noting that 'the plain people of low education and vulgar taste....constitute....nine parts in ten of most of our congregations'.<sup>60</sup> These tendencies within Dissent in the 1730s promoted fundamentally different approaches to the laity and the Gospel. It should not surprise us then that Gough was subsequently to conform, Doddridge to act as mediator between the old Dissent and Calvinistic Methodism.

It is clear there was a trend in the 1730s to disassociate mainstream and patrician Dissent from plebeian and orthodox elements. Thus the anonymous author of Some Observations Upon the Present State of the Dissenting Interest (1731) attributed the decline to the 'encouragement shown to strolling Scotch ministers'.<sup>61</sup> This remained the lament of the old Protestant Dissenting communities who failed to come to terms with the Evangelical Revival.<sup>62</sup> In the 1730s the New Scheme preachers of the metropolis and the large towns of the north were savaging orthodox theology and confessionality, the struggle being felt within the Presbyterian Fund. At the same time theological liberals increased their critique of Roman Catholicism. Anti-Catholic lectures were established at the Salters' Hall in 1735 and the pages of The Old Whig (1735-1739) newspaper replicated these sentiments.<sup>63</sup> Samuel

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of Presbyterian baptism be recognised by the Church of England, and the right of the Church clergy to ignore the previous ceremony by re-baptising converts from that faith...', see T. C. Smith, History of the Parish of Chipping in the County of Lancaster with some account of the Forests of Bleasdale and Bowland, (C.W.Whitehead, Preston, 1894), p.117.

<sup>60</sup> Watts, p.383.

<sup>61</sup> English Presbyterians, p.211 and J. H. Colligan, Eighteenth Century Nonconformity, (1915), pp.120-121, quote an observer of 1737 who noted that Scottish ministers were coming south in such great numbers that it would be 'an easy task to find not only sufficient supply for all Britain but perhaps for all Protestant countries of Europe'.

<sup>62</sup> For instance the Congregationalist Samuel Newton thus blamed the Methodists for the depletion of his church in his The Causes and Reasons of the Present Declension Among the Congregational Churches, (1766).

<sup>63</sup> Paul Langford, A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783, (Oxford, 1992), p.40.



Bourne, whilst in the pastorate of Chorley Chapel, Lancashire, (1727-1732) was chosen on the 7th of May, 1731 as one of the Monday Lecturers at Bolton, until his removal to Birmingham. His printed works, such as An Introduction to the History of the Inquisition, (1735), Popery a Craft, and Popish Priests the chief Craftsmen: 5th of November Sermon on Acts xix, (1735), and A Dialogue between a Baptist and a Churchman; occasioned by the Baptists opening a new Meeting-House for reviving old Calvinistical doctrines and spreading Antinomianism and other errors, at Birmingham, etc Part 1., by 'a consistent Protestant' Anon (1737); Part 2, by 'a consistent Christian', (1739), leave one in little doubt that cracks were appearing in the irenic facade of Protestant Dissent. Clearly, the Whig/Presbyterian Dissenting community was aggressively defining itself against plebeian forms of religion. They re-interpreted and characterised their Puritan and Dissenting heritage as the struggle for the application of right reason in religion and liberty in politics. Enthusiasm was *infra dignitatem*, orthodox theology was irrational and Popery was tyrannical. Lancashire Presbyterians came increasingly to see their role as defenders of the Whig and Hanoverian cause, providing Anti-Catholic and Anti-Jacobite rhetoric for the Whig cause<sup>64</sup> and fighting their own battles against enthusiasm.<sup>65</sup> McLachlan observed this politicisation of Presbyterian Dissent in Lancashire, noting that the Provincial Assembly had lost much of its interest in purely religious matters c.1750 and that pastoral renewal was not in evidence until after the foundation of the Warrington Academy in 1757.<sup>66</sup> Josiah

<sup>64</sup> For instance: Joseph Mottershead. A Thanksgiving Sermon: Preach'd at Manchester, November 14th, 1718, being the ann. of the Surrender of the Rebels at Preston, (London, 1719). Josiah Owen, National Gratitude Just Tribute for National Deliverances; exemplified in the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot and Accension of the Prince of Orange to the Throne. A Sermon Preach'd to a Society of Protestant Dissenters at Rochdale, November 5th, 1742.

<sup>65</sup> Jan Albers, ' "Papist Traitors" and "Presbyterian Rogues" ', pp.323-325 discusses Presbyterian/Unitarian condescension towards Baptists and Methodists.

<sup>66</sup> Evidence of this renewal was that four ministers, one of them a tutor, were ordained at the Warrington Meeting of the Assembly in 1762. See H. McLachlan, Warrington Academy: Its History and Influence, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1943), pp.6-7. Records of the Warrington Classis of the Provincial Assembly survive, there being other records in the Widows Fund Association, founded in 1765 when the Lancashire Provincial merged with the Cheshire Provincial Meeting. See G. F. Nuttall, 'Assemblies and Association', pp.301-302. Warrington was the regular meeting place of the combined Assembly until 1776. The last recorded ordination was of three men on the 18th of June, 1782, according to Nuttall. See also, James Drummond, Ecclesiastical Comprehension and Theological Freedom as Illustrated by the History of the Provincial Assembly. The Provincial Assembly Lecture, (Manchester, 1811). The Provincial Assembly, An Account of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian and Unitarian Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, (1820), UCC/JRL, MS Cupb.D. United Brethren of Cheshire, Minutes, 1719-1722; United Brethren of Lancashire 1693-1720, UCC/JRL/ MS cupb. C 23. The Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of Lancashire 1762-1764; The Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of the County of Lancaster and the County of Chester 1765-1869, with lists of preachers and extracts of minutes. also titles of sermons for 1719, 1744, 1760, 1764, UCC/JRL/MS cupb. C 23 (3). An Account of the

Owen of the Blackwater Street Protestant Dissenting Chapel, Rochdale, had persuaded the Provincial Assembly around about 1750 to 'discontinue the customary questions respecting the internal state of congregations'.<sup>67</sup> Denying even this modest oversight, this move emphasised the atomised nature of these Protestant Dissenting churches. Ministers and congregations were free to follow their own conceptions of what the Church should be. No study of the Provincial Assembly for the eighteenth-century has been undertaken since Alexander Gordon's Cheshire Classis Minutes, 1691-1745, (1919) but one suspects that the ministers of rural and orthodox congregations ceased to attend well before 1750. William Urwick was of the opinion that the ending of the minutes for Cheshire in 1745 was because of division amongst the ministers and the Provincial Meeting's dissolution.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that the ending of the Lancashire minutes in 1700 may indicate much the same. The Lancashire and Cheshire Provincials continued and amalgamated in the 1760s but by then it was a thoroughly Arian/Unitarian body. What evidence there is from Lancashire and Cheshire seems to suggest deep divisions far earlier than the 1740s.

In Lancashire there is evidence contained in letters that the more orthodox ministers in the north of the county were increasingly differentiating themselves from ministers south of the Ribble and experimenting with localised forms of association. Probably not intended to rival the Provincial Assembly but to augment it, in controlling the ordination of candidates for the ministry and assuring their orthodoxy, these localised associations could be powerful in mediating the nature of Dissent in the region. A letter from John Jolly, minister of the Wymondhouses church, from Hinfield on the 7th of July, 1716, to Peter Walkden at Chipping notes

We have had severall meetings of ministers in this part of ye county and should have been glad of your presence and help, our last was at Elswick Tuesday June 26th. The next is intended to be at Lancaster ye last Tuesday in August, Mr. Yates of Darwen is then to be examined

This implies that the ministers of the northern region of Lancashire were meeting every two months to undertake business but divisions were soon to emerge. A letter from Jolly on the 19th of August.

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Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian and Unitarian Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1820-1854, UCC/JRL/MS cupb. B

<sup>67</sup> Alexander Gordon 'Josiah Owen (1711?-1755)', DNB, 14, p.1323. English Presbyterians, p.208.

<sup>68</sup> Urwick, p.lxiii.



1716. passes on news from 'Mr. Turner, that the Lancaster meeting had to be cancelled 'on account of Mr. Grimshaw's journey to Norfolk'.<sup>69</sup> Grimshaw seems to have been out of step with the other pious ministers of north Lancashire. Trained at Rathmell, entering in 1695, he was ordained at Macclesfield on the 17th of June. 1700. He seems to have been more involved in the Provincial Assembly than the other northern ministers. He was the only minister from the northern division known to have given a sermon to the Provincial Assembly, at Manchester, dated May the 8th, 1716.<sup>70</sup> He entered the ministry at Lancaster in 1701. Nightingale, following the Northowram register, notes that he left the ministry in 1724 due to an 'affection of the mind', the register indicating some form of mental illness. Walkden, in his diary for the 29th of March, 1725, is more candid. James Towers of Rathmell informed Walkden that Grimshaw had got his maid with child. Walkden's comment indicates the friction between the two men: 'I said he was one of my worst enemies in my troubles but I was sorry for the news'. It is interesting to note that with Grimshaw out of the way and the Lancaster church in some turmoil,<sup>71</sup> Walkden's long standing plans to get a minister to the Dissenters of Carnforth and Tatham get moving. An unholy row blew up over who could attend the ordination at Carnforth, John Jolly siding with James Burgess of Darwen who both refused to have anything to do with Burgess's rival minister at Darwen, the Glasgow educated Robert Yates. Of the twelve ministers (including the ordinand) at the ordination on the 27th of October, 1725, all were from the northern region of Lancashire or the adjacent counties of Westmorland and the West Riding and only one was from south of the Ribble, the Rev. John Mayer of Rivington.<sup>72</sup> Association for these ministers in north Lancashire was with the orthodox ministers of the region, their links stronger with like minded men in the adjacent counties, a point I shall reiterate subsequently. Quite clearly, the Provincial Assembly, even by the 1720s had ceased to live up to its promise as approaches to religion diverged. These ministers in the north of the county sought out different channels of patronage, funding and

<sup>69</sup> Peter Walkden's Commonplace book, MS G3 WAL, Harris Library, Preston.

<sup>70</sup> James Grimshaw. Rest from Rebels, or the Blessing and Duty of churches; Consider'd in a Sermon, most of which was preach'd at a Provincial Assembly of Ministers, held at Manchester, May the 8, 1716. By James Grimshaw. Minister of the Gospel in Lancaster. London: Printed in the year 1716. LN, Vol.1, p.216 notes the text was from Acts ix, 31. Quotes from The Christian Reformer, 1858, pp.300, 530. ONK, p.598. Grimshaw had married Hannah, the daughter of the ejected Vicar of Walton-on-the-Hill, Henry Finch. Finch preached at Birch during the Restoration, which probably explains Grimshaw's strong Manchester connection: see Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp. 195-196.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, p.17; 'May 12th, 1725...and was told how Mr.Jackson was turned out at Lancaster, and a young man from Warrington supplied his place'.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, pp.17-24.



fellowship, which I will attempt to outline subsequently. Walkden persisted in providing for the religious needs of the Lancaster region after the departure of his *bete noir*, Grimshaw. Information on the incumbents at St. Nicholas Chapel, Lancaster, in this period is sketchy. John Bent was minister 1725-1732? with a John Holt possibly a minister for a period after 1730? John Helme may also have been minister at some point before 1738.<sup>73</sup> We are on somewhat firmer ground with the appointment of the Kendal trained Arian, James Daye, most probably between 1736 and 1738. What is noticeable from Walkden's Diary is that he is holding prayer meetings throughout the Lancaster region November, 1729, 1730, and 1733, at Ellel, Skerton and at Beaumont Hall, Slyne-with-Hest.<sup>74</sup> He may have been supplying whilst the Lancaster pulpit was vacant but he makes no mention of the fact. Usually when Walkden visited another congregation he was there to preach in the chapel, often exchanging pulpits. Thus when he visited Walmsley he stayed with Mrs Hesketh on Sunday 18th of March, 1733, whilst the Rev. Hesketh preached at Newton. In his travels back he visited the Rev. Burgess of Darwen on Tuesday the 20th of March. But in Lancaster he visits the sick and the elderly and holds his main prayer meeting, not in the chapel but north of the river, at Beaumont Hall. The fact that James Bradley at Beaumont Hall was in contact with the Ravenstonedale Dissenters would suggest that what is operating here is an alternative, orthodox religious network. Walkden, after holding what amounts to a religious service at Beaumont Hall on the evening of Thursday the 19th of April, 1733, attended the Lancaster fair on the Friday and then rode to Ravenstonedale on the Saturday, to preach for the orthodox Ravenstonedale Dissenters who had been in open schism with Arminian elements in the congregation (Appendices F 1.2a and F 1.2b). It is not clear if the two elements in the congregation had come together again but they certainly lacked a minister, desperately pleading with Walkden to heed their call. In Ravenstonedale, where the pulpit was vacant, Walkden preached in the chapel, rather reinforcing the notion that, even if at Lancaster the pulpit was vacant, Walkden was probably denied the opportunity to preach in the chapel by the trustees. From Ravenstonedale, Walkden went to preach for the Rev. David McMurray in Garsdale on Tuesday the 24th of April, a Scottish orthodox minister in Yorkshire. Thus on a preaching tour through a large

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<sup>73</sup> Evans, *Vestiges of Protestant Dissent*, p.126.

<sup>74</sup> Chipping Local History Society (eds). *A Transcript of Part of The Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden. 1733-1734*, from Chester City Record Office, ref. 678/1. 1733: Thursday March 1st, Wednesday April 18th, Thursday April 19th, Friday April 20th. Chester Town Record Office, MS 678/1, transcribed by the Chipping Local Historical Society. *Peter Walkden's Diary*, pp.69-70, 93, 115.

arc in north Lancashire, Westmorland and into the West Riding, Walkden did not preach in the two urban chapels at Lancaster and Kendal.

Both locally and nationally there is a desultory air about English Protestant Dissent c.1730-1750 and increasing infighting. The agitations against the Test Act, strongly urged on the Protestant Dissenting Deputies by the Liverpool Dissenters in the 1730s were all lost battles, as were the Quaker agitations against the Church Rate and Tithe.<sup>75</sup> The Whig ministries remained wedded to the Test Acts, though Protestant Dissent was, to a certain extent, mollified with the passing of annual indemnities.<sup>76</sup> The defeat of the threat of Jacobitism sees the Presbyterian community of Lancashire settle down in the second half of the century to exploit their measure of indemnity and indulgence, sniping at Methodist enthusiasm, pursuing their commercial interests. A fundamental reappraisal of their relation to the state was not apparent until the period 1765-1775 when the debate over the colonies, taxation, the loss of the early anti-subscription bills and the Quebec Act raised questions about the nature of the state and reawakened concerns about political rights and representation.<sup>77</sup> Developments in this pivotal decade would reward careful analysis. Ian Sellers noted that it was exactly this decade that saw increased conformity in the old Protestant Dissenting congregations of Liverpool, the old chapel families being replaced by new commercial dynasties from Scotland and Ireland. It was also the decade that saw the start of the exodus of orthodox elements from the old Protestant Dissenting congregations and the founding of Congregational churches. for instance in 1776 in Liverpool. It should be noted that, in the campaign against the requirement of Dissenting ministers to subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles in the early 1770s, a group of Liverpool Dissenters presented a petition to Parliament against relief from subscription, fearing the influence of heresy.<sup>78</sup> The 'Body of Protestant Dissent' was clearly politically disarticulate by the 1770s.

For the rural Presbyterian chapels that clung to an orthodox confessionism, this period was a constant struggle to find sources of ministers and support. In analysing the figures for the numbers of

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<sup>75</sup> RRER, p.59. Manning, Protestant Dissenting Deputies, p.9. N. C. Hunt. Two Early Political Associations, pp. 128-9, 132-178, 196.

<sup>76</sup> K. R. M. Short, 'The English Indemnity Acts, 1726-1867', Church History, 42, 1973, pp. 366 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Anthony Lincoln, Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissenters, 1688-1832, (Cambridge, 1938), p.27.

<sup>78</sup> Bradley, RRER, p. 61. Roberts, Hope Street Church, Liverpool, p. 292.



Dissenters and their churches in the next section a start will be made to attempt to analyse the processes that enabled orthodox Presbyterian churches to survive in the eighteenth-century.

#### **The Demographics of Dissent and the Survival of Orthodoxy in Rural Chapels.**

From a careful analysis of the available sources I have enumerated 49 Protestant Dissenting chapels in Lancashire having formed at some point up to 1725.<sup>79</sup> This date represents perhaps the high water mark of the number of chapels before 1750, with the Dissenters returning to urban centres they had been barred from under the Five Mile Act and seeing them relinquish the last of the Episcopal chapels they had retained.<sup>80</sup> Decline sets in after this date, with a number of the smaller and rural chapels failing around mid-century, bringing the total to 43 by 1749.

It is clear from the breakdown of the Protestant Dissenting congregations in Lancashire (Appendices C.1, 2, 3), that it was the smaller, rural chapels that exhibited stronger orthodox tendencies. The four churches returned as Independent were all in remote, upland parishes (Appendix B). Of the eight Presbyterian congregations that disappeared in the eighteenth-century, possibly only Walton could in any sense be considered to fulfil an urban category (Appendix C.1.7). I have identified ten churches returned as 'Presbyterian' in the Evans List that subsequently exhibited an adherence to orthodox confessionism and theology, and which subsequently aligned themselves with the renewed Congregational movement of the later eighteenth-century (Appendix C.2).<sup>81</sup> Of these, only St. Helens could in any sense be considered urban. If we look, in contrast, at those 28 Presbyterian churches that exhibited Arminian tendencies, that would cohere into Unitarianism in the later eighteenth-century, then they seem mainly to be confined to the urban centres and large, prestigious congregations. All market towns listed by Evans enter this Presbyterian tradition.<sup>82</sup> The

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<sup>79</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>80</sup> Dissenting chapels were built at Walton in 1719, Bury in 1720, Chorley in 1725. The Protestant Dissenters were finally forced out of the Episcopal chapel at Chowbent in 1722 and that at Hallfold and Whitworth in 1725. *Notitia Cestriensis* records that the Presbyterians held the Sankey Chapel until 1728 when it was returned to Episcopal use. It is not mentioned in the Evans List as a separate congregation and I assume it was licensed and occasionally used by the Warrington Protestant Dissenters. They retained control of two Anglican chapels, those at Toxteth Park and Elswick.

<sup>81</sup> That Presbyterian congregations retained a commitment to orthodoxy and ultimately came to describe themselves as Congregational is recognised in Watts, p. 468-9. He notes that Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, pp. 225-389, listed 20 Congregational churches which had begun as Presbyterian. Halley, Vol.2, pp.420-7, listed 5. See Watts for other examples from Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Derbyshire, London, Kidderminster.

<sup>82</sup> Manchester, Rochdale, Warrington, Ormskirk, Bolton.



Presbyterian churches in the Parliamentary boroughs all exhibit this heterodox tendency.<sup>83</sup> Evans's returns for the numbers of hearers indicate all the largest Presbyterian congregations were marked by this process.<sup>84</sup> R. W. Dale's comment that 'The congregations of the large towns of the north had at this time [c.1756] deserted the Trinitarian faith' seems fairly accurate, though as we shall see, this was not the same for the rural congregations.<sup>85</sup> Concomitant with this, the urban chapels within the developing Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition stagnated in the size of the congregation. Thus the two prestigious Liverpool chapels, Benn's Garden and Kaye Street, were returned in the Evans List c.1717 as having a joint congregation of 1,158. In the 1760s this was down to 544 for Benn's Garden and 343 for Kaye Street.<sup>86</sup> The orthodox Dissenting congregation at Darwen was enumerated as having 648 hearers in 1717. In 1775 it was enumerated as having 1,850 congregants.<sup>87</sup> The congregation must have diminished somewhat with the opening of the Blackburn Congregational Chapel in 1778 but even the Tockholes congregation, which saw a good percentage of its population move to the new chapel, still consisted of 74 householding families consisting of 330 persons<sup>88</sup>

It is clear from this that orthodox elements remained in rural areas within ostensibly Presbyterian churches. The process of embourgeoisement and theological liberalisation of chapel communities was very much a product of the towns. Arguments for the survival of orthodoxy within Protestant Dissent based on denomination need to be reassessed with this in mind. Commentators have used the argument that it was the strict polity and confessionality of the Congregationalists that enabled them to retain orthodox theology.<sup>89</sup> If we ask the question 'Did the Independent Churches of Lancashire become Congregational in the later eighteenth and nineteenth-century?', then we are dealing with a

<sup>83</sup> The two congregations in Liverpool, Wigan Park Lane, Lancaster, Preston. The Risley meeting house may represent the Dissenters of Newton. Dissent around Clitheroe was represented by the Independent church at Wymondhouses and the Presbyterian meeting at Hesketh Lane, Chipping. In the Evans List Jolly's church could muster one borough vote, Walkden's church none. See also M. Mullett, 'Men of Known Loyalty: The Politics of the Lancashire Borough of Clitheroe, 1660-1689', *Northern History*, 1985, pp. 108-137.

<sup>84</sup> Bolton, 1,694 hearers; Manchester, 1,515 hearers; Chowbent, 1,064 hearers; two Liverpool congregations, 1,158; Cockey Moor, 730; Warrington, 713. The largest of the Presbyterian chapels that retained an adherence to orthodoxy were St. Helens, 697 hearers; Rainsford, 665 hearers.

<sup>85</sup> Dale, *English Congregationalism*, (1907), pp.560-561. Dale claimed there were only two Trinitarian congregations in northern towns, at Sheffield and Leeds.

<sup>86</sup> Bradley, *RRER*, p.63.

<sup>87</sup> 'Duration of Life in Town and Country Parishes and Villages', *Philosophical Transactions*, 1775, quoted in W. A. Abram, *A History of Blackburn Town and Parish*, (Blackburn, 1877), p.523.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* p.703.

<sup>89</sup> A. P. F. Sell, 'Confessing the Faith in English Congregationalism', in *Dissenting thought and the Life of the Churches*, (Mellen, San Francisco, 1990), pp.1-67.

small sample with diverse outcomes. The Wymondhouses congregation became extinct c.1750, its congregation absorbed by the Baptists (Appendix B.1). Walmsley became Unitarian (Appendix B.4) and only Darwen remained orthodox and became Congregational in the second half of the eighteenth-century (Appendix B.3). It is clear that the vast majority of the Protestant Dissenting churches in Lancashire were Presbyterian and that, as differences emerged over theology in the eighteenth-century, the split was felt within Presbyterianism, the rural churches seeking sources of ministerial supply from beyond the mainly heterodox Dissenting Academies. When conservative and orthodox congregants began to realise that Ministers were increasingly departing from Westminster Confessionalism, they sought out other ministerial sources and other churches. In urban areas where the ministerial/trustee oligarchy controlled the chapel culture, the main option open to orthodox elements of the congregation was to secede to form a Congregational church, a process that increased after 1750 (Appendices D.1-5). Another option was to move to a Presbyterian church that had retained an orthodox ministry. Thus the Cockers, a family of Scots living in Rivington, left the chapel there in 1760 because of the Arian views preached from the pulpit and moved en-masse to the more orthodox Presbyterian congregation at Tockholes.<sup>90</sup> In the rural Presbyterian chapels like Tockholes, a conservative, rural constituency seems to have demanded a popular piety from the pulpit. As they could only pay small stipends they would not attract the 'clerical peacocks' the academies were turning out. They maintained a degree of democratic leverage over the minister, who would be reliant on the small contributions of all of his congregation, rather than on the benefice of the merchant grandees, as was so often the case in the towns. Indeed the democratic leverage could be enshrined in the Trust deed. The Protestant Dissenting church at Darwen, Blackburn Parish, was returned in the Evans List as in receipt of the Congregational Fund c.1717-1719. The property indenture conveyed to the trustees by indentures of lease and release, dated the 1st and the 2nd of January, 1719, invested the power to choose the minister amongst various constituents within the church;

Provided always, that so long as the Laws of this Realm should allow any preaching or teaching minister, such as are called Protestant Dissenting Minister, to teach and preach God's Word in any Chapel or place within England, they the said Trustees should permit and suffer Griffith Griffith, the then present Minister there, and such Dissenting Minister as should from time to time be elected and chosen by the trustees for the time being or the major part of them, and the communicants or such

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<sup>90</sup> Nightingale, *Tockholes*, (1886), pp.193-196.

as did usually partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the said Meeting-place, and the constant contributors to the maintenance of the Ministers there or the major part of them, to preach and teach God's word, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there, and to exercise all offices belonging to that sacred function in the said Edifice.<sup>91</sup>

The power to choose the minister is therefore neither the prerogative of the trustees or the church meeting on their own. The democratic nature of a trust like this would of course very much depend on how all parties involved interpreted the trust with the passage of time. Clearly, this church, which was strongly identified with local Independents in its early history, still had to recognise the power of the trustees in church affairs. The Darwen trust does seem more democratic however, than the one instituted at Tockholes. Blackburn Parish, on the 10th of July, 1716, where the named trustees held the edifice and property, allowed Protestant Dissenting worship there and transferred the trust to successors appointed by the trustees, a far more Presbyterian model in a church claimed as Independent by nineteenth century historians.<sup>92</sup>

If we then ask the question 'Did the Presbyterian Churches of Lancashire become Unitarian?' the most reasonable answer is that roughly 61% of them dating from the period 1689-1725 were strongly identified in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries with the emerging Unitarian position and that most of these congregations were in the towns. Some 16% of Presbyterian congregations were too small and poorly funded to survive much beyond 1750 and 23% of these Presbyterian churches retained an adherence to orthodox theology and aligned themselves with the renewed Congregational movement in the later eighteenth-century.

Having recognised that the rural/urban distinction is crucial in assessing the continued survival of orthodox piety within Protestant Dissent before and during the Evangelical Revival, I want to assess the degree to which Protestant Dissent was urbanised in Lancashire.

### **The Urbanisation of Protestant Dissent.**

Watts claimed that nationally, Dissent was more urbanised than the population as a whole: 'Of the 1,238 Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist congregations which are known to have existed in the years 1715-1719, more than half met in places which are described in the Evans List as cities,

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<sup>91</sup> Abram, *A History of Blackburn*, (Blackburn, 1877), p.521.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, p.699.



boroughs and market towns' with the urban congregations usually larger. Watts claimed that nationally 63.2% of Presbyterian and 69.5% of Independent congregations worshipped in urban areas. Work has been done by Jan Albers on the numbers of Dissenters in Lancashire over the eighteenth-century and their degree of urbanisation. She uses the Evans List for an assessment c.1720 and Bishop Porteous's Visitation of 1778 for two snapshots of Dissent, breaking the figures down into rural and urban categories. The inferences that she draws from these figures should be treated with caution however.

It was the stated aim in Albers's thesis to rescue the eighteenth-century Church of England from the 'condescension of posterity' and to reassess its political strength and influence. In doing so she explicitly stated that it was her aim to reassess the role of Dissent in eighteenth-century politics, criticising four main points which she claims historians have focused on that overemphasise the power and influence of Dissent. She claimed that previous studies have made Dissent: too urbanised; overemphasised its influence; treated it as monolithic, when it was riven by division; and ignored the extent of Anglican parochial reform in the eighteenth-century.<sup>93</sup> What is clear is that Albers, in her haste to rusticate Lancashire Dissent, has applied too high an urban threshold throughout the eighteenth-century, taking most of Lancashire's towns out of the urban category.

Albers in her methodological preamble claims that she has chosen as her 'urban' category all market towns over 1,000 households, using Watts' multiplier of 4.5. This brings the urban threshold to 4,500. This figure, I would suggest, is too high. Corfield found 2,500 the satisfactory minimum category for an urban function and applied it throughout the eighteenth-century.<sup>94</sup> If we were to apply Corfield's threshold to Albers rural/urban breakdown of the Evans figures for c.1720, it reverses Albers's percentages, giving us roughly 60% of Dissent urbanised and 40% rural, bringing the figures into line with those Watts's national averages.

Where Albers is on stronger ground is on charting the decline in Dissenting numbers over the eighteenth-century, especially in the better enumerated towns. She compares the figures for Dissent with Francois Vigier's population figures for Lancashire,<sup>95</sup> making the case for the relative decline of

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<sup>93</sup> Jan Albers, 'Seeds of Contention: Society, Politics and the Church of England in Lancashire, 1689-1790', Ph.D. Yale, 1988, pp.358-9.

<sup>94</sup> P. J. Corfield, *The Impact of the English Towns, 1700-1800*, (Oxford, 1982), pp.1-20.

<sup>95</sup> Francois Vigier, *Change and Apathy: Liverpool and Manchester During the Industrial Revolution*, (1970), pp.41, 95.

Dissenting numbers in a period of population expansion. Clearly expansion is most marked in the last quarter of the century with massive population growth, Lancashire's population growing fourfold c.1664-1801. Growth south of the Ribble was slow up to 1717 but in the period 1717-1778 the populations of Bolton and Manchester Deaneries more than doubled, with the most significant growth in the last quarter of the century.<sup>96</sup> The returns from incumbents for the Episcopal Visitations paint a grim picture of old Dissent. The Vicar of Bolton noted in 1778 that 'trade was for many years principally in the hands of the Dissenters, but they are lately much sunk in number, credit and fortune'.<sup>97</sup> The Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill reported Presbyterian numbers down at Toxteth Park because their minister was proposing views contrary to the 'old tenets of Scotch Presbytery'.<sup>98</sup> At Holcombe it was reported that death and emigration had decimated the meeting house, with many going over to the church in 1789.<sup>99</sup> Albers noted that between 1778-1789 the clergy made no mention of Old Dissent making converts as they did for the Methodists and the Roman Catholics.<sup>100</sup>

Albers is aware of the limitations of these figures and reports drawn from the Episcopal Visitations, realising that most of the clergy were unaware of the movement of orthodox elements out of the Presbyterian chapels and into nascent Calvinistic Methodist and Congregational churches, the strength of which will become apparent in the subsequent analysis of the numbers of churches in the second half of the eighteenth century. Albers is also on weak ground arguing that a decline in numbers led to a reduction in the power and influence of chapel communities. The endogamous profile of the Presbyterian/Unitarian chapel communities was accompanied by social and economic advancement. Thus the Presbyterian 'Whigling' lords of commerce in Liverpool and Manchester came to dominate city politics, their numbers belieing their influence. The problem with these snapshot surveys, utilising the infrequent enumerations of the eighteenth century is that they give us very little indication of the energies latent in Dissent. To break them down into Presbyterian and Independent, rural and urban, even in 1778, really tells us very little. Porteous's returns for

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<sup>96</sup> J. K. Walton, Lancashire, A Social History, pp.76-77.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*, p.94.

<sup>98</sup> Chesh.CRO/EDV/7/Mf 44/3/209.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*, /6/129.

<sup>100</sup> Albers, 'Seeds of Contention', p.369.



Presbyterians would lump together the Arian/Unitarian congregations with the mutually hostile orthodox Presbyterian congregations and Scottish Kirk congregations in Lancashire.<sup>101</sup>

After 1750 it becomes valid to differentiate Lancashire Protestant Dissent into two traditions, the one culminating in Unitarianism, the other in Congregationalism. Appendices D.1-5 break these developments down to a decennial analysis and from this it becomes quite clear that stagnation was a characteristic of the Unitarian churches and growth that of the Congregational churches. If we start from the figure of 43 Protestant Dissenting churches in 1750 then we can differentiate 32 that conform to the Presbyterian historiographical stereotype of an increasingly heterodox and oligarchic church community. Eleven churches seem to have retained some form of commitment to orthodoxy. By 1799, despite the Presbyterian/Unitarian trustees having retained most of the chapel properties, orthodox/Congregational elements have matched them chapel for chapel, the Unitarians having 32, the Congregationalists 32.<sup>102</sup> This represents eleven secessions from old Presbyterian foundations by orthodox elements and the promotion of nine new churches. Unitarian growth was negligible. This reflects national trends, the orthodox churches being re-vivified by the Evangelical revival, those aloof from it stagnating. Sell noted that nationally 'in 1718 there were some 637 English Presbyterian congregations, and some 203 Independent churches. By 1772 there were 302 English Presbyterian causes and 400 Independent churches. By 1800 the English Presbyterians were down to 200, the Independents up to 900'.<sup>103</sup> This underscores the Unitarians' need to retain these old Protestant

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<sup>101</sup> John Addy, 'Bishop Porteous' Visitation of the Diocese of Chester, 1778', Northern History, 13, 1977, pp.175-194, p.189 says 5,000 Dissenters in Manchester, mainly Presbyterian. We know from the Rector of St.Anne's, Manchester, that these consisted of roughly 3,000 'Presbyterians' and 1,000 'Scotch Kirk'. See Chesh.CRO/EDV7/Mf.44/2.

<sup>102</sup> An 1830 report of the College Committee of Blackburn academy noted 32 chapels originally orthodox which with their endowments had fallen into Unitarian hands. See R. Slate, A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Lancashire Congregational Union, (1840), p.130.

<sup>103</sup> A. P. F. Sell, 'Presbyterianism in Eighteenth-Century England', p.374. Compare this with R. W. Dale's assessment in English Congregationalism, (1907), p.580; 'In 1772 the congregations in England belonging to the "Three Denominations" numbered 1,092; fifty years later, ...they numbered 1,583. In 1772 it is probable that there were about 380 Independent congregations; fifty years later there were 799. Within the same period the Baptists had increased from 390 to 532 congregations. The Presbyterians alone had fallen off. In 1772 they had probably about 320 congregations; fifty years later the number had sunk to 252. One fourth of their congregations had become extinct, or had gone over to the Independents; and most of those that remained were very small. It has been estimated that of the Dissenters belonging to the "Three Denominations" towards the close of the reign of George III, the Presbyterians did not number more than one-twentieth. The Independents had not only more than doubled the number of their congregations; the separate congregations were much larger. The Baptists had grown with almost equal rapidity.' See also D. Bogue and J. Bennett, History of Dissenters from the Revolution, 1688, to the Year 1808, (first edition 4 Vols, 1808), iv, pp.327-334.



Dissenting properties, for they consisted the greater part of their churches. If we look at the manuscript list produced by the Rev. George Eyre Evans of Unitarian churches in Lancashire in 1819,<sup>104</sup> excluding the 13 Methodist Unitarian and two urban missions enumerated, only 34 Unitarian churches remain in Lancashire. All of these were old Protestant Dissenting causes, the only new churches being Rawtenstall (Appendix D.1.4), Manchester Mosley Street, [Horridge?]<sup>105</sup> and Myrtle Grove.<sup>106</sup> The Congregationalist, the Rev. R. Slate noted in his 1830 Report to the Blackburn Academy committee that thirty-two of the old Protestant Dissenting causes were then in the hands of Unitarian trustees.<sup>107</sup> If we remove Myrtle Grove and Horwich from Eyre Evans's list then the figure is 32.<sup>108</sup>

#### **The Survival of Orthodoxy Within Lancashire Protestant Dissent, 1689-1750.**

Protestant Dissent in Lancashire was dominated by Presbyterianism to a greater extent than surrounding counties. The stronger commitment to Calvinism and Congregationalism in the eighteenth-century among the old Dissenting churches of Cumberland, Cheshire and to an extent the West Riding of Yorkshire<sup>109</sup> would contribute greatly to the evangelical Congregationalism of the second half of the eighteenth-century in Lancashire. But the nature of the Presbyterian congregations in Lancashire varied considerably geographically and this would affect how they responded to the agents of the evangelical revival both from within and outside Lancashire.

<sup>104</sup> A List of Unitarian Chapels and Congregations in England, Scotland and Wales, 1819-1896. c.1896, JRL, Unitarian College Library, MS Cupd.D.

<sup>105</sup> This appears to be wishful thinking on the part of Evans. Horwich at the time was under the ministry of the Rev. James Kenworthy (1797-1825). LN, Vol. 3, p.107 noted that 'there seems to be some doubt as to Mr. Kenworthy's theological whereabouts'. The congregation by then was very firmly in the Congregational/evangelical tradition however. There is no mention of a Unitarian church at Horwich in either G. E. Evans, Record of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, (Manchester, 1896). G. E. Evans, Vestiges of Protestant Dissent, (Liverpool, 1897), p.107, only mentions a Unitarian church at Horwich founded in 1890. Ibid., p.194. Oldham Lord Street opened 1816. Ibid., p.197, congregation at Padiham since 1806. Ibid., p.213, Rochdale Clover Street 1818.

<sup>106</sup> Myrtle Grove is not listed in Evans, Vestiges of Protestant Dissent. From information in Turner, Idle, p.72, it seems to refer to an area of Eastwood, near Todmorden but just inside the old county boundary of the West Riding. The old Protestant Dissenting congregation at Eastwood was certainly Unitarian in 1819 and might have been aligned with Lancashire Unitarian associations due to proximity.

<sup>107</sup> R. Slate, A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Lancashire Congregational Union: and of the Blackburn Independent Academy, (1840), p.130.

<sup>108</sup> The 1830 Religious Census of Lancashire records 28 Unitarian congregations. This may be because some of the old Protestant Dissenting congregations still referred to themselves as Presbyterian. See Chapter Five.

<sup>109</sup> Halley, p.433.

Here I want to briefly examine the geographical variations of Protestant Dissent within Lancashire, using the ecclesiastical divisions of the Church of England at the time of Bishop Gastrell's visitation c.1717. Starting in the north in the Deanery of Furness and Cartmel, the area known as Lancashire-over-Sands, Protestant Dissent was entirely dominated by the distinct ecclesiology of the Baptists and Quakers. We know of there being members of the Cockermouth, Cumberland, Congregational church being resident in 'Furness Fells' and the Baptist church at Tottlebank seems to have originally been an open communion of Baptists and Independents but it soon became distinctly Baptist (see Appendices B.2 and C 1.2). Obviously, the Baptist congregations maintained a commitment to orthodox doctrine and theology but they fall outside the immediate focus of this study. The nature of Dissent in this remote area can be characterised as sectarian. No minister from this region is known to have attended the Lancashire Provincial Assembly or the Provincial Assembly of Cumberland and Westmorland. The small society at Hartbarrow had come under the aegis of the Kendal, Westmorland, Dissenters and was moribund by the middle of the eighteenth century (Appendix C 1.1). A house was licensed in 1748 in Ulverston,<sup>110</sup> most likely for Baptist use. The Calvinist Methodists seemed to have had the most success in preaching in the region. Whitefield preached there in 1750 and Wesley in 1752 but the crucial decade was the 1770s. Captain Scott included the area on his preaching tour in 1774 and the first chapel was opened in Ulverston in 1778, supported by the Calvinistic Methodists. The driving force behind this missionary effort was the Rev. George Burder of Lancaster (1777-1783) who was also instrumental in the founding the Kendal Independent Church (1778) and the Independent church at Bootle on the West Cumberland plain in 1780.

Prior to 1750, it seems that this area had more in common with the Dissenting communities of Cumberland and Westmorland, as did the other two north Lancashire Deaneries of Kendal and Lonsdale. As is obvious from their names, the mother parishes of these Deaneries are in Westmorland. In Kendal Deanery, Quakerism was strong. George Benson's and Thomas Jolly's attempts to gather rural Protestant Dissenting congregations in Bolton Parish, at Nether Kellet and Carnforth, were a struggling by 1700 (Appendices C 1.3 and F 1.4). In the Deanery of Lonsdale the Protestant Dissenters did manage to retain the Episcopal chapel of Tatham Fell into the 1690s until it

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<sup>110</sup> Lancs.CRO/Q.D.V.4. Toleration Act Registrations at the Quarter Sessions in Lancaster, 4th of August, 1748, house registered in Ulverstone for Protestant Dissenters. LN, Vol. 1, pp.249-266 says the house of Myles Sandys, Baptist, was registered in Ulverstone in 1745.



was recovered by the Vicar of Lancaster (Appendix C 1.3).<sup>111</sup> The Evans List records a grant of money to both Carnforth and Tatham but the last evidence of these churches is of ordinations to them in 1725. They most probably ceased to exist at some time in the 1730s. Thus the area of Lancashire north of Lancaster and the River Lune was distinct from the rest of Lancashire in that there were no Protestant Dissenting churches in the Presbyterian/Congregational tradition by 1750. Thriving Protestant Dissenting churches existed only in the urban centres of Lancaster and Kendal. The elements of rural orthodox Dissent, where they weren't absorbed by the established church, were probably absorbed by these urban congregations. The problems of finding and paying a minister led small rural congregations to fail, for a rationalisation to occur. The ministers of the urban chapels by the 1730s were 'advanced' in their theological views and, at the very least, Arian. Caleb Rotherham at Kendal (1716-1752) was most definitely out of sympathy with the rural communicants in the Stainton and Crook chapels in Westmorland and the Hartbarrow chapel in Lancashire. His student, the Rev. James Daye, Minister of the Lancaster congregation (1736-1770) would have felt much the same about the societies at Carnforth and Tatham. These struggling rural churches represented the missionary efforts of some enthusiastic Independents over thirty years previously. It would have been better for polite Dissent if they were left to wither. This area was very much *tabula rasa* then for the new evangelical Congregationalism in the 1770s and a huge missionary effort was required by the agents of Lancashire Congregationalism to reintegrate this region after 1778. In the whole of this region only the Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, church was Calvinist, though of course there were other Dales churches in the West Riding whose ministry remained orthodox. New Congregational churches had to be formed out of the old Protestant Dissenting congregations in Kendal and Lancaster, churches whose ministry was long since Unitarian. This region of Lancashire north of the Lune, Furness and Cartmel and Westmorland, for the purposes of this study, should be thought of as a whole, a point I will expand upon when I come to look at Westmorland in Chapter Four.

In the Deanery of Amounderness, different patterns in the development of Protestant Dissent emerge. Both Lancaster and Preston were parliamentary boroughs but the Lancaster Dissenters seem

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<sup>111</sup> *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol. 2, part 3, Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol.22, 1850, p.487-88 says nothing about this but the HMC Kenyon, No. 744, p.246 records the Rector of Tatham chapel appealing for the removal of Dissenters who had registered the premises. My thanks to Richard Harrison for this last reference.



to have enjoyed a greater degree of freedom under the corporation. The Preston congregation faced greater hostility and whilst a congregation struggled on there, Dissenting communities worshipped more freely in the rural chapelries in Blackburn Parish and also at Houghton Tower and subsequently the new chapel at Walton-le-Dale, built by Sir Henry Houghton in 1719, all these chapels being in the Deanery of Blackburn. The Protestant Dissenters had greater success in the rural parishes in this Deanery north of the Ribble. They maintained services in two Episcopal chapels after 1689. They were only removed from Shireshead Chapel in Cockerham Parish in 1702, removing to Forton and building a chapel there c.1705 (Appendix C 2.1).<sup>112</sup> At Elswick, in St. Michael's Parish, the chapel was traditionally funded by subscription of the inhabitants. It was seized under James' Indulgence by Protestant Dissenters and was never recovered by the establishment. Gastrell noted that it was never consecrated and therefore the establishment decided not to pursue it and built a new chapel at Cop in 1723 (Appendix C 2.4).<sup>113</sup> The congregation at Bispham on the Fylde coast seems to have dwindled substantially and was extinct by mid-century (Appendix C 1.4). The chapel at Hesketh Lane, Chipping, survived beyond mid-century but its history is unsure and was eventually absorbed into a missionary itinerary of later eighteenth century Congregationalists (Appendix C 2.3).

There are several points to make here. The urban chapels of Lancaster and Preston entered the Unitarian tradition in the second half of the eighteenth century. The rural chapels retained a continual tradition of orthodox Calvinism. These churches were all described as 'Presbyterian' in the Evans List. Quite clearly this 'denomination' tells us nothing about the persuasions of the minister and congregants. In the later eighteenth century these rural chapels became the centres of missionary Congregational activity, focusing on rural itinerations that would establish Congregational churches on the Fylde coast at Blackpool and in the Forest of Bowland, and establishing new Congregational churches in the towns of Lancaster, Preston and Garstang.

Moving south, the Deanery of Blackburn consisted of the two huge parishes of Blackburn and Whalley. The derisory or non-existent nature of the livings in the parochial chapelries and chapels of ease of Blackburn parish saw the impropiator, the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, set in motion legal procedures in 1678 to establish the Sancroft Trust, which were formalised early in

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<sup>112</sup> Francis Gastrell, *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol. 2, part 3, (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol.22, 1850), p.407.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*, pp.452-454.

1688, empowering the Archbishop's representative to augment livings. The Vicar of Blackburn then began the slow process of reasserting his rights over the seven chapels. Post-1688 he had to remove Roman Catholics from the Episcopal chapel at Langho and Protestant Dissenters from Tockholes and Darwen Chapels.<sup>114</sup> The Protestant Dissenters at Darwen were forced out of the chapel in 1688 after the Vicar, the Rev. Francis Price, persuaded King James II to revoke their license they had received under his Indulgence. At Tockholes the Dissenters lost whatever rights they retained in the Episcopal chapel sometime before 1700. These congregations at Darwen and Tockholes, on the moors above Blackburn, were again strong rural centres of nonconformity and Calvinist orthodoxy. The Dissenting congregations dependent on the Houghton interest at Houghton Tower was vestigial by 1750 (Appendix C 1.7), the Houghton built chapel at Walton-le-Dale was absorbed by the Preston Protestant Dissenting congregation later in the eighteenth century (Appendix C 1.6). In the 1770s many of the congregants at Tockholes and Darwen moved back into Blackburn. Elements of these congregations resident in the town joined with Scottish residents engaged in textile trades to form the first Blackburn Congregational church in 1777, under the ministrations of a Scottish Congregationalist minister. This was the base for a missionary push up the Ribble Valley to reintegrate the chapels on the late seventeenth-century rural itinerary in the Forest of Bowland and around Pendle and the Colne Valley in Whalley Parish. In contrast, the eastern end of Whalley parish was the domain of the Baptist churches in the first half of the eighteenth century, missionary activity centred on the Particular Baptist church at Bacup, founded in 1691. Along with the moorland townships at the northern extremities of Bolton, Bury and Rochdale parishes in the Manchester Deanery, these upland chapels exhibit a greater tradition of commitment to Calvinist orthodoxy. In fact, from the inception of the Lancashire Provincial Assembly, this distinctiveness was a feature of the northern region of the Assembly, covering the uplands of Whalley, Blackburn parishes and the rural parishes of Amounderness. The ministers were more likely to have Independent sympathies and co-operated in missionary efforts in the 1690s aimed at the region north of Lancaster, the Fylde coast, the Forest of Bowland and Craven in the West Riding. Though this effort suffered loss and retraction, the remaining cells of rural piety were crucial for the reintroduction of evangelical Congregationalism

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<sup>114</sup> Abram, *A History of Blackburn*, pp.278-294. Darwen is not mentioned in *Notitia Cestriensis* as having been retained by the Dissenters as it was recovered in 1688. For Tockholes see *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol.2, part 2, (Chetham Society, Vol.21, 1850), pp.296-297.

to the industrialising towns in the 1770s. I would suggest the development of the old Protestant Dissenting congregations in this northern region of Lancashire should be considered as distinct in many ways from the region to the south. The development of Protestant Dissent in Amounderness and the area approximating to the old Honour of Clitheroe was substantially different from the Presbyterian/Unitarian stereotype. Whilst the development of polite, patrician Dissent, as outlined in Chapter Two, was in evidence, it was not typical of the region. The region north of the Ribble did not experience the social dislocation associated with explosive population growth. The upland Deanery of Blackburn lacked large urban centres that would support patrician Dissent in the first half of the eighteenth century. The areas where Dissent was strong were also where the textile trades were located. The immigration of artisans from Scotland associated with textile industry reinforced the commitment to Calvinist orthodoxy in this region, reinforcing and changing the nature of Congregationalism and orthodox evangelicalism in the region in the early nineteenth century.

Of the ten chapels denominated 'Presbyterian' in the Evans List, founded in the period 1689-1725, that I have identified with a continual commitment to orthodox Calvinist expressions of faith in the eighteenth-century, three lie in Amounderness Deanery, one in Blackburn deanery and three in the north of the Manchester Deanery. Along with the Independent chapels at Wymondhouses in Whalley parish and Darwen in Blackburn parish they form a tradition that can be distinguished from the Protestant Dissenting chapels in the southern Deaneries of Leyland, Warrington and Manchester. In contradistinction, in these southern Deaneries there were only three old Protestant Dissenting churches which retained a continual orthodox presence in the chapels, namely Oldham Greenacres Chapel, on the Yorkshire border and in Manchester Deanery and two congregations in the large parish of Prescott, Warrington Deanery. Rainford was situated in the moss lands between Ormskirk and Prescott, the other being at St. Helen's. All the other chapels conform to the Presbyterian/Unitarian development outlined in Chapter Two.

It is in the southern deaneries where the Lancashire Presbyterians engaged in an extensive struggle with the establishment to retain Episcopal chapels c.1689-1730. In Leyland Deanery, Coppull Chapel was contested until 1715 when it was recovered by the establishment, the Presbyterians being left with the chapel they built at Tunley in 1691.<sup>115</sup> The Chorley Dissenters did not build their chapel until

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, part 3, pp.395-397.



1725. worshipping until that time in the Rivington Protestant Dissenting chapel in Bolton parish. It was here, in Manchester deanery, that the struggle was most keenly felt.

In the Manchester Deanery there were thirty one Episcopal churches and chapels in eleven parishes. Eleven of these chapels in six parishes were retained by the Presbyterians and recovered at some point between 1689-1730 by the establishment.<sup>116</sup> Four of the nine chapelries belonging to the Manchester Collegiate Church were occupied. In the Warrington Deanery there were six chapelries the establishment had to remove Protestant Dissenters from in the period 1689-1730 in four out of the fifteen parishes.<sup>117</sup> Thus most of the contested chapels were in the southern deaneries. The question to be asked here is why was there such a persistent Presbyterian presence in the unendowed chapelries of Lancashire and what does it tell us about the nature of Presbyterianism in the period?

Much of this persistence by the Presbyterians can be explained by property rights. In some chapels the inhabitants had traditionally paid for the curate and would not surrender the right to maintain a minister of their own choosing. Often the trustees of the chapel property remained Presbyterian and would not surrender the keys of the building. Where the hierarchy could not provide curates for the rural chapelries, Protestant Dissenters saw themselves as filling in the gaps in the parochial system. The nub of this is that the Presbyterian ministers and congregations during the first forty years after 1689 still defined themselves in relation to the Church of England, as did the law. They were Protestant Dissenters 'not of the Church of England'. Many of their practices signified of their willingness to be comprehended. Many congregants and ministers occasionally conformed. Dissenters frequently shared their disputed chapels with Anglican curates. When they built new chapels, they deliberately framed their trust deeds to facilitate their absorption into the Church of England if a measure of comprehension should be passed. Ministers frequently faced crises of

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<sup>116</sup> Manchester Parish: Gorton, Denton, Birch, Newton. Bolton parish: Rivington, Walmsley, Cockey. Deane parish: Horwich. Eccles parish: Ellenbrook. Rochdale: Whitworth. Middleton parish: Ashworth. See *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol.2, part 1, (Chetham Society, Vol.19, 1849), passim. Two of the contested chapels are not specifically mentioned in *Notitia Cestriensis* as having been retained by Dissenters for any period of time, namely those at Rivington: see P. J. W.Higson, 'Some Leading Promoters of Nonconformity and their Association with the Lancashire Chapelries Following the Revolution of 1688', *TLCAS*, 75, 1965, pp.123-163; and Whitworth: *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol. 2, part 1, pp.154-157 notes that there was a long running battle with the inhabitants for the right to appoint the curate. See *LN*, Vol. 3, pp.269-270, which implies they only lost their rights in the chapel c.1720.

<sup>117</sup> Prescott Parish: Rainford, St. Helen's, Sankey. Leigh parish: Chowbent. Wigan parish: Hindley. Toxteth Park, extra-parochial. *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol.2, part 2, (Chetham Society, Vol.21, 1850), pp.213-4, 206-08, 215: 189-190, 254-257, 171-172.

conscience as to whether to conform, cajoled by Whig Bishops and seeking clarification from eminent Dissenting divines. Consequently, Presbyterianism developed with a profoundly ill defined identity and this ambivalent attitude to the establishment tainted other possible expressions of their identity, not least attempts at union and local co-operation with the Independents.

It is perhaps ironic that as the Church of England in the Diocese of Chester began to claw back the poorly endowed chapelries of Lancashire and begin a campaign to augment livings, boosted by Queen Anne's Bounty, the Presbyterian community was socially and intellectually aligning itself with many elements within the Church. The retention of the chapels represented an expression of Presbyterian traditional commitment to a unified church. As Presbyterians reconciled themselves to the notion that they were a Dissenting communion, other expressions of unity became available. Along with the County Associations of Presbyterians and Congregationalists there was the movement for the Reformation of Manners in the 1690s. Heirs of the Puritans, conformist and nonconformist, could express their identity as 'Spirituals', members of an ecumenical society, with common interests over and against the rigid ecclesiastics who would put adiaphora in the way of the Reformation.<sup>118</sup> This would appeal to both those Protestant Dissenters in the Baxterian tradition and the more orthodox, especially the Congregationalists, who had traditionally relied on the extended, epistolary networks of the Calvinist International for their intellectual and financial survival. Again, different traditions and approaches would lead to different results in pursuing the Reformation of Manners. The strongly humanistic tendencies in English Presbyterianism meant that the Reformation of Manners could all too easily become mannered, that a 'language of manners' could become an adjunct to social and political aspirations.<sup>119</sup> Amongst the orthodox Calvinist ministers of the rural Presbyterian congregations, the Reformation of man could still be interpreted via providential, rather than progressive, epistemologies. The huge republication of conversion texts after the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 provided models for a new relationship with God. The growing signs of revival telegraphed across the known world by the Calvinist international made all ministers and congregants aware that God, far from being a divine watch-maker, was intervening in history.

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<sup>118</sup> Craig Rose, 'Providence, Protestant Union and Godly Reformation in the 1690s', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th series, Vol.3, 1993, pp.151-169.

<sup>119</sup> Nicholas Phillipson, 'Politeness and politics in the reigns of Anne and the early Hanoverians', in J. G. A. Pocock et al. (eds), The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800, (Cambridge, 1993), pp.211-246.

I have argued in Chapter Two that an indistinct ecclesiological polity within English Presbyterianism allowed for innovation in religious practice to occur. Most Presbyterian chapels were controlled by elements keen to promote speculation in matters of religion and loath to enforce any doctrinal standards. This did not preclude there being large elements within the congregation who maintained orthodox standards in their private beliefs and devotions. In the more rural chapels however, these elements tended to dominate the congregations. The subsequent section examines the elements of rural Presbyterianism that encouraged orthodox piety.

### **Rural Orthodoxy amongst Protestant Dissent**

The first thing to note is that a rural location alone was not enough to guarantee that the chapel would not become Unitarian. Walmsley (Appendix B.4) had an Arian minister in the Rev. John Helme (c.1750-1760) and subsequent ministers were in the Unitarian tradition. It was still a wild and remote place in 1834 however, when the Rev. William Probert described the roads impassable in winter, the congregation scattered among the hills, unable to attend the Sunday service.<sup>120</sup> Quite clearly a number of the trustees and congregants must be sufficiently committed to orthodox expressions of faith to retain control of the chapel, and chapel property must be conveyed to trustees of an orthodox persuasion. The minister must also retain a commitment to orthodoxy and find a Fund willing to support him and the congregation. The impression one gets in the early eighteenth-century is that increasingly, the Presbyterian congregations with a preponderance of orthodox sentiment are seeking further and further afield for ministers, to neighbouring Baptist and Scottish Presbyterian ministers, to supply the pulpit and for orthodox ministers to officiate at the ordination.

These Presbyterian churches had no formal test for membership and did not enter into church Covenants. They must have chosen their minister to a certain extent through the advice of trusted neighbouring ministers, vetting candidates ordination sermons and judging him on the evidence of his subsequent sermonising. A minister's coyness in the pulpit could often mislead congregations into thinking their pastor was orthodox however. Here I want to alter the focus slightly and look at forms of religious expression that the laity could participate in and to assess how ministers mediated and controlled forms of lay piety within the Protestant Dissenting churches c.1689-1750. A proper

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<sup>120</sup> F. Kenworthy, 'The Story of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel', UHST, Vol. 9, No.1, p.72.



assessment of sermons and lectures in the period is beyond the scope of this research. The relationship between preacher and auditor is complex and was not confined to the individual chapel. The sermon notes of several pious laymen of the period indicate the number and range of preachers a determined believer could attend.<sup>121</sup> The weekday and monthly lecture, sometimes performed in the homes of communicants, sometimes in public, seems to have increasingly focused on current events and is another area that would reward careful analysis. Gaining an understanding of the semiotics of these sermons and ascertaining whether rural and urban congregants shared assumptions would be a major task for the historian.

Perhaps the most influential factor in perpetuating orthodoxy amongst the communicants however must have been the only other formal expressions of the chapel's communal life: psalmody, catechesis and the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the conservative rural communicants commitment to these elements. The scattered nature of the congregants in the rural parishes would mean the ministers involved would have to itinerate to fulfil their pastoral duties and to forge links with other orthodox ministers. Religious life was governed by the seasons and held together by print and written culture. I would argue here that the discrete nature of religious life of these communities was marked by periodic public expressions of faith which offered possibilities for covenant renewal and revival amongst religious communities.

That itinerancy was not an innovation of the Methodists is often overlooked when explanations of the evangelical revival are sought. Wherever the provision of the Gospel was deemed to be in short supply it was a natural response of the Puritan and Dissenting ministry.<sup>122</sup> After the reforming efforts of the Interregnum, Restoration efforts at enforcing uniformity imposed their own logic on ministerial practice. The subtle art of conventicling involved itinerating for ministers and congregation alike. The 1672 Licences indicate the number of locations Dissenters registered and this was replicated in 1689. Whilst Presbyterians in this period still retained a desire to do no damage to the parochial system, the Independents were under no such obligation. The act of gathering a church implies an

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<sup>121</sup> W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy, (eds) The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51 of Baldingstone near Bury. A Lancashire Doctor, (Manchester, Chetham Society, Vol. 41, 23rd series, 1968). The introduction is useful for details on the monthly Wednesday lecture at Bury. H. McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, (Manchester, 1950), pp.20-39, 'Diary of A Leeds Layman, Joseph Ryder, 1733-68'.

<sup>122</sup> C. Hill, 'Puritans and "The Dark Corners of the Land"', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, Volume 13, 1963, pp.77-102. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, (Oxford, 1963), passim.

evangelical impetus. This was potentially a point of conflict in the Toleration period, as with the Davis case in Northamptonshire in the 1690s, but we should not underestimate the evangelical consensus that animated Protestant Dissent as a whole in the 1690s. Alexander Gordon in a letter to Francis Nicholson of the 29th of December, 1913, in discussing Nicholson and Axon's work on the Kendal Dissenters, noted this aspect of the ministry in the 1690s:

At that date the majority of preachers seem to have acted as missionaries; even when they had a centre, they preached about, and many of them declined to become fixtures. Such stated pay as they got was usually per diem.<sup>123</sup>

There were few gathered churches in the north-west and, as a consequence, those who wanted to be part of a congregation would often live a great distance from the church and have to travel accordingly. Intercommunion with other churches involved long distance travel. The dearth of Congregational churches also meant that the Lancashire Independents relied heavily on their trans-Atlantic and continental intellectual links for vital theological and casuistical support. The Independent Thomas Jolly regularly visited the Independent churches at Walmsley and Darwen. He itinerated north of Lancashire in an attempt to gather a new church at the bequest of George Benson, a member of the Independent church at Cockermouth, Cumberland, resident in Nether Kellet, north of Lancaster. Along with his nephew John he seems to have been responsible for the formation of the chapels at Newton-in-Bowland, Bolton-in-Bowland, Chipping and Horton-in-Craven. He provided ministerial assistance to the Dissenters of Forton and Elswick and the Fylde coast at Bispham. His good friend Oliver Heywood remarked in his Diary for the 13th of January 1688 that

Godly dissenters have gained ground and grown more numerous than ever, so that at Chippin, Wyresdale, Poolton, &, in Lanc. meetings are set up where never any were before, even in Popish places, as I have been informed this week, so that Papists and quakers complain; no body is gainer by this liberty but Presbiterians.<sup>124</sup>

Tensions could arise in ministerial associations when it was deemed evangelical activity was poaching from existing congregations and this was one of the major reasons for the decay of the Happy Union. Indeed, this may underscore some of the tensions evident in the Minutes of the United

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<sup>123</sup> Quoted in McLachlan, Alexander Gordon, (1932), p.109.

<sup>124</sup> Oliver Heywood's Diaries, Vol. 3, p.228.

Brethren of Lancashire for the period 1693-1700, in which the ministers from the Northern District who were undertaking this evangelical campaign north of the Ribble, seem to be chafing against the more modest aspirations of their colleagues to the south.<sup>125</sup> Jolly had also expressed misgivings about the fitness of candidates and their ordination as Presbyterians to churches in which he took a major part in evangelising and gathering. He refused to take part in the ordination of John Issot to Horton-in-Craven in 1678 and disapproved of the ordination of Nicholas Kershaw to the same congregation in 1691. Whilst this didn't stop him from moves towards union, there is a sense in which there was an underlying resentment of Presbyterian institutions taking over Congregational societies. There was always the tension of respecting distinct forms of polity within Protestant Dissent and at the same time encouraging all dissenting ministers to greater efforts to further the Reformation. Jolly, as moderator at the General Meeting of the Ministers held at Blackburn on the 12th of April, 1698, issued the plea that

We do earnestly recommend to all our brethren in their several districts to the reviving of itinerancy exercises for the propagating of the Gospel, especially in places of the greatest necessity.

We do also recommend to all our sd Brethren the work of Reformation, according to the example of London and Dublin, especially in great towns, that they would please to consider how to carry on that good work according to their several circumstances.<sup>126</sup>

By the late 1690s the possible proselytising excesses of the northern Independents had made the Lancashire ministers wary of the 'enthusiasm' it seemed to unleash, hence Jolly's plea to renew efforts at itinerancy.<sup>127</sup> Increasing Presbyterian/Independent mistrust nationally after 1695 may have something to do with this apparent cooling but this should not lead us to underestimate the impetus amongst the more Arminian elements within the body of Dissent. Where the territory was deemed virgin, Presbyterian ministers could be just as apostolic, as with Oliver Heywood in Craven. The Common/Presbyterian Fund could allocate resources for evangelism. It did not give a grant to the large congregation at Bispham, Lancashire (Appendix C1.4), in 1690-1692, but it did suggest an

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<sup>125</sup> W. A. Shaw, *Minutes of the Manchester Classis, 1646-1660*, (Manchester, Chetham Society, ns. Vol. 24, 1891), Appendix 1, pp.349-365, 'The Minutes of the United Brethren'.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, p.359.

<sup>127</sup> Richard Harrison and Jonathan Westaway, ' "The Surey Demoniac": Defining Protestantism in 1690s Lancashire', *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Studies in Church History*, Vol. 32, pp. 263-282.



itinerancy be established in the 'Ffylde countrey' on the West Lancashire plain, 'A field white for ye harvest'.<sup>128</sup> Similar proposals were made for Cumberland, that 'Some Serious young men to be Sent, and to Set up Itinerant Preachers, for Ministers is the great Want'.<sup>129</sup> Where the parochial system was weak and there were few Protestant Dissenting congregations, large scale itinerancies could be mounted. William Bagshaw, the 'Apostel of the Peak' in Derbyshire, received £18 annually from the Common/Presbyterian Fund from 1691 to 1704, 'for Gospel work in the High Peak'.<sup>130</sup> After the splitting of the funds the Congregational Fund possibly injected an element of competition into the work in Derbyshire, ordering at the Monday meeting on the 19th of July, 1697 that it be

Ordered that for the incouragement the Preaching the Gospell at [Bradmeil? Palaeography unclear, possibly Bakewell] in the Peak Country in Derbyshire it is desired that Mr. Nesbitt write to Mr. Jollie to promote the same and that Mr. Jollie have sent him on this Arro. L5.<sup>131</sup>

Congregations were gathered by Bagshaw and new ministers appointed to have oversight of them. John Ashe, ordained by Bagshaw in 1696 'was call'd to preach one day in the Month at Hucklow, or Braddal, one day at Chalmorton, and the other two at Ashford'.<sup>132</sup> He took over Bagshaw's Apostolic grant in 1704 and worked the region with James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith. Nuttall has noted the 'Double Lectures' that Clegg implemented with other ministers in the region had elements of a mission meeting, and they stretched over Derbyshire, into Staffordshire and Cheshire. After Ashe's death two ministers were ordained in 1736, each covering two congregations gathered in the preceding fifty years.<sup>133</sup> Bagshaw<sup>134</sup> and Clegg were both Presbyterians. Clegg was known to have misgivings about a strictly orthodox interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity and was hostile to the High Calvinism of Samuel De la Rose that split the Stockport, Cheshire, congregation.<sup>135</sup> This should make us wary of ascribing to Middle-Way Presbyterians a lack of Scriptural and Evangelical zeal.

<sup>128</sup> Appendix C 1.4

<sup>129</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.24.

<sup>130</sup> A. Gordon (ed.), Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745, (1919), pp.155-156.

<sup>131</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99.

<sup>132</sup> J[ames] Clegg, Assistance in Preparing for Death and Judgement. A Discourse occasion'd by the sudden death of...John Ashe...A short account of his life...as an appendix to...William Bagshawe's book De Spiritualibus Pecci, (1736), pp.57-8.

<sup>133</sup> Geoffry F. Nuttall, 'Review Article' on *The Diary of James Clegg*, JURCHS, Vol. 2, n.4, October 1979, pp.112-116.

<sup>134</sup> Matthews, Calamy Revised p.22

<sup>135</sup> Urwick, pp.293-300

Doubts over strictly orthodox interpretations of the doctrine of the Trinity did not preclude a commitment to a vigorous pastoral ministry. Clegg seemed to hold in balance the demands of Scriptural piety and polite rationality. In his Diary for January, 1729, he read both William Law's 'discourse on christian perfection'<sup>136</sup> and James Pierce of Exeter's 'sermon on a right or well ordered conversation'. It would seem from the reaction in the diary the 'Holy Living' of the Non-juror Law made more of an impression on Clegg than the Addisonian sermonising of the Exeter non-subscribing Dissenter:

At Oaks I met with Mr. Laws practical discourse on christian perfection, a serious searching book which discovers the true nature and necessity of universal holiness more fully than any I have met with, I am now reading it and O God grant the light it gives me may never be extinguished again by worldly and fleshly lusts, let not the impressions it makes wear off.<sup>137</sup>

I would suggest this practical Christianity is more typical of this generation of students, trained in Manchester by Chorlton and Coningham, and that Clegg typifies their piety more than does Samuel Bourne. Indeed a number of the Chorlton /Coningham trained ministers seem to have maintained orthodox ministries in rural north Lancashire and to have been crucial in the survival of Calvinist orthodoxy in the period before 1756.

Of course, the fundamental constraint on the evangelical potential was always the need to meet in registered premises. Buildings and licenses had to be obtained and paid for, ministers time was dissipated in 'begging' around the region and in London for the wherewithal to erect meeting-houses. For instance, James Owen's mission into North Wales from Oswestry, Shropshire, started in the 1670s held lectures in Ruthin, Denbigh, Llanvyllin and Wrexham but was constantly hampered by the need to get premises licensed.<sup>138</sup> I have outlined in Chapter Two how the law confined Dissenters to religious expressions within their chapels. The fragility of Dissenters' position was often manifest in trust deeds, where it was sometimes stipulated that if they were ever to lose their measure of toleration, the chapel should be sold and the money distributed to the poor. The Meeting house riots in 1715 had impressed upon the Dissenters their vulnerability. Though they were insured under the Riot Act, persistent localised sniping by local Anglican opponents constantly reiterated the

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<sup>136</sup> William Law, A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection, (London, 1726).

<sup>137</sup> V. S. Doe, (ed.), The Diary of James Clegg, p.49.

<sup>138</sup> Williams, Life of Philip Henry, (1825), *passim*.

circumscribed nature of their liberty to worship. One example from the region which provides a graphic illustration of the circumscribed nature of Dissenting religious expression is provided in a letter from Adam Dean, the minister of the Kirkoswald, Cumberland, Protestant Dissenting chapel from 1734-1783, to George Benson in Birmingham. The letter, dated the 29th of March, 1762, tells how Dean received a request from a dying congregant to be buried in the chapel burial ground. Dean based the service on those held at Bunhill Fields cemetery in London, the memorial service processing out of the chapel, towards the grave. For this act he was prosecuted by the local rector and his brother-in-law for holding religious services on unlicensed ground. Dean was moved to exclaim 'I never dreamed, but it was a Meeting-house was licensed, Divine Service might safely be performed within 2 yards or 3 of it, in this age of liberty and toleration'.<sup>139</sup>

The pastoral commitment to catechise was also evident amongst the first generation of Puritan ministers and was the stated aim of the Lancashire County Association at its General Meeting at Bolton on the 7th of May, 1694: 'We doe also agree to perform the exercise of catechising publickly where it may conveniently be made publick. Wee will also endeavour, as the Lord shall enable us, to be more particularly acquainted with the state of these persons & families which make up our respective charges'.<sup>140</sup> Thomas Risley (1630-1716) ministered to the Dissenters around his country residence in Risley, Lancashire, eventually building the Cross Lane chapel in 1707. He exemplifies the pastoral commitment of the early Protestant Dissenters, far removed from the quodlibetical tendencies that were to come to dominate Protestant Dissent in the years immediately after his death. A Presbyterian, in receipt of the Congregational Fund grant, the measure of his ministry, recorded in the chapel trust deed, was a 'robust evangelicalism rather than doctrinaire Calvinistic rigidity'. An old fashioned Puritan, his concerns centred on the reformation of manners, his one published work being The Cursed Family (1700), 'a plea for domestic piety as the necessary support for a healthy constitution in both Church and State'.<sup>141</sup> Especially dear to him, it was said, were catechising and the communion season.

Catechising fused Protestant Dissenters' concerns for the spiritual well being and education of youth. For Protestant Dissenting ministers trained in the early eighteenth century the role of

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<sup>139</sup> UCC/JRL/ cupb. B.19, Benson Letters Collection 1.

<sup>140</sup> Shaw, Minutes of the Manchester Classis, p.351.

<sup>141</sup> Ian Sellers, 'The Risley Case', TUHS, Vol.16, n.4, September, 1978, pp.175-187.



catechesis became increasingly important. The general mood of the age against subscription to doctrinal formulas meant that the Westminster Standards became increasingly unacceptable to many ministers as a measure of an individual's fitness for the ministry. Ordinands should not be made to subscribe to them. The young should be educated with catechisms that enshrined their liberty and their right to freely choose their doctrinal commitments for themselves. With each successive generation of ministers, the insistence on the centrality of the older creeds was diminished.

The benefaction of individuals proved crucial in obtaining the necessary books for religious education. The Rev. Thomas Doolittle of London was sending catechetical and other books to James Coningham in his Penrith pastorate, writing in a letter of the 14th of December, 1699, 'I am glad that catechizing goes on in Cumberland, and should rejoice to hear of my brethren's success therein, by spreading that knowledge that is so necessary to the salvation of souls'.<sup>142</sup> The Rev. John Jolly recorded in the Wymondhouses Church book on April the 24th, 1719, the death of Thomas Heys of Bashall.<sup>143</sup> Yorkshire, a church member by whose 'instrumentality we procured from his brother at London many Bibles, catechisms, and good books, as also large sums of money for teaching poor children, cloathing, &c'.<sup>144</sup> The duty to catechise was often written into the Trust Deeds. At Hindley the trust of the 15th and 16th of November, 1717, stipulated that English Bibles and Matthew Henry's Catechism be used. The Hulton Trust, established by Nathaniel Hulton at Bolton, dated the 4th of February, 1692, provided for a lecture at a Meeting-place (Bolton Bank Street chapel was built in 1696) and for the catechising of the Bolton children once a week 'in the Catechism known as the Assembly's Catechism, Mr. Ball's Catechism, Mr. Gough's Catechism, or some one of them'.<sup>145</sup> These were all orthodox formularies but, as McLachlan has pointed out, their 'use was by no means the same thing as subscription to their tenets'.<sup>146</sup> The Arminian divine and tutor, Thomas Dixon, in his ministry at Bolton (c.1719-1729) would have undoubtedly had some misgivings about the contents of

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<sup>142</sup> Appendix E 2.9

<sup>143</sup> Bashall Eaves in the Forest of Bowland.

<sup>144</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.144.

<sup>145</sup> John Ball (1585-1640), Nonconformist in Cheshire and Staffordshire. Author of A Short Catechisme, containing the all principle Grounds of Religion. It had been printed in fourteen editions before 1632. See Alexander Balloch Grossart, 'John Ball (1585-1640)', DNB, 1, p.994. Alexander Gordon, 'Thomas Gough (1609-1681)', DNB, 7, p.271. Welsh evangelist, translating many English devotional works into Welsh under the trust he founded in 1674. The work referred to at Bolton is possibly The Principles of the Christian Religion, (1676). See entry by.

<sup>146</sup> McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.138.

some of these catechisms. It would be useful to know how, or indeed if, he taught in accordance with the trust. His preoccupation with tutoring and the practice of medicine left his congregation resenting his lack of pastoral commitment and unwilling to receive as their new minister James Clegg M.D. in November 1729. David Some, trained by Frankland at Rathmell and Jolly at Attercliffe who was minister in Market Harborough and Kibworth until his death in 1737 still defended the usefulness of the Shorter Catechism and yet was unwilling to impose it as a test of orthodoxy. In his published sermon The methods to be taken by ministers for the revival of religion, (1730) it is clear he intended to follow a middle way and he was clear his position would offend both those who complain of Liberty as a source of evil and those who 'consider Christianity as a System of Morality, and not an institution designed to recover fallen man'.<sup>147</sup> This middle-way was an impossibly difficult position to maintain. Samuel Bourne, whose father Samuel had been minister at Bolton (1695-1719), epitomised the new approach. In his Enquiry into the Grounds of Attachment to the Westminster Catechism, (1736), though he did not fully abandon the Westminster catechism in his catechetical lectures he 'freely censured the doctrines which he believed to be erroneous'.<sup>148</sup> I have outlined in Chapter Two Bourne's wholesale revision of catechisms, culminating in Lectures to Children, (1738) and the hugely popular 1748 edition Religious Education begun and carried on in Three Catechisms. In The Christian Child's First Catechism Bourne, admittedly more advanced than many of his contemporaries, introduced Natural Religion to the young:

Q. Has not every Watch and Clock an ingenious Maker?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it not as plain that he who built this World is God, a Builder infinitely Wise?

A. Yes.<sup>149</sup>

Clearly the concerns of mid-century Arminian Protestant Dissenters were not those of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Concerns over subscription had given way to concerns over doctrine and catechisms began to be fashioned in the image of the new moralists. Bourne seems to

<sup>147</sup> ONK, pp.610-611. Toulmin, Historical View, p.384.

<sup>148</sup> McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.138.

<sup>149</sup> A. P. F. Sell, 'A Little Friendly Light: The Candour of Bourne, Taylor and Towgood', Part One. JURCHS, Vol.4, n.9, December 1991, p.535.

have been so enamoured of the catechetical 'question and answer' format that he used it in some of his political pamphlets.<sup>150</sup>

The Psalms seemed to have formed the staple of the devotions of the laity, as will be seen from Walkden's Diary subsequently. It is notable that in the deed conveying property to the trustees of Lord Wharton's Bible charity in 1696 he stipulated the children should learn by heart Psalms 1,15,25,37,101,113,145, with alternative selections made by the trustees. Along with preparation and celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Psalms formed a central part of the laity's devotions and participation in the life of the church.

Traditionally the Independents castigated the 'Church Puritans' and Presbyterians for the openness of their communion discipline, the Independents restricting access to the visible saints. In the Baxterian tradition the middle way and the New Scheme preachers were keen to open the communion to those not openly scandalous. An individual's fitness to receive communion was between his conscience and God. Amongst the rural Presbyterian ministers, preparation and examination for the Lord's Supper seems to have been taken seriously but there were signs in the 1730s that it was losing its centrality in the redemptive life of the church. Its celebration would always depend on the presence and persuasion of an ordained minister. Frequent notes are made by in the records of Ministers visiting other congregations to administer the sacraments to those without a minister, or where the minister had withdrawn the ordinance for doctrinal or disciplinary reasons. The Kendal, Westmorland, congregation had the sacraments administered regularly under Samuel Audland (1709-1714), but by the time of the Unitarian Caleb Rotherham junior's ordination in 1756 the quarterly administration of the sacrament had been discontinued for twelve years.<sup>151</sup> The Rev. James Clegg in Malcoff, Chapel-en-le-Frith and Chinley from 1703 administered the Lord's Supper

between five and eight times a year, not always in the same month or on the same Sunday in the month; more often than not he held a preparation service on the previous Friday, though "it grieves me to see these days so much slighted and so ill attended" he writes in October 1734. In November that year he has to record a suspension from the Lord's Table; but he also, occasionally, writes of admitting new members, as in March 1729, when "5 young ones were added one of which was my Daughter, blessed be God for this mercy, may he ever bless her". Only once does he

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<sup>150</sup> S. Bourne. A Vindication of the Principles and Practices of Protestant Dissenters. (1747), pp.2-3.

<sup>151</sup> ONK, pp. 257, 341.



record administering the Lord's Supper privately, to a sick woman, "and some other communicants of our congregation called to be then present".<sup>152</sup>

That preparation and communion discipline were still being taken seriously by rural ministers should make us careful about claiming the loss of the sacramental ideal in the early eighteenth-century but clearly in this case its importance amongst the laity was on the wane. The evidence from Walkden's Diary indicates Weekday services were sometimes held in private homes, with the focus of devotions on the periodic celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is impossible to ascertain how frequently the sacraments were administered from the published and now lost Diary fragments, the editor having removed the verbatim reports of Sunday services. The Diary for 1725 records it being celebrated on the 18th of April and the 17th of October only. It involved preparation and examination before being admitted to the table,<sup>153</sup> suggesting a piety associated with the sacraments was not yet gone and that chapels were not merely preaching rooms, their ministers not merely teachers and lecturers.<sup>154</sup> Preparation sermons exist in Walkden's commonplace book<sup>155</sup> and the Diary for the years 1733 and 1734 would suggest frequent communion with formal preparation.<sup>156</sup>

In the Diary and commonplace book of the Rev. Peter Walkden we have an unrivalled source for understanding the survival of demotic forms of piety in the first half of the eighteenth century. Walkden was the minister at the Hesketh Lane Chapel, Chipping, also ministering at the Newton-in-Bowland chapel in Yorkshire (1711-1738). He was subsequently at Holcombe (1739-1744) and The Tabernacle, Stockport, Cheshire (1744-d.1769). He itinerated over a huge area of the Forest of

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<sup>152</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Review Article' on *The Diary of James Clegg*, p.115.

<sup>153</sup> *Peter Walkden's Diary*, p.14-15, Friday 16th of April, 1725, 'then ceased and I prayed, and we sung part of a psalm, and I dismissed the people; so examined James Pye in order to his admission to the Lord's Supper'.

<sup>154</sup> *Peter Walkden's Diary*, p.2. Friday, 1st of January, 1725, 'though few were come yet, I began exercise with prayer; then preached from Psalm the 30th, A Psalm and Song at the dedication of the House of David: so prayed, and we sung a verse or two, and I dismissed the people', 'At night she and I went to Richard Parkinson's, and then having set awhile after in the family, I read a portion of Scripture, and we sung part of a psalm, and I prayed in the family.' Tuesday, 23rd of March, 1725, 'After a Tuesday evening service in a private house', p.12.

<sup>155</sup> August 28th 1715. A Sermon Preached at Newton ['and Chipping' scored through] begun to be written in this book as it was preached from ye day and year aforesaid. Peter Walkden. Sermon 1 Psalm 2. last verse. A Preparation Sermon Preached at Newton the same heading{28pages}. Finis, ended April 9th. *Anno Domini* 1717.

A Preparation Sermon at Chipping Meeting preached April ye 12th in ye year 1717 By Peter Walkden, from Hebrews 10:22. *Finis* Finished April 16th in ye year 1717. Both in MS G3 WAL, Harris Library, Preston.

<sup>156</sup> Chipping Local History Society (eds). A Transcript of Part of The Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden, 1733-1734, from Chester City Record Office, ref. 678/1.

Bowland and north Lancashire, ministering to his scattered flock. The Diary conveys an image of a life locked into the rhythms of rural life, his tenant farm augmenting his small stipend from his people. Much of his rural rounds consisted in the spiritual examination of his and neighbouring congregations. In these, orthodox seventeenth-century formularies form the staple. The singing of Psalms form part of the divine service and family devotions. To this was often added catechesis, using Matthew Henry's Catechism and the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, the later being distributed with the Bible for free throughout north Lancashire and Westmorland by the trustees of Philip, Lord Wharton.<sup>157</sup> From its inception in 1690, this was a major source for the dissemination of devotional literature in the north and, though the trustees became increasingly represented by conformists, the material distributed always consisted of conventional formularies.<sup>158</sup> Lord Wharton's will records that the bibles were to be given out to children with a cash reward if they could produce the bible the following year. Other works stipulated to be distributed included 'Mr. Lye's catechisms, and of the said Jos. Alleine's book, Sure Guide to Heaven'.<sup>159</sup> Walkden also wrote his own catechism for his children which appears in his manuscript commonplace book.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>157</sup> ONK, p.272. Peter Walkden's Diary, p.16, Sunday the 9th of May, 1725, 'Lord's Day [After particulars of service at Newton.] Then I catechised the lesser [children] to the 15th question, the elder to the second, in Henry's Catechism....while we sung', p.16. 18th of May, 1725, 'The called at another of Mr. Burgesses hearers, where were several young persons who did sing psalms very well', p.17. Sunday the 12th of September, 1725, 'Lord's Day....At Newton....I catechised to the end of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism....preached from Psalm 143,3', p.19.

<sup>158</sup> Whitehead, History of the Dales Congregational Churches, (Keighley, 1930), pp. 80-89. See also Philip Lord Wharton's letter to Ralph Thoresby from London, March 3rd, 1691, on the subject of Bibles and Catechisms for children in Ralph Thoresby, Letters of Eminent Men, Addressed to Ralph Thoresby F.R.S., (1832), Vol.1, p.107.

<sup>159</sup> Rev. W. Nicholls, The History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, (Manchester, 1877), pp.42-46. Thomas Lye (1621-1684), ejected minister of All Hallows, London. Renowned as a childrens catechist, he wrote several catechetical works. Lord Wharton's will may refer to An Abridgement of the ...Assemblies Shorter Catechism...By Thomas Lye, Minister of the Gospel, [1662?]; A Plain and familiar method of instructing the younger sort, according to the lesser catechism of the ...Assembly od Divines etc., (P. Parker, London, 1673); The Assembly's Shorter Catechism drawn out into distinct propositions, and proved by texts of scriptures. By T.L. 1674; An Explanation of the Shorter Catechism...By T.L., 1675. Bertha Porter, 'Thomas Lye (1621-1684)', DNB, 12, pp.318-319, and Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp.331-2.

Joseph Alleine (1634-1668), ejected minister of Taunton. His Alarm to the Unconverted sold 20,000 copies in 1672. In 1675 under the title of The Sure Guide to Heaven it sold 50,000 copies. The British Library catalogue has An Alarme to unconverted Sinners...Wherunto are annexed divers practical cases of conscience judiciously resovled, [with prefaces by Richard Baxter and Richard Alleine], (Nevil Simmonds: London, 1673). DNB and Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.6.

<sup>160</sup> Peter Walkden, A Short Catechism for Children taken out of the Scriptures. For the instruction of my own children and family in the Scriptures. By Peter Walkden Minister of ye word, Thornley written for ye End afforesaid, in ye year of Christ 1715. Matt 28, 'Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you and lo I am with you always Even unto the end of the world.



Clearly the Wharton trustees did much to ensure the survival of orthodox piety in the rural north of the county as indicated in a series of six letters which were transcribed into the Walkden commonplace book from John Jolly, variously at Sparth and Hinfield, near Whalley, to Walkden, from January the 6th, 1716, to December the 7th 1717. The subjects covered included the death of Walkden's wife, local ordinations and a good deal concerning funding. Walkden was approached by Edward Hartley of Richmond in Yorkshire, on behalf of the Wharton trustees. The letter asks that

if ye know of any nonconformist ministers yt are very poor Let me know their name, circumstances and place of aboad and I will use my Endeavour with ye trustees to get something for them. This I thought fit to acquaint you with, and if you will send me ye account above required, I shall send it as ordered

This letter dated Hartford, December 11th, 1716, was followed by one from John Jolly on the 14th of January, 1717, indicating that money had arrived and that there were also grants to James Towers at Rathmell and possibly for whoever served at Tatham. A subsequent letter from Jolly dated October the 1st, 1717, also indicates grants were being made from Dissenters in Yorkshire, naming prominent Dissenters willing to support their cause. Here was a major source of funding for the orthodox ministers that would be denied non-subscribers and it was being mediated through prominent Yorkshire Dissenters, supporting my theory that rural north Lancashire has much more in common with the West Riding churches than those of Lancashire south of the Ribble. The Yorkshire gentry sympathetic to nonconformity established numerous charitable benefactions which would exert their influence over all Dissenting ministers in the north. Lady Mary Armine's Trust, 'to be employed in relieving poor Nonconformist ministers in the counties of Derby, Huntingdon, and York' was administered by Ralph Thoresby and the Rev. Richard Stretton, minister in the Haberdasher's Hall, London (formerly of Leeds). It failed soon after its inception, prompting the creation of the Trust of Lady Sarah Hewley of York in 1704, which was to become a major source of funding for nonconformist ministers throughout Britain and though its administration passed into the hands of Unitarians, it continued to fund ministers of all persuasions.<sup>161</sup> The nexus of ties of patronage and funding that linked Yorkshire to London was thus of great importance to ministers in rural north

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Amen'. Peter Walkden, his book 1717 May ye 27th. MS Walkden's Commonplace Book, Harris Museum, Preston.

<sup>161</sup> J. G. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, (1868), pp. 97, 116-119.



Lancashire. The nonconformist congregations of Yorkshire were overwhelmingly concentrated in the West Riding and the early history of many of the churches I have been examining was intimately bound up with developments in the West Riding. There was a constant interchange of ministers and congregants. The greater part of Walkden's commonplace book is taken up with transcribing sermons by the most eminent Yorkshire Dissenting divines of the day, all of them un-impeachably orthodox. These include sermons by and for the Burnley born minister of the Leeds congregation, Thomas Whitaker,<sup>162</sup> his funeral sermon by Thomas Dickenson of Nothowram, with sermons by the former Leeds minister Thomas Bradbury and an encomium to Whitaker from the pen of Timothy Jolly, the minister at Attercliffe.<sup>163</sup> With Bradbury's influence in London, what these letters represent is part of the network of patronage that sustained rural orthodox Dissent in north Lancashire and linked them in with sources of funding in London. It is also interesting to note that all of these ministers quoted in Walkden's commonplace book were Congregationalists, apart from Dickenson, who was an evangelical and orthodox Presbyterian. Walkden appears in the Evans List with a 'P' beside his name. We have no reason to doubt that he was ordained after the Presbyterian fashion and considered himself Presbyterian but a close examination of Dr. Evans manuscript in Dr. Williams Library reveals at the time of the survey c.1717-19. Walkden was not in receipt of any money from the Common/Presbyterian Fund. The Fund did not grant moneys when it considered the minister had other sources of income but it is possible this represents the withdrawal of a grant which would

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<sup>162</sup> Thomas Whitaker was a member of Thomas Jolly's Independent Church at Wymondhouses and was the third student to enter Frankland's Academy on the 6th of July, 1670. Edinburgh M.A.1674. See ONK, p.535.

<sup>163</sup> Transcribed in Walkden's commonplace book, MS G3 WAL, Harris Library. Preston are: 'Some Sermons on the Parable of the Unclean Spirits By The Reverend and Learned Thomas Whitaker, AM, Pastor to a church in Leeds in Yorkshire. To which is added his character. With a Preface written by Thomas Bradbury, signed London, December ye 20th, 1711'. Walkden has dated the transcription 'Thornley Friars [ ] by Peter Walkden minister of the Word in chipping in the County of Lancashire. In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1716'. 'The Fall and death of Eminent persons considered and improved: In two sermons, upon the occassion of the much Lamented Death of that Excellent minister of Jesus Christ Thomas Whittaker AM Late Pastor of a Congregation at Leeds in Yorkshire, who died November th 19th, 1710, by Thomas Dickenson Minister of the Gospel at Northowram, after which Walkden has noted 'Transcribed Thornley Frank [ ] in ye year 1716. Begun December the 24th Anno Domini 1716'. Memorie Sacrum, Sheffield: October 17. 1711, Finis T. Jollie. 'The Christians Joy in finishing his course, By Thomas Bradbury, preface signed T: Bradbury, Jan.21, 1712/13, 'Thornley Transcribed by Peter Walkden mvd, Anno 1718'. One suspects these were all transcribed by Walkden from Sermons on Several Occassions, by the late...T.W...To which is added, his character [by T. Jollie] and four sermons [by T.Dickenson and T.Bradbury] relating to his death, [ed. by T. Bradbury], (London, 1712). The fact that Walkden spent two years transcribing these sermons might indite a degree of attachment to the principles espoused in them.

underscore his need to obtain other sources of funding. This may be the 'troubles' Walkden referred to in relation to the Rev. James Grimshaw of Lancaster.

London was also a major source of religious literature. An undated letter, probably written no later than 1717, was transcribed into the commonplace book. It is from the London stationer John Taylor who sent Walkden books upon the recommendation of the Rev. Joseph Gellibrand, formerly of the Chipping Chapel but then minister to the St. Helen's Dissenters (1710-d.1740).<sup>164</sup> The consignment consisted of 148 devotional works to be distributed to the poor of the region. It is worth quoting in full, providing a unique view of the reading matter of the orthodox laity in the period. This is not the place to tackle the whole thorny question of whether this was ministerially prescribed material or there was a genuine demand for it. Susan O' Brien's research indicates that there was a huge demand for religious devotional literature in the early eighteenth century and this was partially met by reprinting the works of seventeenth century divines. It is this literature that forms the bulk of the consignment.

Mr. Taylor's Letter Stationer in London to P.W.

Sir, upon ye Recommendation of Mr Gillibrand I send you ye [ ] Parcell of books of ye Late worthy mr Gouge hopeing you take [ ] to distribute em to ye best advantage amongst ye lower sort of your hearers who [arent?] capable of purchasing such helps: withall giving a charge yt [nowd] should be sold by any means, what other [directions?] you think proper to give, I would to your discretion for their purrusall. and may it [ ] water, but its God aloud yt gives ye increase. I desire a [s.....] in your prayers att all seasons, for [persevering?] daily increase in grace. I am sir, your unknown friend and servant. John Taylor.

The parcell is as follows, and sent by William Glov[er]: imprimis:

25: Gouges Main Directions

25 Gouges young mans Guides

25 Gouges regeneration

30 Reynolds Letters

6 [Staintons?] Sermons on ye Storm

10 Piggots Sermons on Gods dispensing of judgement

10 Strongs sermons on charity schools

6 [Sterinets?] advice to youth

18 Protestants Resolution

6 Gouges Riches Increast. to be given to such as are strait handed

1 Harrison's Thanksgiving sermon

2 Piggots Sermons 1

1 Welds Sermon

Those are sent a present to your self, which pray except of:

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<sup>164</sup> Walkden Commonplace Book. MS G3 WAL, Harris Library. Preston.



All of these works that I have been able to identify were written in the seventeenth century, foremost amongst them being the works of Thomas Gouge, his works also being stipulated in the Wharton and Hulton Trusts as mentioned before (Appendix D.7). This literature of the Reformed and Puritan traditions has been identified by David Hall and Susan O'Brien as the steady sellers of the late seventeenth century Anglo-American book trade and in the early eighteenth century were becoming highly important again, offering a literature of personal experience and conversion.<sup>165</sup> Alleine's Alarime to the Unconverted, distributed by the Wharton Trust, became the single most influential work in influencing revival preachers throughout the trans-Atlantic world, and was reprinted in huge runs in Boston, Philadelphia, London and Glasgow. If these works, distributed by the Coward, Hulton and Wharton Trusts, by the Congregational Fund and by the pious London Dissenters, form the core of the Dissenting laity's reading, then we begin to get some impression of the patient devotions many communicants undertook. This forms a starting point for our understanding of the dissenting laity's perception of personal renewal and religious revival in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

It is clear that it was amongst the rural Presbyterian ministers of Walkden's generation that orthodox piety clung on, especially amongst a group of ministers in north Lancashire trained in Manchester under Chorlton and Coningham. In Walkden's friendship with, and encouragement of, the Scottish Presbyterian the Rev. James Scott, the roots of the revived eighteenth-century Independency become apparent. Scott was born on a farm near Lauder, Berwickshire, on the 15th of January, 1710. He attended the local Grammar School and the University of Edinburgh, entering in the 1728-9 session studying the Classics and Mathematics. He attended the Divinity Hall and intended to become a minister in the Kirk after some years tutoring. It is not clear whether he graduated or whether he was ever formally licensed by a Church of Scotland presbytery.<sup>166</sup> He was frustrated in finding a living by the extent of lay patronage in Scotland in the 1730s. The response of some in the Evangelical Party in Scotland was to form the Associate Presbytery in 1733, supporting the congregations right to choose their own minister. Scott's response was to head south, having

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<sup>165</sup> Susan O'Brien, 'Eighteenth Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism', in Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900, in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and G. A. Rawlyk eds. (Oxford, 1994), pp.43-44. David Hall, 'The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850', in Printing and Society in Early America, ed. Joyce and Hall, p.29.

<sup>166</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.56, says that he was a graduate of Edinburgh.



heard there was a shortage of ministers in England and so, with a companion, set out to walk through the north in 1739/40. He was requested to minister at the old Independent chapel at Stainton, Westmorland (1739-1741) but the cause here was small and he seems to have been keen to move on (Appendix F 1.4). The Rev. Peter Walkden, by then minister to the Protestant Dissenting congregation at Holcombe (1738-1744), north of Bury, seems to have had connections with him at Stainton and took a hand in introducing Scott to his next congregation

You know how you desired me to use my endeavours to assist you in getting a place, for you could not be safe and useful at Stainton, and would be glad to see your talents for God, and the Church's edifying, though the place you might be in was mean, rather than lie by and be useless. And I commended Horton people to you, with whom you joined, and that to mutual edification, and comfort.<sup>167</sup>

It should be noted here that it appears that Walkden was corresponding with George Whitefield at the time and trying to get him to preach at Holcombe.<sup>168</sup> Scott ministered at Horton-in-Craven (1741-1751), preaching his first sermon on the 1st of February, 1741, and was ordained on the 20th of May. The church had not had a minister for five years and Scott set about renewing the spiritual life of the area. He linked up with the Coward trustees in London who provided Bibles and New Testaments for distribution. He taught the Assembly's catechism and was on good terms with other orthodox ministers in the region, notably James Burgess of the Hallfold/Whitworth Protestant Dissenting chapel and the Baptist minister the Rev. Alvery Jackson of Barnoldswick (1718-63). Ministers like Walkden and Burgess, orthodox English Presbyterians had long since abandoned forms of association with other Presbyterian ministers they considered to have abandoned evangelical truths, seeking association with Calvinist ministers from other church traditions. The Rev. Alvery Jackson was one of the first Baptist ministers to break with Calvinist dogma on election and promote an evangelical faith, claiming in his 1752 publication The Question Answered, Whether saving Faith in Christ is a Duty required by the Moral Law of all those who live under the Gospel Revelation, that it was the duty of preachers to offer Christ promiscuously and that hearers are obliged to receive him.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.124.

<sup>168</sup> Tom C. Smith, History of the Parish of Chipping in the County of Lancaster, &c., (C. W. Whitehead, Preston, 1894), p.170 makes some lengthy extracts from Walkden's MSS. made available to him by Mr. James Bromley of Lathom. He notes '1. Letter from George Whitefield, wherein is described an error in the biography of that great preacher, and from which it would appear that Walkden had invited Whitefield to Holcombe, near Burnley, where the former was then located'. These MSS are in none of the local repositories and are presumed lost.

<sup>169</sup> Sell, The Great Debate, pp.83-85.

Scott's reputation for sound orthodox teaching and his evangelical commitment made him increasingly popular. He preached at Winterburn in the West Riding, Newton-in-Bowland, Stainton in Westmorland, Ravenstonedale in Westmorland, and Keighley in the West Riding. He was called to be minister to the Ravenstonedale Dissenters in a letter of the 1st of July, 1743, suffering as they were under the high-handed and litigious ministrations of the Scottish Arian minister, the Rev. James Ritchie M.D. (Appendix F 1.2a).<sup>170</sup> He was also called to Keighley in 1744 but declined both offers. Walkden moved to The Tabernacle congregation in Stockport, Cheshire, in 1744, but maintained his interest in the orthodox rural churches of Lancashire. He wrote to Scott from Davyfield, Eccleshill near Darwen on the 22nd of February, 1749, noting that the Rev. Benjamin Mather of the Lower Chapel Darwen had died on the 23rd of January, 1749, requesting Scott to administer the sacraments on the 9th of April. He noted that, not only was Darwen vacant, but so were Holcombe and Walmsley. Holcombe was vacant due to Walkden's removal. At Walmsley the orthodox Robert Hesketh junior who had been ordained by Walkden had moved to a Yorkshire pastorate and was succeeded by a Rev. Mr. Waterhouse of whom little is known and who seems to have left by 1748. The fear amongst the orthodox ministers was that these societies would grow impatient for a minister and accept new graduates from the Academies. Walkden wrote again to Scott from Darwen on the 19th of June, 1750, requesting that he accept the call of the Tockholes Dissenters who had been without a minister since the death of the Rev. James Towers in 1749, and chiding him for the delay.<sup>171</sup> Towers had been a student of Frankland, entering Rathmell Academy in 1694 and was subsequently minister there until 1722 when he moved to Tockholes. He was unimpeachably orthodox. The danger was that any successor from an English academy would not be so. At Walmsley the Rev. John Helm was called from the Penruddock, Cumberland, church in 1750 (Appendix E 2.10). He was trained by Rotherham at Kendal and seems to have been just the kind of Academy graduate Walkden would have been keen to avoid, hostile to evangelicalism and Methodism in particular, and inclined towards Arianism. Fears that all the Lancashire chapels would go this way underscored Walkden's

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<sup>170</sup> Again, the role of the Rev. Peter Walkden is evident in linking the rural orthodox chapels of the region. In Walkden's Diary for the 11th of February, 1733, he records a letter from the Ravenstonedale Dissenters, dated the 22nd of January, 1733, requesting him to 'come and Give us a Sermon on ye 3rd Lord's Day in February'. Transcript Walkden Diary, 1733/4.

<sup>171</sup> LN, Vol. 2, p.254.



urgent missive to Scott. In 1750 Scott moved to the Tockholes congregation where he ministered until the 29th of May, 1754.<sup>172</sup> Upon his arrival at Tockholes it is reported

"he found the people buried in the grossest ignorance" After some time he prevailed upon the whole congregation to learn the Assembly's Catechism, and repeat it as children do. Some of those who got the Catechism off by heart were nearly 70 years of age! In consequence of this a happy change succeeded, and many were brought to a saving acquaintance with Christ.<sup>173</sup>

He then moved to the Heckmondwick, Yorkshire, Congregational Church, the previous minister of which had denied membership of the church to the young Joseph Priestley because he 'appeared to be not quite orthodox'.<sup>174</sup> As the aged Rev. Kirkby could no longer continue to minister c.1752 the Rev. Alvery Jackson of the Baptist church at Barnoldswick, West Riding, supplied the pulpit for him and suggested to the Heckmondwick congregation that Scott would be a suitable minister.<sup>175</sup> Scott preached for them on the 10th of November, 1752, and he was invited to the pastorate on the 5th of February, 1753. He delayed however as some of the members of the church appear to have been Sandemanians. It was here that the Northern Education Society, founded in London in 1756, established its Academy with Scott as the tutor.<sup>176</sup> The ministers trained at Heckmondwick provided the manpower for the orthodox chapels in Lancashire, securing the supply of orthodox ministers to the

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<sup>172</sup> Nightingale, History of the Old Independent Chapel, Tockholes, near Blackburn, (1886), pp.89-95.

<sup>173</sup> *ibid.* p.89. The Evangelical Magazine, 1814, p.381, 501-502 contains an appreciation of him by one of his pupils, the Rev. J. Carter.

<sup>174</sup> Priestley, Memoirs, (1806), pp.70-93.

<sup>175</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.57. Nightingale, Tockholes, p.90. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, p.273. For Jackson see Sell, The Great Debate, p.83-85; W. T. Whitley, Calvinism and Evangelicalism, 129;

<sup>176</sup> It would be useful to know the sources of the letters quoted by Whitehead and Nightingale with reference to Scott. One assumes that his MSS followed the various incarnations of Congregational Academies in Yorkshire, thus: Heckmondwick (1756-1783), Northowram (1783-1795), Idle (1794-1834), Rotherham (1795-1888), Airedale (1834-1888), the latter two uniting in 1888 to form Yorkshire United Independent College (1888-1958), which united with the Lancashire Independent College to form the Northern Congregational College in Manchester. The Northern College archive was deposited in 1979-1980 at the John Ryland's Library, Manchester; this is the most likely place Scott's letters reside. There is only an inadequate handlist for forty boxes of material. See Clive D. Field, 'Sources for the Study of Protestant Nonconformity in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol.7, n.2, 1989, p.110. For more information on Scott see the funeral sermon preached by his student the Rev. Jonathan Toothill, The Foundation of the Dying Christians Triumph, in the Prospect of Nature's Dissolution. A Sermon, Preached, Feb. 2, 1783, at Heckmondwicke in Yorkshire; On Occassion of the Death of the Rev. Mr. James Scott, Late Pastor of the Church, and Tutor to an Academy at that Place. By Jonathan Toothill, Minister at Hopton. 'And they mourned over him saying, Alas! my Brother. The memory of the just is blessed. Prov.x.7. (Huddersfield: Printed by J. Brook, for the Author. 1783).



emerging Congregational churches of the second half of the eighteenth-century. I will examine this in Chapter Five. In the next chapter, however, I want to look at the Protestant Dissenting ministry in Cumberland and Westmorland, to see whether these counties were major sources of ministerial recruitment for Lancashire and whether indeed, Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers did follow step-wise migration patterns through these northern counties before entering ministries in Lancashire.

**Chapter Four-Cumberland and Westmorland: The Survival of Popular Orthodoxy and the Dominance of the Scottish ministry, 1689-1829.**

Protestant Dissent was weak and deeply divided in these counties. Large and remote rural parishes and the paucity of livings were recognised as a problem during the Interregnum.<sup>1</sup> The Godly ministers of the counties noted in 1656:

These Counties of Cumberland and Westmerland have been hitherto as a Proverb and a by-word in respect of ignorance and prophaneness; men were ready to say of them as the Jews of Nazareth. can any good thing come out of them?<sup>2</sup>

Reform of the church was piecemeal. The various Interregnum Committees had their work cut out for them combating flagrant abuses of the parochial system and were likely to leave non-Covenanters and Prayer Book users in their livings if their lives were not openly scandalous.<sup>3</sup> The plans of 1646 to establish two classes, one in the Barony of Kendal and the other in the Barony of Westmorland again had to recognise the lack of ministers with reforming sympathies.<sup>4</sup> Sell noted only three ministers with Presbyterian tendencies out of the eight proposed for the Kendal Classis, and three out of twenty three in the 'bottom of Westmorland'.<sup>5</sup> As the Presbyterian experiment failed nationally, the attempt to reform and discipline these counties had to recognise formally what was already evident: a diversity of ecclesiological opinion would have to be comprehended amongst the ministry if livings were to be supplied at all. The emphasis was on removing the openly scandalous and combating pluralism. On the 1st of March, 1650, an Act was passed 'for the better propagating the Gospel in the four

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<sup>1</sup> See John Morrill's review of Richardson's Puritanism in North-West England, entitled 'Puritanism and the Church in the Diocese of Chester', Northern History, 1973, pp.145-155, notes the paucity of the records in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, ie south Cumberland and Westmorland, and hence the problem of assessing the strength of Puritanism.

<sup>2</sup> From the 'Explication of some of the former Propositions' from Richard Gilpin. The Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland... (London, printed by T.L. for Simon Waterson and are sold at the sign of the Globe in Paul's Church-yard, and by Richard Scot, Bookseller in Carlisle, 1656). Copy in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle. Wing 774.

<sup>3</sup> C. B. Phillips, 'County Committees and Local Government in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1642-1660', Northern History, Vol.5, 1970, pp. 34-67.

<sup>4</sup> William A. Shaw. A History of the English Church during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth, 2 Vols. (1900), Vol.2, p.369 for the evidence of Presbyterian structures in Westmorland. J. H. Hexter. 'The Problems of the Presbyterians and Independents', in Reappraisals in History, (1963), pp.163-184, noted that of the nineteen counties where there was some evidence of presbyteries operating, for Lancashire the complete classis records exist, for Westmorland the evidence is less complete, and there was no evidence from Cumberland.

<sup>5</sup> Sell, pp. 11-14.

Northern Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham.' Reform minded ministers founded the Associated Ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland in 1653, a movement contemporary with Baxter's Worcestershire Association and similarly un-Presbyterian. Encouraged by Baxter, they published their Agreement in 1656, setting out their reform programme. Time was not on their side and it is doubtful how much support they got from the gentry who seem to have been, at best, fair weather friends of the Parliamentary cause and at worst, out and out Royalists. Neither was a puritan tradition common amongst the laity. When John Noble, Deacon of Dr. Gilpin's 'Society of Communicants' in Greystoke Parish instituted 'the Exercizes of Religion in their Families, by Prayer, Praises, and Reading the Scriptures, Morning and Evening; and Teaching all their Households' in the village of Penruddock in the 1650s, 'Family Worship had been so rare as to make it now a Wonder in a Neighbourhood.'<sup>6</sup> Where puritan belief and practice did take hold of sufficient numbers to form worshipping communities in rural areas, adherence to nonconformity seems part of a long-standing campaign of resistance by the tenantry towards the erosion of customary dues and against the 'enhancement' of customary fines and tithes by landlords and the clergy. This continued during the Restoration and well into the eighteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

The Interregnum churches of these two counties were mostly ministered to by clergy who were indifferent as to whether they used the Book of Common Prayer or the Assembly's Directory of Worship. In its desperation to provide a ministry, even radicals like Timothy Taylor, the Seeker Minister of Preston Patrick Chapel, Westmorland, were comprehended within its broad folds. Upon accepting the efficacy of infant Baptism, he was given a Lectureship in Swaledale.<sup>8</sup> This was no basis for a reformed church. The success of Quakerism in these counties drew in many who would have formed the basis of Protestant Dissenting congregations in other counties and the fear of

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<sup>6</sup> Samuel Audland, A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. John Noble of Penruddock, Near Penrith in Cumberland, March 14. 1707/8 by Samuel Audland. To which is added a Postscript Concerning the Deceased, by another hand. London: Printed for John Clark at the Bible and Crown in the Old Change, 1708.

<sup>7</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1261-1262, 474-478. C. E. Searle, 'Custom, Class Conflict and Agrarian Capitalism: The Cumbrian Customary Economy in the Eighteenth Century', Past and Present, February, 1986, 110, pp.106-133. V. G. Kiernan, 'A Banner with a Strange Device: Later Covenanters', in Covenant, Charter and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History, Terry Brotherstone (ed.), (Aberdeen, 1989), p.49. C. E. Searle, 'Customary Tenants and the Enclosure of the Cumbrian Commons', Northern History, 29, 1993, pp.126-154.

<sup>8</sup> William Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, 2nd edition revised by H. J. Cadbury, (Cambridge, 1961). Norman Penney, (ed.), First Publishers of the Truth, (Friends Historical Society, London, 1907), p.253.



enthusiasm probably forced a number of wavering consciences back into the Episcopal establishment. Just as most of the clergy here conformed during the Interregnum, so most conformed at the Restoration. Calamy and Palmer found only 30 ministers who were removed for Nonconformity in Cumberland and nine in Westmorland<sup>9</sup> and most had left their livings before the Act of Uniformity. Philips found only four of the minor gentry in these counties supporting Nonconformity after 1660; indeed, the gentry were increasingly likely to be attracted to Catholic recusancy.<sup>10</sup> Lord Wharton's tenants at Ravenstonedale seem to be the only Nonconformists who secured the protection of a major territorial magnate. Where Nonconformists had influence through trade, such as in Kendal and Sir John Lowther's Whitehaven, they retained a degree of freedom but for most Nonconformists life under the later Stuarts was bleak. The monitoring and repression of dissent was very efficiently carried out by men like Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir Daniel Flemming and Sir Philip Musgrave.<sup>11</sup> Most of the Puritan ministers who would not conform left for the relative safety of the larger towns of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, or carried on itinerant ministries amongst the un-churched populations of the Pennine uplands.

#### **Protestant Dissenting Congregations 1689-c.1750.**

The weakness of Protestant Dissent in these counties becomes apparent when we examine the evidence from the Evans List (c.1717-1719) as abstracted by Watts. For Cumberland, Watts noted nine Presbyterian Congregations with 1,360 hearers, 2.01% of an estimated county population of 67,730 and two Independent congregations with 550 hearers, 0.81% of the county population. For Westmorland three Presbyterian congregations are noted with 330 hearers, 1.11% of an estimated county population of 29,680 and two Independent congregations with 290 hearers, 0.98% of the population of the county.<sup>12</sup> There are at least two other post-1689 congregations not included in this list because they ceased to exist, namely the societies grouped under Burton/Milnthorpe, (Appendix F 1.4) in the south of Westmorland on the Lancashire border, and a congregation on the Scottish border

<sup>9</sup> See Sell, pp.23-25 for discussion of those removed for Nonconformity in Westmorland.

<sup>10</sup> C. B. Phillips, 'The Gentry in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1600-1665', Lancaster Ph.D. thesis, 1974, conclusion; C. B. Phillips, 'The Royalist North: Cumberland and Westmorland Gentry, 1642-1660', *Northern History*, Vol. 14, 1978, pp. 169-193.

<sup>11</sup> John A. Marshall, 'Sir Joseph Williamson and the Development of the Government Intelligence System in Restoration England, 1660-1680', Lancaster Ph.D. thesis, 1991, p.196.

<sup>12</sup> Watts, p. 509.

(Appendix E 2.13) financially assisted by the Dissenters of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Watts excluded the seasonal congregation at Gilsland, Cumberland (Appendix E 2.8) which was worked jointly by ministers from Cumberland and Northumberland, though it is mentioned in the Evans List, it being only a preaching station for those who took the waters there in the summer. Watts's figure of three Presbyterian congregations in Westmorland includes the presumably Arminian/non-subscribing secession at Ravenstonedale c.1714-1722?, (Appendix F 1.2b) that was ministered to by Thomas Dixon and his students. Excluding this short lived congregation, we arrive at the figure of 11 Protestant Dissenting congregations in Cumberland and 4 in Westmorland surviving up until 1725. In Cumberland 55% of these churches were rural, 45% urban; in Westmorland 75% were rural, 25% urban. Thus in Cumberland and Westmorland as a whole 60% of non-Quaker Protestant Dissent was rural, 40% urban in the period up to 1725. Inclusion of the two Baptist causes would further increase the rural component. So in these counties it will be seen that Protestant Dissent formed a smaller percentage of the population than in Lancashire, the congregations more likely to be in rural parishes.

Evans's figures must be treated circumspectly. They were obtained from two sources, as is witnessed throughout the manuscript and in a memorandum at the end of the entries for Cumberland :

When N. is prefixed to ye account I received of it from Mr. Nesbit. Where D. is prefixed, it signs ye Acct. sent to Dr. Calamy, 1717 by Mr. Dixon of Whitehaven. Where neither letters are, it is to be understood yt both Accts agree.'

For Westmorland, Evans noted that the reports were from a letter of the 15th of April, 1715, from Dixon to Dr. Calamy. Thomas Dixon had accompanied Edmund Calamy on his trip to Scotland in 1709 and was well connected with the London sources of funding, notably the Common/Presbyterian Fund.<sup>13</sup> He ran an academy in Whitehaven and would have played an intermediary role in obtaining funding for students to attend the Scottish universities and placing them in congregations in the north-west. His influence was, therefore, considerable and was not always irenic. It is clear that even by 1714 he was vigorously promoting the Arminian/non-subscriptionist approach to theology and creeds in the north, causing the secession in the Ravenstonedale congregation in 1714. Whilst he was

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<sup>13</sup> Edmund Calamy. An Historical Account of My Own Life with some reflections on the times I have lived in, 1671-1731... (Edited and Illustrated with notes, historical and Biographical by John Towill Rutt, two volumes, H. Colburn and R. Bentley, London, 1829).



in a good position to survey the strength of Protestant Dissent, being resident in the region, his figures are potentially part of a polemical strategy. Similar caution must be exercised with the statistics returned by John Nesbitt. He was the minister of the Independent Church in Hare Court, Aldersgate Street, London, (1691-1727). An evangelical Calvinist and member of the Congregational Fund board, he was increasingly at odds with the New Scheme preachers in Cumberland and Westmorland, as will be demonstrated. He was from Northumberland, returning statistics to Dr. Evans on that county.<sup>14</sup> What is noticeable is that Dixon tends to record lower numbers of hearers in the smaller, rural congregations than Nesbitt; these congregations are more likely to be sympathetic to doctrinally orthodox ministers. Their figures tend to agree more for the urban congregations. It should also be noted that Dr. Evans was familiar with a number of the prominent ministers in the region. Evans entered Frankland's Academy at Rathmell on the 26th of May, 1697, and was a contemporary of both the John Atkinson's, prominent ministers in Cumberland and Westmorland, who entered in the same year. He finished his education at Timothy Jolly's Attercliffe Academy, Sheffield,<sup>15</sup> and then under James Owen in Shrewsbury, Shropshire,<sup>16</sup> and was ordained to Wrexham New Meeting, Denbighshire, in 1702. The Wrexham church had split in 1691, the High Calvinists retaining the Old Meeting, the Presbyterians, with the support of James Owen, leaving to form the New Meeting.<sup>17</sup> Daniel Williams also had close associations with Wrexham and persuaded Evans not to go to Dublin in 1704 but to become his assistant in London. He was said to have gone to London with the intention

<sup>14</sup> ONK, p.278 notes that the two members of the Congregational Fund who investigated Joseph Dodson for Arianism in 1719 and had the Congregational Fund withdrawn from him were Mr. Nesbitt and Mr. Bradbury. Alexander Gordon, 'John Nesbitt (1661-1727)', DNB, 14, p.225..

<sup>15</sup> David Hey, The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire: Sheffield and its Neighbourhood, 1660-1740, (Leicester, 1991), p.265, states that Evans attended Attercliffe Academy, quoting as his sources J. E. Manning, A History of Upper Chapel, (Sheffield, 1900), pp.37-8; and Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, (Manchester, 1917). This would make sense, as we know many of Frankland's students moved there upon his death in 1698. Alsager Vian in his DNB entry for him states that Evans was educated by Thomas Rowe in London and by Frankland. His father, the Congregational minister of Wrexham, died in 1700 and Vian states he was taken in by a Mrs Hunt of Boreatton, Shropshire and studied under Owen until his ordination in 1702.

<sup>16</sup> It appears that Owen took over on Frankland's death but the arrangement was temporary. In a letter from Oliver Heywood to Ralph Thoresby of the 7th of November, 1698, Heywood notes 'They have not yet got a tutor for the scholars at Mr. Frankland's; they desire Mr. Tong, of Coventry, but are in suspense. Mr. Owen stays till Christmas'. Letters of Eminent Men, Addressed to Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S., Vol. 1, (1832), p.335. Owen was certainly resident in Oswestry in 1699, writing a letter from there to Thoresby on November 7th, mentioning the students he is tutoring; 'they have lost much time last summer by tedious indisposition', p.387.

<sup>17</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Northamptonshire and "The Modern Question": A Turning-Point in Eighteenth-Century Dissent', Journal of Theological Studies, ns, 16, 1965, pp.101-123, p.108. A. N. Palmer, History of the Older Nonconformity in Wrexham, (Wrexham, [1888]).



of joining a Congregational church but 'under William's influence finally threw in his lot with the Presbyterians'.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps here is an illustration of the pressures Arminian Independents were increasingly under to join denominational camps. His sympathies lay with the non-subscribers but his early attachment to the Congregational order of his father and his understanding of the tensions existing between the northern societies made him the ideal man to undertake the survey of Dissent. It is to his credit that he included the figures from both correspondents in the case of Cumberland and Westmorland.

Watts's use of the denominational label 'Presbyterian' and 'Independent' in analysing the Evans list reflect only whether the congregations were in receipt of the Common/Presbyterian Fund or the Congregational Fund. It tells us nothing about the theological and doctrinal tendencies in the church. Thus the chapels at Kendal, Westmorland, and Brampton, Cumberland, were both in receipt of the Common/Presbyterian Fund. The ministers at Kendal were English, heterodox from 1716 and avowedly Unitarian by 1756. On the other hand, the ministers of Brampton from 1689 onwards were all Scots, orthodox members of the Church of Scotland. The Presbyterian Fund retained its common ethos. It supported the churches at Blennerhasset, Keswick and Kirkoswald whose early history would suggest a degree of attachment to Independent principles. Alexander Gordon noted that the continuing attachment of a provincial church to the Common Fund was recorded in the London register of that Fund as 'Presbyterian', irrespective of their history. He cites the case of Cheshire where, like Cumberland and Westmorland, Presbytery had been a dead letter, even in the 1640s. In Cheshire, every congregation was styled 'Presbyterian' in the London books, because of the connection with the older Fund, even though many were distinctively Independent foundations.<sup>19</sup> This has caused a great deal of confusion, even amongst late twentieth-century historians.<sup>20</sup> Much would depend on the nature of the resident minister at the time. Adam Dean at Kirkoswald from 1734 to c.1783 was certainly receiving grants from both Funds in the 1750s. A new minister might mean the

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<sup>18</sup> Alsager Vian, 'John Evans D.D. (1680?-1730)', *DNB*, 6, p.929.

<sup>19</sup> Alexander Gordon, *Historical Account of Duckinfield Chapel*. (Manchester, 1896), p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> D. G. Hey, 'The Pattern of Nonconformity in South Yorkshire, 1660-1851', *Northern History*, Vol.8, 1973, pp. 86-118, p. 95. Bradley in 'Whigs and Nonconformists' also notes R. W. Davis, *Dissent in Politics, 1780-1830: The Political Life of William Smith M.P.* (1971), p.36 as another example of the confusion.

reversal of funding body as we shall see, the national funds seeking to stamp their increasingly divergent brands of doctrine on these northern congregations.

What these figures do underscore is the numerical and structural weakness of Protestant Dissent. Watts's figures for early eighteenth-century Dissent for Cumberland show that the Quakers in the same period maintained 20 Meeting-houses, with an estimated 1,080 hearers, 1.59% of the county population. The Evans List notes at the end of the Cumberland section that Mr. Nesbitt reported 20 Quaker Meetings, 'computed at 2,000 hearers'. In Westmorland the Friends seemed to dominate the religious landscape to an even greater degree; Watts records 12 Meetings with 470 hearers, 1.58% of the county population. The Evans List notes 'Including Quakers, 22 stated meetings, 6,000 hearers.' Though reported numbers of hearers are smaller, Quakers maintained more places of worship in a greater number of sites than other Protestant Dissenters, with far more effective denominational infrastructure, despite bearing the brunt of the establishment's attempts at repression. Watts noted that throughout England, the Friends tended to have more particular meetings more evenly distributed than the other Dissenting denominations.<sup>21</sup> Presbyterians and Independents in these counties, especially in rural chapels up until 1725, were in constant conflict with the Quakers. This conflict was a defining feature of Protestant Dissent in these counties, honing the polemical and theological faculties of Presbyterian ministers, influencing their later careers, with repercussions outside these two counties.

In Westmorland, though there is early evidence of attempting to institute a Presbyterian Classical system, distinctly reformed ecclesiology did not receive much support in a highly polarised religious atmosphere. The county was overwhelmingly rural, lacking the commercial classes that so often formed the core of Protestant Dissenting congregations in this period. The Friends came to dominate the religious landscape. Of the 31 parishes in Westmorland, Protestant Dissent maintained congregations in three: Kendal, Crook (Kendal Parish), and Stainton (Heversham Parish). were in the Deanery of Kendal, Archdeaconry of Richmond, part of the Diocese of Chester. Ravenstonedale. (Ravenstonedale Parish) was a Peculiar in the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Carlisle, and in the Barony of Westmorland. Crook and Stainton were both dependent on the Kendal Dissenters for their survival and did not long survive beyond 1750. These congregations were in the south of the county,

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<sup>21</sup> Watts, p.285.

in the Barony of Kendal, and their links with the North Lancashire and Craven in the West Riding seem as strong as their links with the upper Eden Valley. The workings of the Five Mile Act around Appleby and the vigour of the JPs seem to have excluded Dissent entirely from this region. Most of the ministers there had conformed.

In Cumberland, Protestant Dissent was again highly localised. The two thriving congregations were in the towns of West Cumberland, at Cockermouth (Brigham Parish, Deanery of Copeland, Archdeaconry of Richmond, Diocese of Chester), and Whitehaven (St. Bees Parish, Deanery of Copeland, Archdeaconry of Richmond, Diocese of Chester). These were the only Protestant Dissenting churches on the West Cumberland coastal plain, apart from the two Particular Baptist causes at Broughton and Oulton. Penrith (Penrith Parish, Diocese of Carlisle) seems to have been a successful society, the congregations at Keswick (Crossthwaite Parish, Diocese of Carlisle) and Carlisle less so. A further group of rural congregations clustered around Penrith, close to the border with Westmorland and along the lower Eden Valley, namely: Penruddock (Greystoke Parish), Great Salkeld/Plumpton (Great Salkeld Parish/Lazonby Parish), Kirkoswald (Kirkoswald Parish). All these were in the Diocese of Carlisle and are notable areas where the struggle for tenants customary rights were strong. The furthest north congregation was Brampton (Brampton Parish, Diocese of Carlisle), north-east of Carlisle. To the east was Alston (Alston Parish, Diocese of Durham), probably more accessible from the upper Tyne valley in Northumberland and the upper Tees in Durham.<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that the two largest and successful congregations, Cockermouth and Whitehaven, lay at the furthest extremity of the Diocese of Chester. Distance from the Consistory court and the overlapping ecclesiastical and secular judicatures may have been to their advantage. Similarly, the four known Independent churches in these two counties were in places where the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were far removed from each other. For instance, Alston is at the furthest extent of the Diocese of Durham, and in Cumberland, Ravenstonedale is at the furthest edge of the Diocese of Carlisle and in Westmorland.

## Denomination

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<sup>22</sup> Nightingale, *The Ejected*, p.71.



Only Cockermouth and Alston are identified in the Evans List for Cumberland as being in receipt of the Congregational Fund; likewise Stainton and Ravenstonedale for Westmorland. This is not conclusive proof that they were formally constituted Independent churches however, merely that either the incumbent minister and a majority of the congregation and trustees at the time were opposed to the theological declension promoted by the Presbyterian Fund or that the Independent Fund recognised a historical attachment in the church to Independent principles. Often the Funds were used in struggles to gain control of congregations, as will be shown.

The early licences for Alston (Appendix E 2.1) note that it was Congregational and its first minister in the toleration period, Thomas Dawes (1692-1703) received the Congregational Fund in 1698, a sign of attachment in this period to Independent principles. The two subsequent ministers up to 1714 were in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund. The minister at the time of the Evans survey was a Scot, Adam Wilson (1715-1745) who was in receipt of the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund grants. The next minister was a Scot and a confirmed Arian, the Rev. James Ritchie (c.1742-1753) followed by the Church of Scotland minister Thomas Smith (1753-1760) and he was followed by two Cumberland born ministers who had been financed through Glasgow University by the good offices of George Benson at the Presbyterian Fund, John Dean (1760-1763) and Timothy Nelson (1763-1800).<sup>23</sup> What seems to have happened here is that the Congregational Fund had kept up funding to the congregation despite the nature of some of its ministers. Supply of Church of Scotland ministers was no guarantee of orthodoxy and Dean and Nelson were the scions of northern Protestant Dissenting families, their churchmanship ill defined. After Nelson's move back to his home village of Great Salkeld, the church is absorbed by the new missionary efforts of the Societas Evangelica, stemming out of London's new evangelical Congregationalism and is thus included in Colligan's list as Congregational. In that this church existed in the records of the London financing funds as having had at sometime in its past an attachment to Independent principles it was Congregational. But, the three ministers from 1715 to 1760 were from the Church of Scotland and the two ministers from 1760 to 1800 were by familial attachment and training linked to the more unorthodox Protestant Dissenting tradition. There is no evidence of the church ever having instituted a church covenant or governed

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<sup>23</sup> JRL/UCC/ cupb. B.19, Benson Letters Collection 1, Adam Dean (Kirkoswald) to George Benson, March 31st [1756?].

through a meeting of church members. Similarly, Ravenstonedale is returned in the Evans List as in receipt of the Congregational Fund and struggled throughout the eighteenth-century to maintain the supply of orthodox ministers. The evidence would seem to suggest that this church was not a formally constituted Independent church. Colligan suggested that it was Presbyterian where the trustees remained orthodox, though Sell doubts this. What is known is that in 1811, James Muscutt, trained at the Village Itinerancy Academy in Hackney, London, made it a condition of his appointment that the Church be reorganised and 'put upon the Independent or Congregational plan. Apparently authority in the church was in the hands of a few members only, and Muscutt disapproved of this.'<sup>24</sup> Most churches in these two counties were throughout the eighteenth-century organised on these lines. 'Denomination' was the product of the complex interaction of several factors: the persuasions of the trustees and the degree to which they felt accountable to the congregation and members, the persuasion of successive ministers and their access to the national Funds.

It should be clear from this Watts's abstracted information from the Evans List tells us very little about these churches. The Kirkoswald church was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund at the time of the Evans survey. Its early licenses would indicate an adherence to Independency though, as would its strong links with the Cockermouth Church.<sup>25</sup> This would be further supported by the fact that its first minister received the Congregational Fund grant in 1697. The church renewed the church Covenant here in 1708<sup>26</sup> but after this the church was ministered to by men of more liberal theological sentiments and it is not clear on what grounds it was run. Adam Dean received grants from both Funds in the 1750s, though he was close friends with George Benson and an admirer of John Taylor. traits which, one would assume, would put him beyond the pale of orthodoxy. As with Alston, I would suggest that the Congregational Fund here is recognising the historical attachment of the church with Independency. Later in the century Church of Scotland ministers officiate and then the ministry changes to men of Evangelical and Congregational principles in the nineteenth century.

As with Lancashire, all the Protestant Dissenting churches in these counties gradually became aware of the problem that ministers trained in the English Dissenting academies seemed increasingly

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<sup>24</sup> Sell, p.76

<sup>25</sup> Lewis, A History of the Congregational Church at Cockermouth, pp. 16, 22, 46, 60.

<sup>26</sup> John Waddington, Congregational History, Vol. 4, (1877), pp.5-6, has the verbatim renewal of the church covenant, reported in the Congregational Magazine, 5, 1822, p.387.

hostile to orthodox catechisms and creeds. Even the Cockermouth Congregational church, with a continual history down to the present day, experienced a schism. Thomas Walker (1732-?) was suspected of Arianism. Thomas Jolly (1737-1764) was suspected of departing from the faith of his father and with the accession of Thomas Lowthion (1765-1781) the church split. the orthodox receiving the ministrations of the Church of Scotland Minister the Rev. Selby Ord, (1766-1777). Quite clearly the desire for a trained ministry in these churches made the educated academy men appealing. As the century wore on however, they shed their creedal integuments, to become more and more unacceptable to orthodox congregants and trustees. In these counties, the proximity of Scotland made locating and calling a reformed and orthodox minister that much easier. Unlike Lancashire then, the vast majority of the Protestant Dissenting churches in these counties, founded in the period 1690-1725, did not develop an attachment to Unitarianism.

### **Growth of Heterodoxy**

Early co-operation in these isolated churches in the Toleration period is poorly documented. Colligan claimed the first evidence of the workings of a Provincial Meeting to be found was the ordination of the Scot. the Rev. James Campbell, to the congregation of Brampton in 1709.<sup>27</sup> He stated that the records for Provincial Meetings were kept in the church books of the chapel at which they were held. Consequently, the workings of the Provincial Meeting have to be pieced together from the remaining chapel records. Geoffrey Nuttall was similarly forced into a work of historical reconstruction in assessing the degree of Association in Cumberland and Westmorland. He noted the sermons in which the Cumberland and Westmorland Association was mentioned: Joseph Dodson's sermon Moderation and Charity, (1720) was preached at Keswick and mentions meetings of a Cumberland and Westmorland Association in 1718 and 1719; James Daye of Lancaster, in The Christians Service, Completed with Honour, (1752), the funeral sermon of the Rev. Caleb Rotherham senior of Kendal, mentions the 'friendly association of the two counties'; Radcliffe Scholefield's Numbers No Criterion of Truth, (Whitehaven, 1769) was preached before a General Meeting at Keswick; Robert Hood's Sermon on the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, (Newcastle, 1781) was preached before the General

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<sup>27</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.226.



Meeting at Penrith, 1780.<sup>28</sup> Colligan could find no evidence of its operation beyond 1783, for reasons that will be analysed subsequently.

Samuel Audland's funeral sermon of 1708 for the Deacon of Penruddock Protestant Dissenting church, John Noble, implies that the spirit of co-operation of the interregnum ministerial Association was continued during the Restoration. It was a point of pride that Presbyterians and Independents in this period were United Brethren. Audland stresses that Noble, as a model Christian and Dissenter, never allowed his constancy to degenerate into bigotry:

for I remember that on just Occasions, he paid Respects to, and received Courtesies from divers of the Bishops of Carlisle at Rose Castle; and in his London Journies, Lodging in Holbourn, would sometimes hear Dr. Stillingfleet, visited Mr. Baxter, Dr. Annesley, and the Dissenters call'd by other Names, for he honoured them alike. The prudent Associations aforesaid, in Cumberland, had effectually buried the Names of needless Distinction, and party among Dissenters. Dr. Gilpin had well armed his People's Minds against such Follies And when a Union or necessary Coalition of Presbyterians and Congregational was endeavour'd in 1690, the good Doctor was as forward as any man to Promote it. That Motion was surely of God and will be more thorowly pursued when Men are more taught of God.

What this implies is that Gilpin supported the national union, though it is not conclusive evidence of the formation of a regional association being instituted c.1690. Gilpin lived at Scaleby Castle near Carlisle from 1660, retiring from the Greystoke Rectory, making way for the sequestered incumbent; by 1663 he was on intimate terms with the Dissenters of Newcastle, leaving to minister to them in 1669. Though he retained his links with Cumberland, licensing Scaleby Castle as a Presbyterian preaching place in 1672, his influence diminished.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that denominational distinctions were not emphasised in this period and that the desire to be considered United Brethren along the lines of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Associations must have been expressed. The Trust Deed of the Whitehaven congregation, dated the 23rd of April, 1695, records the typical formula of the time, that the property be held in trust for a congregation of Protestant Dissenters 'that shall be either Presbyterian or Independent'.<sup>30</sup> But there are also signs of the breakdown of co-operation by 1708, when the sermon was printed. Audland is looking back to a time, twenty years previous and beyond.

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<sup>28</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Assembly and Association in Dissent, 1689-1831', pp.302-303. Early Nonconformity 1566-1800: a catalogue of books in Dr. Williams's Library, London, (Boston, Mass: G. K. Hall, 1968), subject catalogue, s.vv. Associations and United Ministers

<sup>29</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 459-473.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Colligan, 'The Old Meeting, Whitehaven', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. 2, 1922, pp.142-47.

when 'Names of Needless Distinction' were abandoned amongst the Protestant Dissenters. Even by 1708 this was not the case. Not only was Audland engaged in a pamphlet exchange with leading Quakers but differences over approaches to theology were beginning to express themselves in these counties between Protestant Dissenting ministers. The last line of the quote implies that Godly union was not the blessed state the Dissenters of Cumberland and Westmorland found themselves in by 1708. Audland harks back to the spirit of reform and co-operation of the 1650s, embodied in the person of Dr. Gilpin:

Of what Esteem he was then in the Churches. and that deservedly, one might judge by this. That in the Year, 1658, the Associated Ministers of all that County, oblig'd him to Preach to them at Keswick, and then to Print his weighty Sermon on Zech. 6. 13. The Temple Rebuilt, in which the present Generation might yet learn Things of Peace; and till we do so who can ever expect to see the Temple Rebuilt? The Ministers then manag'd the Church Affairs with much Harmony, Meekness and Brotherly Love; and apparently with the more Success. All lamented the sad decay of true Religion, and most agreed that one cause thereof was want of Godly Discipline in the Church; Diversity of Opinions in some smaller Things hinder'd them not to essay the restoration of it; and in the Essentials thereof Men of Piety and Peace did easily agree, as appears by their Account Printed in 1656 from which the Associated Ministers in Essex etc. thought fit to copy some sentiments of the united Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland..<sup>31</sup>

Audland implies here that the contemporary ministers fall far short of their forebears, who once were examples to the puritans of Essex. Harmony, meekness and brotherly love were things of the past. Whatever form the Association of Ministers took in Cumberland and Westmorland post-1690, it was riven by conflicting views almost from its inception.

By the beginning of the eighteenth-century in Cumberland and Westmorland, tensions were emerging within the Protestant Dissenting community. These were over approaches to theology, the issue of subscription or non-subscription and was couched in the rhetoric of theological extremism, Antinomianism and Socinianism. Several things mark out the Cumberland and Westmorland Protestant Dissenters as unusual in this period. Eventually, overt doctrinal differences would emerge. In an age when Presbyterian and Independent could still co-operate regionally, in these two counties Arminians and Calvinists seem to favour vigorous disputation. This is related to the advanced

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<sup>31</sup> Samuel Audalnd, A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. John Noble, (1708). Richard Gilpin, The Temple Re-built, (By E. T. for Luke Fawne, to be sold by Richard Scott, in Carlisle, 1658). Wing 778.



theological views of some ministers within the counties. I want to explore two reasons for this adherence to advanced theological views before going on to look at the results of the conflict. The first possible reason for a prevalence of unorthodox theological views was the continuing competition with the Quakers. The second was the role of the Academies, the Scottish Universities and links with the Protestant Dissenting communities in the North of Ireland.

### **Protestant Dissent and the Quakers**

From Quakerism's first appearance in Westmorland and Lancashire in 1652, the Friends were in conflict with the puritan ministry. Fox was met at Swarthmore by the Ulverstone minister, William Lampitt, a man Fox described as 'full of filth'. Lampitt did his best to oppose the Quakers. Lampitt was a nonconformist after 1662, licensed his house in Ulverstone as a Congregational place of worship in 1672 and preached at Broughton Tower, the house of Colonel Roger Sawrey, a Justice who vigorously persecuted Quakers.<sup>32</sup> There is published evidence of disputes between the Quakers and Gabriel Camelford, the ejected minister of Staveley, Lakeside-in- Westmorland in 1653.<sup>33</sup> With the Quaker missionary effort into Cumberland in 1653 they came into conflict with George Larkham and George Benson, Minister and Deacon respectively of the Cockermouth Congregational Church. The Cockermouth church book is full of records of members lost to the Quakers in the period 1651-1700.<sup>34</sup> In the 1656 'explication' of the Agreement of the Cumberland and Westmorland Ministers and

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<sup>32</sup> Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 100, 107. Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp. 312-313.

<sup>33</sup> For Camelford see Samuel Palmer, The Nonconformist Memorial: being an account of the lives of 2000 ministers ejected from the church of England, abridged and corrected by Samuel Palmer. (London, Button, 1802-1803), Vol. 2, p. 496. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.100. Nightingale, Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire, (1921), p. 204. Divers Queries of great Importance, propounded by Thomas Atkinson of Cartmell in Lancashire, to Gabriel Camelford, Parson of Stafley Chapel: with his Answers to them. Also Replies to the Answers wherein is lay'd open the subtilty and deceit of the Priest, and his Inventions, Snares and Baits etc. The queries and answers were printed in George Fox and Richeard Hubberthorne, Truths Defence against the Refined Subilty of the Serpent, held forth in divers Answers and several Queries made by men (called Ministers) in the North. Given forth by the Light and Power of God appearing in George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne, (Printed for Thomas Wyatt at his house in the Pavement in York, 1653). Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, (1873). Philip Bennet, Curate of Cartmel in 1650, was included by Calamy as a nonconformist, though he became Curate of Whitehaven, 4th of August, 1662. See Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.49., He was the author of A Paper directed to Richard Roper, and his Quaking friends, with twenty Queries [?] answered by Edward Burrough (of Underbarrow), Answer to several Queries put forth to the despised people, called Quakers, by Philip Barret, who calls himself a Minister of Christ, but is found a great Deceiver etc. (London, Giles Calvert, 1654)

<sup>34</sup> Lewis, Congregational Church Cockermouth, (1870), pp.105-115. Nightingale, The Ejected, p.715.



Churches. Quakers are highlighted as the 'supremum malum'.<sup>35</sup> We know from Samuel Audland's funeral sermon for John Noble that Richard Gilpin, as Rector of Greystoke, was troubled with 'this impetuous wild spirit'.<sup>36</sup> Simon Atkinson the ejected minister of Lazonby, and minister to the Dissenters at Kirkoswald, controverted with the Quakers, as is shown by the Quaker tract of 1658, The Lamb's Innocency Defended.<sup>37</sup> Throughout the north-west the gathered churches felt the competition for members. Watts noted the Quakers propensity for decimating Independent and Baptist congregations in the Puritan heartlands.<sup>38</sup> It is notable that, in the north-west, it is the ministers of these churches that respond more vigorously to the Quaker threat, especially the Harvard trained ministers and those with strong links with the Godly of the American Diaspora. The Independent Samuel Eaton in Stockport, Cheshire, wrote against the Friends<sup>39</sup> as did Timothy Taylor<sup>40</sup> and the Independent Thomas Jolly in the Lancashire's Ribble Valley, had a pamphlet exchange with John Webster of Clitheroe in his Ranter/Quaker phase.<sup>41</sup> Francis Higginson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, who was ejected but later conformed, wrote The Irreligion of the Northern Quakers, one of the first anti-Quaker pamphlets to be published.<sup>42</sup> Polemical attacks and

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, pp.101-102.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p.1266. Also Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), 'Memoir of Richard Gilpin', p.xxix. in Daemonologia Sacra: or, A Treatise of Satan's Temptations. In Three Parts. By Richard Gilpin, M.D. Nichol's Series of Standard Divines. Puritan Period. (Edinburgh, James Nichol, 1867).

<sup>37</sup> For Atkinson see Palmer, Nonconformists Memorial, Vol.1, p.302. Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp.18-19. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 319-324. Joseph Helling (Of Yorkshire), The Lamb's Innocency Defended, against Lyes and Slanders. In answer to the second reply of a Priest, who is called a Minister at Lazonby in Cumberland, called Simon Atkinson, who hath shewn his Wolfish nature against those people called Quakers; ranking them up with the Papists. etc. (No printers name or place, 1658). Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, p.53.

<sup>38</sup> Watts, p.285.

<sup>39</sup> Urwick, p. 290. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.178. Samuel Eaton, The Quakers Confuted. Urwick said this was animadverted on by George Fox in The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded. See also Alexander Gordon, Historical Account of Duckinfield Chapel and its School, (Manchester, 1896), pp.9-26.

<sup>40</sup> Timothy Taylor had been the unbeneficed pastor of the Independent church in Duckinfield, Cheshire, with Eaton as Teacher. By 1656 he was in Ireland, becoming the most prominent Independent in Ulster. He became assistant to Samuel Mather in Dublin in 1668 and to Nathaniel Mather when he succeeded his brother. See Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.30-31. Taylor prefaced Quakerism Anatomiz'd and confuted etc. by Thomas Jenner. Preface to the Reader by Timothy Taylor, (1670), which was animadverted upon by George Whitehead (of Orton, Westmorland). and William Penn. A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People Called Quakers- In Answer to Thomas Jenner and Timothy Taylor, (1671).

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, pp.126, 128. '1654/5, This year a dispute betwixt him [Mr. Jollie] and Mr. Webster was begun and carried on in writing. Mr. Webster was an enthusiast and had odd notions'.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p.127. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.263. Higginson had trained at Harvard and Leyden. See Cotton Mather, History of New England, Book 3, p.70. Note that Samuel Eaton was a Harvard

repression directed specifically at Quakers increased under the Restoration establishment<sup>43</sup> but for the Protestant Dissenting ministers and churches after 1660, Quakers became an even greater threat. Having to rely on the voluntary contributions of communicants, competition with the Quakers for adherents became a matter of subsistence and survival. Not only did Quakers deny the value of a learned ministry, ignore the sacraments and the Sabbath, reject the doctrine of election and seem to proclaim perfectionism and Antinomianism, but they divided churches and families. The Quaker polemics against the Congregationalist Richard Astley, the ejected Curate of Blackrod near Bolton, Lancashire, minister to the Dagger Lane Independent Church in Hull from 1669,<sup>44</sup> give some indication of the animosities generated. The Quaker John Hogg's judgement on him was that he perverted the Scriptures, was ignorant of the Truth 'and consequently no Minister of Christ'.<sup>45</sup> Astley had to suffer the attentions of the Quaker witness Daniel Smith who appeared before them naked as 'a sign of the nakedness of their congregation'.<sup>46</sup> Conflict between the two faith communities was only

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Fellow. Francis Higginson, A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers. Wherein their horrid principles and practices, Doctrines and manners, as far as their Mystery of Iniquitie hath yet discovered itself are plainly exposed to the view of every intelligent reader. Together with a (Brief Reply) to some part of a very scurrilous and lying pamphlet called Saul's errand to Damascus. (London, Printed by T.R. for H.R. at the signe of the Three Pigeons in Paul's Church-yard. 1653). Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, goes on to say that A Brief Reply was also printed separately, the title continuing shewing the vanitie of the praises there attributed to the Sect of Quakers. and Falsitie of their Relations which are nought else but the breathingsof a spirit of Malice, (1653). George Fox, Saul's Errand to Damascus, with his Packet of Letters from the High Priests against the Disciples of the Lord, etc. (London, 1653) was Fox's response to the justices of North Lancashire and their attempt to petition the Council of State against him. See Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, (1961), p.108. Also see footnote 55, in Sell, p.126. Other Nonconformists with links with the area, the Presbyterian Zachary Crofton, former Curate of Wrenbury in Cheshire (see Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp.14-145) who contributed An Epistle "Unto the Christian Readers especially the Inhabitants about Liverpool, and Walton in Lancashire" prefixed to Ralph Hall's Book entitled "Quaker Principles Quaking", c.1656, Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, p.137. Ellis Bradshaw of Bolton, Lancashire, possibly related to the ejected ministers James (d.1685), James (d.1702), Nathaniel, (d.1690). See Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, pp.83-84.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Clark, ' "The Gangreen of Quakerism"; An Anglican Anti-Quaker Offensive in England after the Glorious Revolution', Journal of Religious History, 11, 1981, pp. 404-429. Richard Clark, 'The Quakers and the Church of England, 1670-1720: a study in ecclesiastical and intellectual history', Lancaster Ph.D. thesis, 1985.

<sup>44</sup> Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.17. Palmer, Nonconformists Memorial, Vol. 2, p.84.

<sup>45</sup> John Hogg (of Harrogate), Some Observations Upon a Sermon bearing the name of Mr.Astley: wherein he is found to wrest and pervert the Scriptures: to be ignorant of the truth, as it is in Jesus: and consequently no Minister of Christ etc. By a lover of the Truth, John Hogg. (Preface dated 25th of the 9th month, 1673, printed 1675.)

<sup>46</sup> Daniel Smith (of Marlborough, Wiltshire), An Account of his going to the Independent meeting in Hull, and appearing Naked before them as a Sign of the nakedness of their Congregation. (1673). For information on Astley see Rev. Bryan Dale, Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity, (Bradford, 1909), pp.173-75.



heightened by the numbers who converted to Quakerism in the early phase of the movement. New converts were often ostracised from their families and given over to the world and the Devil by the gathered churches. There followed an almost inevitable dropping away by many, with a re-conversion literature emerged as converts became disillusioned with the inner light; one of the earliest being The Quakers Shaken; or, a Firebrand snatch'd out of the Fire. Being A brief Relation of God's Wonderful Mercie extended to John Gilpin of Kendale in Westmorland and Who, as will appeare by the Sequel was not only deluded, but possessed by the Devil. (July 4th, 1653). Richard Gilpin hints at a literature of this sort in the Agreement of 1656:

We could tell you of some Christians in Cumberland, that have thought it their duty to humble themselves solemnly before God for their inclinations this way (when the error first appeared, and was not then well known) and also to return thanks to God for preserving them from the infection; and the reason of their dislike of the quakers (given in writing) were most of these that we have hinted to you.<sup>47</sup>

Generations of Protestant Dissenters in the period 1652-1725 grew up in this spirit of faction and religious competition; priding themselves on having abandoned futile names and distinctions they suffered badly what they perceived as the Quakers enthusiasm and the conflict was often most bitter amongst family members. The depth of the antipathy between these societies is conveyed by the pamphlet war between Henry Winder of Penruddock, Cumberland, and the Quaker, Thomas Camm of Westmorland.

Henry Winder had been a member of Richard Gilpin's gathered church in Greystoke Parish and had joined the Quakers.<sup>48</sup> He became eminent among them and was made Receiver General of all the collections in the county. In 1665 he returned to the congregation of Protestant Dissenters worshipping at Penruddock, outraging the Society of Friends.<sup>49</sup> In 1673 several female Friends claimed that it had been revealed to them that Winder, several years before, had murdered his own child. Winder appeared before the Assizes, the Quakers case collapsed and he proceeded against the Friends for slander. This was not the end of the affair. In 1696 Winder went into print with The

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<sup>47</sup> ibid., p.102.

<sup>48</sup> Henry Winder junior, A Critical and Chronological History of the Rise, Progress, declension, and revival of knowledge, chiefly religious. In two periods. (1) The period of tradition from Adam to Moses (2) The period of letters from Moses to Christ...To which are prefixed memoirs of Dr. Winder's Life, by George Benson. Two Volumes, (London, 1756).

<sup>49</sup> ONK, p.250. Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1269.



Spirit of Quakerism, and the Danger of their divine revelation laid open.<sup>50</sup> This provoked a response from the Quaker controversialist Thomas Camm, An Old Apostate Justly Exposed, (1698).<sup>51</sup> Winder again sounded forth in 1699<sup>52</sup> and Camm went in to print in 1706.<sup>53</sup> In 1707, the new minister at the Penruddock Protestant Dissenting church, the Rev. Samuel Audland came to Winder's defence with The Spirit of Quakerism Cloven Footed, the work also containing a preface by Thomas Dixon of Whitehaven.<sup>54</sup> Camm replied with A Lying Tounge reproved, (1708).<sup>55</sup> Underscoring this exchange is the bitterness of apostasy and the fact of families bitterly divided by religion. Samuel Audland's father, David, was brother to the Quaker controversialist, and former Independent, John Audland. John Audland's widow had married Thomas Camm.<sup>56</sup> In A Lying Tounge Reproved there is evidence of the older Camm's resentment at the rough handling by his nephew. The two Quakeresses

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<sup>50</sup> Henry Winder, The Spirit of Quakerism, and the Danger of their Divine Revelation laid open, in a faithful narrative of their prosecution of Henry Winder and his wife, as murtherers, at the Publick assize at Carlisle. By Henry Winder. With suitable reflections on the said narrative: containing several other instances of their pretended revelations, etc. (London, 1696).

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Camm, An Old Apostate Justly Exposed, his treachery to the Holy God, his truth and people manifested, his great wickedness and uncleanness (which, by false covers, he has endeavoured to hide), laid open, to the shame of him, and all his abettors. In short an answer, or some brief remarks upon a very scandalous book lately published, stiled The Spirit of Quakerism...Also the nameless publisher thereof, as justly reprehended for his enmity and great malice, in abusing an innocent people, by heaps of most gross lies, slanders, base insinuations and inferences, frothy and scurrilous scoffs and taunts; so void of Christianity, that probably no man, with a name would undertake. (T. Sowle, London, 1698), Wing 396.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Winder, A Penitent Old disciple Vindicated from the impudent clamours of Thomas Camm, in a book by him entituled, An Old Apostate expos'd. Wherein, for the necessary conviction, the virulent lying, forgery, deep hypocrisie, and self contradiction of some Quakers, is further laid open by Henry Winder. With the Publisher's self-defence. (1699).

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Camm, Truth Prevailing with Reason, against clamour and railing; and the hypocrisie and confusion of Henry Winder, Ann his wife, and their abettors, further discovered and laid open, in a brief examination and detection of their confused, but malicious book, stiled, A Penitent Old Disciple vindicated etc, subscribed to by Henry Winder. With a further reprehension of his abusive Publisher. (T. Sowle, London, 1706).

<sup>54</sup> Samuel Audland, The Spirit of Quakerism Cloven Footed; or, immutable matter of fact, Containing 1. A summary account of Henry Winder's case, and of the measures concerted by some Quakers to take away his life, by Lying Visions, Revelations, Prophecies, etc. 2. A full Discoverie of their forging Confessions, dating them many years before they could be significant; putting a Witness his name to a Certificate without his Knowledge, etc. In which their Refuges are Expos'd, with a variety of Remarks and Improvements never before Publish'd. In answer to Thomas Camm's late pamphlet, entituled Truth Prevailing. With a preface by Mr. Thomas Dixon. (R. Burrough and J. Baker, London, 1707). Dedicated to Andrew Huddlestons Esq

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Camm, A Lying Tongue Reproved: in some remarks upon a scandalous pamphlet lately published, stiled The Spirit of Quakerism Cloven Footed etc. subscribed by Samuel Audland, and a preface by Thomas Dixon. The False and Foul Charges of Forgery etc detected, and the Quakers cleared thereof. (London: Printed and sold by J. Sowle, in White Hart Court, in Gracious Street, 1708).

<sup>56</sup> ONK, pp. 249-250.

who accused Winder were his sisters-in-law.<sup>57</sup> The debate, though provincial, made full use of the huge polemical literature emerging in opposition to the Quakers. Winder quotes the anonymous A Survey of Quakerism, and was aware of its attribution to the expatriate Scot, Robert Fleming.<sup>58</sup> I would suggest that this ongoing polemical exchange did much to alter the nature of Protestant Dissent in these two counties but unquestionably it changed the underlying theological propositions employed whenever religious matters were controverted. Where the nature of Christ, the role of the sacraments, the legitimacy of creeds was a constant source of argument, where families were forced into theological wrangling, where churches contained congregants who had formerly been Quakers, a considerably broader framework for speculative theology emerged than was normally the case among Protestant Dissenters of the period.

The debate was not always acrimonious and a great deal of sympathy could be extended between the Presbyterians and Quakers. However, personal affinity still encompassed theological wrangling. The Quaker evangelist Thomas Story exchanged letters with Thomas Dixon discussing the case for water Baptism. Story was on familiar terms with many Cumberland Protestant Dissenters. He had gone to school in Carlisle with John Gilpin, the son of Dr. Gilpin and was taught law by his elder brother, William Gilpin. Having provided Dr. Gilpin with Quaker literature at his request, Story had a private audience with him in 1691 to discuss his conviction, in which Gilpin animadverted upon the Quakers denial of the Lords Supper and Baptism, after which Story was of the opinion he had given the doctor 'better Satisfaction, in that Point, than he had found in the Book'. On 2nd of May, 1715, he visited John Gilpin, by now a substantial Whitehaven merchant and member of the Presbyterian congregation. He describes them as 'Presbyterians of the most moderate sort' and was subsequently of the opinion that efforts should be made to start a meeting in Whitehaven, so open to hearing the truth were the Gilpin's and their acquaintances. The day after his arrival, along with Gilpin's family and Thomas Dixon, they visited the Westside Quaker Meeting at which Story spoke. By all accounts it was a good meeting but Story 'had some sense upon my Mind, that the Presbyterian Minister was not

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<sup>57</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Henry Winder (1693-1752)' DNB, 21, p.637

<sup>58</sup> Robert Flemming was a Presbyterian minister in Scotland who left for Holland in 1660. A Survey of Quakerism, as it is stated in the Professed Doctrine and Principles of that Party: with a serious reflection on the dreadful import therof, to subvert the very Being and Reality of the Christian Religion. By a Lover of the Truth, (London, printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns, at the Lower End of Cheapside, near Mercers chappell, 1677).



pleased with some things, though he had been very quiet in the Meeting, and said Nothing'. The following day, the 4th of May, 1715, Dixon wrote Story a letter that caught up with him some days later at Broughton Hall, in which Dixon defends water baptism. It should be noted that the more Baxterian Protestant Dissenting ministers of the region were not rigid in their insistence on infant Baptism and were willing to examine and interpret its significance. Samuel Bourne, whilst minister at Crook (1711-20), had been willing to devise a service of dedication for infants for some of his communicants who inclined to Baptist views. Dixon himself was of the opinion that, whilst water baptism did not save, there was no reason to reject one of Christ's commissions. Story exposed the equivocation in his position, replying in a letter from Yarmouth, on the 18th of June, whilst awaiting passage to Holland. He is civil to Dixon and notes that he was sincere and did not come to disturb the meeting and then proceeds in a letter that covers eight pages of the journal to undertake an exegesis of the evidence for the justification of water baptism under the new covenant. Story pointed out that Dixon's defence of water Baptism based on scriptural commission was false because, whatever evidence there is for baptism in the Bible, it was not the sort that Dixon practices. There is no evidence for infant baptism, sprinkling, or baptising with water in the name of the father Son and Holy Ghost. Implicit in this is the notion that Dixon is not even cogent enough to be a Baptist. Dixon's practice is therefore customary and not scriptural. He then goes on to reason that Christ's commission to baptise the world referred to spiritual baptism and that the outward sign was unnecessary. Dixon's position is essentially a fudge. Water Baptism cannot be both a commission of Christ and adiaphora, something that does not save. Story solves the problem by a deeply historical analysis of how water baptism was used and that under the new dispensation Christ was advocating spiritual baptism, ultimately satisfied that Quakers can reject all forms of water baptism.<sup>59</sup> We do not know how or if Dixon responded, but what is clear is the unsustainable nature of the Presbyterian position which is highlighted by the contemporary debate over Baptism. On the one hand, the re-baptism debate with the Church of England over the efficacy of Presbyterian baptism would have demanded that Presbyterians assert that their practice is the same as the Anglicans in every way. This

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<sup>59</sup> Thomas Story, Journal of the Life of Thomas Story, containing an Account of his Remarkable Convincement of, and Embracing the Principles of the Truth As held by the People Called Quakers: And Also, of his Travels and Labours in the Service of the Gospel: with many other Occurrences and Observations, (Printed by Isaac Thompson and Co. at the New Printing-office on the side, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1747), pp. 41-45, 470-72, 478-87.



would have satisfied if there was ever a comprehension or if individuals chose to conform, satisfying the Presbyterians rather inchoate sense of being still part of the national church. On the other hand, their rationalism and their self confessed concern to only proclaim what the scriptures undeniably taught would lead them to question infant baptism.

Relations with the Whitehaven Presbyterians remained cordial. Story records that at the first meeting in the new Whitehaven Meeting-house, 'on the Day called Easter day, in the Year 1725', after the meeting 'I had a friendly Conference with a Presbyterian Minister of the Place, an ingenious sober-Man, which was to Edification, and without Controversy'.<sup>60</sup> By then the intensity had gone out of the competition for adherents but a number of men who were subsequently to become leading New Light preachers had been born into this fractured religious environment, notably George Benson, Henry Winder junior and Caleb Rotherham and Ralph Milner.<sup>61</sup> They were noted for their subordinationist Christology, emphasising Christ's role as the Logos and above all claiming they were returning to a primitive Christianity, with reason as their guiding light. Ministering to large urban congregations these men began an all out attack on creeds, Roman Catholicism and Trinitarian Orthodoxy in the 1730s. Their intellectual heritage has traditionally been ascribed to the Christian Rationalist tradition but in view of their background, research needs to be undertaken examining how the more demotic, mystical rationalism of the Quakers may have influenced them. Richard Gilpin's tirade against the Quakers in 1656 was little different in substance from the laments of orthodox divines in the 1730s in controverting with the New Scheme preachers: 'we might reckon upon their self-contradictions, their ignorant and sottish conceits about the unlawfulness of using words which the Scripture useth not (as Trinity, Sacrament, etc.) or habits which the Scripture speaks not of'.<sup>62</sup> The rational Scriptural exposition of the Quakers that so confounded the Puritan divines provides a principled defence of non-subscription which must have raised these issues throughout the Protestant Dissenting community. The New Scheme preachers certainly replicated the uncompromising style of debate in their polemical outpourings of the 1730s.

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<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, p.657. This would either have been Lemuel Latham M.D. or Ralph Astley.

<sup>61</sup> 'Ralph Milner, a native of Ravenstonedale, went to Glasgow in 1721 on a Presbyterian Fund bursary, became in 1730 minister in Yarmouth, and "shortly afterwards the orthodox members of that congregation seceded and elected a minister more to their taste". He edited for publication a Scripture Catechism, used by James Peirce the celebrated Exeter heretic'. See McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses*, p.143, citing *ONK*, *ut supra*, p.289, n.

<sup>62</sup> Nightingale, *The Ejected*, p.102.

Audland. in his funeral Jeremiad quoted earlier, when he hints at division, must in part then be referring to the struggles with the Quakers. But emerging conflict between Protestant Dissenters was also threatening to destroy the remnants of the Protestant Dissenters' unity. These differences can be seen in the nature of another contemporary anti-Quaker exchange. While Audland's approach was urbane and condescending, ridiculing the Quakers' lack of learning and reasoning, other ministers turned to a form of High Calvinism to combat what they considered to be fanaticism, a development less to be welcomed by most of the Protestant Dissenting divines in the region than Quakerism itself.

John Atkinson, the minister of the Independent church at Cockermouth, (1701-1732) replied to the Quaker pamphlet Absolute Predestination not Scriptural with the 158 page work, A Vindication of the Doctrine of Election, (1708).<sup>63</sup> That someone was willing to defend Absolute Predestination would have raised in the minds of many of the local ministers the spectre of the Antinomianism. The republication of Tobias Crisp's sermons in 1690 had prompted polemical responses from Arminian divines, not least Baxter and Daniel Williams. Along with the Davis case in Northamptonshire, these developments were seen as two of the major contributory factors in the dissolution of the national Happy Union of Presbyterians and Independents. Crisp's supralapsarian Calvinism denied any human agency in salvation; it was said by its critics that it implied that the elect could not sin, Christ's righteousness being fully imputed to them. The argument of the Arminian divines was that this would promote libertinism. Davis, in vigorously promoting evangelism and the gathering of Congregational churches had rejected oversight by other Protestant Dissenting ministers, promoting a High Calvinism. He was accused of sniping at the orthodox professors of religion over the shoulders

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<sup>63</sup> John Atkinson, A Discourse of Election, showing, 1. The Nature 2. The Proof 3. The Properties 4. The Improvement of Election. To which is added, A Vindication of this Doctrine of Election, in Answer to a late Pamphlet, Entitled, Absolute Predestination not Scriptural. With a Letter to a Friend, once in Danger of the Quakers Delusion. By John Atkinson, Minister of the Gospel, at Cockermouth, Cumberland. (London, Printed for R. Burrough, and J. Baker, at the Sun and Moon in Cornhill, and N. Gliff, in the Poultry, 1708). This was replied to by Jane Fearon, of Cumberland, A Reply to John Atkinson's pretended Answer to Absolute Predestination not Scriptural. (London: Printed and sold by J. Sowle, in White Hart Court in Gracious Street, 1709). Also John Field of London, Truth Commended and Recommended to All; but more particularly unto that People that Attend upon John Atkinson's Ministry at Cockermouth in Cumberland. With some brief remarks upon J.A.s Letter to his Friend, said to be in Danger of Delusion. (London: Printed and Sold by J. Sowle, in White Hart Court, Gracious Street, 1709). Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, pp.52-53. Note that Thomas Bradbury was corresponding with the great apostate Quaker, George Keith, letters passing between them in 1697. If Bradbury was Atkinson's mentor then material may have been provided by Keith. See the Thoresby Papers, Vols. 2 & 3, British Library Additional MSS, 4276, f.8.



of Dr. Crisp. With the publications of Matthias Maurice in the 1730s these issues become the starting point for the resurgence of evangelical Congregationalism in England.

What evidence there is of Audland suggests he fits into this Baxterian tradition.<sup>64</sup> His fears in 1708 were not just of the Antinomianism of the Quakers but of a demotic, anti-rational creed promoting 'enthusiasm' within the Protestant Dissenting body. The excesses of the French Prophets were making this an issue again and provoked a huge polemical literature c.1707-1710.<sup>65</sup> Audland might well echo Baxter who had stated the case in 1690 that, if the Antinomians 'prevail to make England believe that elect wicked infidels are as righteous as Christ... and that it is impossible that any sin should hurt them...I should have more hope of the Turks and heathens, than of the land that receiveth and practiseth these principles'.<sup>66</sup> Most of the recent ministerial graduates in the region would have been hostile to this High Calvinism, if they were at all sympathetic with the speculative theology increasingly countenanced by the Dissenting academies. The training of the Cumberland and Westmorland ministers was certainly a contributory factor in the growth of Arian and non-subscriptionist ideas in the period.

Students would have been trained by Richard Frankland and completed their education in Scotland if possible. Most contemporary accounts suggest the training at Rathmell was strictly orthodox. Frankland's only published work was Trinitarian.<sup>67</sup> James Owen, Presbyterian minister of Oswestry, Shropshire, in controverting with Thomas Gipps, the Rector of Bury, provoked sneers from Gipps at the orthodoxy of Frankland's students and Owen was at pains to point out that Protestant Dissenters would not tolerate Socinians in his pamphlet A Further Vindication of the Dissenters (1699). Upon

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<sup>64</sup> His donation of a folio Baxter in several volumes to be enjoyed by his successors in the ministry at Kendal. His friendship with Dixon is perhaps the strongest indication of his proclivities. His will gives 'my fullest manuscript about interpreting the Scripture, to my Revd. Brother Mr. Thomas Dixon of Whitehaven. as also my MS. entituled a short view'. ONK, p. 258.

<sup>65</sup> Hillel Schwartz, Knaves, Fools, Madmen, and that Subtile Effluvium: A Study of the Opposition to the French Prophets in England, 1706-1710, (University of Florida Social Sciences Monograph Number 62, Gainesville, 1978) passim, especially Edmund Calamy, A Caveat Against New Prophets, in Two Sermons [on Jer.xiv.14] at the Merchants' Lecture in Salters Hall, on Jan. the 6th and Jan. the 20th, 1707/8, (London, 1708).

<sup>66</sup> Watts, p.294.

<sup>67</sup> UCC /JRL /MSS cupb. B6, facsimile of a letter from Richard Frankland to Ralph Thoresby on the 14th of January, 1697; 'I hope my Manuscript about y Trinity...' Urwick, pp. 490-492, quotes an MS letter in the British Library confirming Frankland's Trinitarian orthodoxy, in Letters of Divines, vol.2, p.95. Rev. R. B. Aspland, Memoir of Frankland, with a List of his Pupils. Rev. James Clegg, Account of the Life of the Rev. John Ashe, deals with his student days at Rathmell. Other Frankland material appears in the Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3, notably a letter to Oliver Heywood of 1697, British Library Additional MSS. 4275, ff.225, 226.



the death of Frankland in 1698 his work was taken over by John Chorlton in Manchester. There is no reason to doubt his orthodoxy, indeed he blamed the Church of England for the growth of Socinianism.<sup>68</sup> There was undoubtedly some progression of theological ideas at the Manchester Academy: James Clegg's Diary provides ample evidence of the cosmopolitan atmosphere and catholicity of the syllabus.<sup>69</sup> James Coningham as assistant and successor to Chorlton (1700-1712) had formerly ministered to the Penrith Dissenters 1694-1700 where he had also run an academy. With an Edinburgh degree, he was in a powerful position to arrange University education and place ministers. McLachlan suggests that Dixon owed the Whitehaven pastorate to Coningham, who also introduced him to Edmund Calamy.<sup>70</sup> Another such case was undoubtedly the Lancashire born Peter Seddon, who subsequently ministered at Penrith (1709-1721). There is no indication that Coningham's theological views were advanced,<sup>71</sup> though theological squabbling broke out in the Manchester Cross Street congregation in 1712, causing him to leave. Manchester Academy produced some notable Arminian/non-subscribing divines who ministered in Cumberland and Westmorland, notably Thomas Dixon (1700-1705), Samuel Bourne, Samuel Audland and possibly Joseph Dodson of Penriddock (1712-1721).<sup>72</sup> In the period up to c. 1710 it is likely that this generation of ministers was increasingly in conflict with the previous generation, trained by Frankland, men such as James Mitchell at Ravenstonedale. (1697-1712), and John Atkinson of Crook and Cockermouth (1699-1701/1701-1733). Clearly the presence of Church of Scotland ministers at Brampton Presbyterian

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<sup>68</sup> QNK, p.268-269, states that he was the anonymous author of Notes upon the Lord Bishop of Salisbury's Four last discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese, (in usum Sarum, 1695) in which Chorlton blamed the growth of Socinianism on the 'Churchmen overvaluing the Rational way of Preaching'. See also John Chorlton's Letter of 1701 to the Rev.[?], Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3, British Library Additional MSS. 4275, ff. 152, 153.

<sup>69</sup> Vanessa S. Doe, (ed.), The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith, 1708-1755, two volumes. (Derbyshire Record Society, 1978). Reviewed by Geoffrey Nuttall in the JURCHS, Vol. 2, numb.4, October 1979, pp. 112-116.

<sup>70</sup> McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.133.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from Thomas Doolittle, eminent tutor in London, to John Coningham in 1699, in the Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3, British Library Additional MSS. 4275, f. 193.

<sup>72</sup> McLachlan, pp.116-117 noted that 'Eleven of Frankland's students finished their course at Manchester, and the names of twenty others are known who studied under Chorlton, and a few more who were under Coningham only'. McLachlan in Essays and Addresses, p. 95, noted that thirty-five students were educated by Chorlton and Coningham. Those entering Frankland's Academy and completing at Chorlton's: Miles Baxter (Carlisle), John Atkinson (Stainton?), William Wolstanholme, Jonathan Nightingale (Elswick?), James Brownlow (Hindley), Eliezer Aray (Forton), Reynold Tetlaw (Rainford), Richard Key, James Clegg (Chapel-en-le-Frith). Those trained under Chorlton/Coningham: Thomas Dixon, Peter Seddon, Samuel Bourne, Samuel Audland, John Turner (Walton), Peter Walkden (1706-1709), Thomas Cooper (Bispham, Forton).



church would have raised jurisdictional and theological points of contention. The Brampton minister 1690-1708, John Kincaid, was an Episcopalian ousted from a Scottish parish in 1690. His churchmanship modified as he came south of the border but he remained on good terms with the Vicar of Brampton, the Rev. John Cockburn. His churchmanship may have been flexible when times pressed, but he seems to have been determinedly orthodox in theology, the Congregational Fund being willing to support him. Thus in the period up to Audland's funeral sermon for Noble it was already clear that the Protestant Dissenting community was deeply divided. These divisions were soon to come out into the open.

The first open division between the ministers of these counties came at the ordination of Samuel Bourne to the congregation at Crook in 1711. He refused to subscribe to the Assembly's Catechism not from particular scruples, as Toulmin put it, but on general principles. Toulmin noted that he found the strict creedal orthodoxy of some of his neighbouring ministers somewhat irksome. On his removal to Tunley, Lancashire, in 1720, he was an Arian.<sup>73</sup> The division at Ravenstonedale clearly brought matters to a head. Two manuscript letters from the Rev. James Towers at Rathmell, West Riding, to the Rev. Peter Walkden at Chipping, convey the sense of horror at what was going on at Ravenstonedale. The first, dated March the 23rd, 1713/14, urges Walkden to attend John McGee's ordination at Ravenstonedale on the 14th of April. The second letter, dated the 8th of June, 1714, conveys the news of the split within the church and Dixon's instrumentality:

I fear matters there are very uncomfortable, and ye unhappy division ceases not, but rather increases, growing onto a separation. For [brother?] is set up against [brother?] already. Two communions tho: not two fixed pastors as yet. What with he I know not. Mr.Dixon of Whitehaven came and administered ye sacraments to ye party against Magee privately, even before Mr Magee undertook to administer it. [Par?] ye (it seems) would have ye leading hand since Mr has administered it to his people publickly, it looks very like a totall separation. A separation in judgement in affection there has been already, and ye others seem to follow and will undoubtedly if they can procure a stipend for another minister. How Mr.Dixon can clear himself from the Sin of Schism I know not.(God in his infinite mercy heal our wide unhappy divisions and not destroy us for them).<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Joshua Toulmin, Memoirs of the Revd. Samuel Bourne...various papers and letters, and biographical notices of... contemporaries and a supplement, containing specimens of his historical and catechetical exercises. (Birmingham, 1808). A. P. F. Sell, 'A Little Friendly Light: The Candour of Bourne, Taylor and Towgood', *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Rev. James Towers. (Rathmell) to Rev.Peter Walkden. (Chipping), 8th of June, 1714, transcribed by Walkden in his MS commonplace book, under the heading 'A second by ye same hand, representing of state of ye congregation in Ravenstonedale: To P.W.', MS G3 WAL. Harris Library . Preston.



This brought matters to the attention of the national funds. Increasingly, the Congregational Fund was concerned with the orthodoxy of the ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland. Between the years 1713 and 1715 the Fund seems to have removed, or threatened to remove, its grants for a number of ministers. The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund for the 4th of May, 1713, record : 'Mr. Dickson of Whitehaven offering an account of the distressed state of Severall Ministers in Westmorland and Cumberland, severall of them being reduc'd by the Congregational Fund's discontinuing there allowance'. The list of ministers in receipt of muniments from the Presbyterian Fund in this period may give some indication of the ministers who favoured Arminian/non-subscribing position, or whose position was so doubtful that the Congregational Fund felt obliged to remove its funding:

June 8th. 1713. Mr. Dickson's Act reconsider'd- agreed that £5 a piece be allow'd to Mr. Audland of Kendal, Mr. Seddon of Penrith and Mr. Dickenson of Carlile For an Extraordinary Supply and £4 to Rossendale[Ravenstonedale] for an Extraordinary Supply when they shall have a Minister settled among them approv'd by this Board £3 to Mr. Rigby of Salkeld £2 to Mr. Bourne of Crook £2 to Mr. Dodson of Penruddock £4 to Mr. Turner of Alston Moor and Wiredale all of them as Extraordinary Supplis and not to be expected any more. Also £2 to Mr. Wyght of Brampton if his allowance from the Congregational Fund be Dropt this also an Extraordinary Supply'.

7th of March. 1715. Upon the report of the State of the Ministry in ye Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland tis agreed as follows:- That ten pounds be allowed to Mr. Dickenson of Carlisle, ten pounds to Mr. Seddon of penrith, ten pounds to Dr. Rigby of Cauthwaite or Salkeld eight pounds to Mr. Dodson of penruddock five pounds to Mr. Michael Hope of Huddlescough eight pounds to Mr. Wyght of Brampton eight pounds to Mr Stewart of Blynerhasset all these in the county of Cumberland and six pounds to Mr. Bourne of Crooke in Westmorland all these payments to commence from Midsmr. last.

That besides these allowances there be further Allowance of six pounds to Alston Moor and Wiredale in Cumberland granted when provided of a minister to the satisfaction of this Board. And ten pounds to Kendall in Westmorland on the same condition And that ye case of Rossendale in ye same County be consider'd when they have aproper Minister settled among them'.<sup>75</sup>

Secessions of a similar nature to the one at Ravenstonedale began to trouble congregations throughout the north in this decade, notably in Sheffield, Yorkshire, in 1714 and Stockport, Cheshire, in 1718.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Nightingale, *The Ejected*, pp.1281-1282.

<sup>76</sup> Urwick, pp. 293-300, 483-484. J. E. Manning. *History of Upper Chapel Sheffield: founded in 1662; built 1700*, (Sheffield, Independent Press, 1900). Samuel De la Rose (Stockport 1718-1730?) was the son of a French Huguenot refugee. He was trained by Dixon at Whitehaven. His thesis *An*



Timothy Jolly had ministered to the Sheffield Dissenters from 1679 but upon his death in 1714 the congregation split. The majority favoured the Presbyterian form of organisation and elected John Wordsworth, one of Jolly's assistants. The minority left with John De la Rose<sup>77</sup> to form the Independent Lower Chapel. The issue was most definitely over the right of the congregation to choose their minister rather than have the trustees choose.<sup>78</sup> His brother Samuel De la Rose then moved to Stockport, Cheshire, in 1718, causing a split in that congregation. Preaching a High Calvinism in the sermon on the 27th of July, 1718, A Brief Account of the Two Covenants, the more Arminian/Presbyterian party seceded to form the High Street chapel. De la Rose was opposed in print by James Clegg and outraged the Cheshire Association by non-attendance. The trouble brewing in Exeter and Devon that culminated in the Salters' Hall debate of 1719 clearly had its counterpart in Cumberland and Westmorland and throughout the northern counties.

The Rev. Joseph Dodson preached before the Associated minister of Cumberland and Westmorland in April, 1719 the Sermon Moderation and Charity.<sup>79</sup> It was a manifesto for non-subscription and an inclusive and humane Christianity. In it, he charts his conversion from an ignorant zealot, convinced of his own orthodoxy, to an understanding that tolerance and humility must be exercised when Christians disagree over the most controverted points. From the printed version of the sermon it is clear that the April General Meeting was a turning point for Protestant Dissent in these two counties.

Dodson recording that:

A certain Reverend Brother, who, I hope, is a sincere and honest man, was greatly offended with the Sermon, and had the Goodness to tell some of his Friends, that he had scarce patience to stay in the Place of worship, till I had deliver'd it.

This present took Air; and some zealous, unknown Friend, drew up a general, confus'd Charge against me, and transmitted it to London, with a design, as I have found Reason to apprehend, to sink my Reputation with my Friends there. After some Time, two of the London Ministers wrote to the Gentleman who was first offended with the Sermon, to desire of him a more full and particular Account of the Matter.

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uxor ducenda sit was among the papers of Henry Winder in the Renshaw Street Chapel library, Liverpool. See McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.142.

<sup>77</sup> French Huguenot refugee, d. 31st December, 1723. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, p.354. Richard Bateson, A funeral sermon occassioned by the death of the late Rev...Mr. John de la Rose of Sheffield who departed this Life, December 31, 1723, (London, J. Clarke, etc., 1724), DWL 12.59\*.7 (19).

<sup>78</sup> J. G. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, (1868), pp.350-355.

<sup>79</sup> Joseph Dodson, Moderation and Charity, recommended in a sermon preach'd at Keswick, to the Associated Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland, by Joseph Dodson M.A., (London: Printed for Eman. Matthews, at the Bible in Pater-Noster Row, 1720).



Twas then he gave a free vent to his Zeal against me, telling them, that, as to the Business of Arianism. he believed all the ministers had the same sentiments they always entertain'd, unless the Preacher was gone into the New Scheme.

I now suffer under this Reproach, in common with a great many of my worthy Brethren, in London, and elsewhere: because I, as well as they, declare against making any Human Forms the Tests of Orthodoxy'.

Throughout, Dodson was at pains to point out his theological orthodoxy, to no avail. The Congregational Fund cut of his grant and there were moves to get the Penruddock Dissenters to make a declaration against Anti-Trinitarian doctrines. The two London friends in question were John Nesbitt and Thomas Bradbury. Bradbury was from Yorkshire, had trained under Timothy Jolly at Attercliffe and had been assistant to Richard Gilpin and Benjamin Bennet in Newcastle. He was a vigorous promoter of Independency and un-compromising Calvinism, causing a secession in the Newcastle church in 1706.<sup>80</sup> Removing to Fetter Lane in London he became a major supporter of the cause of subscription in the Salters' Hall debate and took a vigorous part in the huge polemical outpouring it occasioned.<sup>81</sup> It seems likely that the 'certain Reverend Brother' was the Rev. John Atkinson of Stainton, who championed the orthodox position in the pamphlet Jesus Christ the Son, essentially the same with God the Father (1722)<sup>82</sup> arguing that Dodson's non-subscription was merely a mask for his subordinationist Christology, that what declarations he had made of his orthodoxy were 'Arian Cant' and that he shouldn't wonder that the Congregational Fund withdrew the grant. Atkinson further managed to outrage liberal divines by attacking the highly revered Benjamin Bennet, Richard Gilpin's successor at Newcastle. Bennet's Irenicum, (1722)<sup>83</sup> was intended to be balm on the

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<sup>80</sup> In the Altham and Wymondhouses Church Book abstracted in Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.141 there is recorded by the Rev. John Jolly for 1706 'a letter from Mr. Bradbury'. Other letters of Bradbury in the Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3; Letters to T. Whitaker, 1699, 1703, British Library Additional MSS 4275, ff. 85, 86; autobiographical memoranda, c.1700, 4275, f.87.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Thomas Bradbury (1677-1759)', DNB, 2, p.1058. Alexander Gordon, The Christian Life, xi, 1885, pp. 623-4. For the Congregational Fund and Bradbury's role as a lecturer for William Coward and the King's Head Fund see Dale, History of English Congregationalism, (1907), pp. 506, 558-9; Waddington, Congregational History, Vol.3, pp. 261-263; R. Tudur Jones, Congregationalism in England, (1962), p.140. Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman, pp.236-7.

<sup>82</sup> John Atkinson, Jesus Christ the Son, Essentially the same with God the Father: And Believers are sure that he is so. Prov'd and apply'd in two Sermons on John vi.69. With a preface, containing some brief remarks upon a sermon and preface, published by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Dodson, A.M. By John Atkinson, Minister of the Gospel at Stainton. (London, 1722).

<sup>83</sup> Benjamin Bennet, Irenicum, or a Review of some late Controversies about the Trinity. Private Judgement... and the Rights of Conscience from the Misrepresentations of the Dean of Winchester [Francis Hare] in his "Scripture Vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor", (1722).



self-inflicted wounds of the body of Protestant Dissent. Atkinson weighed in with An answer to Mr. Benjamin Bennet's Irenicum: wherein the Doctrine of the Trinity is defended and the duty of believing it is enforc'd (London, 1724), following this up with another printed defence of the Trinity in 1726.<sup>84</sup> It would seem likely that Bradley provided the intellectual support and financial wherewithal for Atkinson's publications, the attack on Bennet no doubt partly fuelled by Bradley's resentment at the refusal of the co-pastorate at Newcastle twenty years earlier.<sup>85</sup> Bradley continued to act as a channel for information and support between the provinces and London. It was Bradbury who saw Matthias Maurice's The Modern question affirm'd and proved, (1739), posthumously into print, providing it with a preface. This brought the developments in Northamptonshire to the attention of the capital and signalled the development of a modified Calvinism, better equipped than the High Calvinism of Atkinson to support a missionary faith.<sup>86</sup> Nesbitt, with his family links with Dissent in Northumberland, would have had many informal channels providing him with information on the tendencies within the northern churches. In this he was the able successor to Nathaniel Mather in the Pinners Hall lectureship. Mather's strict adherence to Congregational principles had led him to oppose the Happy Union, becoming one of the founders of the Congregational Fund. His familial links with Lancashire had also been used to promote adherence to orthodoxy in the provinces.<sup>87</sup> Similarly George Benson, born in Great Salkeld, and subsequently ministering in London and Birmingham, represented the interests of the New Scheme preachers in these counties on the

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<sup>84</sup> John Atkinson, The Father, The Word, or (Son) and the Holy Ghost, the One True God: Together with the Necessity of Believing it; Prov'd and apply'd, in two sermons, on 1 John, v.7. With a dedication, plainly shewing the unreasonableness, impiety, and dreadful effects, of Denying Christ to be the Most High God. By John Atkinson, Minister of the Gospel at Stainton in Westmorland, (London, 1726).

<sup>85</sup> Ambrose Barnes, Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Society, Vol. 50, 1866, (Durham, 1867), pp.454-55 notes that there was an MS written by Bradbury, dated 1706, entitled A Speech delivered at Madam Partis' in which he complains at not being admitted as co-pastor by the majority and the minister and it is alleged he led a secession. It is possible that 'Madam Partis' was Anne Partis, nee Fletcher of Tallantire Hall, Cumberland. Lewis, Cockermouth Congregational Church, p.114, records 'Mrs Anne Partis, Tallantire Hall "Received into communion, upon the reading of, and assenting to her confession of faith" Feb.26, 1692. The race of the Fletchers of Tallantire Hall, terminated in this lady-the second daughter of Henry Fletcher, Esq.,- whose marriage with Mr. Matthias Partis, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, carried the manor of Tallantire into the gentleman's family- see Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, Vol. 2, p.244.'

<sup>86</sup> Sell, The Great Debate, pp.78-79. G. F. Nuttall, 'Northamptonshire and the Modern Question: A Turning-Point in Eighteenth-Century Dissent', p.115

<sup>87</sup> Richard Harrison and Jonathan Westaway, ' "The Surey Demoniac": Defining Protestantism in 1690s Lancashire', Unity and Diversity in the Church: Studies in Church History, Vol. 32, Oxford, 1996, pp.263-282.



Presbyterian Fund board. These individuals formed important pathways for the conflicts of the metropolis to be transmitted to the provinces.<sup>88</sup>

The misrepresentation and demonization of contending positions potentially threatened any form of ministerial co-operation by the second decade of the eighteenth century and quite clearly the position of the Funds was increasingly at loggerheads. In Cumberland and Westmorland, as opposed to Lancashire, the triumph of rationalism within the Protestant Dissenting community was by no means assured. There were other churches in the region devoted to strictly orthodox theology, not least the Particular Baptist churches at Broughton, Oulton and Tottlebank in Furness. The Baptist minister of the Tottlebank church, the Rev. John Sedgfield, could still preach to the Kendal Dissenters the sermon Jehova Tsidkenu in 1726, a defence of imputed righteousness 'when revealed religion is become a matter of contempt and Ridicule among many of the learned part of the world'.<sup>89</sup> With the death of John Atkinson of Cockermouth in 1732 and the death of John Atkinson of Stainton c.1730, two of the major antagonists were silenced. But increasingly, licentiates from the Church of Scotland were entering Cumberland and Westmorland, the majority of who would subscribe to the Assembly's Catechism as the measure of an individuals fitness to be a minister, to receive the Lord's Supper and to be enrolled as a member of the church.

Increasingly the Funds competed for influence. In Westmorland, John Birkett of Poolbank, near Crosthwaite, Heversham parish seems to have tried to obtain orthodox supplies of ministers for the rural chapels at Crook and Hartbarrow. In a letter to Philip Doddridge in Northampton on the 12th of January, 1745, he enquires after the Westmorland student Richard Simpson and complains about the nature of Rotherham's Academy in Kendal. In a letter on the 9th of September he again wrote to Doddridge concerning Simpson: 'as he needs the recommendation of two ministers,' had advised him

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<sup>88</sup> Another important figure is the Rev. William Tong, b. 24th of June, 1662, at Eccles, Lancashire. Educated for law, met Matthew Henry at Gray's Inn? Entered Frankland's Academy at Natland, 2nd of March, 1681. Minister Shropshire, Chester (1687), Knutsford, Cheshire, (c.1687-1690). Coventry, Warwickshire, (1690-1704), Salters' Hall, London, (1704-1727). He was a subscriber, writing the introduction to The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity Stated and defended (1719) and author of the Life of Matthew Henry. He was a trustee of Daniel Williams foundation, a distributor of the Regium Donum from 1723 and a trustee of the Barnes bequest (1726). Died 21st of March, 1727. See Urwick, passim. Alexander Gordon, William Tong (1662-1727)', DNB, 21, p.637.

<sup>89</sup> John Sedgfield, Jehova Tsidkenu: or, a discourse on that glorious title of Jesus christ, the Lord of Righteousness, (Kendal, Thomas Ashburner, 1736). Sell, p.48. ONK, pp.289, 615-6. See also John Sedgfield, The Righteous scarcely saved and the misery of the wicked. Set forth in a Sermon [on 1 Peter, iv.18]...at the funeral of J.Lievsley, (Liverpool, 1720).

to David McMurray of Garsdale, his nearest neighbour and to James Scott at Horton-in-Craven'.<sup>90</sup> There are a number of things to note about this letter. Firstly it indicates that the orthodox of the region were avoiding the academy in Kendal a few miles away and sending their students to Northampton. Secondly, Birkett also advises Simpson to receive recommendations for ordination from two Scottish Calvinist ministers resident in the region. There is some confusion over where exactly Simpson was ministering at the time, Ravenstonedale or Stainton. The statement that McMurray was his 'nearest neighbour' suggests he was at Ravenstonedale but he could also have ministered at Stainton. Birkett is passing over all the Arian ministers of the region, at Kendal and Lancaster and even the handful of orthodox English Protestant Dissenters and choosing orthodox Scots Calvinists ministering in the West Riding, suggesting they acted as foci for the disaffected orthodox of the region. It is notable that after the Presbyterian Fund abandoned the Crook, (Appendix F 1.3), /Hartbarrow, (Appendix C 1.1) congregation in 1746, the Congregational Fund supplied a minister in 1747.

By the time of Caleb Rotherham junior's ordination in 1756 the division was pronounced, though the 'Record of the Transactions in the Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of the Protestant Dissenting Congregations in Cumberland', held by the Kendal chapel trustees, shows that orthodox and heterodox were represented at the ordination. Nicholson and Axon claimed Thomas Jolly (Cockermouth), James Daye (Lancaster) and Samuel Lowthion (Newcastle) were unorthodox. Adam Dean (Kirkoswald), Edward Buncle (Penrith) and Thomas Smith (Alston) were represented as orthodox and the position of James Saunders as unknown. From the correspondence of Adam Dean with George Benson it seems clear that he was far more inclined to the New Scheme preaching.<sup>91</sup> Buncle was a Church of Scotland minister. Colligan noted that his call from the Penrith church in 1752 was so orthodox that it was likely that the Penrith Dissenters had broken with the Provincial Meeting and were choosing their own minister.<sup>92</sup> All subsequent ministers at Penrith were from the Church of Scotland until the end of the century. Buncle's attendance may be out of respect for the former minister of Penrith, Samuel Lowthion. Rotherham's request that Lowthion be allowed to preach the ordination sermon, and the fact that the uncompromising Arian, Daye, had to be called in

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<sup>90</sup> Nuttall, Calendar of Correspondence of Philip Doddridge D.D., pp.210, 221.

<sup>91</sup> Appendix E 2.5

<sup>92</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.163.



from Lancaster. may indicate the extent to which ministers of liberal sentiments felt under threat at the time.<sup>93</sup> What is clear is that the Provincial meeting could not muster enough ministers to constitute an ordaining presbytery, usually ten or twelve ministers. A number of the ministers selected for his ordination refused to attend.<sup>94</sup> These consisted of Isaac Robinson (Carlisle), Simon Currie. (Haltwhistle, soon to minister to the Dissenters at Brampton), John Johnston, (Brampton); William Thompson, minister of the Church of Scotland congregation at Workington, and James MacMillan of Great Salkeld and Plumpton. Johnston and Thompson were both licensed ministers of the Church of Scotland and there is evidence to suggest the same of Currie and MacMillan.<sup>95</sup> When it came to the ordination of orthodox ministers this slight was remembered. When the Arian Thomas Lowthion was chosen as the minister of the Cockermouth Congregational church in 1765 a large orthodox secession occurred, receiving the ministry of the Church of Scotland minister Rev. Selby Ord. They could find none of the Associated Ministers willing to ordain him and had to call the Rev. James Tetley, a Heckmondwick trained student ministering at Ravenstonedale, along with Congregational ministers from Lancashire. Quite clearly the Provincial had ceased to function in any inclusive sense. Radcliffe Scholefield's sermon to the Provincial Meeting at Keswick in 1767, the poignantly entitled Numbers No Criterion of Truth was really the writing on the wall; truth without adherents would remain unspoken. Scholefield left Whitehaven in October, 1772, for the more conducive atmosphere of Birmingham, running an academy for the sons of gentlemen<sup>96</sup> and ministering to the Birmingham Old Meeting (1772-1799), by then a Unitarian body.<sup>97</sup>

The spirit of co-operation was not entirely lost, the Kendal congregation raising a subscription for the building of the new Church of Scotland church in Maryport in 1777, but Rotherham and the Kendal church were, by disposition and training, oriented more towards the emerging Unitarianism of Lancashire. In 1774, Rotherham had taken part in the opening service of the new Baptist/Unitarian church at Wigton, along with the Rev. Robinson (Baptist) and the Rev. Robert Milne, MA, of Carlisle.

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<sup>93</sup> Samuel Lowthion, The Reasonableness and Advantage of Allowing Ministers to Deliver their sentiments with Freedom. Represented in a Sermon [Acts ii. 29.] preached at the ordination of ...Mr. C. Rotherham, etc.... (London, 1758).

<sup>94</sup> ONK, pp.337-340.

<sup>95</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland'. p.221, states that the ministers of Haltwhistle had been mainly Scottish.

<sup>96</sup> Appendix, E 2.12

<sup>97</sup> George Eyre Evans. Vestiges of Protestant Dissent, (Liverpool, 1897), p.18.



Milne was a Church of Scotland Minister with Unitarian views, and the majority of the old English Presbyterian congregation at Carlisle seceded from his ministrations in 1778.<sup>98</sup> Kendal and Carlisle were the only old Protestant Dissenting foundations in these two counties in which Unitarianism was preached in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century. The Wigton church was the only 'Unitarian' church founded in the second half of the eighteenth-century. With the enfeeblement of this strand of the Protestant Dissenting tradition the county association withered. The Provincial Meeting of Lancashire and Cheshire survived in the second half of the eighteenth-century because ministers and trustees of Unitarian persuasion held on to a large body of the old Protestant Dissenting chapels; the Provincial Meeting became a Unitarian forum. In Cumberland and Westmorland, an increasingly smaller number of Unitarian-inclined ministers maintained the tradition of the old county association. An increasing number of ministers and churches looked to other forms of association, whether it was the Church of Scotland, the London evangelical societies or orthodox regional associations. The Provincial Meeting was left without members; there is little indication of it functioning after 1783 according to Colligan.<sup>99</sup> Rotherham junior, by the 1780s, with the encouragement of his good friend Joseph Priestley, was focusing on the nascent Unitarian movement in Scotland and on promoting national Unitarian institutions, being a founder member of the Unitarian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1791.<sup>100</sup> The last remaining evidence of the ideals and practices of the old county association are to be found amongst the manuscripts of the Rev. Timothy Nelson M.A.<sup>101</sup> From 1763-1800 he was minister at Alston. From 1801 to 1830, he was minister of the Great Salkeld/Plumpton congregation. It has been suggested he was a Unitarian. What is certain is that he represents the last expression in these counties of the moderate Protestant Dissenter. Born in Cumberland, trained in Glasgow and financed by the Presbyterian Fund, he was one of the last native-born ministers to serve in these counties. He served his ministry at a time when the Church of Scotland, the Associate Presbytery and the new evangelical Congregationalists began to compete to supply the churches of these counties. In July 1806 he delivered an ordination charge to the young Independent minister James Scott at Kirkoswald. It stresses a confession of faith based on the New

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<sup>98</sup> Appendices E 2.7.1 and E 2.22

<sup>99</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', p. 165.

<sup>100</sup> ONK, p.358.

<sup>101</sup> Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle.

Testament rather than creeds, promotes Protestant Dissent rather than denomination and above all 'unity in the spirit in the bond of peace.' It was a manifesto from a different age.

### **Scottish Ministers and the development of the Reformed Churches in Cumberland and Westmorland.**

At a conservative estimate, in the period 1689-1829, approximately 40% of the entire settled ministry in Cumberland and Westmorland was of Scottish extraction and had received their ministerial training in Scotland. Initially from the Church of Scotland, in the second half of the eighteenth century congregations adhering to the dissenting Associate Presbytery of Scotland began to establish themselves, followed at the turn of the century by growth in Independent churches in the region, a proportion being trained in Scottish Independent academies. The process was most marked in Cumberland. Whilst proximity to Scotland made this possible, it by no means made it inevitable. The purpose of this chapter has been to show how the fractured nature of English Dissent along with intellectual developments amongst the ministry, led orthodox congregants to look to Scotland for supply of orthodox Calvinist ministers.

During the Restoration period the ministry comprised of the few remaining ejected ministers, often from outside Cumberland and Westmorland, and towards the end of the century these were superseded by young graduates of Frankland's and Chorlton's academies. In the main they were from eminent Lancashire Dissenting families: Samuel Audland, Peter Seddon, Samuel Bourne, John Atkinson. Once Dixon's (c.1708-1723) and Rotherham's (1733-1752) Academies were established, more native born ministers were trained and served in the ministry in these two counties: James Mallinson, Samuel and Thomas Lowthion, Timothy Nelson. But these academies could never encourage enough men to remain and minister in these counties. Overwhelmingly rural, the congregations in these counties had little need for the urbane, discursive creed of the New Scheme. Likewise, the students of the academies were locked into a cross-border intellectual traffic that encouraged them to move away from relative backwaters like Cumberland and Westmorland. George Benson, after finishing his course with Thomas Dixon in 1720, went to lodge with Edmund Calamy in London, eventually ministering there and in Birmingham. In the same year Samuel Bourne left his Westmorland pastorate for Tunley, Lancashire, succeeding Henry Winder, who had moved to the



Liverpool Castle Hey/Benn's Garden congregation. Bourne eventually ended up ministering in the Midlands with Benson. Cumberland and Westmorland offered depressing prospects for young men on the make. In a letter of the 31st of March, c.1760, from Adam Dean of Kirkoswald, to George Benson in Birmingham, Dean remarked that he was trying to get his son John to return from his studies at Glasgow to take over the pastorate of Alston. John had apparently remonstrated, the prospect being uninviting. Dean commented 'it might do for a season'.<sup>102</sup> John Dean ministered to the Alston Dissenters from 1760-1763, before moving to North Shields, Northumberland. What is noticeable as well is that, of all Caleb Rotherham's students at Kendal, (1733-1753), almost none from Lancashire Dissenting backgrounds could be persuaded to remain and minister in these two counties. Not only were the academy men scarce, they were increasingly hostile to the orthodox expressions of faith of the majority of their communicants. Leakage to the urban congregations further south quite clearly left a shortage of ministers. Into this gap stepped Scottish ministers, initially from the Church of Scotland and subsequently from the branches of the Presbyterian Secession churches and Scottish Independents.

Using material collected in appendices E 2.1 to E 2.13 and F 1.1 to F 1.4 containing biographical data on all the ministers in the old English Protestant Dissenting churches of Cumberland and Westmorland in the period 1689-1829, one is able to produce a decennial breakdown of the material, providing information on nationality and training. Eleven Protestant Dissenting churches in Cumberland and four in Westmorland were formed in the period 1689-1725. The congregations at Crook and Stainton had become moribund by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The abstracted data is presented in Table 4.1 and only contains data on settled ministers. If we focus on the nationality and church traditions of these ministers some broad trends can be noted.

In the first decade after the passing of the Toleration Act the ministers of these counties are mostly English and within the English Protestant Dissenting tradition, some being the ejected ministers who had ministered here after 1662. As more detailed information is collated on the counties of origin of these ministers it is likely to confirm that they were drawn from a wide geographical area, the Interregnum church being a moderately efficient engine for the redistribution of the Godly of England to the darker corners of the land. Recruiting ministers during the persecution and toleration periods

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<sup>102</sup> UCC/JRL/ cupb. B 19 Benson Letters Collection 1.



relied far more on personal patronage and kinship networks; thus the profile of ministers entering Cumberland and Westmorland for the first time in the 1690s indicates that proximity was playing a more important role in ministerial recruitment. Of those ministers whose place of birth is known, three were from Lancashire. The two Scots were Church of Scotland licentiates at Brampton, a church where the entire ministry throughout the eighteenth century was Scottish. At Whitehaven, the Presbyterian church was said to have received many Irish Presbyterian refugees but the first settled minister, Roger Anderton, was a native of Bolton, Lancashire. There was also known to be a Mr. Marr, a Church of Scotland minister who was officiating in the old Church of England chapel at Whitehaven, who signalled his intention to start a Presbyterian congregation at Whitehaven, (Appendix E 2.12). It is clear that by the time the merchant patrons of Whitehaven Presbyterianism got round to building their chapel in 1694, they already had several models of association to choose from as well as the typical English County Associations of Protestant Dissenting ministers.<sup>103</sup> Across the North Channel lay the Synod of Ulster, recently formed in 1690, the first Protestant Dissenting synod in the British Isles, with strong claims to the adherence of ex-patriate Scots-Irish and jurisdictional and disciplinary oversight over the ministers it had ordained. To the north lay the established Church of Scotland, another Presbyterian model. To English churches seeking a learned and suitably accredited ministry in Cumberland, the presence of expatriate Irish and Scots worshipping in their congregations would provide the links to obtain ministers from these traditions.

In contrast, the sources of trained English Dissenting ministers might seem remote. Frankland's academy had moved from south Westmorland to the West Riding, and subsequent training centres were in Sheffield and Manchester. Coningham's links with Penrith were crucial in the first two decades after the passing of the Toleration Act in obtaining ministers for the Cumberland churches and with the establishment of Dixon's Academy at Whitehaven and subsequently Rotherham's at Kendal, the provision of English Dissenting ministry seems to be placed on a firmer footing, which is reflected in the number of English ministers entering these northern churches in the 1740s, as will be seen. But the presence of ministers from other national traditions provided alternative models of churchmanship and piety that undermined attempts to build a County Association or for the

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<sup>103</sup> There is no evidence of this church having any contact with the Synod of Ulster in The Records of the General Synod of Ulster from 1691-1820, Vol.1, 1691-1720, (Belfast, 1890), *passim*.

development of rational Christianity to go unquestioned. Thus, when Dixon fomented the Arminian/non-subscribing secession at the Ravenstonedale church, the Rev. John McGee, who remaining sources would suggest was Irish, ministered to the orthodox members of the congregation from 1714 until well after his retirement, up until his death in 1743. The presence of ministers from different national traditions in the region were thus crucial to the survival of orthodox Calvinism. There were very few ministers in the region from Ireland, the focus of the General Synod of Ulster being in supplying the congregations of Ulster and the emigrant communities of the colonies, and occasionally Galloway, reflecting Scots-Irish emigration patterns, falling outside the scope of this study. McGee is the exception that proves the rule. It appears from the records of the General Synod of Ulster that met at Belfast on the 11th of June, 1711, that Mr John McGee had presented an undated 'Testimonial of Licence...subscrib'd by some ministers in South Britain' who referred him to the Presbytery of Down. Down checked his credentials and endorsed him to the Synod of Ulster, the Synod recording

the Presbytery of Down now made report that Mr. McGee has sufficient testimonials, which being produc'd to this Synod, were judg'd sufficient, and any Presbytery within our bounds allow'd to employ him in an orderly way.<sup>104</sup>

There is no subsequent evidence that he was ever employed within a presbytery in Ulster and it seems likely that this was the McGee who was soon to be ministering to the Dissenters at Ravenstonedale. It is interesting to note at the time his licensing by English Protestant Dissenters was acceptable to the Presbytery of Down. Ten years later, with trouble brewing in Ulster over subscription and Edmund Calamy ordaining Irish non-subscribers in London, McGee might have found matters more difficult. My research has discovered a negligible number of Irish-born ministers entering the ministry in the region in the period in question, the only other individual being the Rev. Andrew Carnson, who ministered to the Dissenters at Kirkoswald from 1796-1805.<sup>105</sup> It is to Scotland we must turn to if we

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<sup>104</sup> Records of the General Synod of Ulster from 1691 to 1820, Vol. 1, 1691-1720, (Belfast, 1890), p.222. There was also an Elder in Hugh Ramsay's Down congregation named John McGee, attending the General Synod at Belfast on the 21st of June, 1710, but it seems highly unlikely that these were the same men.

<sup>105</sup> Andrew Carnson, b. Ballymoyle, Londonderry, c.1752. Itinerant evangelist in Ireland and Scotland for four years. Minister to the Annan Independent congregation, Scotland, (1794-96); Kirkoswald (1796-1805); Barnard Castle Congregational Church, Durham, (Jan.1806-1832), also at Cotherstone, Yorkshire. Died 21.7.1840. Surman, 237.



are to examine the effects of the other Church traditions of the British Isles upon the region in question.

In the decade 1700-1709 most of those ministers whose place of birth is known were from Lancashire, the one Scot entering the ministry in this decade being the Church of Scotland licentiate James Campbell at Brampton. He was ordained at Brampton by the Presbyterian ministers of Cumberland on the 10th of August, 1709, suggesting that the English Protestant Dissenters had no qualms with his status as a licentiate of an established church. In 1711 he was introduced into a parish in Scotland. As there is no evidence of his having to be re-ordained in Scotland, it seems the Church of Scotland accepted his ordination at the hands of English Presbyterians, that it was treating his call to the congregation at Brampton like any other call from a Scottish parish church and ordination by members of the English County Association as equivalent to a Scottish Presbytery.<sup>106</sup>

In the decade 1710-1719 the Brampton congregation called a new Scottish minister and the Alston congregation, associated with the Congregational churches of the region in its early history, called a Church of Scotland licentiate, Adam Wilson in 1715. This may reflect a desire on behalf of the congregation for an orthodox Calvinist minister when divisions in the county over theology were emerging. It has already been noted that the Common/Presbyterian Fund was granting Mr. Turner of Alston extraordinary funds because the Congregational Fund had withdrawn his grant in the summer of 1713. It is clear from the number of ministers changing pastorate within the two counties in this decade that tensions were emerging between congregations and ministers. The presence of a Scottish minister at Alston may only reflect its stronger links with Northumberland, where Scottish influence in the ministry of Protestant Dissent was even stronger.

In the decade 1720-1729 the number of new ministers declines slightly and most appear to be English and within the Protestant Dissenting tradition. The one Scot known to have entered a ministry in the region in this decade was John Kirkpatrick at the small chapel at Stainton, outside Kendal. This chapel was to have a number of Scottish ministers subsequently and this may reflect the presence of a Scottish community in Kendal or its proximity to the Old Scots Road.

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<sup>106</sup> Scott, *Fasti*, Vol.1, p.528. Henry Penfold, 'Early Brampton Presbyterianism, 1662-1780', *CWAAS*, ns 3, 1903, p.102. Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', p.161.



In the decade 1730-1739 four Scots entered the ministry of the region: a new minister at Brampton in 1734 and one at Blennerhasset in 1739. James Scott to Stainton in 1739 (not a licentiate of the Church of Scotland) and James Ritchie at Ravenstonedale at some time most probably in the 1730s, though it may have been earlier. Ritchie seems firmly to have been in the Scottish Moderate tradition that would have made him fit in with the anti-orthodox party in the County Association and as has already been pointed out, was ministering to a divided congregation, the orthodox party being under the intermittent ministration of the Irishman MaGee. Scott was an orthodox Calvinist. Thus by the end of the 1730s, Church of Scotland ministers were in three rural congregations in north Cumberland: Alston, Brampton and Blennerhasset, and in two rural congregations in Westmorland (Ravenstonedale, Stainton), one third of the Protestant Dissenting congregations in these counties. It is clear from other contemporary evidence that this intrusion was starting to be resented by some of the English Dissenting ministers around this time. In a letter of the 8th of November, 1740, from John Birkett at Kendal to Philip Doddridge in Northampton, a new candidate for the church at Hartbarrow-in-Cartmel, Lancashire, (which seems to have shared a minister with Crook, Westmorland), was discussed. Birkett went on to inform Doddridge

that the latter's suggestion that Thomas Gillespie should serve at Hartbarrow for six months on mutual trial has been accepted, even though "the Presbyterian ministers of this North Class of Westmorland and Cumberland are extremely prejudiced against Scotch ministers in general"- a prejudice conceivably occasioned by the Scott's unwillingness to embrace every wanton, wild, novel notion that is broach'd now-a-days.<sup>107</sup>

The only new minister of the Church of Scotland to enter in the decade 1740-49 was again at Brampton. There appears to be a plentiful supply of ministers trained in the English Protestant Dissenting tradition in this period, the result of Rotherham's efforts at training ministers in Kendal but in the next decade, fundamental shifts in ministerial recruitment were about to take place.

In the decade 1750-1759, ministers from the Church of Scotland begin to outnumber English Protestant Dissenting ministers entering ministries in Cumberland and Westmorland. The Brampton church had a succession of three Scottish ministers and Alston called a new Scottish minister in 1753. Various of these ministers seem to have had links with the church in Haltwhistle, Northumberland. A

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<sup>107</sup> Sell, pp.116-117, quoting G. F. Nuttall, The Calendar and Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, D.D., 1702-1751, (HMSO, 1979).

Scottish minister was called to the Penrith congregation and it seems likely that James MacMillan, called to minister to the Dissenters of Great Salkeld and Plumpton was Scottish. It was precisely this decade when the old inclusive educational institutions of English Protestant Dissent were breaking down. The failure of Rotherham's academy at Kendal on his death in 1752 must have made the problem of obtaining a minister increasingly difficult and a number of other training institutions folded in this decade. Divisions over approaches to theology became obvious. A secession had already taken place from the Carlisle Fisher Street congregation, (Appendix E 2.16), concerned with the Arminian preaching of Israel Bennett in 1748 and a number of these Church of Scotland ministers boycotted Caleb Rotherham junior's ordination in 1756. The Church of Scotland had already institutionally established itself in the region in 1749 with the building of the Workington High Meeting, (Appendix E 2.17), for the Scottish community resident there. Clearly the way lay open for those orthodox elements of congregations and trustees to create a strong orthodox identity by calling ministers from the Church of Scotland.

The pattern that develops after this reinforces the impression that things had fundamentally changed and that the ministers aligned with the Protestant Dissenting County Association were facing a fundamental problem of recruitment. The three ministers brought up and trained in the English Protestant Dissenting tradition who entered the ministry in the decade 1760-69 were all natives of Cumberland. John Dean, as mentioned before, did not last long at Alston, (1760-63), before moving to a ministry in Northumberland. Thomas Lowthion at Great Salkeld and Plumpton, (1760-65), was subsequently at Cockermouth, where his Arianism split the congregation. Only Timothy Nelson M.A. seems to have had long and stable pastorates. Three licentiates of the Church of Scotland entered ministries in the region and one Independent. The Independent was the Heckmondwick trained James Tetley at Ravenstonedale, who refused to have anything to do with the County Association, no doubt being fully briefed on the nature of the Association by his old tutor, the Rev. James Scott of Heckmondwick, who had previously ministered at Stainton. It was Tetley who was called in to ordain the Church of Scotland minister Selby Ord to the orthodox congregants of the Cockermouth Congregational church after Thomas Lowthion had assumed the pastorate there.

In the decade 1770-79 there is no definite information on any minister entering the county from the English Protestant Dissenting tradition. Robert Hood was ordained to the Brampton congregation and



as they had been ministered to entirely by Scots he may well have been a Church of Scotland licentiate. He had Unitarian leanings and left to minister to the Protestant Dissenting congregation at Hanover Square in Newcastle in 1775, by then a thoroughly Unitarian congregation. A number of Church of Scotland ministers at the time seem to have been attracted to Unitarianism, indeed the jurisdictional loophole of ministering in England and the laxity of subscription in the English Dissenting churches may have rendered a ministry amongst English Protestant Dissenters attractive to those in the Church of Scotland with doubts about the doctrine of the Trinity. The Church of Scotland minister to the old congregation at Fisher Street Carlisle, (Appendix E 2.7.1), the Rev. Robert Milne, was of Unitarian opinions by this time, a number of his congregants seceding in 1772, (Appendix E2.21). Four more Church of Scotland ministers came to minister in the old English Protestant Dissenting congregations in this period. Of especial note here is that for the first time ministers of the Scottish Secession churches begin to take up ministries in the old English Protestant Dissenting churches. The Associate Presbytery had built the High Meeting in Whitehaven in 1758, (Appendix E 2.19) and the connection witnessed steady, if unspectacular growth. The Workington Low Meeting was built c.1780, (Appendix E 2.23), and two ministers entered the pastorate of the old English Dissenting congregation at Carlisle in 1778. As will be seen subsequently, the ministers of the Associate Presbytery capitalised on disaffection amongst the Church of Scotland and English Dissenting congregations.

In the 1780s, of those ministers entering of whom anything is known, four were licentiates of the Church of Scotland and one Independent trained minister came to the Cockermouth congregation. In the 1790s a Unitarian minister was ordained to Kendal and an Independent to Ravenstonedale. Two Church of Scotland ministers entered ministries in these counties but their duration was short. The Scottish Secession churches provided two new ministers for the congregations at Blennerhasset and Penrith and the Irish itinerant evangelist Andrew Carnson, who had formerly gathered an Independent church in Annan, Scotland, was ministering to the Kirkoswald congregation. It seems likely that two individuals about whom little is known in this period, G[avin]Henderson and James McConochie, both ministering at Penrith, were also Scottish ministers of the Secession church. After 1800, it is quite clearly the Independents who have the most success in providing ministers for the old Protestant Dissenting Congregations of the region but the ministers were not the elite trained at

Hoxton but in the main men trained in the itinerant academies and the Yorkshire Independent colleges.

It is clear that ministerial recruitment in Cumberland and Westmorland reflected the different opportunities available in the region. Scottish ministers may have been attracted for different reasons: the problems of finding a living under the patronage Act in Scotland, the laxity of subscription upon ordination. Most who came were orthodox subscribers and they came to minister to the Scottish expatriate communities which developed after the Act of Union in 1707. These churches then provided an alternative model for the English Dissenting congregations and provided the information networks to procure ministers from Scotland.

Because the trustees and congregants of the Protestant Dissenting chapels in Cumberland and Westmorland seem to have retained a greater attachment to orthodoxy and Calvinist ministers were more accessible, there were nowhere near as many schisms in the chapels of this region as there were in Lancashire in the 75 years after 1725. I have recorded only three in Cumberland which all seem to have been short-lived or been absorbed into other churches.<sup>108</sup> They could increasingly turn to ministers from the other church traditions becoming established in the region. The Church of Scotland established its first church in Workington in 1749, with subsequent churches at Maryport in 1777, Bewcastle in 1790 and Longtown in 1798, (Appendices E 2.22, E 2.28, E 2.29). In Whitehaven, some of the Scottish residents were dissatisfied with the preaching and doctrines of successive ministers at the old English Presbyterian Low Meeting and obtained supply of a sermon from the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery of Sanquhar in 1755, receiving their first settled minister in 1758. The next church the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod attempted to build was the Workington Low Meeting, (1778), but this was absorbed by the Calvinistic evangelists of Lady Glenorchy's connection and became Independent, as did the Associate Presbytery effort in Carlisle in 1781. Indeed, the Associate Synod seems to have had more success in providing ministers in the old English Protestant Dissenting chapels and appropriating them to its own tradition. In the 1780s ministers of this connection began to take over from Church of Scotland ministers in these chapels but by now the biggest competitors for adherents amongst the old Protestant Dissenting churches were the

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<sup>108</sup> Carlisle. 1748-60, (Appendix E 2.16); Cockermouth High Meeting, 1765-1783, (E 2.20); Carlisle Abbey Street, 1772-1810, (E 2.21).



Independents and Calvinistic Methodists, trained in the London evangelical academies or by the Countess of Huntingdon or provided for out of Scotland by the benefactions of Lady Glenorchy. Thus the Independents began a missionary effort under George Burder at Lancaster that saw new churches established at Bootle, (1780), and Whitehaven, (1783). The only church to be established in the Unitarian tradition was the Baptist/Unitarian cause at Wigton, (1789) but this had failed by about 1813 and the property was sold to the Methodists. It is interesting to note that none of the Dissenting churches in the region built a new church in the 1790s, only the established Church of Scotland building amongst the Scottish communities on the Solway. The first churches to be founded after 1800 in Cumberland were the Independent causes at Maryport, (1807), Wigton, (1815), Penrith, (1815) and Brampton, (1818). The United Secession Church founded a new congregation in Maryport in 1821, the Independents starting a new church at Aspatria, (1826).

In Westmorland, the Independents pushing up from Lancashire and the West Riding made a sustained effort at church extension but the new churches were fragile communities and mostly supported from outside the county as we shall see. Missionary efforts from the Lancaster and the Kendal congregations in the 1770s saw new churches formed in what is now south Cumbria at Ulverstone (1778) and Bootle (1780). Again, patient itinerant work took a long time to bear fruit. The old Protestant Dissenting congregation at Ravenstonedale changed its form of church government to a modern Congregational one with its new Independent minister in 1811. The old congregation at Stainton was a preaching station for the Kendal Congregationalists and new churches began to be built in Westmorland, namely: Kirkby Stephen (1810), Temple Sowerby (1813) and Kirkby Lonsdale (1815); Crosby Garrett (1815), Milnthorpe and Burton (1818) and Brough (1824); Appleby (1827) and Birks (1829). The Associate Presbytery maintained only one church in the county, a cause at Kendal that had left the English Protestant Dissenting meeting in 1763.

Thus for Cumberland and Westmorland two distinct developments occur. Of the eleven Protestant Dissenting churches formed in Cumberland c.1689-1725, five were evangelical Independent churches by 1829 and the other six were aligned with Scottish Presbyterian connections: Brampton and Whitehaven with the Presbyterian Church in England, a church affiliated with the Church of Scotland but to identify itself with the Free Church after the Disruption, and the other four with the United Secession Church. None of these churches institutionally aligned themselves with existing Unitarian

churches and institutions. In Westmorland of the four old English Protestant Dissenting congregations only Kendal became Unitarian. Crook became extinct, Ravenstonedale Independent and Stainton absorbed into the new Congregational church in Kendal. It is interesting to note that all the congregations listed by Evans c.1717 as 'Independent' were, by 1829, in the hands of the Congregationalists.

The development of the identity of the evangelical Congregational churches in Cumberland and Westmorland therefore has some similarities with the churches of Lancashire but there are also marked differences. Isolated rural congregations remained as rock-pools of piety but in these counties the ministers who maintained Calvinist standards were far more likely to be trained within Scottish church traditions. Aligning these churches institutionally with regional and national Congregational agencies started very late in the eighteenth century. In Westmorland the persistence of the Ravenstonedale Dissenters in seeking out an orthodox ministry seems remarkable. They maintained links with the orthodox churches of the West Riding and North Lancashire and with the Rev. James Scott, who provided them with their first English born, orthodox Trinitarian minister since the death of James Mitchell in 1712, the Rev. James Tetley, (1767-1774). From this date onwards, ministers from English Congregational academies slowly began to infiltrate the old Protestant Dissenting chapels of these counties. Whether these churches became evangelical Congregational churches very much depended on maintaining the supply of trained ministers. The next minister Scott sent to Ravenstonedale was the Rev. James Somerville, (1775-81), a Church of Scotland minister who had spent ten years as a tutor in the University of Edinburgh. It is only with the appointment of his successors that the church comes to be more closely linked with the evangelical Congregationalism being formulated by the London academies. The Rev. John Hill was trained at the Societas Evangelica academy at Mile End and spent his first few years in the ministry in Lancashire.<sup>109</sup> Lady Glenorchy obtained his services for her Carlisle Chapel, (1787-90), but it was in his pastorate at Ravenstonedale that he began his greatest missionary effort. He set about founding a Sunday School in 1793 which was housed in its own schoolroom in 1802. He also began an itinerant ministry in the region:

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<sup>109</sup> Ministering at Preston and Forton for a while in 1781 and then to Robert Simpson's old church at Haslingden, (April, 1785-February 1787). *LN*, Vol. 1, p.314; Vol. 2, p.143.



A successful attempt has been made to spread the Gospel in the neighbouring towns and villages of Ravenstonedale. The ministers have preached at Kirbysteven, Rookby, Caber and Crosly [ie, Kirby Stephen, Rookby, Kaber and Crosby Garrett]; and so great is the number of hearers, that they have been obliged frequently to preach out doors. The utmost attention is paid to the word, and many are enquiring the way to Zion with their face thitherward.<sup>110</sup>

Hill tried to place missionary work on a firmer institutional footing by the formation of the Northern Evangelical Association in 1798.<sup>111</sup> Along with Charles Whitfield, the Baptist minister of Hamsterley, Durham, and others, they met in Ravenstonedale to decide on how best to evangelise the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham. The Association suffered from inadequate funds and lack of ministers but engaged in itinerancies in south west Cumberland, around Milnthorpe and around Carlisle. Hill, in writing to the Societas Evangelica in London for funding in 1801 noted that there were nine preaching stations in the counties.<sup>112</sup> Lovegrove was of the opinion that no permanent congregations were formed out of these efforts but undoubtedly the Congregational Church at Dent in the West Riding, founded in 1809, was the result of Hill's preaching.<sup>113</sup> The assertion that they were attempting to evangelise Milnthorpe is interesting, if it is correct, for it represents an effort from within the county to evangelise and form churches in an area that had traditionally been stony-ground for previous missionary endeavours. The earliest efforts in the second half of the eighteenth century recorded by Nightingale in this area were the itinerant preaching of William Alexander of the High Street Independent Church, Lancaster, who from his arrival in 1783 until 1802 preached in the villages of north Lancashire.<sup>114</sup> Subsequently the work was resumed by the Lancashire Congregational Union and the Kendal church in 1818. It is possible what Lovegrove is reporting here is missionary efforts at Milthrop, south of Sedbergh, and therefore associated with the itinerancy in Dentdale.

This burst of activity in Westmorland can, in part at least, be attributed to the growing zeal being shown amongst the Congregational churches regionally and nationally for evangelical itinerant

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<sup>110</sup> The Evangelical Magazine, 1797, p.384, quoted in Sell, p.76.

<sup>111</sup> Minutes of the Northern Evangelical Association are in the Durham C.R.O. B.Ham/2.

<sup>112</sup> Societas Evangelica Minutes for the 28th of February, 1801; DWL, New College MS 122/1.

<sup>113</sup> D. W. Lovegrove, Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780-1830, (1988), pp.33, 45, 46. Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, pp.258-59, for the formation of the church in Dent.

<sup>114</sup> Nightingale, LCU, pp.41-2.

ministries. The Congregational Society for Spreading the Gospel in England was formed in 1798, though again it was hampered by lack of finances.<sup>115</sup> The Association of Congregational Ministers in Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire was formed in 1798, one of their first campaigns being to form an itinerant society in 1801. Further north, efforts were underway. William Norris senior had been employed as an itinerant evangelist by the Societas Evangelica to preach in the 'waste places' of the North Riding since October, 1796. His correspondence with the Societas Evangelica indicates that he walked on average 70 miles a week throughout the northern counties, preaching eight or nine times a week.<sup>116</sup> He may have been associated with Hill's efforts. He preached at Alston which, since the removal of Timothy Nelson in 1800 had been in decline. Norris was called to Alston and formed a church there, which absorbed the members of the old Garrigill congregation. A Hoxton student came with the intention of becoming their minister but found the place not to his liking, Norris becoming their settled minister in 1803 and the chapel was built and opened in 1805.

After Hill's death at Ravenstonedale, the congregation received as minister the Rev. James Muscutt (1811-15), trained at the Village Itinerancy Association's London academy in Hackney. He only agreed to become their minister if they formed a Congregational church, gathered together under a covenant and with authority vested in the church meeting and not in a small group of trustees. In the same year efforts were made to form a ministerial association for the two counties, as reported in the

Evangelical Magazine:

Some Independent ministers, of the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, having formed an Association for the spread of the Gospel in those benighted parts of the nation.- a Meeting was held at Alston, Cumberland, April 17, when two sermons were preached by Mr. Scott, of Hexham, and Mr. Muscutt, of Ravenstonedale. It was resolved that a Student be procured immediately from Hackney, to labour as an Itinerant in the town and vicinity of Appleby, Westmorland. The Ministers of this Association have preached in Appleby, and in nine or ten villages adjacent, and formed a church of about 16 members. The congregation are in general numerous and attentive, but very barely supplied with gospel preaching. We have been able to obtain as much pecuniary assistance as will support an Itinerant; and hope contributions will increase...Mr. Dickenson of Dufton, Treasurer; and Mr. Norris, Alston, Secretary.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Minutes for the 12th of July, 1798 to the 23rd of April, 1799, in the Congregational Library, DWL, MS 1.i.41. R. F. G. Calder, 'The Congregational Society for Spreading the Gospel in England', TCHS, Vol.?, 1960-4, pp.250ff.

<sup>116</sup> Lovegrove

<sup>117</sup> EM, 1811, pp.323-4.



This organisation was referred to as the Northern Congregational Association in 1813 and the reports continue in the Evangelical Magazine until 1815 and then rather surprisingly stop, according to Sell. Wilson, writing in the Congregational Magazine for December, 1822, may provide a clue to the faltering effort:

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION IN CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND, which has been eminently successful, under the Divine blessing, having raised flourishing Independent churches in three market towns of the former county, and in two of the latter, besides the institution of several Sunday Schools, and the introduction of the Gospel into many populous and benighted villages. It is very remarkable and peculiarly affecting to observe, that within about the course of six years, the four acting members of this association were called to rest from their labours, and the church on earth was thus bereaved of their valuable and devoted exertions.<sup>118</sup>

Muscutt died whilst minister at Cockermouth. August the 7th, 1819 and William Norris junior, the minister at Alston, died on the 9th of February, 1814.<sup>119</sup> The implication is that much of the fire went out of these efforts after their deaths. The other minister mentioned, the Rev. John Scott of the Broadgates Chapel, Hexham, Northumberland (1809-21), was another Hackney student. He was subsequently an itinerant for the Home Missionary Society in Weardale and parts of Cumberland and was minister at Kirkoswald (1827-34). After this decade efforts seem to falter. Many of the churches recorded in the Congregational Year Book are not in the county association. One is struck still by the fractured nature of these churches. One suspects that after the deaths of these ministers trained in the London itinerant academies, the association unravelled. The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac for 1842 notes that the Cumberland Association of Independent Pastors and Churches was formed in Wigton on the 5th and 6th of April, 1831, joining the Congregational Union of England and Wales the same year. There is no record of a Westmorland Association, the Kendal and Milnthorpe churches being included in the Preston District of the Lancashire Congregational Union. Thus the Congregational ministers of these two counties only attempted to associate between 1810-15. After that, the two counties went their separate ways, Westmorland becoming the object of charity for

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<sup>118</sup> Page 714. This is not the lineal descendant of the old county association as is implied.

<sup>119</sup> One other of these four was possibly the Rev. James Scott, minister of Kirkoswald, (1806-1815). Also Christopher Hill, a Rotherham trained student, minister Carlisle Annetwell Street Chapel, (1808-1812). Died at his father's house at Longthorpe, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, 18th of November, 1812.

the Lancashire Congregational churches, the Cumberland churches existing in splendid isolation until the end of the period of this study.

If we look at the old Protestant Dissenting congregations that were to subsequently to identify themselves as Congregational in Cumberland, what is striking is that they only began to be ministered to by English-born and English-trained Congregationalist ministers towards the end of the period of this study. Alston's first minister trained by a modern evangelical academy was Norris senior in 1803. The Blennerhasset chapel had been ministered to by Scottish ministers of the Associate Presbytery but after the last of them left in 1814 it was included in the itinerancy of the Northern Congregational Union in 1815, although there is no indication that this chapel joined the Congregational Union and it shared its minister with Wigton. Cockermouth obtained its first English evangelical minister in 1783 but subsequently had Scottish ministers before Muscutt arrived in 1815. Keswick did not obtain its first evangelical Congregationalist minister until 1800. Kirkoswald was under the ministry of the Irish evangelist Carnson in 1796 but the first English minister with ministerial training came in 1827. Given that these churches in the eighteenth century would have been governed by the trustees under the typical English Protestant Dissenting trust and were just as likely to have Scottish Presbyterian ministers, I think we must discount the notion of the existence of denominationally distinct Congregationalism in Cumberland in the eighteenth century, with the possible exception of the Cockermouth church. The establishment of formal Congregationalism was the product of the ideologues of the London itinerant societies and the northern county associations in the early nineteenth century. This provides a very graphic illustration of a process that, to a lesser extent, was undergone in Lancashire. In the second half of the eighteenth century the creation of a Congregational denominational identity was emerging in Lancashire and the metropolis but as I have stated elsewhere, it was forged out of disparate elements of the British Reformed tradition. Establishing its identity through training and county ministerial associations in Lancashire around the turn of the century, they turned their attention to the remoter counties where many of the old Protestant Dissenting churches were in a state similar to the Lancashire churches fifty years before. To a far greater extent than in Lancashire, these churches were dependent on a foreign church tradition for the provision of a ministry and arguably modern Congregationalism only made headway exploiting areas where the Scottish Presbyterian churches over stretched themselves.



Of the churches subsequently to identify themselves as Congregational formed after 1750, the Workington Low Meeting was originally formed by members of the Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery in 1778. Lady Glenorchy sent one of her preachers to minister there 1785/6 and it was only in 1787 that the chapel received its first English trained Congregationalist minister, Samuel Peele (1787-1848). The Bootle church, founded c.1780, was begun by the Countess of Huntingdon's ministers and the Carlisle Lowther Street congregation begun by Lady Glenorchy, purchasing a chapel from the Associate presbytery in 1781. Thus Workington and Carlisle were both begun by Scottish voluntarists and were subsequently ministered to evangelical ministers within the Church of Scotland, though the exact position of Lady Glenorchy's ministers *vis-a-vis* the Church of Scotland was sometimes ambiguous. The minister at the Annetwell Street chapel, Carlisle, 1791-1807, was the church of Scotland minister the Rev. George Bennett, the author of several works defending church establishments. Quite clearly the new Independent ministers from the London academies would have their work cut out for them in bringing these churches round to their way of thinking. The Whitehaven Independent Church was formed in 1783 by the Countess of Huntingdon's preachers who ministered there until 1819, when it was taken over by Scottish Independents. An Independent church was founded by a Scottish Independent trained by the Haldanes amongst the Scots community of Maryport in 1807 but it did not much last beyond 1820, many leaving to join the Baptists. Further Congregational churches were formed at Penrith and Wigton in 1815, Brampton in 1818, subsequent to the preaching by the Rev. James Scott and at Aspatria in 1826. A survey, conducted by Joshua Wilson and included in the December issue of the Congregational Magazine for 1822 under the title *Statistical View of Dissenters:-Cumberland*, provides us with an overview of Protestant Dissent and emphasises how numerically and institutionally weak the Congregational churches were in Cumberland (see Table 4.2). The list represents a high degree of wishful thinking on the part of the author. It is reproduced as it was printed in November, 1822. Subsequent to this, there were complaints from correspondents in Cumberland that this list over represented the strength of the Independents in Cumberland. Places where there was no settled minister or where there was only occasional preaching are shown in brackets. At Bootle, the correspondents complained, only prayers were read. Even for the churches where the statistics were not questioned, the information seems circumspect. Six of the chapels were old Protestant Dissenting foundations. Of the rest, a number

were poorly funded and soon to disintegrate. The inclusion of Bewcastle seems odd. It was founded by the Church of Scotland minister, the Rev. Mr. Lauder, in 1790. He had to leave for some unspecified reason but subsequently returned and is enumerated as an Independent in this list. There is no mention made of the Bewcastle church in the Congregational Calendar, 1842. Carlisle Fisher Street is recorded here as Independent under the ministry of the Scot, Richard Hunter (1819-53). MacKelvie records the church as United Presbyterian and the evidence would seem to suggest this. The Carlisle Fisher Street congregation had been receiving the ministrations of Associate Presbytery minister since the 1770s. Hunter was trained in Professor George Lawson's class in the Associate (Burgher) Theological Hall, entering in 1813. This is not to say that Hunter did not embrace Congregationalism, though it seems odd, given that subsequent ministers were all of the United Presbyterian Church.<sup>120</sup> The Maryport Church dissolved into various Baptist factions, Penrith had no minister and no Chapel. In both the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Cumberland the congregations were small, the Congregational Magazine for 1822 providing figures for some of the churches, recorded in Table 4. 3.<sup>121</sup> Quite clearly the Congregational churches of Cumberland for the period up to 1829 suffered from a fundamental shortage of ministers. With Scottish Independents trained in Scotland overwhelmingly being called to minister to Scottish pulpits, the proximity of Scottish Presbyterian ministers always held out the chance of obtaining a Reformed minister, but consequently left these struggling congregations with troubled identities and conflicting loyalties, retarding the development of specifically Congregational churches and institutions in Cumberland.

In Westmorland, though there was modest church extension from 1815, none of the churches was self-supporting and all required the assistance of Congregational Unions from the surrounding counties. The Congregational Magazine listed the Congregational churches of Westmorland in 1829 (see Table 4. 4).<sup>122</sup> Again, this list is rather optimistic in the light of the available evidence. The Rev. Richard Slate in his History of the Lancashire Congregational Union, (1840), noted that there was only one church in Westmorland sufficiently large to support its own minister, that being Kendal.

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<sup>120</sup> MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics, p.673.

<sup>121</sup> Those for which no information on church size was recorded were the Independent churches at Blennerhassett, Bootle and Wigton; and the Presbyterian churches at Bewcastle, Penrith, Penruddock, Great Salkeld and Plumbton and the Whitehaven Associate Presbytery Church and the Workington Kirk.

<sup>122</sup> CM, 1829. ns. Vol.5. p.733, from Sell, p.81.



In the Congregational Calendar for 1842, only two Westmorland churches were included in the Preston District of the Lancashire Congregational Union, those being Kendal and Milnthorpe. Appleby seems to have been moderately successful from its inception in 1811 but the Temple Sowerby congregation (f.1813) struggled for most of its existence and was dissolved in 1856. Even the Kendal Congregational Church subsequently had to be financially assisted by the Lancashire Congregational Union in the years 1861-66 and 1892-1906.<sup>123</sup> Kirkby Stephen was being worked by the Itinerant evangelist Capper along with eight other churches. Most of the Ravenstonedale congregation left with their minister William Hassell in 1836 and joined the Wesleyan Methodists, the remnant congregation joining with Kirkby Stephen in the 1840s and again between 1857-63. The churches at Brough and Birks were part of the same rural itinerancy. Milnthorpe, Burton, Holme and Sedgwick were all part of the same rural itinerancy, begun in Milnthorpe in 1818 and redundant by 1845. The Lancashire Congregational Union expended £1,065 over twenty six years attempting to establish the churches around Milnethorpe, with little to show for it, the chapel in Milnthorpe being sold in 1866. The Kirkby Lonsdale congregation, founded in 1815 continued up until 1906, when it was still being financially supported by the Lancashire Congregational Union to the tune of £3,052 pounds over eighty three years.

How can we explain the failure of the Congregationalists to establish churches in rural Westmorland, despite focusing their energies on rural itinerancies for the best part of the period 1790-1830 and the expenditure of a good deal of money? I would suggest that the problem stems in part from the lack of Protestant Dissenting churches in the period from before 1750. As I have noted in Chapter Three, the effort to evangelise south Westmorland from Lancashire had foundered in the 1690s. In the whole region from Furness and throughout Westmorland it was the more sectarian churches that were more successful, the Baptists and the Quakers. There were simply not enough members of Protestant Dissenting church communities to support church extension, to endow chapels with land and to send their sons to be educated for the ministry. What links there were with other churches were with other Dales churches in the West and North Ridings. When the Evangelical revival entered Westmorland in the 1740s, it was through the agents of Benjamin Ingham's Methodist connexion and from Yorkshire. Ingham's preachers were hugely successful in Westmorland but the

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<sup>123</sup> Nightingale, The Story of the Lancashire Congregational Union, (Manchester, 1906), p.193.

adoption by so many of these societies of Sandemanianism in the 1750s and 60s led to insularity, rejection of evangelical principles and decline. When the Calvinistic Methodists entered the region in the 1770s, they were horrified at the legacy of 'the horrid blast from the north'. The Calvinistic Methodist missionary effort does seem to come, in part, through Lancashire but Sell is of the opinion that the development of Sandemanianism in the region prejudiced the reception of subsequent Methodist evangelists and their success was limited. Subsequent missionary forays into Westmorland bypass the adjacent counties all together, the region being targeted by the London Itinerant academics. When the itinerants from the London Itinerant academics began to explore the region in the 1790s, it had something of the nature of a burnt over land. The agents of the Lancashire Congregational churches in the 1800s sometimes occupied the old Sandemanian chapels and one wonders whether the identification in common parlance of the Sandemanians as the 'Old Scotch Independents' prejudiced the reception of Congregational Missioners. The Lancashire Congregational Union singularly failed to establish Congregationalism in Westmorland c.1815-1829 and Sell's comment, that subsequent revival efforts came around, rather than through, Lancashire seem justified. As the Congregational churches faltered in Westmorland after 1829, so the Baptist and Primitive Methodist churches flourish, most of the influence coming from over the Pennines from Durham and Northumberland.

In Westmorland specifically Scottish ecclesiology was limited to the Scottish community in Kendal. Scottish residents petitioned the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery of Edinburgh for a minister in 1763. By the 1770s their minister had become an Independent and left for a Lancashire ministry, a section of the church leaving to form an Independent church. From 1780 until 1825 the congregation struggled on without a settled minister. What saved the church was the institutional vigour of the recently amalgamated United Secession Church and the strength of that church in Cumberland. In 1823 the Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle began to send ministers to Kendal to preach and they obtained a settled minister in 1825, the result of an assertive campaign of church extension begun by the Secession Church in Cumberland in the 1820s.

The growth of the Associate Presbytery churches in Cumberland was unspectacular but was to have a significant effect on the region as a whole. Ministers from the north of England began to explore the possibilities of evangelical co-operation with the Congregationalists and the creation of specifically English Presbyterian denominational institutions. Scottish Presbyterian ministers



ministering in England were often more reformist and sympathetic to the ecclesiology of other English Reformed churches. Scottish ministers who asserted congregational rights over Moderate patronage would obviously be attracted to English congregations and their experience in England could be turned against the church establishment when they returned to Scotland. James Noble, the minister at Brampton, (1688-90), returned to a living in Scotland and became a major supporter of the Erskine's in the battles over patronage that led to the formation of the Associate Presbytery in 1733. Within ten years of the founding of the Associate Presbytery, the first Church of Scotland congregation in England, at Newcastle, had left the established church and joined this Dissenting presbytery. The cross-border nature of the various branches of the Associate Presbytery was crucial to subsequent church growth. It offered Presbyterian order to the Scottish immigrant community in England and linked them to Scotland and as we shall see by the 1820s it was supporting the efforts of its ministers in Cumberland to link up with the Scottish communities of Lancashire to form English presbyteries.

There are isolated records of individual Scots in the Cumberland churches before 1700<sup>124</sup> but it was only after the Act of Union Scottish immigrant communities developed in the towns of West Cumberland and it was here that the first Scottish churches were established, the Church of Scotland Workington High Meeting being founded in 1749, there being no old English Protestant Dissenting meeting house there. The General Associate (Antiburgher) presbytery of Sanquhar was petitioned in 1755 by Scots residents of Whitehaven for a minister, the English minister of the Low Meeting being aged and presumably not to their liking. The various branches of the Associate Presbytery slowly absorbed the old English Protestant Dissenting congregations of Cumberland: Carlisle in 1778. Penrith in 1799 and Blennerhasset until 1815 until it was abandoned to the Independents. The congregations at Great Salkeld and Plumpton in 1827 and Penriddock in 1829. The old English Protestant Dissenting churches at Whitehaven and Brampton were to adhere to the Presbyterian Church in England, along with the Maryport Church of Scotland congregation.

Thus at a time when the churches of Cumberland were divided, the animosities of Scottish churches were imported to the region. The Antiburghers were fiercely voluntaristic and renounced national

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<sup>124</sup> Lewis, History of the Congregational Church Cockermouth, p.119, in the Baptismal Register for the 29th of May, 1700, 'Mary, the daughter of one Richardson, a Scotchman, coming from Dumfries, and now sojourning at Flimby, in the Country'.

covenants, the appeal of the church being to artisans and the commercial classes. The building of the Whitehaven Antiburgher Chapel in 1760 suggests a wealthy community, for there were many Associate Presbytery congregations in the south west uplands of Scotland that met in hired rooms, in the open or in tents until late in the eighteenth century. Their first minister, the Rev. William Graham. (1758-1771), was a staunch defender of the Associate Presbytery and of the Reformation. He brought to his ministry that quality Whitefield had noted in the Erskine's; the inability to conceive that your church was not the true church of Christ. The Whitehaven Baptist Church Book records that on Good Friday, 1764, he engaged them in a debate in the Baptist Chapel on the subject of infant baptism; lasting from 930 in the morning till 7 at night it ended with them agreeing to disagree. His subsequent forays into print were to argue against ecclesiastical establishments, which cannot have endeared him to the Church of Scotland congregation up the coast in Workington. In accordance with the wishes of many parts of the fissiparous Associate Presbytery at the time he instituted a renewal movement in the church and was a devoted pastoral visitor. He subsequently became involved in the London Missionary Society. He also supported the Protestant Association in 1780 when he had moved to Newcastle. Subsequent ministers were in the same mould, the Rev. David Williamson (1787-1820) published lectures on Civil and religious liberty and books blasting the local Unitarians. The uncompromising stance of these men made them unlikely agents of union amongst the local churches. The branches of the Associate Presbytery further diminished their evangelical potential by dividing into old and new light factions. In Scotland this division enabled the rise of the Independent movement of the Haldanes and one suspects that the Independents in England attracted the Antiburghers of the new light because of their increasingly relaxed attitude to preaching limited atonement.

The Antiburghers began a church in Workington in 1779/80 but, burdened with debt, it was sold to Lady Glenorchy in 1786 as a proprietorial chapel, moving her church of Scotland minister from Carlisle to minister there. He left for a Scottish parish in 1787, his farewell speech indicating that he had experienced nothing but animosity from the Church of Scotland congregation and minister in the town, advising succeeding pastors

to have no correspondence with a minister or people of what is called here "The High Meeting", as their present parson Selkirk has all along maintained a heart



hatred and malice to the Ladys Glenorchy and Maxwell, and has at different times uttered very bitter speeches against them.<sup>125</sup>

The quote neatly encapsulates the divided nature of these churches. Both of these ministers in this West Cumbrian town were licentiates of the Church of Scotland but there was complete hostility from the minister of the Kirk to the hired evangelist. The Church of Scotland claimed Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Workington as under its jurisdiction and claimed the right to appoint its minister. Her Ladyship would have none of this and appointed an English Congregationalist to minister to her chapel in 1787. Until the Rev. John Selkirk's death in 1829, these two churches would have nothing to do with each other, inhabiting different worlds. Selkirk limited his role to ministering to the Scottish expatriate community in Workington and co-operation with the voluntary churches of the region was out of the question. Samuel Peele, the minister of the Workington Congregational Church (1787-1848) would look to Lancashire for his financial and institutional support.

If isolation and institutional backwardness was the experience of most of these churches during the period this study covers, things began to change in the 1820s. Whilst the Congregational churches of Cumberland were to be net recipients of financial and institutional support from Lancashire, the Presbyterian churches of Cumberland did have a significant contribution to pay to the formation of orthodox English Presbyterian denominational structures in Lancashire and the north-west. This is something I want to examine in the next chapter where I will examine the influence of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers on the Congregational churches of Lancashire in the period 1770-1829. The dominant process that emerges is that, contrary to my initial assumptions, the Scottish born ministers enumerated in the Lancashire Congregational churches were on the whole not trained in Scotland in distinctly Scottish church traditions but were drawn from the Scottish communities of urban Lancashire. The Congregational churches were perceived by the Scottish expatriate community as best approximating to the best Reformed Church. This created all sorts of problems of identity and allegiance for Scottish Presbyterians. The re-unification of various branches of the Secession Church in the 1820s encouraged institutional growth and co-operation throughout the north west and somewhat surprisingly the congregations in connection with the Church of Scotland also experienced renewal in the 1820s and Presbyterian denominational structures were established. The tensions over

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<sup>125</sup> Thompson, Lady Glenorchy and Her Churches, p.62.

identity were perhaps greatest in these Kirk congregations. The Church of Scotland was increasingly indifferent to their requests for ministers and the creation of English presbyteries. By the 1820s, these congregations had begun to form their own presbyteries and loosen their links with the Church of Scotland. By the time of the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, the English Presbyterian congregations had already resigned themselves to the voluntary principle and threw in their lot with the Free Church. There was still a debate over national identity in these churches but in reality in Lancashire even in the 1830s these churches had more in common with the Congregationalist and the Secession churches and increasingly shared their evangelical, voluntarist promotion of British Reformation beliefs and principles. Any understanding of the Scottish contribution to English Congregationalism is incomplete without an understanding of this wider constituency of shared belief.



## Chapter Five-The Role of the Scottish Ministry in the Revival of Evangelical Congregationalism in Lancashire, 1770-1829.

This chapter examines selected aspects in the development of the Lancashire Congregational ministry in the period 1770-1829, drawing upon the evidence of a database containing biographical information on all ministers who were in ministries or who entered settled ministries in these decades, 204 individuals in total.<sup>1</sup> The main purpose of analysing this data is to assess the numbers and influence of Scottish ministers within Lancashire Congregational churches and to place their contribution in the creation of the identity of these churches within the context of the social development of the ministry. Information will be presented here on the nationality of ministers and the county of birth of English born ministers, in an attempt to quantify the origins of ministers from other nations of the union and to examine the extent to which ministerial recruitment in these churches was localised, regionalised or utilised more complex and long distance networks of patronage and influence. This will be combined with information on the level and type of training for the ministry received, the duration of ministries and the number entering subsequent ministries in Lancashire. This material will be broken down and looked at for each of the six decades in question.

The 1770s saw the first real expansion of the evangelical Congregational churches in Lancashire, with eight new churches being formed, mostly by secessions from congregations with Unitarian ministers, bringing the total of churches in the evangelical Congregational tradition to 24 by 1779. Twenty Five ministers were enumerated in this decade, 10 entering the ministry before 1770 and 15 in the 1770s. Looking first at the 16 churches formed before 1770, twenty ministers were enumerated as serving in these chapels at some point in the 1770s and several ministerial careers stand out as examples of how long orthodox ministries bridged the gap between the old orthodox Congregational academies and the new evangelical academies. The Rev. James Burgess of the Hallfold/Whitworth congregation (1747-1770/1776-1790) was from a Lancashire orthodox Dissenting background.<sup>2</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> This database includes all ministers in Congregational churches in Lancashire for the period 1830-1890 as well. Lack of space in the appendices means I have not been able to include the abstracted information for either period in the tables and appendices.

<sup>2</sup> LN, Vol.3, p.272-273; Vol.2, p.253; Vol.5, p.327. Surman, 2802. Urwick, p.327. F. J. Powicke. The History of the Cheshire Congregational Union, (1907), p.191. Halley, Vol.2, pp.426,485.

was the son of the Rev. James Burgess, minister successively of the Protestant Dissenting chapels at Low Row, Swaledale (Yorkshire), Lower Darwen, Oldham Greenacres and Delph, (Yorkshire). It is interesting to note that Burgess junior was not trained at any of the obvious northern academies but at the Bedworth Academy, Warwickshire (1710?-1750), by the Rev. John Kirkpatrick (M.A. Glasgow?), the minister of the Kenilworth congregation. This academy only accepted theological students.<sup>3</sup> As has already been noted he was good friends with the Scot, the Rev. James Scott. His preaching, according to Nightingale, was thoroughly evangelical, leading some to doubt his commitment to Calvinism. Other ministers trained in the older Dissenting academies spanned the decades and took their congregations into alignment with the new evangelical Congregationalism. Robert Smalley was born at Darwen and ministered to the Darwen Dissenters from 1751-1791.<sup>4</sup> He was trained by Dr. David Jennings (D.D. St. Andrews, 1749), who ran the Congregational Fund Board Academy from 1744-62 at Wellclose Square, London, which is usually referred to as Hoxton Academy (1701-85), where it moved upon Jennings' death. After 1738, the Coward Trust had taken part in the running of the academy and provided most of the students with bursaries.<sup>5</sup> As William Coward's Trust stipulated that students be taught the Assembly's Catechism, 'and in that method of church discipline which is practiced by the congregational churches', we can assume that Smalley was more orthodox than most Lancashire ministers from traditional Protestant Dissenting backgrounds at the time of his ordination. Even Dr. Rotherham's Kendal Academy could turn out men who never embraced Arianism. The Rev. Tatlock Mather of Rainford (1745-1785)<sup>6</sup> was the son of the Rev. Benjamin Mather of Darwen (1736-1749). Upon his death in 1785, the Rainford congregation was sufficiently committed to evangelical gospel to secure a minister trained at Heckmondwick. It can be seen from this that the church at Darwen was central to the survival of orthodox Congregationalism in the county. It was the only Congregational church in Lancashire with a continuous existence from before 1689 which survived into the nineteenth century. These Lancashire born ministers, often sons of the manse, sought their training in the 1740s away from Arminian academies and they undertook long ministries, often

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CHST, 5, p.210. R. C. Stott, History of Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Hallfold Congregational Church, (1948). Extracts from Burgess juniors letters are to be found in the Raffles Collection. JRL.

<sup>3</sup> McLachlan, p.4.

<sup>4</sup> LN, Vol. 2, p.254. Surman, 1232.

<sup>5</sup> McLachlan, pp.117-125.

<sup>6</sup> LN, Vol. 4, pp.174-5. Surman, 833. ONK, p.626.



amongst people they had grown up with. Whilst men like these maintained orthodox standards and aligned themselves with evangelical agents over their long pastorates, many of the Congregational Academies countenanced speculative theology and turned out Unitarian graduates. The Coward trust closed Daventry in 1785 because of the three tutors, one was Arian and one Socinian. Smalley's son, Richard, succeeded him at the Lower Chapel, Darwen. Trained at Daventry, it soon became apparent that he was Unitarian and he was ousted from the pulpit. Indeed, of the three Daventry trained students who entered Lancashire ministries in these orthodox churches in the 1770s, two were known Arians and had short ministries, leaving for more suitable congregations.

The ministries of these three men were long, one would suggest, through necessity. To retire or move pastorate ran the risk of men of liberal theological sentiments being invited to minister. This was a very real danger until the Calvinist students trained by Scott at Heckmondwick began to become available around 1760. This is reflected in the duration of ministries; the average length of ministry for the group of 10 ministers enumerated in the 1770s who had entered the ministry before 1770 was 23.7 years. The average length of pastorate of all 25 enumerated in the 1770s was 12.7 years. The average pastorate of those ministers who came to minister to the new churches formed in the 1770s was 4.5 years. The shortness of the latter is due to most of them being Calvinistic Methodists and ministers of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, who were deliberately moved after only a few years. This sample of ministers in the 1770s therefore, reflects the massive social shift in ministerial recruitment and training. Those entering the ministry before 1770 were trained in traditional Protestant Dissenting academies (Daventry, Kendal, Bedworth) and increasingly in the late 50s and 60s at Heckmondwick. Those entering in the 1770s were mainly Daventry and Heckmondwick students, the Calvinistic Methodist ministers serving in the newly formed churches. It is to an overview of all 25 ministers in the 1770s that I now wish to turn.

If we examine the nationality and county of origin of the ministers in the 1770s then there can be little claim that there was a numerically significant Scottish element. The place of birth of 13 of the 25 of the ministers is known in the decade: one Scot was enumerated, the Rev. James McQuhae, one Irishman and 5 from Lancashire; 3 from Yorkshire and one each from Shropshire, Northumberland and London. There is information on the training for the ministry and /or religious tradition of 17 of

the 25: 6 were trained at Heckmondwick, 3 at Daventry, one at Bedworth; one at Wellclose Square by Dr. Jennings and one by the Rev. Peter Walkden at Chipping. One received training by the Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery, 2 are described as 'Countess of Huntingdon's preachers', though there is no indication they were trained at Trevecca and one is described as Calvinistic Methodist. Thus the majority of ministers about whom anything is known in this decade were from the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire and mostly trained in English Dissenting academies. Heckmondwick trained students ministered in 6 of the 24 of the chapels. With the 50% growth in congregations in the 1770s due to secessions from Unitarian congregations, there was a desperate need for ministers and the organisation best equipped to respond quickly were the various Calvinistic Methodist connexions. By the 1780s these churches formed in the 1770s were seeking settled ministers and half of the ministers entering these churches in this decade were trained at Heckmondwick. Finally, the reason for the termination of their ministry of those who ministered in this decade is known for 18 of the 25: 10 entered new ministries, 3 of them in Lancashire, one in Yorkshire.<sup>7</sup> Three ministers retired and 5 died.

In the 1780s the total number of Congregational Churches had risen to 27 and 21 ministers entered new ministries in these churches, four from previous Lancashire ministries and 18 entering their first Lancashire ministry. The place of birth of 11 of the 18 is known: 3 were Scots, 3 were from Lancashire, 2 from Yorkshire; 2 from London and one from Norfolk. The training or religious tradition of 15 of the 18 is known for this decade: 7 were trained at the Heckmondwick Academy and its successor at Northowram, one at the Mile End Academy and one denoted an 'evangelical academy'; one held degrees from St. Andrew's and Edinburgh Universities and one was a Church of Scotland minister with a Glasgow M.A.; one was trained at Trevecca, 2 were described as of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and one was an itinerant for Lady Erskine. The reason for the termination of their ministry is known for all 18 individuals: 14 moved to new ministries and of these, 8 were in Lancashire (one to a Baptist congregation), 3 in Yorkshire (one to a Unitarian congregation).<sup>8</sup> Two retired and one died.

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<sup>7</sup> Two Staffordshire, 1 Warwickshire, 1 Dublin, 1 Wiltshire, 1 London.

<sup>8</sup> Of the rest 1 to London, 1 to Kent, 1 to Cheshire, 1 to Scotland.



By the end of the 1790s the total number of Congregational chapels had risen to 32 and 30 new ministries were entered upon, 25 individuals entering their first Lancashire ministry in this decade, 5 ministers having ministered before in Lancashire.<sup>9</sup> The place of birth of 13 of the 25 is known: one was from Scotland, 2 from Wales, 3 from Lancashire; 3 from Yorkshire and one each from Warwickshire, London, Hampshire, Herefordshire. The level of ministerial training received is known for 19 of the 25: 6 were trained at Heckmondwick/Northowram and one was trained at Idle or Rotherham. Four were trained at Oswestry/Wrexham, one of the number completing his training at Northampton; one at Mile End, one at Daventry, one at Newcastle-under-Lyne Academy and one at the Manchester Academy (Unitarian). Of the others, one received training by the Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery in Scotland, one was trained in Lancashire by the Scottish Congregationalist the Rev. James McQuhae; one was an itinerant for the Countess of Huntingdon who had not been trained at Trevecca and one minister was known to have received no ministerial training. The reason for the termination of the ministries of 20 of the 25 of these ministers is known: 11 entered new ministries, 5 in Lancashire, 4 in Yorkshire, 1 in London and 1 in the U.S.A. Two entered Unitarian pastorates, 2 retired one was ejected from his pulpit, one resigned through illness and 3 died.

The decade 1800-1809 saw 16 new Congregational churches being formed and 41 ministers entering new ministries in Lancashire, 37 of them being first Lancashire ministries, 4 of them having previously ministered in Lancashire.<sup>10</sup> The place of birth of 23 of the 37 is known: 4 were Scots; 2 Welsh; one was born in Birmingham of Welsh parents; 3 from Lancashire, 2 from Yorkshire; 3 from London (one of these of French Protestant parents); 2 from Norfolk and one each from Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Hampshire and Cornwall. The level and type of ministerial training is known for 32 of the 37 of these ministers: one was trained at Northowram, 4 at Rotherham. 6 by William Roby in Manchester; 5 at Hoxton, 2 at Mile End, 3 at Oswestry/Wrexham; 3 at Trevecca, one at Llanwrtyd, one by the Haldanes in Scotland; one by Bogue at Gosport, of the others, one had an Edinburgh University degree, one was trained at Manchester New College (Unitarian), one at Bury Grammar School; one 'Privately educated' and one had no formal education.

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<sup>9</sup> One of these had entered in the same decade, 3 in the 1780s and 1 in the 1770s.

<sup>10</sup> Three moved in the same decade, 1 entered in the 1790s.

The reason for the termination of the ministries of 36 of the 37 are known: 28 entered new ministries. 18 in Lancashire, 3 in Yorkshire.<sup>11</sup> One resigned, one retired and 6 died.

In the decade 1810-1819, twenty one new Congregational churches were formed and 52 new ministries were begun, 44 of them comprising of individuals entering Lancashire ministries for the first time, 8 having moved from previous Lancashire pastorates.<sup>12</sup> The place of birth of 31 of the 44 is known: one was Scottish, one was Irish, 4 were Welsh; 7 from Lancashire, 7 from Yorkshire, 4 from London and 2 from Kent. Of the rest, one each came from Shropshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Devon. The ministerial training of 34 of the 44 of these ministers is known: one was trained at Heckmondwick, one at Northowram, 5 at Rotherham and 2 at Idle; one at Idle and with William Roby at Manchester, 6 in Manchester under Roby and at Leaf Square. Nine at Hoxton, 2 of which went on to obtain Glasgow M.A.'s, one at Homerton with M.A. and LL.D. from Aberdeen; one from Wymondley with a Glasgow M.A., one from Carmarthen with an American D.D.; one trained at Wrexham and Llanfyllin, one at Gosport, one at Rothwell. Of the others, one had an Oxford University degree, one was trained by the Rev. George Partington of Colne and one was known to have had no formal education. The reason for the termination of these ministries is known for 38 of the 44 cases: 26 individuals entered new ministries, of which 10 were in Lancashire, 5 in Yorkshire and 4 in Cheshire.<sup>13</sup> Two left to run schools in Yorkshire, 6 retired and 4 died.

In the decade 1820-1829 twenty three new Congregational churches were formed. Seventy three new ministries were begun, 55 individuals entering Lancashire pastorates for the first time, 16 individuals having previously ministered in Lancashire.<sup>14</sup> The place of Birth of 35 of the 55 of these ministers is known: 6 were Scots, 4 Welsh, 6 were from Lancashire; 4 from Yorkshire, 2 from London, 2 from Gloucestershire (one of Welsh parents) and one each from Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Hampshire, Somerset, Devon.

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<sup>11</sup> Of the rest 2 to Staffordshire, 1 to Cheshire, 1 to Derbyshire, 1 to Dorset, 1 to London, 1 to Wales.

<sup>12</sup> Of the latter 2 moved in the same decade and 6 had entered in the decade 1800-09.

<sup>13</sup> Of the rest 2 went to Wales, 1 to Westmorland, 1 to Staffordshire, 1 to Sussex, 1 to the USA, and 1 to Canada.

<sup>14</sup> Eight ministers moved pastorates in the 1820s, 5 had entered initially in the decade 1810-19 and 3 had entered 1800-1809. The Rev. John Penkethman, who had initially entered in the decade 1810-19, moved three times in the 1820s.



Cornwall. The ministerial training of 44 of the 55 is known: 8 were trained at Idle, 4 at Rotherham, 7 at Hoxton (one of these was also at Highbury); one at Highbury; 3 at Hackney; one by Roby in Manchester; 6 at the Blackburn Independent Academy (one of these was also trained at Neuadlwyd Academy) and 2 at the Dublin Theological Academy. Of the others who received some ministerial training, one was at Wymondley, one at Axminster and Harwich, one at Gosport; 2 were trained by the Home Missionary Society which subsequently kept an academy at Pickering, Yorkshire. One was educated at Glasgow University, one was known to have been a schoolteacher, one was formerly a lay preacher in Blackburn, 2 had been Tent Methodist evangelists and two were known to have had no formal training. The reason for the termination of these ministries is known for 50 of the 55 ministers: 27 entered new ministries, 10 of them in Lancashire, 3 in Yorkshire, 2 in Westmorland.<sup>15</sup> One became a schoolmaster in Surrey, 2 became missionaries, 11 retired (5 on grounds of illness). One resigned after adopting Unitarianism, one was ejected from his pulpit and 7 died.<sup>16</sup>

To summarise the results for the entire period, the total number of ministers serving in settled pastorates in the period 1770-1829 was 204 and those entering the ministry in Lancashire Congregational churches in the period was 194. Of those individuals for whom data exists about place of birth, the vast majority were English. Only 16 Scots were enumerated, 8.3% of the total. Twelve individuals were known to have been born in Wales and only two in Ireland. Of the English-born ministers, most came from Lancashire, comprising of 27 individuals (14%). Of the adjacent counties, Yorkshire was the next largest source of men entering the Congregational ministry in Lancashire, providing 21 individuals (11%), reflecting the historical links between these religious communities on both sides of the Pennines and the location of Congregational ministerial academies in Yorkshire. The contribution of candidates for the ministry from the other counties adjacent to Lancashire is negligible. I can find definite evidence of only one individual each born in Cheshire and Cumberland and none from Westmorland. The weakness of the Congregational churches in Cumberland and Westmorland has been outlined in Chapter Four but it does seem odd that so few

<sup>15</sup> Of the others 1 each in Wales, Northumberland, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Oxfordshire, London, Essex, Gloucestershire, Devon, with one going to a Presbyterian church in Hampshire.

<sup>16</sup> For a breakdown of the average duration of these Lancashire pastorates see Table 5.2. For an introduction to the history of most of these academies see McLachlan, *EETA*, and A. P. F. Sell, 'Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century Dissenting Academies of England and Wales', *History of the Universities*, Vol. 11, 1992, pp. 75-122.

ministers were being drawn from Cheshire. Other northern counties do not seem to be major sources of candidates for the ministry in Lancashire, suggesting weaker familial and patronage networks due to increased distance. I have found only 2 ministers born in Northumberland, one from county Durham and one from Derbyshire entering Lancashire ministries. The counties providing significant numbers of candidates for the ministry are those containing large urban centres, counties with orthodox academies and counties where traditionally Independency was better established. Thus London is the next largest source of ministers, 11 being recorded as being born there and 4 from the home counties.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, 5 were recorded as being from midland towns around Birmingham.<sup>18</sup> Shropshire, a county with a long tradition of Dissenting Academies for English and Welsh Dissenters, was the place of birth of 3 ministers and Norfolk and Hampshire, both counties with large Dissenting communities and a greater percentage of Independent congregations than most counties, were each the county of origin of 3 minister.<sup>19</sup> But of the ministers entering ministries in Lancashire before 1800, the vast majority were from Lancashire and Yorkshire. I can find only four individuals entering the Lancashire ministry who were born in other English counties in these decades.<sup>20</sup> After 1800, a larger proportion of ministerial recruits come from London and the southern counties. This reflects shifting patterns in the provision of training and the growth of national denominational structures as will be outlined subsequently.

Thus Scottish born ministers represented 8.3% of the ministerial recruits in the Lancashire Congregational churches of the period 1770-1829 (see Table 5.1). When more biographical information is incorporated into the database, I would expect this percentage figure to rise. It would be useful to have national figures for the percentage of Scots in the English Congregational ministry for the period. The only figures that do exist are Kenneth Brown's figures for the percentage of Scots ministering in the English and Welsh Congregational churches, 1830 to 1879, which found 8% were

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<sup>17</sup> Two Kent, 1 Buckinghamshire, 1 Hertfordshire.

<sup>18</sup> Two Staffordshire, 3 Warwickshire.

<sup>19</sup> The other counties that ministers serving in Lancashire were known to be from were: 1 Northamptonshire; 1 Oxfordshire; 1 Herefordshire; 1 Somerset; 2 Gloucestershire; 2 Devon; 2 Cornwall.

<sup>20</sup> Two Oswestry students from Hampshire and Herefordshire, a Daventry student from Northamptonshire and a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion born in Norfolk. Of the others 5 were from Scotland, 4 from London, 2 from Wales and 1 from Ireland.



Scottish born.<sup>21</sup> I would suspect that if the Welsh congregations were excluded from these calculations, then the percentage figure of Scots ministering in English congregations would rise. Brown also examined the composition of students entering Congregational ministerial training colleges in the period. He found that 10% of students entering the Hoxton and Highbury colleges in London before 1851 were Scottish, similarly 10% of the students entering the Blackburn Academy and its successor, the Lancashire Independent Academy, between 1810-1879 were Scottish. What is clear is that Scots were over-represented in the Congregational ministry as compared with the Scottish population of England, which in 1841 was still only 0.6% of the English population.<sup>22</sup> If we look at the figures for Lancashire broken down by decade in Table 5. 1, then it is apparent that in the three decades 1780-89, 1800-09 and 1820-29, the number of Scottish ministers entering Lancashire Congregationalism was above average. Ascribing significant causal explanations to such small samples proves difficult however. The reasons Scots ministers ended up in English congregations were as many and various as the individuals themselves. One major reason was the growing reputation of the English Congregational academies. I want analyse the information on the training of the ministers serving in Lancashire, before going on to consider the role of the Scottish ministers in Lancashire Congregationalism.

If we look at the information available on the ministerial training in the period 1770-1829, then it appears that 22% were trained in the Yorkshire academies of Heckmondwick/Northowram (9.8% at Northowram alone) and Rotherham and Idle (12.4%). The London evangelical academies trained 15.5% and Lancashire institutions 10.8% of the ministerial recruits, all these accounting for nearly half the total. Other academies that were sources of significant numbers of trained ministers were Oswestry/Wrexham (3.5%), Trevecca (2.0%) and Gosport (1.5%). But if we look at the first three decades of the sample, 1770-1799, then the dominance of the Yorkshire colleges in this period is apparent, the colleges at Heckmondwick and Northowram providing 32% of the settled ministry in Lancashire. In the same three decades only two students trained at the Mile End Academy in London entered the ministry in Lancashire. In the three decades after 1800, the reliance on the Yorkshire

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<sup>21</sup> K. D. Brown, A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales, 1800-1930, (Oxford, 1988), p.47.

<sup>22</sup> D. M. Thompson, 'Scottish Influences on the English Churches in the Nineteenth Century', JURCHS, Vol.2, part 2, October, 1978, pp.30-45, p.30.

colleges is decreased, Rotherham and Idle supplying 10.8% of the ministerial recruits in Lancashire in the period 1800-1829, the Congregational academies in Lancashire supplying 15.4% and London academies produced 19.8%, with Hoxton contributing 15.4% of these alone. This reflects the establishment of national training institutions based in the metropolis, part of the process of institutional consolidation that would lead to the foundation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1832 and the growing professionalization of the Congregational ministry.

This growing professionalization is reflected in the increasing numbers of Congregational ministers undertaking formal ministerial training. The number of ministers entering the ministry in each decade with some form of ministerial training and/or a University degree, rose steadily in the period 1770-1799, from 56% of ministers in the decade 1770-79, to 66% of those entering in the decade 1780-89, and 68% of those entering in the decade 1790-99. In the years 1800-1809, 78.4% of those entering had formal ministerial training or a University education, by the decade 1810-19 it was 75% with an increasing number of the students trained in London obtaining Scottish University degrees. By the 1820s the number with formal ministerial education was 69%, but this slight dip probably reflects the more humble social origins of the ministers in the many small urban congregations that were being founded in this decade.<sup>23</sup> Again, this is not far from the results Brown found in his survey of English and Welsh Congregationalism. In the period 1810-29, 70.2% of the English Congregational ministry had attended ministerial college, with 6.5% having attended university as well. In the period 1820-49 he found 79.9% had attended college, 9.9% college and university.<sup>24</sup> In the same period under 46% of the Baptist ministry had received college, academy or university education. Brown's first sample figures for the Wesleyan Methodists for the thirty year period 1830-1859 reveal that only 44.5% of the ministry had received any ministerial education at college, with only 0.9% having attended University. The Congregational churches were betraying their Protestant

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<sup>23</sup> The impression these statistics give, that over a sixty year period the percentage of pastors with formal ministerial training had risen from roughly 50% to 75% of candidates seems broadly justified, but some provisos should be made. Over this period, the amount of biographical information on which these generalisations are made increases, somewhat erratically decade by decade (see Table 5.1). For instance, in the decade 1770-79, there is biographical information available on the place of birth/nationality of 52% of the sample with information on ministerial training of 68%. In the decade 1820-29, this has increased to 63.2% for place of birth/nationality and 80% for information on training. The increased coverage of the sample, due to better sources, may affect the result.

<sup>24</sup> K. D. Brown, A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry, (1988), p.60.



Dissenting roots in their desire for a learned ministry. Their clear advantage over other Trinitarian Dissenting denominations in the educational attainments of their ministry underscored their growing self-conception as the church of the middle classes. As the evangelical Congregational churches began to define themselves as different from the Unitarian tradition within the old Protestant Dissenting churches, the maintenance of a learned and suitably accredited ministry became a major concern. The appeal of Scots with university degrees to minister in the pulpits of the expanding and increasingly self-confident Congregational churches of Manchester and the towns of the north-west would have been obvious. But it is the contribution of these Scottish ministers to ministerial education within Lancashire and the rest of England where it becomes apparent that they made a contribution out of all proportion to their numbers, a theme I want to explore subsequently. First I want to look in more detail at the backgrounds of those Scottish born ministers I have enumerated as serving in the Congregational ministry in the period up until 1829.

There were very few Scottish ministers in Lancashire Protestant Dissenting pulpits before 1770 and of course, it should be reiterated, their Scottishness by no means ensured their commitment to Calvinism and Trinitarianism. The Rev. James Milne, minister to the Walmsley Dissenters (1713-1731), was said to have been a Scot.<sup>25</sup> There is nothing to indicate he was unorthodox but it must be borne in mind that most of the Lancashire churches were identifying themselves in what I have termed the Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition. Scots ministers aligned to the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland may have been attracted to the more liberal approach to confessionalism in these churches. Whilst outside the discipline of the Scottish Presbyteries, where attachment to Westminster Confessionalism was strong, they would have been entirely answerable to the chapel trustees and the mood of most of these would have been for liberal, inclusive and rational religion. The social advantages of worshipping in one of the Presbyterian/Unitarian urban congregations meant that more than a few Scottish ministers and communicants when they moved to England left communion with the Church of Scotland and settled in to what were to become Unitarian congregations. And even if immigrant Scots in the ministry never abandoned orthodox confessionalism, the next generation, surrounded by different church traditions, often felt little attachment to foreign confessions. Milne's

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<sup>25</sup> Kenworthy, 'The Story of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel', pp.19-20.

son, the Rev. John Milne, was to minister to the Presbyterian/Unitarian High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham (1759-1772), in a town where the Presbyterians had broken off fraternal relations with the Independents worshipping in the Castle Gate congregation over the preaching of the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ by a Scottish minister in the 1730s.<sup>26</sup> Of those 16 Scottish ministers enumerated in chapels which showed adherence to orthodox/Congregational worship, at least one was known to have held Arian theological views. The Rev. David Simpson, who ministered to the Dundee Chapel, Holcombe (1783-1786/7), was known to have been removed from his previous ministry at Eastwood in Yorkshire by the trustees and congregation for being an Arian.<sup>27</sup>

Having noted the presence of Scottish ministers in the urban and increasingly heterodox congregations, it is those Scottish ministers whose commitment to orthodox Calvinism was never in question that I want to examine. There is very little evidence of Scottish ministers in the rural Protestant Dissenting congregations in Lancashire I am examining before 1770, apart from the Rev. James Scott, as mentioned in Chapter Three. He not only trained local youths for the ministry but attracted Scottish students and even acted as a clearing-house for fully trained Scottish ministers to find pastorates in the north.<sup>28</sup> The only other individual of note, whose ministry has some relevance to the rural orthodox churches of north Lancashire was the Rev. David McMurray, who succeeded Peter Walkden to the Sedbergh/Garsdale, Yorkshire, congregation (1710?-d.1762?). He was one of the ordaining ministers at Robert Hesketh's ordination to Carnforth in 1725<sup>29</sup> and ordained the Rev. James Scott to the Stainton congregation in 1739.<sup>30</sup> Between 1770 and 1829 I can find indication of

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Warren, 'Early Records of a Presbyterian Congregation', TUHS, 1, 1916-18, pp.78-81.

<sup>27</sup> Scottish, educated at St. Andrew's and Edinburgh Universities. Minister Eastwood, Yorkshire. (1779-removed for Arianism). Holcombe, (1783-87). Low Row, Swaledale, Yorkshire, (1787-1808). Died 22nd of March, 1808, said to be 69 years old, therefore born c.1739. LN, Vol. 3, p.161. Miall, p.257.

<sup>28</sup> For instance the Rev. James Somerville, born Pitmuir, Merse, Scotland, 1743. Trained Edinburgh University, 1762-72. Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Lauder, 3rd of December, 1771. Scott recommended him to Stainton, Westmorland, October, 1772. Minister Ravenstonedale (1775-1784), ordained on the 27th of September, 1775. Minister Branton, Northumberland (1784-1808). Died 8th July, 1808. LN, Vol. 1, pp.295, 313. Scott, Fasti, Vol.7, pp.507, 523. EM, 1808, p.392; 1809, pp. 45,54.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, p.24. LN, Vol.1, p.192-194, notes a biographical extract from the Westmorland Note Book, March, 1889, concerning McMurray, described as gentleman of Pinfold: that he entered into a bond on the 8th of February, 1744, interest of which would support a preaching minister in the Dissenters chapel in Garsdale. Made his will on the 6th of February, 1761: died 6th February, 1762.

<sup>30</sup> Miall, pp.344-5, claims that McMurray ordained Scott as an evangelist along with the Rev. Timothy Gardner of Low Row, Swaledale,(1725-65) and the Rev. J.Cranstoun of the Greenhough Hill



only 16 individuals where sufficient information exists to confirm that they were Scottish-born ministers presiding over Lancashire Congregational churches. Was there any pattern in their recruitment? Where were they trained and how would this have shaped their ecclesiology? Were these men agents of distinctly Scottish churchmanship and traditions that redefined English Congregationalism or elements within a shared Reformed tradition ?

The first thing to say about some of the men in this sample is that their 'Scottishness' varied considerably and this highlights the problems of undertaking population research which assumes place of birth information will provide clear social data on national identity. The Rev. D.T Carson was born at Cummertrees, Dumfriesshire, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September, 1796. He was the first student at the Blackburn Independent Academy (1816-20), becoming the minister of the Congregational church that worshipped successively at Fishergate (1820-36) and Cannon Street, Preston (1836-47). He was subsequently the Visiting Secretary for the Lancashire Congregational Union (1847-53), an important role that involved oversight of all the small congregations supported by the L.C.U.<sup>31</sup> But he was only by accident of birth Scottish. His father, Andrew, was born in Ballymoyle, County Londonderry, c.1752 and after four years as an itinerant evangelist in Ireland and Scotland he spent two years evangelising and gathering the Independent congregation in Annan, Dumfriesshire (1794-96).<sup>32</sup> The year of David's birth he moved to the Parkhead/Kirkoswald congregation in Cumberland (1796-1805) and subsequently he was minister to the Congregational churches at Barnard Castle, Durham and Cotherstone, Yorkshire (1806-32).<sup>33</sup> Thus David Carson's family background was of British

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congregation near Ripon. Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.256-7, notes a possible Scottish Presbyterian Chapel at Cowgill in Dentdale, a few miles south of the Garsdale Chapel, though this was probably Inghamite.

<sup>31</sup> Ordained in Preston, 8th of December, 1821. Whilst Visiting Secretary he was a church member at the Zion Congregational Church under the Rev. James Gwyther. He founded the Lancashire Ministerial Provident Society and was subsequently minister of the Congregational Church in Halesworth, Suffolk, (December 1853-64), when he retired. Died 28th of May, 1877, Knowle Green, Lancashire. His journal as Visiting Secretary 1847-54 is in the Lancs.CRO/CUL 20/1-3 and letters of his are also deposited there. DDX 925. Surman, 238. LN, Vol. 1, pp.33, 39. Nightingale, Centenary of the Lancashire Congregational Union, p.143. Halley, Vol. 2, p.468. Browne, p.441. Hosken, p.178. CYB, 1878, p.309. EM, 1822, 158

<sup>32</sup> James Ross, A History of Independency in Scotland, (Glasgow University, 1900), pp.41, 242, 246.

<sup>33</sup> Andrew Carson, married Elizabeth Mitchell. Died 21st of July, 1840. Surman, 237. Miall, p.250. Anon [R. L. Hunter], Centenary: Barnard Castle Sunday School, 1803-1903, (1903). E. A. Smissen, The way we have come, (Our story, 1815-1936), Barnard Castle Congregational Church, (1936). E.M., 1794, 254; 1814, p.193; 1841, p.1. C.M., 1822, p.389; 1831, p.807; 1835, p.847. C.C., 1841, p.112. CHST, Vol. 5, p.29.



evangelicalism and his youth was spent in English Congregational churches. One doubts whether he ever conceived of himself as Scottish. Two other ministers in this sample were immigrant Scots who, after worshipping in English Congregational churches, subsequently undertook to train for the Congregational ministry. John Adamson, born in Scotland in 1774, settled in Liverpool in the early part of the nineteenth century, attending the Newington Congregational chapel. He was trained by William Roby in Manchester and ministered to the new church at Patriscroft, Eccles (1807-21), and acted as an itinerant evangelist for the L.C.U. in the region.<sup>34</sup> The Rev. William Alexander was born near Stranraer, Wigtownshire, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1763. In 1783 he walked from Glasgow to Lancaster to join his brother John, who had been a carpenter in the town for two decades. He joined the High Street Congregational Church and became an itinerant preacher and subsequently minister of the Congregational Church at Prescott (1802-10), Leigh and Ashton-in-Makerfield (1811-25) and Churchtown/North Meols (1825-45).<sup>35</sup> These men were all exposed to English Congregationalism early in life and entered the ministry from within the tradition. Though they may have lived within Scottish immigrant communities in Lancashire and maintained family links with Scotland, they were committed members of English Congregational churches.

The surprising result of this sample is that so few individuals trained in Scottish Independent institutions in the period entered Lancashire ministries. Of the 300 men trained for the Independent ministry at the expense of Robert Haldane between 1798 and 1807,<sup>36</sup> only one can be identified with

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<sup>34</sup> John Adamson, born 12th of July, 1774, Scotland. Orphaned early in life, settled in Liverpool. Surman's Index 128 gives him as being trained by Roby in Manchester (1805-07) but he is not in the list of students in Slate, History of the Lancashire Congregational Union. Minister Patriscroft, (1807-21), ordained on the 30th of October, 1808. Itinerating around Eccles for the LCU after 1810, receiving £10. Minister Charlesworth Congregational Church, Derbyshire, (1821-May, 1847). Died on the 31st of August, 1848. LN, Vol.5, p.12. R. Mansfield, Charlesworth Independent Chapel, (1948), p.19. Anon., History of Congregationalism in Patriscroft, (n.d.), p.5. EM, 1809, p.218. CYB, 1848, p.209. CHST, Vol. 13, p.51; Vol. 17, p.80.

<sup>35</sup> William Alexander, born Chapel Rosan in the parish of Stoneykirk. Whilst at Lancaster preached at Galgate and Caton. (1797-1800). Supplied Prescott, (1800-01). Returned to Lancaster. Called to Prescott to minister 1802, ordained 1805, remaining until 1810. Retired to Southport; died 23rd of January, 1855. John Alexander, Memoirs of the Rev. William Alexander, (1856). Thomas Raffles, Memoir of the Rev. William Alexander. W. D. Pink, Leigh Congregationalism, 1805-80, (1880), pp.1-8. F. J. Powicke, History of the Cheshire County Union of Congregational Churches, (Manchester, 1907), p.138. W. G. Robinson, History of the Lancashire Congregational Union, (1955), p.35. Nightingale, Lancashire Congregational Union, pp.39-43. Surman, 265. EM, 1805, p.615; 1856, p.642. Lancashire Congregational Union Minutes, 10th of September, 1810, Lancs.CRO Preston/CUL 2.2.

<sup>36</sup> Ross, Independency in Scotland, p.100.



any certainty as having entered a Lancashire ministry, the Rev. Peter Ramsey. He came to minister in the old Dundee Chapel, Holcombe (1807-11), to a congregation comprising mostly of Scots who worked in the Grant's print works. He ministered subsequently at Holcombe Brook (1811-14) and at Haslingden (1814-46).<sup>37</sup> One other possible Scottish Haldane student was the Rev. Samuel Haining who was minister to the Atholl Street Congregational Church, Douglas, Isle of Man (1808-46). The only evidence of his ministerial training says it was at Edinburgh, and between the dates 1804-08. These were the dates within which Haldane supported tutors were resident in Edinburgh, though this may be purely circumstantial.<sup>38</sup> Scottish Congregationalism was of course in its infancy. It became better established with the formation of the Glasgow Theological Academy in 1811 but its central concern was always supplying the pastorates of the Scottish churches and foreign missionary work. In the period 1811-29, only two individuals entered ministries in the north-west of England, neither of them in Lancashire.<sup>39</sup> Where Scottish Independency was of crucial importance to Lancashire was in the provision of tutors at ministerial training colleges, an area I will address subsequently. Scots trained in the Scottish Independent Academies only became a significant ministerial component in the Lancashire ministry after 1830. Roughly 8% of all the students trained by the Glasgow Theological Academy, 1811-1896, ministered in England, mostly in Lancashire and the further north-west in this period.

The only other Scot in this sample where there is conclusive evidence of him being from a Scottish Independent background was the Rev. Robert Philip. His father was an elder in the church of the Rev.

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<sup>37</sup> Born Strathmartine near Dundee, 27th of December, 1772. Trained at the expense of Robert Haldane by the Rev. William Innes in Dundee. This training was only undertaken in Dundee c. 1800/0, before moving to Edinburgh, where Ramsay may have moved as he is also recorded as having been trained by the Rev. William Jones. He finished his training under William Roby in Manchester, before moving to the Dundee, Holcombe, congregation, (1807-11). For a full account of his forcible removal and the role of the Grant brothers in the church. see the Rev. W. Hume Elliot, The Country and Church of the Cheeryble Brothers, (Selkirk, 1893), pp.227-245. Died 2nd of July, 1854, Haslingden, aged 82. J. H. Johnes, Congregational Church, Haslingden...centenary celebration...1877, with a historical sketch, (1887). Surman, Index 64. CM, 1831, p.816. CYB, 1855, p.230; 1900, summary of obituaries. CHST, 12, p.48.

<sup>38</sup> Born Kirkcudbright, 1778. Trained Edinburgh. Went to the Isle of Man to see whether it was suitable to establish a church. Returned to his studies but was called back to administer to the infant church. Ordained on the 15th of August, 1808, in Douglas by four Congregational ministers. Died 22nd of August, 1846. Itinerated for the LCU. Auxiliary of the Bible Society. Founder of the Lancastrian School, now St. George's Church, Day and Sunday School. Author and Hebrew scholar. LN, Vol. 6, pp.252-255. EM, 1808, p.493; 1813, p.421. CM, 1829, p.738. Surman, 81.

<sup>39</sup> At Whitehaven and the Isle of Man, see Ross, Independency in Scotland, p.256.



G. Cowie, the founder of Independency in the north of Scotland and tutor to Haldane's students in Edinburgh (1803-06). Cowie was a minister of the Antiburgher church in Huntly, Aberdeenshire (1771-1800), but subsequently founded a Congregational church of which he was the minister (1800-05).<sup>40</sup> Philip trained at Hoxton (1810-14) and became the minister of the Newington Congregational chapel, Liverpool (1814-26).<sup>41</sup> Other Scots were attracted by the reputation of the Congregational academies in the north, for instance the Revs. Robert MacLean<sup>42</sup> and John Kelly,<sup>43</sup> though it is not clear whether they were resident in the northern counties of England before entering college or whether they attended Scottish Congregational churches in Scotland. MacLean succeeded Philip at the Newington chapel in Liverpool and Kelly began a long and successful ministry at the Liverpool, Bethesda/Crescent Congregational Chapel, commencing in 1829. William Marshall and his brother John were known to have been resident in London and Liverpool before entering the Congregational ministry. William had attended Glasgow University and was minister of the Congregational Church in Macclesfield, Cheshire (1815-1822) and the Hope Congregational Chapel Wigan (1822-61).<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ross, Independency in Scotland, p.251.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Seccombe, 'Robert Philip', DNB, 15, pp.1044-1045. Born Huntly, Scotland, 1791. In Liverpool he ran a mission to seamen. Ordained the 11th of August, 1815. He moved to the ministry of the Maberly Chapel/Ball Pond Road, Kingsland, London, (1826-1858). Died on the 1st of May, 1858. Author of the sermons to seamen The Bethel Flag; The Life of Bunyan; The Life and Times of Whitfield; The Life and Times of Dr. Milne of China. EM, 1815, p.213; 1858, p.521. CYB, 1846, p.188; 1859, p.212-3. DNB

<sup>42</sup> Trained by William Roby in Manchester. Minister to the Kendal Lowther Street Congregational Church, (1810-13, possibly up to 1821). Emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1821, subsequently returned. Minister to the Newington Congregational Church, Liverpool, (1826-1830). Stone, Staffordshire, (1830-35). Nantwich, Cheshire, (1835-40). Died June, 1840. LN, Vol.1, p.288; Vol.6, p.153. Powicke, p.160. A. G. Matthews, Congregational Churches of Staffordshire, (1924), pp.251, 262. EM, 1813, p.227. CM, 1835, p.837.

<sup>43</sup> G. C. B. [George Granville Bradley?], 'John Kelly', DNB, 10, p.1242. Born Edinburgh, 1st of December, 1801. Trained Idle College. Supplied the Liverpool Bethesda Congregation from 1827, was ordained on the 23rd of September, 1829, and retired in September, 1873. Chairman of the CUEW in 1851 and of the LCU in 1866. Died in Liverpool on the 12th of June, 1876. LN, Vol.6, p.166. Dale, English Congregationalism, pp.660-718. Turner, Idle, p.124. Peel, These One Hundred Years, pp.153, 227-231. Anon., Crescent Congregational Church: Memorial of the Triple Jubilee, (1950). DNB. CYB, 1877, p.384. EM, 1830, p.486. The Patriot, 1833, Vol.4, p.9. Surman, 78.

<sup>44</sup> William Marshall, born Glasgow, 31st of December, 1792. Matriculated Glasgow University 1811. Said to have lived in London and Liverpool. Gathered a congregation in Macclesfield, meeting in a school building. Chapel built for him in 1815. Urwick notes that he became desirous to leave the town. He corresponded with the Rev. J. G. Pike of Derby offering to sell the chapel. Pike accepted and opened a General Baptist church there in 1822. Marshall, whilst at Macclesfield, had frequently supplied the Wigan Hope Chapel, where he moved to in 1822. He received a co-pastor in 1858 due to illness who left in 1860. Marshall continued to minister until his death on the 22nd of August, 1861. Surman, 687. LN, Vol.4., pp.87-88. Urwick, p.253. CYB, 1862, p.250



Along with his brother John, minister of the Congregational church in Over, Cheshire (1821-?)<sup>45</sup> they were instigators of many evangelical initiatives in Lancashire and cultivated cordial links with the ministers of the Associate Presbytery churches in Lancashire and especially the Rev. Francis Skinner, the minister of the Blackburn Mount Street United Secession Church. Together with other ministers of the Secession church they managed to secure the deeds of the Wigan Chapel Lane chapel in 1833, handing them over to the Presbyterian Church in England when it became clear that the communicants desired the ministrations of a Church of Scotland Minister.<sup>46</sup>

Only two ministers in this sample were known to have been licentiates of the Church of Scotland. Robert Simpson was central to the development of Lancashire Congregationalism and will be discussed subsequently. Thomas Kennedy was known to have graduated M.A. from Glasgow in 1781. He was minister at Lady Glenorchy's proprietorial chapel in Annetwell Street, Carlisle (1790-92), a church which became Independent in 1815, and ministered to a Scottish congregation worshipping in the Mosley Street chapel, Manchester (1792-94), that had seceded from the Manchester Canon Street Congregational church in 1788. He returned to Scotland on his presentation to a living in the Presbytery of Perth around 1795.<sup>47</sup> In this he was typical of the vast majority of Church of Scotland ministers who held pastorates in the north-west up until 1800. As the evidence for Cumberland presented in Chapter Four shows, most Church of Scotland ministers returned to Scotland, generally after only one ministry in England. I can identify only two ministers trained in the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery ministering in Lancashire Congregational churches and again they tended to have migrated through ministries in other northern counties before entering Lancashire pastorates. Both were trained in the General Associate (Antiburgher) Theological Hall under the newly appointed Professor of Theology, William Moncrieff. James McQuhae entered his first session in 1762 and more of him subsequently. Thomas Craig entered in the 1763 session and joined the Northumberland Class of Presbyterians whilst a probationer, becoming the minister of the Antiburgher church at Cliff

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<sup>45</sup> Urwick, p.182.

<sup>46</sup> W. B. Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan, (1912), pp.81-102.

<sup>47</sup> Born Kilmarnock. Described as being educated in Edinburgh. Matriculated Glasgow University 1777, graduated M.A.1781. Not at all clear when he was at Carlisle and it may have been in the late 80s. Said to have been in Manchester for six years. Minister at St. Madoes, Perthshire, from c.1795 until his death on the 16th of March, 1828. Surman, 162 says that LN, Vol. 5, pp.138-39 is wrong in some detail. Scott, Fasti, Vol.7, p.287; Vol.8, p.372. CM, 1822, p.217. EM, 1794, p.252.

Lane, Whitby, Yorkshire (1789-93), moving to Leeds for a few years and then taking up the combined charges of the chapels at Wymondhouses and Walkerfold in Lancashire from 1795.<sup>48</sup> His sons became eminent Congregational ministers in Lancashire and Essex.<sup>49</sup>

Several themes emerge from this sample. Perhaps the most important is that, prior to 1830, there was not a large body of Scottish-trained ministers entering the ministry in the Lancashire Congregational churches. Most of those enumerated were members of Scottish immigrant communities in Lancashire. Some were from within Scottish Congregationalism and only a few were trained within Scottish Presbyterianism. These Scottish expatriate communities were constantly faced with the dilemma as to whether they should replicate Scottish churches in England or join churches that best approximated to the Reformed churches of Scotland, usually Congregational churches. Where sufficient numbers of communicants were Scottish within a chapel they could attempt to institute a Scottish Church on the Presbyterian model, though they faced the problem of maintaining a Presbyterian identity without a presbytery. The Church of Scotland was indifferent to calls for English presbyteries. The Associate Presbytery had organised a number of cross-border presbyteries and was well established in Cumberland and increasingly Scottish immigrant communities in Lancashire began to look to these churches for support. The relations between the Congregational churches of Lancashire and the Associate Presbytery churches could be gone into in more detail than time and space allow in this study. However, what is evident, even from this small sample, is that the position of many of the ministers of the Antiburgher Associate Presbytery churches of Scotland was similar to that of the English Congregationalists. Since their opposition to the Burgess Oath of 1747, the Antiburgher wing of the Associate Presbytery had maintained a voluntarist position and upheld the right of the congregation to choose its own minister and even those congregations nominally in connection with the Kirk were exploring the possibility of existence outside the church establishment by the 1820s.

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<sup>48</sup> Born Prestonpans, Scotland. The Leeds chapels at Brewster Lane and Cliff Lane are not in Miall but are recorded in the Surman, 1700. *LN*, Vol. 1, p.199; Vol. 2, p.193. Miall, p.379.

<sup>49</sup> William James Craig, deacon of Blackburn Chapel Street Congregational Church. Minister Belthorne, (1831-38). Garstang, (1839-46). Hindley, St. Paul's, (1846-51). Retired in Manchester. Thomas Craig, minister of Bocking in Essex for 62 years, died in 1865. *LN*, Vol. 2, p.123; Vol. 4, p18. W. A. Abram, *Independency in Blackburn*, (1878), p.61. Surman, 1702.



Several of these Scottish born ministers enumerated here were to play important roles within Lancashire Congregationalism in the period 1800-29 but one cannot argue they were instrumental in defining what Congregationalism was in these decades. We must bear in mind D. M. Thompson's cautionary words:

Although it is interesting to compile a list of influential Scotsmen, ultimately the historical significance of this will depend on whether their Scottishness serves any explanatory purpose...A number of influential Scots do not necessarily add up to a Scottish influence.<sup>50</sup>

Scottish born ministers played a more central role in Congregational denominational organisation in Lancashire after 1830, the Rev. John Kelly's labours to gather funds for the Lancashire Independent College being only one of many examples, but this falls outside the scope of this study. Here I want to examine the roles of a few Scottish born ministers who entered the Congregational ministry before 1800, where a case could be made for Scottish individuals having a defining role in forging the identity of English Congregationalism in the provision of ministerial education.

In 1764 the Rev. James McQuhae became minister to a group of thirty-one orthodox Scots in Kendal who had petitioned the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh for a minister. He subsequently outraged his Scottish synod by taking part in the ordination of an Independent minister and declared himself an Independent, splitting the church. He left to minister to the Tockholes Dissenters (1771-1777), and founded the Blackburn Chapel Street Chapel (1777-1804). One suspects from manuscript letters in the Raffle's Collection that he was in close contact with Scott at Heckmondwick and it is clear that he played a central role in defining Lancashire Congregationalism in the period. He took part in the ordinations of at least 12% of those ministers entering the Lancashire ministry in the period 1770-1799.<sup>51</sup> The ordination of the minister to the congregation was a defining moment to most churches, questions and addresses being delivered to the minister and congregation. McQuhae

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<sup>50</sup> D. M. Thompson, 'Scottish Influence on the English Churches in the Nineteenth Century', *JURCHS*, Vol. 2, part 2, October 1978, p.31.

<sup>51</sup> One ordination that got him into trouble with the Scottish Presbytery, presumably before 1771: Rev. George Burder of Lancaser, 1778; Robert Simpson, Bolton, 1782; James Kenworthy, Kendal, 1783; T. Carter, Preston, 1790; J. Atkinson, Ulverstone, 1795; Robert Jenkinson, Haslingden, 1797; Richard Bowden, Lower Darwen, 1799; David Edwards, Elswick, 1800.



seems to have undertaken his remit at ordination in an uncompromising style. His introductory discourse at the ordination of the Rev. Robert Jenkinson to the Haslingden congregation on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1797, was an outline of what a Gospel church should be and 'a vindication of conscientious separation from the Establishment'.<sup>52</sup> Halley credits him with the first significant effort to train men for the ministry in Lancashire<sup>53</sup> and he seems to have played a decisive part in the formation of the Newington Congregational church in Liverpool, indeed the orthodox party seem to have been looking to McQuhae and Scott for guidance, these men acting as foci for disaffected elements within the old Protestant Dissenting churches of the county.

Perhaps the most significant individual ministering in Lancashire was the Rev. Robert Simpson. He appears to have supplied the congregation of Beverley, Yorkshire, for three months in 1780 and is described in one source as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.<sup>54</sup> He certainly received ministerial training from Scott at Heckmondwick at about the same time and ministered to the Dissenters of Haslingden for ten months around 1780. He then went on to supply Elswick in 1781, before moving to become the minister of the Bolton Duke's Alley congregation (1782-1791). He was ordained on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1782, the charge being given by the Rev. James M'Quhae of Blackburn.<sup>55</sup> He had a hugely successful ministry in Bolton and seems to have been instrumental in some of the first efforts to institutionally strengthen Congregationalism in Lancashire. The Association of Congregational Churches was formed in Bolton on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1786. This association marks a decisive break with

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<sup>52</sup> Nightingale, *Tockholes*, pp.109-10.

<sup>53</sup> Halley, Vol. 2, p.472

<sup>54</sup> Surman, 1035. *LN*, Vol. 1, p.89; Vol. 2, p.142; Vol. 3, p.20 has him born Milnathort, Kinrosshire on the 15th of February, 1746, which is probably meant to read 1764. Died 21st of December, 1817 and was buried on the 30th at Bunhill Fields. Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. 7, pp.486, 492. J. Wilson, *A Memoir of the Life and Character of Thomas Wilson esq., Treasurer of Highbury College*, (1846), pp.176, 346. George Redford, *A Sermon, Preached at the Independent Chapel, Uxbridge, January 4th, 1818, occasioned by the decease of the Rev. Robert Simpson...late resident and theological tutor of the Hoxton Academy: with a sketch of his life and character*, (1818). *EM*, 1796, February contains a portrait; 1799, p.130; 1804, p.94; 1813, p.158; 1818, pp.45, 79, 413, 457. *CM*, 1818, pp.55, 110; 1819, pp.1, 65, 129.

<sup>55</sup> James M'Quhae and Joseph Cocking, *Two Sermons Preached at the ordination of the Rev. Robert Simpson, Bolton, October 2nd, 1782, the first pointing out the duty of the minister by the Rev. James M'Quhae...the second the duty of the congregations by the Rev. Joseph Cocking*, (Bolton, 1784). Cocking was trained at Heckmondwick, was the minister of Kipping and Thornton, Yorkshire, and then Halifax Square Chapel, (1792-c.1828). See Miall, p.267. His son John Cockin[g], (1783-1861) was the founder of the West Riding Itinerant Society, 1811. See K. W. Wadsworth, *Yorkshire United Independent College*, (1954), p.54; *The Yorkshire Congregational Union and Home Missionary Society, 1872-1972*, (Bradford, 1972), p.9.



post-1689 county associations in that it admitted lay representatives from the churches and was in that sense the prototype of the Lancashire Congregational Union of 1806, which incorporated a majority of laymen on its committee to prevent clerical domination of the churches. In this, the presence of Scots like Simpson and McQuhae in the Lancashire Congregational churches may have proved decisive in providing testimony to the moderating influence of an eldership within presbyteries. The aims of the Congregational Association of Churches were limited, the objectives 'contemplated by this association was not the propagation of the Gospel where its blessings had not previously been employed, so much as the purity, in doctrine and discipline, of the church ministers which were associated',<sup>56</sup> but it prepared these churches for the permanent establishment of denominational structures in the following decades.

Simpson entered into various principled defences of Dissent during his ministry in Bolton<sup>57</sup> and was so highly regarded he was asked to become the new tutor of the Societas Evangelica's London academy, which had previously been at Mile End but had moved to Hoxton in 1791. It was here that he established the institution that had such a profound effect on Lancashire Congregationalism in the period 1800-29. Simpson was described as

a man "remarkable for enthusiasm, who knows how to inspire as well as to teach" and "distinguished for a consistent and systematic theology in every particular Calvinistic." He was "well read in Greek and Latin, but in Hebrew greatly excelled."<sup>58</sup>

The college expanded, taking on more tutors. Lessons were given in practical preaching and the three 'R's' were banged home at every opportunity: 'Ruin, Redemption, Regeneration'. Simpson, until his retirement in 1817, was said to have taught Hebrew, Biblical Criticism, Jewish Antiquities, Evidences of Divine Revelation, Systematic Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, and the connection of sacred and

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<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, The Story of the Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1906, (1906), pp.14-15. Nightingale thought the records of the ACC were lost, though they were available to the Rev. Richard Slate when he wrote his History of the Lancashire Congregational Union and the Blackburn Academy, (1840). They are however extant, deposited at the Lancashire CRO/CUL 1.1

<sup>57</sup> Robert Simpson, Animadversions Upon...a pamphlet, entitled 'An Address to the members of the establishment in Bolton; signed a Dissenter, published Bolton 1790, By a friend of the Doctrinal articles of the Church of England', (Bolton, J. Gardner, 1791).

<sup>58</sup> McLachlan, pp.237-241.

profane history, receiving an honorary D.D. from Glasgow in 1812. A succession of ministers taught English Grammar, Geography and the Classics. Henry Forster Burder, M.A., D.D., the son of the Rev. George Burder of Lancaster (1779-83), was professor of maths and Philosophy at Hoxton and its successor Highbury (1809-30).<sup>59</sup> His text-books, it was said by a student, were Reid, Stewart and Brown and he was entirely out of sympathy with 'mystical thinkers', somewhat of a counterweight to Simpson. By the time of the arrival of Burder, Hoxton was setting the standard for all other academies to follow. Fundamental to this was the stipulation that students finish their course of studies before accepting calls to preach on probation. Simpson and Hoxton established the principle amongst the Congregational churches that a learned ministry was not inimical to an evangelical preaching ministry. Lovegrove noted that, wherever Hoxton students went, they exercised a disproportionate influence over the Congregational churches and their arrival usually heralded a revitalised church and an expansionist outlook.<sup>60</sup> The charismatic power of Simpson cannot be estimated. Thomas Greenall's father was a congregant at Elswick and moved to Bolton, simply to remain under Simpson's ministry. Thomas attended Hoxton to be trained under Simpson and was subsequently minister of the Bethesda Congregational Church, Burnley (1814-48).<sup>61</sup> The outpouring of collective grief at Simpson's death, as evidenced by the publication of funeral sermons in 1818, was enormous.

As formal ministerial training and undertaking higher degrees became increasingly important requirements for the English Congregational ministry, university educated Scots began to supply training in the burgeoning English Congregational academies and arguably this is where Scottish Independency made its greatest contribution to the complexion of English Congregationalism. David Bogue was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland who became minister of a Congregational Church in

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<sup>59</sup> Rev. H. F. Burder, born Coventry on the 27th of November, 1783, shortly after his father's move there from Lancaster. Trained Hoxton and Glasgow University, matriculating 1804, M.A. 1807, D.D. 1830. Classical tutor Wymondley College, (1807-08). Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, Hoxton/Highbury, (1809-30). Assistant minister St. Thomas Square, Hackney, (1811-14), minister, (1814-52), when he retired. Member of the provisional committee for founding the CUEW, 1830. Died Hatcham, Surrey, 29th of December, 1864. Surman, 2771. Dale, English Congregationalism, p.689.

<sup>60</sup> Lovegrove, Established Church, Sectarian People, p.84.

<sup>61</sup> Born Bolton, Lancashire, 14th of August, 1788. Ordained 11th of October, 1815. Retired Preston, died on the 28th of August, 1851. LN, Vol.2, p.159. EM, 1816, p.277. CYB, 1853, p.210. Surman, 1116.



Gosport, Hampshire, where he ran a ministerial training academy (1780-1825?). He was in contact with Independent ministers in Scotland who, like him, were formerly trained for the Church of Scotland, notably the Rev. Greville Ewing of Glasgow and William Innes of Edinburgh. Gilbert Wardlaw, born in Glasgow in 1798, was tutor of the Blackburn Independent Academy (1821-23) and President (1830-34).<sup>62</sup> His older brother, Ralph Wardlaw, was the pre-eminent figure of Scottish Congregationalism and Professor of Theology at the Glasgow Theological Hall (1811-53).<sup>63</sup> William Lindsay Alexander M.A., LL.D. was tutor in classics and maths at Blackburn (1827-31) and minister at the Newington Chapel, Liverpool (1833-34), subsequently becoming the principle of the Edinburgh Theological Hall (1878-83).<sup>64</sup> English Congregationalists were increasingly not averse to receiving their training in the theological halls of the Associate Presbytery in Scotland, English Congregationalists being trained in Professor Brown's class at the Burgher Theological Hall. Thus William J. Hope, a Congregationalist from Blackburn, entered his class in 1811 and was subsequently classical tutor in the Blackburn Independent Academy.<sup>65</sup>

Evangelical Scottish Presbyterians and English Congregationalists found they had a lot in common and this was never more so when they were encouraging and training men for the ministry. As Simpson was moving to Hoxton, the young William Vint was beginning his ministry at the Congregational church in Idle, West Riding (1790-1834), where he also ran the seminary that was to

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<sup>62</sup> Matriculated Glasgow University 1810. Admitted Glasgow Theological Hall 1816. Glasgow M.A. 1821. Tutor Blackburn. (1821-23). Minister, Edinburgh Albany Street, (1823-30), ordained 1823. President of Blackburn Academy, (1830-34) and member of James Street Congregational Church, Blackburn. Subsequently ran a school in Helensburgh and Stirling and was Theology Tutor at the Edinburgh Theological College in 1845. *LN*, Vol.2, p.81. Ross, *Independency in Scotland*, pp.105, 248, 256. Abram, *Independency in Blackburn*, p.63. *EM*, 1874, p.157, 359.

<sup>63</sup> Alexander Hastie Millar, 'Ralph Wardlaw', *DNB*, 20, pp.810-811. Born Dalkeith, Scotland. 22nd of December. 1779. Matriculated Glasgow University 1790. Entered the Associate (Burgher) Theological Hall in 1795 under Professor George Lawson, until 1800. Minister of Glasgow North Albion Street, (1803-19), subsequently moving to West George Street and Elgin Place. (1819-53). Professor of Theology at Glasgow Theological Hall, (1811-53). Died on the 17th of December. 1853. Surman, 354. *DNB*. J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, (1915). Ross, *Independency in Scotland*, pp.119, 228, 233, 250. *CYB*, 1855, p.240. *EM*, 1854, pp.66;1856, p.146. W. L. Alexander, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw*, (1855).

<sup>64</sup> Born Leith, 24th of August, 1808. Trained at the Universities of St. Andrew's, (matriculating 1824-5), Glasgow and Edinburgh. Tutor Blackburn. (1827-31). Returned to Edinburgh to study medicine, prevented by illness. Minister Newington Chapel, Liverpool, (1833-4). Attended the universities of Halle and Leipzig. Minister of the North College Street/Augustine Church, Edinburgh. (1835-77). Principal of the Edinburgh Theological Hall, (1878-83). Died 20th of December, 1884. FRS. Vice President. New Testament reviser. *LN*, Vol. 6, 153. *DNB*. *CHST*, 14, p.189. *EM*, 1882, p.49. *CM*, 1835, p.326. Dale, *English Congregationalism*, p.730. *CYB*, 1886, p.146. Surman, 267.

<sup>65</sup> MacKelvie, *Annals and Statistics*, Student Lists.



become Airedale College. Vint had been catechised and taught by the Rev. James Sommerville at Branton, Northumberland. Sommerville, a Church of Scotland minister, had been recommended by Scott of Heckmondwick to the Protestant Dissenting congregations of Stainton, (1772-75) and Ravenstonedale, (1775-81) before moving to the Presbyterian congregation at Branton. He sent Vint to be trained by Walker at Northowram.<sup>66</sup> Vint's successor at Idle, the Rev. Joseph Stringer was also trained by a Scottish cleric. Born in Leeds, he was sent to be tutored by the Secession minister the Rev. Dr. Adam Thompson of Coldstream.<sup>67</sup> After attending Edinburgh University, Dr. Thompson wanted Stringer to enter the ministry in the Secession Church, though Stringer remained committed to Congregationalism. There is no better expression of the common outlook shared between evangelical Presbyterians, especially of the Secession Church and the Congregationalists, than Dr. Thompson's letter of recommendation for Stringer to William Vint's academy at Idle/Airedale, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, 1824:

I felt very anxious that Mr. Stringer should have remained in Scotland and become a minister of the Secession Church of Scotland, but he has come to a different determination; and I have no doubt, that under your care, he will become a very eminent minister of the Church of Christ.

Having often been in England, and having observed the doctrine and manner of life of the ministers there, I have always felt happy to embrace them as brethren. As soon as Mr. Stringer begins to preach regularly, I shall be happy to see him in my pulpit; and may I be allowed to say further, that should you ever again visit this part of the country, I shall esteem it a high honour if you would favour me with your assistance in preaching to my people either on a Sabbath or on any week-day you might find most convenient.<sup>68</sup>

### **Congregationalists and Scottish Presbyterians in Lancashire.**

The Congregational ministry of Lancashire was not dominated by Scottish ministers trained in Scottish church traditions in the period 1770-1829 but key individuals were crucial in the survival of an orthodox ministry and the provision of education in the county. That said, there were often large Scottish elements in the congregations of these churches. As Scottish communities developed in the

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<sup>66</sup> Turner, *Idle*, pp.52-85.

<sup>67</sup> A near contemporary of Ralph Wardlaw at the Burgher Theological Hall, he entered Professor George Lawson's 1799 session and ministered to the Coldstream West congregation. See MacKelvie, *Annals and Statistics*.

<sup>68</sup> Turner, *Idle*, p.98.



industrialising towns of the north-west they frequently tried to assert their identity by the formation of distinctly Scottish Presbyterian churches. Indeed, initially, there was a marked Scottish component to the emergence of the orthodox churches formed of seceders from the old Protestant Dissenting chapels in the period 1750-79. Halley was of the opinion that

Modern Congregationalism in Manchester originated in the middle of the last century with a few good people who cared much more for Evangelical doctrine than for ecclesiastical polity. Some of them had seceded from Cross Street meeting-house on account of the new doctrine which had been introduced into that venerable sanctuary of nonconformity; some had immigrated from Scotland; and some had been religiously excited by the earnest preaching of the Methodists or Calvinistic itinerants from Yorkshire. They met for worship in a small and inconvenient meeting-house in Cold House Lane...Their first pastor, the Rev. Caleb Warhurst, a man of fervent piety, exemplary character, loving spirit, and incessant labour, was ordained in 1756.<sup>69</sup>

This quote rather neatly outlines most of the antecedents of the new evangelical Congregationalism. The influence of the Methodists is acknowledged but, unlike Bennet's Duke's Alley church in Bolton, formed in 1754, this Manchester congregation was not ministered to by independent Methodists but sprang from the efforts of the orthodox Protestant Dissenters. Warhurst's ordination is an expression of the survival of orthodox piety amongst sections of Protestant Dissent in conjunction with influential Scottish ministers in the region. Warhurst had grown up in Stockport, Cheshire, where he had most probably attended the ministry of the Rev. Peter Walkden at the Stockport Tabernacle, (1744-69). Leach was of the opinion from a careful reading of Warhurst's Diary that he was invited to preach in Manchester by the Rev. James Winterbottom of the Baptist Church in Cold House in 1753 and that Warhurst had his own congregation in Cold House before 1756. His ministry was so successful that the meeting-house required enlarging and Warhurst had to preach in the Methodist chapel whilst making arrangements for his ordination.<sup>70</sup> The fact that Warhurst re-formed his church on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November, two days before his ordination, is taken to mean that he was dropping its Baptist polity. The aged Walkden proposed the questions and demanded Warhurst's confession of Faith at the

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<sup>69</sup> Halley, Vol. 2, p.447.

<sup>70</sup> Rev. Charles Leach, D.D., Manchester Congregationalism: Its Rise and Progress. With special reference to that side of it now represented by Cavendish Chapel, (London, 1898), pp.20-21.

ordination on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November, 1756.<sup>71</sup> I have outlined previously Walkden's efforts to maintain an orthodox ministry in the north-west. This ordination marks a crucial shift in his strategy; for the first time in Lancashire in the eighteenth century, the orthodox party within Protestant Dissent has founded a chapel specifically to differentiate themselves from the Arminian elements within Protestant Dissent. They further differentiated themselves by demanding a confession of faith. Along with Walkden, presiding over the ordination were Scott of Heckmondwick and the Rev. John Pye of the Nether Chapel, Sheffield. Scott had just begun training men for the ministry.<sup>72</sup> Pye was described by Dale as one of only two orthodox Protestant Dissenting ministers in a large urban congregation in the north of England.<sup>73</sup> What this represents is the re-introduction of orthodox paedobaptist Protestant Dissent back into the urban centres in Lancashire. With such varied influences though, it should not surprise us if the ecclesiology of these new Congregational churches differed from the strict polity formulated in the seventeenth century by the likes of Ames and Owen. It underscores the reliance on support from the Yorkshire churches and the degree to which Scottish elements in these congregations were dissatisfied with Arminian preaching and were willing to explore the development of new church traditions. The Scottish elements in this church seem to have bedevilled the progress of this church until the appointment of William Roby in 1795. Initially content with an independent Reformed congregation, Scottish elements within this Manchester church were constantly pushing for a clearer commitment to Scottish Presbyterian practice. This particular chapel history should make us aware of the many elements in the equation that went to make up the Congregational churches of Lancashire and that, as these Reformed churches struggled to create an identity for themselves, the final outcome was by no means inevitable.

The nineteenth century historians of Lancashire Dissent disagreed about the early nature of this church. Robert Halley was a Congregationalist of Scottish extraction. In 1869 he emphasised that there was a Presbyterianising element in the early life of this church. Benjamin Nightingale, who seldom had a good word to say about the late Professor Halley, was at pains to point out in 1893 that

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<sup>71</sup> LN, Vol.5, p.109. The Diary of Caleb Warhurst, 1755-59, MS, Manchester Congregational College, William Roby Papers, JRL. In Nightingale's day this MS was in the possession of William Armitage of Altrincham.

<sup>72</sup> LN, Vol. 5, p.326 extracts part of a letter from John Pye in Sheffield to Caleb Warhurst on the arrangements for the ordination.

<sup>73</sup> Dale, English Congregationalism, p.561.



documentary evidence from the Trust Deeds of 1762 states the church was Independent. Leach points out that a church covenant was entered into.<sup>74</sup> The Congregationalist historian Robert Waddington, in 1878, noted that 'The original church, from its formation, was enveloped in a "Scotch mist". Some of the members had a slight craze on the question of "ruling elders"'.<sup>75</sup> Nightingale was of the opinion that divisions over the office of elders emerged later, in the 1780s. But unquestionably, the problems lay in the subsequent interpretation of the church's original constitution.

A church was built for this congregation in Hunter's Croft in 1762. Nightingale informs us that, in the Church Book for 1762, a lengthy document is prefixed, stating that 'With respect to their Church Order and Discipline, that which is practised in the Independent Churches was looked upon to be the most agreeable to Scripture, and therefore attempted'. The past tense is revealing. This was not written in 1762 but subsequently. The problem arose in a document written by Warhurst in 1762 and printed in 1764, entitled the Confession of Faith, with a form of Church Government, deduced from the holy Scriptures, drawn up for the use of the Church of Christ, worshipping in the Meeting-house, Hunter's Croft, Manchester, (R. Whitworth, Manchester, 1764)<sup>76</sup> which mentions the institution of the 'Ruling Elder, who assists the pastor in ruling and government'. Warhurst was ordained by an English Presbyterian, a Scottish Presbyterian and an English Congregationalist. In seeking to institute a correct form of church order to guarantee the survival of evangelical doctrines in his new church, he was at liberty to decide on the exact role of church officers and a hybrid ecclesiology may have been the result. Warhurst may have faced pressure from the Scottish elements in his congregation to make some statement on eldership but their role seems poorly defined. Individual churches were free to decide their own ecclesiology and it should not surprise that these practices were often not strictly Congregational. Philip Doddridge, writing to an American correspondent in 1741 about his church at Castle Hill Chapel, Northampton, noted that 'the Congregational form generally

<sup>74</sup> LN, Vol. 5, p. 113. Leach, Manchester Congregationalism, pp.25-6.

<sup>75</sup> Waddington, Congregational History, 1800-1850, p.51, using as his source the papers of Mr. Elijah Armitage, a member of the Canon St/Grosvenor St. congregation.

<sup>76</sup> Nightingale said he owned a copy of this book, over eighty pages octavo and quite a little compendium of theology: LN, Vol. 5, p.114. It is not recorded as published by Whitworth in Manchester in 1764 in A. J. Hawkes, Lancashire Printed Books: A Bibliography, (Wigan, 1925), p.80. Leach, Manchester congregationalism, p.30, says that the printed version covers twenty two octavo pages including notes.

prevails here at Northampton...we have 10 Officers, besides the pastor, ie 4 Elders & 6 Deacons'.<sup>77</sup> Nightingale is of the opinion that ruling elder is another synonym for teaching elder/minister and this is strongly supported by evidence presented by the Rev. Dr. Leach. Dr. Alexander MacKenna, in 1891, was of the opinion that whilst the issue of elders was not a point of contention during Warhurst's ministry, after his death, in 1765, it became an issue. Andrew Patten, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 1778, wrote a letter to the minister Timothy Priestley, complaining that ' "a few men have taken upon them to overturn the government of this church, and to set up one of their own invention". He declares that ruling elders are essential to the church as Christ intended it.'<sup>78</sup> After Priestley's removal in 1784, the next minister had to square-up to the issue, which was threatening to split the church. The Rev. David Bradbury was a convert of Whitefield and was trained at Mile End Academy. Funded by the Independent King's head Society, Bradbury's metropolitan conception of Congregational Independency immediately came into conflict with this regional experiment. The manuscripts of the Rev. Elijah Armitage record that when he arrived 'the Society possessed something of the Presbyterian form of church government. It was a sort of half-way society, by having lay elders as well as deacons'. Halley noted that he was

troubled by the disputes of his people, and especially by the pertinacious attempts of some Scotch members to appoint ruling elders, and to introduce some other Presbyterian ways into the church. Mr. Bradbury was not the man to be ruled by either Scotchmen or Englishmen, elders or deacons, and therefore, after much unhappy controversy, and a large secession of members, he resigned his charge and left the neighbourhood.<sup>79</sup>

Bradbury opposed the appointment of lay elders and a large element within the church left, eventually to form the Mosley Street congregation in 1788, calling the Church of Scotland minister, Thomas Kennedy, from Carlisle, who seems to have been in Manchester for only a short while, 1792-94. Strangely enough, this new church did not insist in its new constitution on the appointment of ruling elders. The evidence presented by Leach suggests that both Kennedy and the church thought of itself as Independent. The next minister was ordained in 1798 to 'the pastoral charge of the Independent

<sup>77</sup> Nuttall, *Calendar and Correspondence of Philip Doddridge*, No.663, pp.130-131.

<sup>78</sup> Dr. Alexander MacKenna, *Life of J. A. MacFadyen*, (London, 1891), p.103.

<sup>79</sup> Halley, Vol. 2, p.449.



church, Mosley-street, Manchester', the congregation now reconciled with the Canon Street congregation under Roby. The Mosley Street chapel was the property of Robert Spear and it is likely that his great friendship with Roby healed the wounds, though some very un-Congregational practices were noted in 1797.<sup>80</sup> It is also likely that any dissatisfied elements would increasingly been able to attend the ministry of Scottish Presbyterians. Members of the Secession Church resident in the city had obtained occasional sermons from the Associate (Burgher) Presbytery of Edinburgh and built a chapel in Lloyd Street in 1798, obtaining their first settled minister in 1801, the Rev. Robert Jack.<sup>81</sup> The Kirk was not to establish its first congregation in Manchester until 1831.<sup>82</sup>

Developments in Manchester are fairly typical of the industrialising towns of the north-west. Scottish immigrant communities in the period 1770-1800 generally worshipped in the English Reformed churches. It is only in the last decade of the eighteenth century that they begin to establish distinctly Scottish Presbyterian churches in Lancashire. It was in this decade that the Unitarianism of the English Presbyterian chapels became all too obvious. Traditionally attracted by the opportunity to link straight into established family commercial networks through Presbyterian/Unitarian chapel communities, many Scottish immigrants involved in trade had worshipped in these societies. Those more concerned with orthodox expressions of faith had been leaving these chapels for decades but the support of these communities for Jacobin radicalism in the 1790s often proved the final straw.

In Liverpool, the Key Street Protestant Dissenting chapel was built in 1707, probably because of 'the rising population of Liverpool, and the influx of settlers from Scotland, and [the north of]

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<sup>80</sup> Leach, Manchester Congregationalism, p.50. Nightingale, LCU, pp.147-149.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Jack, b. 1760? Entered the Associate (Burgher) Theological Hall under Professor John Brown of Haddington, 1777 session. Entered the ministry, 1782, Linlithgow. Subsequently minister Greenock. Ordained Manchester, October, 1801. M'Kerrow succeeded him in the ministry 1827. Died 1837.

<sup>82</sup> J. T. Slugg, Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago, (Manchester, 1881), p.189 says that the Scotch Kirk was built shortly after the Lloyd Street Secession church and then somewhat in contradiction he recalls Dr. Chalmers preaching at the old Mechanics Institute in Cooper Street, (f.1824), to raise funds for the Scotch Kirk in St. Peters Square. There is no Scots Kirk mentioned in the list of 'Dissenting Chapels in and near Manchester, 1810', from the Protestant Dissenters' Almanac, 1811, reproduces in the article 'London Nonconformity, 1810', TCHS, Vol.6, numb.2, October, 1913. 'St.Andrew's. (Scotch Kirk), Mosley Street, 1000 sittings' is mentioned in James Wheeler, Manchester: Its Political, Social and Commercial History, Ancient and Modern, (Manchester, 1836). The Victoria County History of Lancashire, Vol.4, (1906), p.250, notes that a Scotch Kirk was built in Moseley Street in 1831 and that another, the Chalmers Memorial Chapel, Ancoats, was founded in 1837 and the chapel built in 1854.

Ireland'.<sup>83</sup> Scots and Irish immigrants worshipping in these chapel communities came from the same socio-economic background as most English Presbyterian congregants and shared the same commercial interests and would often worship quite happily in these chapels as the ministry became progressively more heterodox. Frequently Church of Scotland ministers with Unitarian tendencies fitted into these chapels. But increasingly large numbers of Scottish communicants in these old English Protestant Dissenting congregations found the theology and the politics of their ministers distasteful. The Newington Congregational Church, Liverpool, founded in 1776, was formed because the trustees of the Toxteth Park Chapel appointed a Church of Scotland licentiate of pronounced Arian persuasions to the ministry. Advice was sought from the orthodox divines of Lancashire, among them McQuhae, with Scott of Heckmondwick supplying the new evangelical minister. Nightingale was of the opinion that members of the Scottish community of Liverpool worshipped in the Newington Congregational Chapel until the building of the Oldham Street Chapel in connection with the Church of Scotland in 1792. Thom obtained information from members of the Oldham Street congregation that had been passed on from Gilbert Henderson, a Scot who had arrived in Liverpool in 1775. He recalled that the Scots of Liverpool worshipped in 'the church of England- some, the English Presbyterian Chapels- and some, Independent places for worship'. At a St. Andrew's Night dinner in 1792

those that attended at English Presbyterian Chapels were charged by parties who had joined the Church of England, with countenancing Arianism and Socinianism; which, on their part, was retorted by alleging that their accusers, by going over to "the whistling Kirk," (a term by which the Anglican Church is popularly known in the West of Scotland, on account of the use of the organ in its public services,) and adopting forms which in their native country had been repudiated, had poured contempt on the Church of their Fathers.<sup>84</sup>

The choice between episcopacy and outright heresy seems to have been the only one available to conscientious Scots before the 1770s if they were not lucky enough to live near one of the orthodox

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<sup>83</sup> David Thom, 'Liverpool Churches and Chapels; their Destruction, Removal, or Alteration: with Notices of Clergymen, Ministers, and Others', Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vols. 3 and 4, 1850-52: session 4, 1851-2, p.144. Thom was quoting an MS of Henry Taylor in the Renshaw St./Ullett Road Chapel Library and was using information passed on to him by James Martineau.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.* Vols. 1 and 2, 1848-50, session 2, 1849-50, Appendix, pp.229-231.



English Protestant Dissenting chapels. The growth of evangelical Congregational churches in the 1770s to a certain extent must have alleviated the problem and is in part the result of the dissatisfaction felt by Scottish communicants in these chapels. As the Scottish immigrant communities grew however, Scottish elements increasingly began to attempt to replicate Scottish Presbyterian churches in the industrial towns of the north-west.

The Scottish community in Blackburn attended the ministry of the Scottish Independent, McQuhae, from 1777, with no attempt to form a distinctly Scottish church in the town until 1809. The Scottish textile workers at the Grant's print works at Holcombe were ministered to by the local Congregationalists up until 1798 and after this date asserted their independence when the Congregational church re-located to Ramsbottom. It is only in the very last years of the century that efforts were made to form specifically Scottish Presbyterian churches. In Wigan the Chapel Street Chapel was built in 1769/70 by private benefaction of an individual of Arian/Unitarian persuasions and worked by the minister of the old Protestant Dissenting chapel at Hindley. The Hindley Unitarian minister moved to chapel Lane about 1777 having been removed for attempting to detach the endowments from Hindley. He also ministered to the congregation at the old Protestant Dissenting chapel at Tunley, which had previously been associated with Hindley. The congregation in Wigan consisted of liberal English Presbyterians and increasingly large numbers of Scots, dissatisfied with the heterodox teaching of their minister. By 1795, the Scots in the church were powerful enough to persuade the trustees to appoint a Church of Scotland minister. They obtained, through Manchester commercial connections, the Rev. William Dinwiddie, ordained by the Presbytery of Dumfries to the church at Wigan. What is striking is that these notionally Scottish Presbyterian churches existed in almost complete isolation from connection with the hierarchy of the church. This is certainly true of the churches notionally in connection with the Church of Scotland. Dinwiddie's ministry in Wigan, (1795-1832) went by without any involvement of the presbyteries of the Church of Scotland, which refused to exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction or to allow its English churches access to its higher courts. The Presbyterian Churches with Church of Scotland ministers in Cumberland, growing tired of the Scottish Establishments obstructiveness, had formed their own North-West Synod in 1824 and began putting missionary feelers out into Lancashire in 1827. A deputation from the Rev. Andrew

Wilson, (Liverpool, Rodney Street) and the Rev. Walter[William]Rentoul, (Maryport, Cumberland), attempted to persuade Dinwiddie to join their presbytery. He refused, ostensibly on the grounds that he was too old to attend the meetings of the presbytery in Carlisle. It seems he did not want to loose the control he exercised over his two chapels endowments to any presbytery. He participated with the missionary efforts of the local Secession and Scottish Congregationalist ministers who c.1833 obtained the chapel trust deeds, handing the church over to the Presbyterian Church in England at the request of the congregation.<sup>85</sup>

Thus, by 1800 there were only three Scottish Presbyterian churches in Lancashire: Liverpool Oldham Street, f.1792, Wigan Chapel Lane, commencing with Dinwiddie's ministry in 1795 and the Associate Presbytery chapel in Lloyd Street, Manchester, f.1798. Whilst the chapels in connection with the Church of Scotland had to suffer the indifference of their parent church the Associate Presbytery churches were poised for expansion. After 1800 growth in the chapels in connection with the Church of Scotland was desultory and usually the result of schisms. Up until 1829 the only other mainstream Scottish Presbyterian church to be formed that associated itself with the Church of Scotland was St. Andrew's, Rodney Street, Liverpool, formed in 1823 by disgruntled members of Oldham Street who were out-voted in their choice of the minister, the Rev. David Thom.<sup>86</sup> The new Rodney Street church was opened in December 1824 by Edward Irving. It was immediately split over approaches to theology and another pastor, Andrew Wilson became co-pastor to satisfy some elements of the congregation. The only area where Scottish presbyteries showed the slightest bit of interest in the English churches was on the question of heresy, the Presbytery of Glasgow finding David Thom, the recently instituted minister of Rodney Street, guilty of holding sentiments inconsistent with the Westminster Confession of Faith and deposing him. Dr. Chalmers toured Lancashire in the 1820s to secure funds for church extension, leading to the opening of the St. Peter's Square Church of Scotland Church, Manchester, in 1831. The 1830s mark the beginning of the English Presbyterian church's

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<sup>85</sup> William B. Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan: A Record of Three Centuries, (Manchester, 1912), pp.51-102.

<sup>86</sup> Other churches outside the mainstream of Scottish Presbyterianism need not detain us here. For instance David Thom's personal congregation after his removal from Rodney Street at Bold Street and afterwards Brownlow Hill, Liverpool, (1825-62); see J. A. Picton, Memorials of Liverpool, Historical and Topographical, Vol. 2, (Liverpool, 1875), pp.238, 245. A Covenanting/Reformed Presbyterian congregation was founded in Shaw Street in Liverpool, 1823. There were other assorted odd-bods include the Bereans and Morrisonians.



struggle for identity. The Kirk Presbyterians met in St Peter's on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1833, to form the 'Lancashire Scottish Church Presbytery'.<sup>87</sup> In 1835 they petitioned the Church of Scotland General Assembly for the formation of an English Synod but to no avail. In 1836 the Lancashire Presbytery, with five congregations, united itself with the five congregations of the North West Presbytery, covering Cumberland, into an English Synod.<sup>88</sup> At the disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843 the English synod associated with the Free Church and became the Presbyterian Church in England. The trustees of Oldham and Rodney Street maintained the links with the Church of Scotland at the Disruption, the vast majority of congregants leaving to form churches in connection with the Free Church. In 1844 the synod drafted documents renouncing any connection with the Church of Scotland. Subsequently there was massive growth in the churches in Liverpool who co-operated with the Secession churches in the pursuit of evangelical efforts.

The various Associate Presbytery churches fared better with more regionally adaptable presbyteries that countenanced English churches. However, one is stuck by how difficult it was to sustain distinctly Scottish polity and how the greater ability of the Congregationalists to supply ministers often saw the church becoming Independent. In Bolton in 1803 Scottish communicants at the Duke's Alley congregation seceded and built a chapel at the foot of Moor Lane in 1804. Their first minister was ordained in 1805 and died the next year. By 1807 the church was in some difficulty when Dr. Simpson of Hoxton visited Bolton, advising them to found a Congregational church, which he would supply ministers for. This was agreed but in the meantime the Presbytery had sent another minister. The Congregationalist ministerial student had to preach in hired rooms, forming a church in 1808 and opening the Mawdsley Street Congregational Chapel in 1809. The Secession congregation was broken up after the translation of its second minister back to Scotland in 1818, the church sold to the Unitarians.<sup>89</sup>

A more successful effort was undertaken by the Secession Church in Liverpool in 1807 who built their first chapel in Gloucester Street in 1808, moving subsequently to a chapel in Mount Pleasant in

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<sup>87</sup> W. Hume Elliot, The Country and Church of the Cheeryble Brothers, (Selkirk, 1893), p. 285.

<sup>88</sup> The five congregations of the Lancashire Presbytery were: Liverpool Oldham Street and Rodney Street, Manchester St. Peter's Square, St. Andrew's Ramsbottom and ?. The congregations of the North-West Presbytery were: Wigan Chapel Street, Maryport, Whitehaven, Brampton and ?

<sup>89</sup> LN, 3, pp.33-34. MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics.

1826.<sup>90</sup> Their first minister the Rev. John Stewart D.D., (1809-40) along with the Revs. Robert Jack and William McKerrow of the Manchester Lloyd Street congregation, came to dominate the efforts of the Scottish churches in Lancashire in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, gradually securing chapel properties, funding and supplying ministers for the urban Scottish communities of industrial Lancashire, most notably at Holcombe and Blackburn.

At Holcombe, the old Protestant Dissenting chapel that in the first half of the eighteenth century had been worked with the congregation at Bury, had fallen into disrepair with only intermittent supplies of ministers, about whom little is known. In 1796, the Rev. Benjamin Holmes, in connection with the Lancashire Congregational Union revived the church, formed a Congregational church and removed the congregation to the new Park Chapel, Warmersley, Ramsbottom in 1798. The Park congregation tried to obtain the old Holcombe chapel but were prevented, most probably by a lawsuit from the Grant brothers. Nightingale notes that between 1798 and 1807 the church received the services of Roby's students from Manchester but unquestionably the church was treated as the property of the Grants. The next settled minister was the Rev. Peter Ramsay, a Scottish Independent trained by William Innes in Dundee and Roby in Manchester. At the first meeting of the Lancashire Congregational Union in October 1806, Ramsay brought his congregation into the Lancashire Congregational Union. In 1811 the Grants forcibly ejected him from the pulpit. Ramsay formed another congregation a mile down the road at Holcombe Brook (1811-14), financially supported by the L. C. U. The Grants then proceeded to procure a licentiate of the Church of Scotland to preach and an undignified battle for the souls of this immigrant Scottish community ensued. The arrival, probably in 1814, of a settled minister, the Rev. Thomas Nelson, licentiate of the presbytery of Edinburgh, led Ramsay to abandon his efforts and move to the pastorate of the Congregational church in Haslingden. Nelson was never ordained and was gone by 1817, when Holcombe was again vacant. The congregation appealed to Dr Jack of the Lloyd Street, Manchester, Burgher church for supply of a Minister. The Edinburgh Presbytery of the Associate Synod sent six candidates on trial in 1817 and the congregation chose George Brown, who was ordained minister at large at Holcombe in 1818 and elected as minister of the congregation in 1819. Holcombe, at the formation of the United Secession

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<sup>90</sup> MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics, p.474. Thom, 'On the Scotch Kirks and Congregations in Liverpool:', Proceedings H.S.L.C., Vols. 1 and 2, 1848-50, session 2, 1849-50, p.71.



Church in 1820 was transferred from the Presbytery of Edinburgh to the Presbytery of London. Brown resigned in 1829 for a teaching post in Liverpool. The church then came under the superintendence of the Presbytery of Lancashire, notionally in connection with the Church of Scotland but rapidly developing their own autonomous structures culminating in the formation in 1836 of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in England. In 1830 the Rev. Andrew MacLean, licentiate of the Presbytery of Glasgow, Church of Scotland, became minister. The Grant's then financed the building of St. Andrew's Church of Scotland church in Ramsbottom in 1834, the congregation removing there. This example perhaps illustrates the unseemlier side of religious competition and perhaps illustrates the forces at work in the creation of denominational identities in the period, where the exercise of proprietorial power was still seemingly a central component of chapel identity.

In Blackburn, the Scottish community of the town had invited McQuhae of Tockholes to form the first Congregational church in the town in 1777. The Scottish community worshipped without contention in the Congregational church. In 1809, five members left over disagreements with the minister and built the Mount Street Presbyterian Church, in connection with the Burgher Seceders.<sup>91</sup> However, the Associate Presbytery at the time simply could not supply the church. All its ministers were Congregationalists and in 1815 it joined the Lancashire Congregational Union but it never prospered and was closed for long periods of time. Stewart Brown and McKerrow bought the church and had it re-opened as a United Secession Church in 1828, the Rev. Francis Skinner being ordained to the congregation in October, 1829. Until his death in 1866, he was to take part in major evangelical campaigns in Lancashire and be a firm advocate of co-operation with the Congregational churches of the region.

After 1830 and up until mid-century, the expansion the United Secession Church was limited. In 1831 the Presbytery of Lancashire was formed out of the Presbytery of London and the Presbytery of Carlisle. It would supply ministers in old Protestant Dissenting chapels: at Duckinfield, Cheshire. (1820-22), Hallfold/Whitworth, (1832-47), Warrington St. John's Chapel, (1830-35) but these were absorbed by the Congregationalists. After the retirement of Dinwiddie at Wigan Chapel Lane in 1832, the United Secession Church did successfully take over supplying the old Protestant Dissenting

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<sup>91</sup> Abram, Independency in Blackburn, p.23.

chapel at Tunley, which was under the ministry of the Rev. Alexander Leslie, (1834-63). It then entered the Liverpool Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in England. But in the main the growth of the Secession churches and the Presbyterian Church in England lie outside the scope of this study. The Presbyterian Church in England congregations, throwing in their lot with the Free Church of Scotland in 1843 began collaborating with the voluntarist United Secession Church more vigorously, leading to the union of the two churches at a ceremony in Liverpool in 1876 to form the Presbyterian Church of England.

What I have tried to convey in this chapter is the extent to which orthodox Presbyterianism shared its development and the creation of its own self identity with the Congregational churches of the county. If evidence of conflict can be produced, in general the ministers of these churches shared a common outlook that cohered around such beliefs as the efficacy of the voluntary principle and a desire to preserve the Protestant Reformation. There was a statistically significant Scottish-born element in the Congregational churches of Lancashire in the period 1770-1829 but they were never representatives of specifically Scottish church traditions but must be seen as part of a British Reformed tradition, an essential component in the creation of English Congregationalism and sharing many political and religious ideals and aspirations within a wider constituency of British Nonconformist evangelicalism within the north-west.

I want to close this chapter with an assessment of the numerical strength of Congregationalism in Lancashire and its position amongst the broader Protestant Dissenting community at the end of the period of this study. It is fortunate that a Parliamentary Survey of the Churches and Chapels of Lancashire for the year 1830 was undertaken. I have used these returns, in conjunction with the Census figures for Lancashire for the year 1831, (the population figures in the Religious Census being those for the year 1821) to come to some conclusions about the numbers of Congregational churches and adherents, their geographic distribution and their position relative to the other churches of the region.<sup>92</sup> I will not present a detailed, parish by parish assessment of Congregational numbers, or a

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<sup>92</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 664, xix, 11-34, Churches and Chapels, Return of the Number of Parish Churches and Chapels, and Chapels of Ease, of the Church of England, and of the Number of Places of Worship Not of the Church of England; So far as regards the County of Lancaster. Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 8 July 1830. William Page, (ed.), Victoria County History of Lancashire. Vol.2, 'Appendix II, Table of Population, 1801 to 1901', pp. 330-349.



detailed critique of the information presented in the Religious Census, reserving this for a future article. Here I merely want to establish a broadly reliable overview of the extent and strength of the Congregational and Reformed churches of Lancashire in the year 1830.

The Census recorded 81 Independent chapels in the county with 24, 299 adherents, out of a county population of 1, 336, 854 for the year 1831. Thus the Independents formed 1.82% of the county population. Taking into account the religious census would have been compiled in 1829 and the early part of 1830 and the population census in 1831, this probably slightly underestimates the percentage of Congregational adherents in the county population. The Methodists (not distinguished between their various branches in the census), by comparison were 4.12% of the county population, the Unitarians 0.38%. In most of the hundreds of the county the Congregationalists formed between 1 and 2% of the population.

Another factor that should be taken into account, which again works to under-represent the number of Independent adherents and chapels in the county, is the distinction made in the census between 'Independent' and 'Calvinist'. There is strong reason to believe that the definition Calvinist was preferred by many of the Congregational churches of the region. It may indicate an unwillingness to be identified with the churches of the county union or simply the age old fear of denominational labels. I won't repeat the reasoning here but I can prove from other sources that some of the Calvinist churches returned in the census were Independent chapels. If we add the 23 chapels and 7,569 adherents returned 'Calvinist' in the Census to the Independents' totals, we come up with the figure of 104 chapels with Independent/Calvinist adherents constituting 2.4% of the county population, being 31, 868 individuals. The total number of Independent chapels I enumerated from my research and presented in Appendix D. 6 was 92 at the end of 1829. It is possible that the discrepancy between the figures 92 and 104 is accounted for by the presence of foreign Protestant and other miscellaneous chapels being included under the heading 'Calvinist' but, on the whole, I think its safe to group these two denominations together and think in terms of just over 90 functioning congregations throughout the county. For comparative purposes, the Unitarians were returned as having 28 chapels with only 5, 099 adherents in the 1830 census.

If my assumptions have been correct about the shared community of values that existed between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians in Lancashire by the 1830s then we can get some expression of the numerical strength of this constituency of Reformed churches by including the census returns for the Presbyterian churches of Lancashire with the Independent/Calvinist figures. The Presbyterians recorded 13 churches and 3,954 adherents. This Protestant Dissenting bloc therefore formed 2.68% of the county population. The population of all adherents to Protestant Dissenting churches in Lancashire in the 1830 census was 8.02% of the county population.<sup>93</sup> Thus it will be seen that this Reformed constituency forms over a quarter of the Protestant Dissenting population of Lancashire.

If we look at church provision, the Independents alone accounted for 9.2% of church provision in the county. If Independents/Calvinists and Presbyterians are grouped together, they account for 13.3% of all church provision in the county, the Methodists 30% the Church of England 32%. The Independents/Calvinists and Presbyterians accounted for 24% of all Protestant Dissenting church provision in the county, as compared to the Methodists 54% and the Unitarians 5.8%.

This information can be further broken down by the six hundreds in the county. In the northernmost Hundred of Lonsdale, an area that had traditionally seen few Protestant Dissenting churches develop, most parishes return no figures for Independents. In Lonsdale North of the Sands, only Ulverstone Parish returned any Independents, 3.23% of the parish population.<sup>94</sup> In Lonsdale South of the Sands, only Lancaster returned any, 7.57% of the parish population being Independents.<sup>95</sup> Congregationalism was entirely excluded from the country parishes, but despite this, these urban adherents to Congregationalism formed 1.73% of the population of the hundred.<sup>96</sup> The percentage of Lonsdale Hundred's population returned a Protestant Dissenters was smaller than any other hundred in the county, being 5.37%. This reflects the pattern I outlined in Chapter Three of the paucity of rural Protestant Dissent and subsequent Congregationalism in those parts of the county

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<sup>93</sup> For the purposes of this section the term 'Protestant Dissent' includes the census headings Baptist, Calvinist, Independent, Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker, Unitarian, Other.

<sup>94</sup> Independent 250, population 7, 741.

<sup>95</sup> Independent 544, population 7, 186. If the part of Lancaster Parish which lies in Amounderness Hundred is included (population 2, 495), then this brings the percentage of Independents returned in Lancaster Parish to 5.62%.

<sup>96</sup> Total number of Independents returned 794, population of the hundred 45, 835.



north of the River Lune. In Lonsdale Hundred Independents/Calvinists/Presbyterians accounted for 3.4% of all church provision, the Methodists 12.35% and the Church of England 67%. This is the only Hundred in the county where the Church of England maintains over fifty percent of the church property. If we look at Protestant Dissenting church provision in Lonsdale Hundred, then the Independents/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc were responsible for 12.5% of chapels, the Methodists 45.8%.

In Amounderness Hundred, in the north of the county, Independent adherents alone were 3.49% of the total population of the hundred. Adherents to Protestant Dissent formed 9.08% of the hundreds population, the second highest percentage in the county. These figures, above the county average, require some explanation. The percentage of the population who are returned as Independents is nearly double any other hundred in the county. When one looks at the parishes in which the percentage of Congregationalists is greater than the county average, then what is apparent is that it is those parishes that maintained a persistent Protestant Dissenting presence from the seventeenth century, or those areas targeted by Congregational missionaries in the late eighteenth early nineteenth century that show the greatest number of Independents returned. Thus in St. Michael's parish, in which the seventeenth century dissenting chapel at Elswick was situated, 6.07% of the population was returned as Independent.<sup>97</sup> Bispham parish, long the focus of the Fylde Itinerancy of the Lancashire Congregational Union, returned 7.24% of the parish population as adherents to Congregationalism, Garstang 4.72% and Preston 3.19%.<sup>98</sup> I have argued previously that it was the survival of orthodox rural congregations like Elswick and Garstang that enabled orthodox Congregationalism to be re-established in the towns of Lancashire in the second half of the eighteenth century. The persistence of strong centres of rural Congregationalism in Amounderness Hundred seems to be confirmed by these returns. One should bear in mind the effect of the slower rate of population growth in the northern hundreds of the county however. The Congregational cohort in these northern hundreds may have grown more slowly in absolute terms compared with the number of Congregational adherents in southern hundreds, but their relative numbers ensured they formed a larger percentage of the

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<sup>97</sup> Independents 286, population 4, 708,

<sup>98</sup> Bispham: Independent 91, population 1, 256. Garstang: Independent 327, population 6, 927. Preston: Independent 1160, population, 36, 336.

population. The total number of Independent returned in Amounderness Hundred was 2, 445 out of a population of 69, 987. In Salford Hundred, for instance, the total number of Independent recorded was 9, 879 out of a far larger population.

In Amounderness Hundred the Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc contributed 17.4% of all church provision, the Methodists 22% and the Church of England 30.2%. Looking at Protestant Dissenting church provision in Amounderness, then the Independents/Calvinists/Presbyterians accounted for 34.9% of chapels, the Methodists 44.2%. Amounderness is the only Hundred in the county where the Independents come anywhere near rivaling the Methodists in church provision and it is the hundred in which the Independent bloc maintains the highest percentage provision of church property in the county. Another pattern that emerges here that will become more apparent in the southern hundreds is that the Methodists begin to rival the established church in church provision.

In Blackburn Hundred, where Protestant Dissenting adherents were returned as 12.1% of the hundred's population, 1.99% of the hundred's population was returned as Independent.<sup>99</sup> Over 2% of the huge parishes of Blackburn and Whalley were returned as Independent, representing the strength of Independency in towns like Accrington, Blackburn and Colne and a presence was maintained even in the rural parishes north of the River Ribble. In Blackburn Hundred the Independents/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc maintains 13.7% of all church provision, the Methodists 35.2%, the Church of England 23.5%. The Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc represented 20.2% of Protestant Dissenting church provision, the Methodists 51.9%. Methodists church extension in Blackburn Hundred has clearly outstripped the established church but the Reformed churches were still responsible for a fifth of all Protestant Dissenting chapels.

In Leyland Hundred, 6.34% of the hundreds population was returned as Protestant Dissenting and 1.7% of the population were returned as adherents of Congregationalism. This is almost entirely due to the strong adherence to Congregationalism in Chorley Parish, where they represented 6.46% of the parish population.<sup>100</sup> The only other parishes containing Independent chapels were Leyland and

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<sup>99</sup> Independent 3, 351, population 168, 057.

<sup>100</sup> Independent 600, population 9, 282.



Penwortham, these being small congregations dependent on the Preston churches.<sup>101</sup> In Leyland Hundred the Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc represented 9.6% of all church provision, the Methodists 34.6%, the Church of England 34.6%. The Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc provided 19.2% of all Protestant Dissenting church provision in the hundred, the Methodists 69.2%.

In West Derby Hundred Independent adherents were returned as 2.17% of the total population, whilst the total Protestant Dissenting population of the hundred was returned as 7.74%. In the parishes to the north of Liverpool on the coast virtually no Independents were returned. In Liverpool and Toxteth Park five chapels were recorded and 1.3% of the parish population were returned as Independent adherents.<sup>102</sup> Conterminous with Liverpool, Walton on the Hill recorded 2.39% of the parish population as Independent adherents. Thus Liverpool and the suburbs just to the north formed the main focus of Independency in the extreme south-west of Lancashire. The only other areas of West Derby hundred where the number of Independent adherents rose above the county average are Leigh Parish (1.92%), Prescott Parish (2.27%) and Wigan Parish (13.54%).<sup>103</sup> The figure for Wigan seems so high that it warrants further corroboration but as with all these figures, when they are broken down by townships, they will yield a more precise perspective on the distribution of Congregationalism. In West Derby Hundred the Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc constituted 14.6% of all church provision, the Methodists 23% and the Church of England 32%. The Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc also formed 27.9% of all Protestant Dissenting church provision, the second highest percentage figure for these Reformed churches throughout Lancashire. This is in large part due to the success of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism amongst the immigrant Scottish and Welsh communities of Liverpool and Wigan. This was the hundred in which the Methodists were weakest, in absolute terms and as a percentage of Protestant Dissent in the hundred, providing only 44% of all Protestant Dissenting chapels, the lowest percentage share for the Methodists for any hundred in the county. So whilst throughout most of Lancashire fifty percent plus of church provision amongst Protestant Dissent was in the hands of the Methodists, we are beginning

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<sup>101</sup> Leyland: Independent 85, population 13, 951 = 0.61% of the parish population. Penwortham: Independent 40, population 4, 679 = 0.85% of the parish population.

<sup>102</sup> Liverpool and Toxteth Park: 5 chapels, Independents 2,160, population 165,175.

<sup>103</sup> Leigh: 3 chapels. Independents 386, population 20,083. Prescott: 3 chapels, Independents 639, population 28, 084. Wigan: 5 chapels, Independents 3,212, population 21, 248.

to see that in some regions like Amounderness and West Derby Hundred, roughly one third of Protestant Dissenting church provision was attributable to these Reformed churches and similarly, roughly a third of all Protestant Dissenters were adherents of these Reformed churches.

In Salford Hundred, in what was traditionally the heartland of Protestant Dissent in the county, the percentage of the hundreds population returned as Protestant Dissenting was 8.81% and 1.61% of the population of the hundred was returned as being adherents of Congregational Independency. Even though this is below the notional county average for adherence to Congregationalism, this is impressive, given the explosive population growth in this hundred, the population having risen from 185,630 in 1801 to 612,414 in 1831. Within Manchester (township and parish) and Salford Parish there were 8 chapels returned, with 5,651 adherents, 2.09% of the population.<sup>104</sup> The only other parishes where Independency recorded above the county average number of adherents were the parishes of Dean (5.52%) and Ashton-under-Lyne (2.38%).<sup>105</sup> In towns like Bury, Oldham and Rochdale, despite the presence of three or four chapels within the parish, the Congregationalist could in no way keep pace with the growth of the population as a whole.<sup>106</sup> In Salford Hundred, 14.5% of all church provision was returned as Independent/Calvinist/Presbyterian, the Methodists being responsible for 39% of church provision, the Church of England 28.7%. The Independents/Calvinist/Presbyterian bloc were responsible for 21.1% of Protestant Dissenting church provision, the Methodists 56.7%.

These figures give a broadly reliable expression of the distribution and numbers of Congregationalists and their churches in Lancashire in 1830. What is clear is that throughout the county, the Independents and their fellow Reformed churches were second only to the Methodists amongst Protestant Dissenters in the provision of chapels and in adherents. I hope the statistical comparison with Methodism will prove useful in putting the numbers and extent of these churches in

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<sup>104</sup> Manchester Parish: 3 chapels, Independents 1,251, population 43,155 = 2.89% of the population. Manchester Township: 4 chapels, Independents 4,100, population 187,022 = 2.19% of the population. Salford Parish: One chapel, Independents 300, population 40,786 = 0.73% of the population.

<sup>105</sup> Dean: 3 chapels, Independents 1,270, population 22,994. Ashton-under-Lyne: one chapel, Independents 800, population 33,597.

<sup>106</sup> Bury: 3 chapels, Independents 400, population 44,877 = 0.89% of the population. Oldham: 4 chapels, Independents 771, population 67,579 = 1.14% of the population. Rochdale: 3 chapels, Independents 611, population 58,441 = 1.04% of the population.



perspective and providing a starting point for work that assesses the role and influence of these chapel communities. What these figures do not convey is the average size of individual chapel communities (though this could be computed from the census), their financial stability, the power, status and influence of their adherents. This is exactly why the Unitarians, despite their low number of adherents and chapels, continue to figure strongly in the work of social historians who study the construction of urban middle class identity in the early nineteenth century, though they hardly register in the abstracted figures for the county. Their influence was out of all proportion to their numbers. What these figures do express is the extent to which Congregationalism was a significant form of religious adherence and expression throughout the county for a large number of people. If not as numerous or extensive as Methodism, these Reformed churches form a significant component in the religious and social life of the region and would warrant more investigation than they have hitherto received because, unlike the Methodist churches, by the late 1820s these churches were being ministered to by a highly educate ministerial elite and were beginning to develop large, urban congregations, catering to the mercantile and manufacturing middle classes of Manchester, Liverpool and the towns of the north west. Whilst I have been able to identify strong rural components in Congregationalism in the county it was urban Congregationalism that financially supported rural Congregationalism and it was urban Congregationalism that came to exemplify itself as the religion par excellence as the religion of the middle-classes. Little is known about these urban Congregational constituents and their role in civic life and municipal politics. Pressures of time and size limits of this thesis have meant that I have been unable to incorporate any assessment of the Congregationalists role in municipal politics and their contribution to anti-establishment campaigns and pan-Protestant movements. I hope that by trying to understand the size and origins of this Reformed tradition in the north west, a firmer base has been established from which to assess the contribution of these churches to the religious social and political history of Lancashire and the north west.

## Chapter Six-Conclusion

I would like to take this opportunity to highlight what seem to me to be the central findings of this thesis. The first has to do with the survival of orthodox pietism in the Protestant Dissenting churches of the north-west of England in the period 1689-1750. The findings of this study should qualify the traditional historiographical argument that all, or nearly all, of the Protestant Dissenting churches in the region entered the rationalist tradition that culminated in Unitarianism. This thesis presents evidence to suggest that nearly a quarter of the Protestant Dissenting churches in Lancashire, most of them Presbyterian, aligned themselves with elements of evangelical Calvinism in the mid-eighteenth century and participated in the intellectual movement that would style its brand of churchmanship 'Congregational' and its theology 'modified' or 'evangelical' Calvinism by the end of the century. The traditional question 'Why did the English Presbyterians become Unitarians?' begins to seem presumptive in the light of this evidence. I hope that by looking at the questions of why and how elements within English Presbyterianism did not become Unitarian, this study has deepened our understanding of post-Restoration Protestant Dissent within the region. I cannot support the arguments of historians who claim that denominational distinctiveness determined the development of later eighteenth century Congregationalism and Unitarianism. It is difficult to detect 'text book' cases of fully instituted Congregational churches in the region; the polity of the vast majority of the churches in the region was of an indistinct Presbyterianism. But although the ecclesiology of most of the Lancashire churches was uniformly indistinct, different traditions emerged from these churches, depending on whether they were rural or urban. Urban congregations developed a polite, rational, patrician religion, whilst an orthodox piety clung on in the rural chapels. I have gone into some detail on this in Chapter Three and tried to give a geographical expression to this process. The rural north of the county, along with the upland and mossland regions, shows a marked tendency to retain conservative, orthodox congregations. Any future study will have to take into account this distinction. Time has not allowed a more detailed socio-economic study of the congregations of the region which would attempt to relate occupation and status to theological developments, though this is something I would hope to undertake in the future.



Along with the predisposition of denominational historians to seek denominational answers goes the repetition of the Protestant Dissenters' most heartfelt wish for unity. Denominational historians have mistaken contemporary efforts at union and statements about brotherhood for statements of fact. Unquestionably, early eighteenth century Protestant Dissenters sought to play down divisions but I hope to have demonstrated in this thesis that, in the region as a whole, the divisions over approaches to religious belief were deep, even by the first decade of the eighteenth century. Presbyterians who were inclined to retain orthodox standards never managed to form alternative associations along the lines of the subscribing and non-subscribing synods within the Presbytery of Ulster. There were never sufficiently many of them and outright division was to be avoided at all costs. What they could do, however, was explore relationships with other evangelical Calvinist churches in the region. Orthodox piety survived partly by compromising on elements of Calvinism and partly by co-operation. I hope that I have demonstrated in this thesis that it is by co-operation amongst the evangelical Protestant Dissenting Calvinists, Baptists, Scottish Calvinists and the Calvinist Methodists, that Calvinist congregations managed to survive in the middle years of the eighteenth century. Arguments from denominational distinctiveness cannot explain how isolated rural congregations survived. It has been one of the arguments of this thesis that they did so, in part, because of the indistinctness of their ecclesiology and devotional practice. They shared with the other Reformed churches of the British Isles a common orthodox pietism, and found common cause in the perceived threat of heterodoxy and irreligion. Things that divided these groups and individuals, for instance the issues of paedobaptism, the significance of national covenants, issues of a settled over against an itinerant ministry, were insignificant when compared with what united them: Trinitarian orthodoxy, the preaching of the Gospel of justification by faith, the Westminster standards, congregational autonomy, the desire for a revival of religion in the hearts of men. They could exploit a national pool of resources and labour in maintaining their churches and obtaining their ministers precisely because notions of denomination had never been a major component of their own self identity. It is with this conviction in mind that I have been so critical of the historiography presented by many denominational historians.

In attempting to assess this shared British Reformed religious culture and understand how it contributed to the creation of evangelical Congregationalism, I have focused on only one element in the equation, the influence of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers. In so doing, I am aware

of much that I have omitted, without which an understanding of the development of evangelical Congregationalism is incomplete, most notably a re-appraisal of the role and influence of Calvinistic Methodism. In part, this is because an appraisal of the influence of a Scottish ministerial cohort seemed to me both the most difficult and the most useful area to focus on and I think I have been vindicated in my findings. Traditionally, denominational historians have ascribed to Calvinistic Methodism a key role in the revival of Congregationalism. It provided itinerant ministers who would revive old Protestant Dissenting congregations and form the nuclei of orthodox congregations composed of seceding elements from the Presbyterian/Unitarian churches. The organisational weaknesses of Calvinistic Methodism would lead to a form of de facto Congregationalism and many of its leading exponents would intellectually assent to a Congregational form of church government. This has been well documented but, needless to say, there is still much to be understood, especially concerning the formulation of 'principled' Congregationalism amongst Calvinistic Methodist ministers in the 1780s. My starting assumption was that if Calvinistic Methodist ministers were central to the revival of orthodox Congregationalism in the north-west, then Scottish Calvinist ministers were central to the survival of Protestant Dissent in the north-west, that their influence antedated Methodist influences and formed an under-reported component in the revival, formation and consolidation of Congregationalism in the north-west.

A number of important findings follow as a result of my research into the extent and influence of Scottish-born and Scottish-trained ministers in the Protestant Dissenting churches of the north-west of England. Starting in Cumberland, it can be argued that Protestant Dissent would have ceased to exist without the presence of Scottish ministers. In the first half of the eighteenth century this mostly comprised of licentiates of the Church of Scotland. Increasingly in the second half of the eighteenth century ministers trained in the various branches of the Associate Presbytery came to dominate the ministry in the county with some inroads being made by the Congregationalists around the turn of the century. Generalisations about dissent in Cumberland based on England as a whole do not have much currency. Unitarianism made little headway amongst these congregations. The proximity of a vast pool of orthodox Calvinist ministers ensured the survival of orthodoxy. Remarkably, a good percentage of the ministers in the Protestant Dissenting congregations were ministers of an established church. Even with the arrival of Associate Presbytery ministers, the focus of these



congregations was still very much on Scotland, on ministering to the expatriate Scottish communities and on replicating Scottish ecclesiastical arguments on English soil. This further fractured regional co-operation and provided these churches with a very insular perspective. It retarded the development of itinerant societies and regional denominational organisation.

There is not much evidence for what I at first assumed would be a typical route for ministers to enter English ministries in Lancashire, namely by stepwise migration down through the northern counties, ending up in the industrialising towns of the north. Most of the Church of Scotland licentiates ministering in Cumberland returned to Scotland upon presentment to a living and it is difficult to make generalisations about the handful of Scottish ministers I have enumerated in Lancashire in the period before 1770. What can be said about these ministers is that they were influential out of all proportion to their numbers. They became the foci for orthodox discontent in the region, they provided an orthodox Calvinist ministry when it was in very short supply and they were central to the efforts, around mid-century, to begin to train an orthodox Calvinist ministry for the English Reformed churches. Between 1770-1829, Scottish born ministers represented between 8 and 10% of the ministry in the Lancashire Congregational churches but were in the main not trained for the ministry in Scotland but came from the Scottish expatriate communities in Lancashire who worshipped in Congregational churches. Immigrant Scots were not only entering English Congregational churches in Lancashire but frequently were a major component in the foundation of these English Congregational churches from the 1770s onwards, when orthodox elements began seceding from the old Protestant Dissenting congregations of Lancashire. Commentators noted the 'Scotch mist' that hung around many Congregational chapels, especially in Manchester and until the late 1820s when both the established and voluntarist Scottish Presbyterians began institutionally consolidating in Lancashire, a large percentage of Scots in Lancashire worshipped in Congregational churches. By the end of the period of this study, Scots had come to play a significant role in the provision of training for the Congregational ministry and with the institutional development of the Presbyterian Secession church in Lancashire a shared British Reformed evangelical outlook developed, there being a constant interchange of individuals and ideas between the denominations.

Regrettably I have been unable in this thesis to present a proper appraisal of the role of Ulster Presbyterianism and Irish Dissent in influencing the Protestant Dissenting churches of the north-west



in this period. Whilst an Irish ministerial contingent was almost entirely absent from the ministry within the emerging Evangelical Congregational churches of the region in the period 1770-1829, developments in Ireland significantly influenced Protestant Dissent in north-west England in the period immediately after 1689. The English Congregational and English Presbyterian churches in Ireland, formed in the wake of Cromwell's armies, maintained contact with their English fellow churches and exchanged members and ministers, church members often turning up as refugees in time of crisis, colouring views of Irish Catholics and the British state. Ulster Presbyterians highlighted the debated over non-subscription and made the issue a live one in the Scottish Universities and whilst many Ulster Presbyterians left for the colonies, not a few ended up in Liverpool, worshipping in the Protestant Dissenting chapels there. Perhaps the most useful works which help formulate an understanding of the developments within Irish Dissent that I have utilised in this study have been Peter Brooke, Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970, (New York, 1987), S. J. Connolly, Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760, (Oxford, 1992) and David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890, (1992). It is with great regret that I was unable to read Phil Kilroy's published thesis, Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714, (Cork University Press, 1994) and incorporate its findings into this study.<sup>107</sup>

Similarly I have had to ignore the role of Welsh-born ministers and ministers trained in the Welsh Dissenting academies. Whilst perhaps of greater influence in the border counties of Shropshire and Cheshire in the period up to 1750, Wales contributed a number of significant individual historical actors in pivotal roles. Richard Davies came from Wales, promulgating a strict Congregationalism in Northamptonshire that broke the Happy Union. Matthias Maurice, his successor, struggled with the internal inconsistencies of supralapsarian Calvinism and began the debate on preaching a modified,

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<sup>107</sup> Phil Kilroy, 'Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660-1771, Ph.D. University of Dublin, 1992', *Thesis Abstracts, Irish Economic and Social History*, 19, 1992, pp. 82-4. Other invaluable sources are: J. S. Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, New Edition, completed by W. D. Killen, 4 Vols, (Belfast, 1867). A series of articles in The Christian Moderator, running from May, 1826, until February, 1828, entitled 'Progress of Nonsubscription to Creeds', has much information on the developments within Ulster Presbyterianism. The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland should also be consulted, though access to it is next to impossible in any mainland repository! I would like to thank Professor M. A. Stewart, Lancaster University Philosophy Department, for the help he has given me in providing information on Irish Dissent and intellectual developments in the Scottish Universities in the eighteenth centuries and would draw attention to his as yet unpublished 'Rational Dissent in Early Eighteenth Century Ireland'.



evangelical Calvinism in England. The Calvinistic Methodism of Harris and the Countess of Huntingdon was central to the revivification of evangelical Protestant Dissent in Lancashire, in providing Gospel ministers and training them at Trevecca. The Countess of Huntingdon's support for Edward Williams at Oswestry and subsequently at Rotherham was to prove crucial in developing the theoretical framework of modern evangelical Congregationalism from the 1770s onwards. Wales acted as a reservoir of orthodox Calvinist piety, providing a steady trickle of ministers to Lancashire. With the establishment of Welsh communities in Liverpool towards the end of the eighteenth century the number of Welsh ministers within Lancashire Congregationalism picks up. In my database of Congregational ministers in Lancashire for the period 1770-89 I found no evidence of Welsh born ministers entering the English Congregational ministry. In the period 1790-1829 the mean percentage figure of Welsh born Congregational ministers was 7.4% of the total, higher than the Scottish cohort at 6.9%. This masks temporal and regional variations however. The Welsh ministers were overwhelmingly confined to the south west of the county and many were in monoglot Welsh churches, reducing their influence on the Congregational churches as a whole.

Neither have I attempted an assessment of the role and development of Anti-Catholicism within the Protestant Dissenting communities of the north-west, though this formed one of my initial frames of reference. That Anti-Catholic religio-political rhetoric formed a staple of the Protestant Dissenters sermons and weekly lectures in the early eighteenth century should come as no surprise and with the publication of Colin Haydon's Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England c.1714-80: a political and social study, (Manchester University Press, 1993), much has been done to improve our understanding of the persistence and transmission of this set of values. Taking up Haydon's long term perspective on Anti-Catholicism, a number of areas suggest themselves for research in this area. In the first half of the eighteenth century the New Scheme preachers are the most vituperative Anti-Catholic demagogues but as many approach a Unitarian position in the second half of the eighteenth century the political aims of Unitarians and Roman Catholics converge, not least in the areas of the repeal of religious tests and the retention of chapel properties. This is just as the old Protestant Dissenting chapel communities were beginning to experience influxes of Irish and Scottish immigrants and the Reformed churches of the region were beginning to experiment in forms of co-operation. In the Anti-Socinian literature of the region the abandonment of Reformation principles

forms part of the critique of Unitarianism, that it was abandoning Protestantism. To explore the attitudes to Catholicism of the Congregational churches and the Scottish ministers within Lancashire Congregationalism in the period up until 1829 would form a major research project. From reading John Wolffe's The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860, (Oxford, 1991) one gets the impression that pan-Protestant Politics never appealed to Congregationalism institutionally because of the need to collaborate with elements of the established church. Whilst one could point to influential individuals within Lancashire Congregationalism who threw themselves into the work of the Reformation Society and the Evangelical Alliance, the institutional representatives of Congregationalism remained indifferent. Similarly, the Congregational laity do not seem to be characterised by sectarian bitterness. If there was one theme that was central to the identity of the Congregational churches in the nineteenth century it was the efficacy of voluntarism over against church establishments, informing every area of the churches and individual churchgoers lives. I have been unable, in the time allowed in this study, to examine the growth of the application of this religious principle to politics in early nineteenth century Lancashire. What I hope I have done is to provide a clearer understanding of the extent to which these Reformed churches in the north-west relied on other British Reformed churches. Their religious, educational and political traditions, are in part likely to be constructed from elements within these different national traditions. Understanding the extent to which the ministry of these churches was composed of other national elements will, I hope, provided a more balanced view of developments within these churches and a point of departure for further studies.



Tables

*Tables relating to Chapter Three*

3. 1 Dissenting Numbers in Lancashire in the Eighteenth Century.

	c.1720 (from Evans)	1778 (Porteous)
Presbyterian	16,630	17,781
Independent	1,370	1,446
Urban		
Presbyterian	5,182 (31%)	10,775 (60%)
Independent	0 (0%)	700 (48%)
Rural		
Presbyterian	11,448 (69%)	7,026 (40%)
Independent	1,368 (100%)	746 (52%)

From Jan Albers, 'Seeds of Contention', pp. 363, 374.

3.2 Dissenting Numbers in Manchester and Liverpool in the Eighteenth Century

Manchester	Number of Dissenters	Population	
1720	1,515	8,000	18.9%
1778	approx. 5,000	35,000	11.4%

From Jan Albers, 'Seeds of Contention', pp.368-9.

Compare these later figures with Corfield's in The Impact of the English Towns, p.129, which gives a population figure for Manchester and Salford of 27,246 in 1773. For Manchester (excluding Salford) in 1788, a figure of 42,821.

Liverpool	Number of Dissenters	Population	
1720	1,158	12,000	9.65%
1778	1,500	55,000	2.70%

Corfield produces the population figure of 34,407 in 1773. It is apparent from both these sets of figures that it is the massive population growth in the last quarter of the century that sees the Old Dissenting communities fall into massive relative decline.



*Tables relating to Chapter Four*

**Table 4.1**

**Table Ministerial Recruitment in the old English Protestant Dissenting churches**  
**of Cumberland and Westmorland,**  
**1690-1829.**

Decade	Ministerial entry	Ministerial transfer	PD	COS	AP	IND	Other	NK
1690-99	13	0	10	2				1
1700-09	13	2	10	1				2
1710-19	13	5	9	2				3
1720-29	8	2	4	0				4
1730-39	13	0	9	3	0			1
1740-49	7	4	5	1	0			1
1750-59	11	1	4	5	0	0		2
1760-69	7	4	3	3	0	1		0
1770-79	10	2	0	4	2	0		4
1780-89	10	1	0	4	0	1		5
1790-99	9	0	1	2?	2	1	1	2
1800-09	6	1	0	0	0	4		2
1810-19	10	1	0	1	2	7		0
1820-29	4	0	0	0	0	4		0

**Key:** Ministerial entry= The numbers of ministers entering ministries in Cumberland and Westmorland for the first time. The first decade 1690-99 includes those ministers in place before 1690. Ministerial transfer= Those ministers who had moved from a previous ministry in Cumberland and Westmorland to another congregation within the two counties.

The subsequent columns try to quantify the denominations of the ministers and when added, should total the number mentioned in the first column, 'Ministerial entry'. No attempt is made to distinguish denominations in Protestant Dissent prior to 1750 for reasons that will be clear from the text. PD= Protestant Dissenters. COS= Church of Scotland licentiates. AP= Associate Presbytery, no distinction being made between the various branches. IND= Independent, defined as ministers trained in the post-1750 evangelical Congregational academies. Others= Individual evangelists of unknown provenance. NK= Not known; insufficient sources.

**Table 4.2 Protestant Dissent in Cumberland, c.1820-22.**

[Ainstable	Independent	Rev. James Scott].
[Allonby	Independent	blank].
<b>Alston Moor</b>	Independent	John Harper.
[Alleyfield	Independent	blank].
<b>Beaucastle</b>	Independent	Mr.Lauder.
[Blennerhassett	Independent	Mr.Walton].
[Bootle	Independent	blank].
[Borrowdale	Independent	Mr.Gritton].
[Bowness	Independent	blank].
<b>Brampton</b>	Presbyterian	Mr.Laurie.
<b>Brampton</b>	Independent	Mr.Ivy.
<b>Broughton</b>	Baptist	Samuel Ruston.
<b>Carlisle, Fisher Street</b>	Independent	Richard Hunter.
<b>Carlisle, Annetwell Street</b>	Independent	Thomas Woodrow
<b>Cockermouth</b>	Independent	blank].
[Croglin	Independent	John Haddock].
<b>Crossthwaite, Keswick, St. John's Chapel</b>	Independent	T.Gritton.
[Egremont	Independent	blank].
[Gamblesby	Independent	blank].
[Glassonby	Independent	blank].
[Hensingham	Independent	blank].
[Kirkandrews	Independent	blank].
[Kirkoswald	Independent	blank].
<b>Longtown</b>	Presbyterian	A.Macfarlane.
<b>Maryport</b>	Scots Church	William Rintoul.



Maryport	Associate Synod	blank.
<b>Maryport</b>	Independent	Charles Kitchin.
[Millum	Independent	blank].
[Newbiggin	Independent	blank].
Oughton or Oulton	Baptist	Samuel Ruston.
<b>Parkhead</b>	Independent	John Haddock.
Penrith	Presbyterian	H. Thompson.
<b>Penrith</b>	Independent	blank.
<b>Penruddock</b>	Independent	Rev. Andrew Rattray.
[Plumbton	Independent	T. Nelson].
Ravenglass	Independent	blank].
[Renwick	Independent	blank].
<b>Salkeld</b>	Independent	T. Nelson.
[Scalehouses	Independent	blank].
[Torpenhow	Independent	blank].
[Wetherall	Independent	Thomas Woodrow}.
<b>Whitehaven, Duke Street</b>	Independent	Archibald Jack.
Whitehaven. James Street	Presbyterian	Walter Fairlie.
Whitehaven. Charles Street	Antipaedobaptist	blank.
Whitehaven. High Meeting.	Associate Synod	Robert Hogg.
Wigton	blank.	
Workington	blank.	

**Table 4.3 Numbers attending Cumberland Congregational Churches, c.1820-22.**

<b>Congregation</b>	<b>Hearers and Church Members</b>
<b>Independents:</b>	
Alston	400 hearers, 36 communicants.
Garrigil	60 hearers, 9 communicants.
Carlisle, Annetwell Street	400 hearers, 114 communicants.
Cockermouth	Very small but growing
Keswick	Small
Kirkoswald	50 to 60 hearers in bad weather, 200 in the summer.
Penrith	Small
Maryport	12 to 20 hearers under Rev.Kitchin.
Whitehaven	500 hearers, 140 communicants.
Workington Low Meeting	100 hearers, 50 communicants.
<b>Presbyterian:</b>	
Brampton	140 hearers, 40 communicants.
Carlisle Fisher Street	300 hearers.
Longtown	150-200 hearers.
Maryport	200 hearers.
Whitehaven	Under the Independent minister William Rose, (1812-18), the congregation was said to have risen from 50 hearers to 400, sometimes 600. Under the Church of Scotland successors, hearers were said to average 200



Table 4.4 The Congregational Churches of Westmorland in 1829.

Place	Minister
Appleby	William Selby
Brough	J.Capper
Burton [in Kendal]	Supplied by neighbouring ministers
Holme	G.Hoyle
Kendal	D.Jones
Kirkby Lonsdale	S.Healey
Kirkby Stephen	J.Capper, visits eight stations
Milnthorpe	G.Hoyle
Ravenstonedale	J.Bonner
Stainton	D.Jones
Sedgwick	G.Hoyle
Temple Sowerby	Selby Home Missionary Station

*Tables relating to Chapter Five*

**Table 5.1 Nationality/Place of Birth of ministerial recruits in Lancashire, 1770-1829, by decade.**

1770-1779	1780-89	1790-1799	1800-1809	1810-1819	1820-1829
25 ministers	18 ministers	25 ministers	37 ministers	44 ministers	55 ministers
48% not known	38.8% nk	48 % nk	37.8% nk	29.5% nk	36.8% nk
Scots 4%	16.6%	4%	10.8%	2%	10.9%
Irish 4%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%
Welsh 0%	0%	8%	5.4%	9%	7.2%
Lancs. 20%	16.6%	12%	8.1%	15.9%	10.9%
Yorks. 12%	11%	12%	5.4%	15.9%	7.2%
Lond. 0%	11%	4%	8.1%	9%	3.6%

**Table 5.2 Average duration of Lancashire Ministries, 1770-1829.**

Decade	1770-79	1780-89	1790-99	1800-09	1810-19	1820-29
Ministerial duration: 1	—	8 years	8 years	13 years	11.7 years	10.5 years
2	12.7 years	12 years	9 years	13.5 years	12.9 years	12 years
% in subsequent Lanes. ministries	8%	33%	16%	48%	22.7%	18%

**Key:** Ministerial duration 1= of those ministers entering their first Lancashire ministry in that decade. Ministerial duration 2= includes those who had previously ministered in Lancashire who were entering ministries in that decade. The percentages represent those who, having entered their first Lancashire ministry in that decade, went on in their next ministry to minister in a Lancashire pastorate.



## Appendices relating to Chapter Three

### A. The Evans List for Lancashire (1717-1719) with Further Additions Up To 1750.

After enumerating the Lancashire churches Evans added the subtotals for each district and came up with the figure of 43 congregations. He included two entries in the list with little or no information which he did not include in the total. One was Martin in Field (Appendix C. 1. 9). The other was the new chapel recently erected at Bury in 1719.<sup>1</sup> Watts included Bury and distinguished between the two Liverpool churches in receipt of one grant, bringing the total to 46. He subtracted the Tottlebank church (Appendix B. 2) which was Baptist and came up with the figure of 45 Protestant Dissenting churches from the Evans List, 42 Presbyterian and 3 Independent. Missing from the list was any mention of Hartbarrow (Appendix C. 1. 1), though this may be because it was in only in intermittent use and associated with the Kendal, Westmorland Protestant Dissenting church. Though the locus of Preston Dissent shifted to Walton (Appendix C. 1. 7) after the construction of the chapel there in 1719, a congregation remained worshipping in the 1716 chapel in Preston. Sharing the same minister and grant with Walton, the evidence suggests that this was still a distinct congregation. A new chapel was founded at Chorley Park Street in 1725<sup>2</sup> and the secession that met in Yates's Chapel, Darwen (Appendix C. 1. 9) was formed in 1723. Thus by 1725 the total might be as high as 49, consisting of two possibly not enumerated by Evans and two new foundations. Between 1725 and 1749 it is probable that six of these churches became extinct (Appendices B. 1, C. 1. 1, C. 1. 2, C. 1. 3, C. 1. 4, C. 1. 8) leaving 43 Protestant Dissenting churches c.1749, with no new churches established.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> LN. Vol. 3, p.178.

<sup>2</sup> LN. Vol.2, pp. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> These churches were Wymondhouses (Appendix B.1), Hartbarrow (Appendix C.1.1), Hawkshead Tower (Appendix C.1.2), Carnforth/Tatham (Appendix C 1.3), Bispham (Appendix C 1.4), Yates's Chapel, Lower Darwen (Appendix C 1.9).

## **B. Returned as in receipt of the Independent Fund in the Evans List.**

### **B. 1. Wymondhouses/Pendleton (Whalley Parish).**

Thomas Jolly's (1629-1703) gathered church existed c.1649-1662 whilst Jolly was vicar of Altham parish church. He then moved to the hamlet of Wymondhouses where he built a small meeting room. his congregation meeting in various locations throughout the persecution period.<sup>4</sup> Jolly records five licensed places of worship for his church under the 1672 Indulgence.<sup>5</sup> Toleration Act registrations indicate five places were again registered in 1689 with a further one in 1693.<sup>6</sup> Jolly died in March, 1703 and was succeeded by his nephew and sometime assistant John Jolly in August, 1703. His ministry was orthodox and he died in 1726. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Jolly, grandson of Thomas and son of the Rev. Timothy Jolly of Attercliffe, Sheffield. Ordained in Bradfield, Norfolk. in May 1711, he came to Wymondhouses in May 1726. He removed to Cockermouth, Cumberland in 1737 and died there 8th June, 1764. Evidence from the diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden would suggest that Jolly was what contemporaries would call 'stiff' in his sentiments, refusing to take part in the ordination of Robert Hesketh of Carnforth because of the presence of the Glasgow University educated Rev. Robert Yates at the ordination (Appendix C1.8)<sup>7</sup>.

Nightingale claims that after 1737 there were no records of the church for fifty years, suggesting that the Rev. John Milne, son of the Rev. James Milne of Walmsley may have ministered there on the evidence of his having preached his first sermon at Wymondhouses on the 23rd of August, 1741. This is to a certain extent disingenuous on Nightingale's part, as it is quite clear that a formal Independent church ceased to exist at some time around 1750. Nightingale mentions that at some time during the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Jolly (1726-1737) a secession took place but fails to mention that most of the congregation went over to the Baptists. Nightingale rather misleadingly then goes on to talk about the new chapel at Walkerfold in the 1790s holding meetings at Wymondhouses, implying a continued tradition when there was none. It seems most likely that the

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, passim. LN, Vol.2, pp.185-199.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.7.

<sup>6</sup> Lancashire Records Office. Toleration Act Registrations at the Quarter Sessions, QDV4.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, pp.11, 17. LN, Vol.2, pp.252, 264-266. On the appointment of the Rev. James Burgess to Lower Chapel, Darwen, in 1723 an element of the congregation that wanted to call the Rev. Robert Yates seceded and built Yates's Chapel for him. The two congregations merged c.1750.



paedobaptist Independent church was extinct c.1741-50. The last evidence I can find of an ordination of a minister of this church was that of 'Mr. Aspinall from Wymond Houses' on the 12th of August, 1741, at the Lower Chapel, Darwen.<sup>8</sup> The congregation, traditionally scattered around Whalley Parish, was probably absorbed by Baptist proselytism.

The Baptist influence seemed to have started under David Crossley, a man Jolly and the ministers meeting at Rathmell considered too 'rude' to be a minister. He became a Baptist, the people of Bacup providing him with a meeting house in 1692. He began a meeting at Oakenshaw, Clayton-le-Moors township, supported by the Bacup church and drawing members from Jolly's church. A chapel was built in 1755, the church separating from Bacup in 1759. In 1760 they entered a church covenant.<sup>9</sup>

**B. 2 Tottlebank (Colton-in-Furness, or West Colton Parish), /Broughton Tower (Ulverston Parish). [Congregational/Baptist].**

This society is mentioned by Alexander Gordon in his analysis of the Presbyterian Fund grants for 1690-92; 'Att Tottlebank and Broughton Tower In Furness Fells Supplied by Noe Minister, call out to you, for one at least, for whose maintenance they'll collect 20L pr annu besides several legacyes, some in monys, some in land bequeathed towards a ministers maintenance. & see more at large in No 111, Col. Sawry's request on this account.'<sup>10</sup> The Common Fund voted on the 19th of January, 1691, £6 for work at Tottlebank and Broughton Tower, which was dropped in 1695.<sup>11</sup> Nightingale extracted the following from the Quarter Session records:

Lancaster fourth day of October, 1692.

John Carrington, Clerk, in behalf of himself and a Congregation of dissenting protestants doth Certify ye house of William Lindow of Topin Kraggs in Newland near Ulverstone and ye house of James Towers of Bandrick head in furnessfells for meeting places to be for Protestant Dissenters and desires yt ye sd houses may be recorded accordingly

John Carrington

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Kay's Diary, p.44.

<sup>9</sup> R. J. V. Wylie, The Baptist Churches of Accrington and District. Their Formation and Gradual Development with Numerous Character Sketches of Baptist Worthies. (Accrington, 1923), pp.1-15. 'About the year 1748-9, James Westell and George, his brother, with some others of the Independents, received the sentiments of believers baptism and joined with the people of Oakenshaw.' p.12. A. H. Stockwell, The Baptist Churches of Lancashire, (1910).

<sup>10</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.63.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p.370.

Wm Bonds of Tatham allowed [Pen run through "James Towers to ffurnacefells". I imagine that Wm.Bonds was substituted.}<sup>12</sup>

Tottlebank appears in the Evans List in receipt of an Independent Fund grant with a minister, Thomas Richardson. This church may have had an open communion of Baptists and Independents. It subsequently became Baptist and Watts does not include it in his list of Independent churches extrapolated from the Evans List. As Watts pointed out, the Evans List seriously underenumerated Baptist churches and often did not distinguish them.<sup>13</sup> This church may have absorbed the other Protestant Dissenting elements that appear in the Toleration Act registrations for Furness,<sup>14</sup> much as Jolly's Pendleton/Wymondhouses church was absorbed by the Baptists of Oakenshaw. The first Toleration Act registration for Tottlebank at the Quarter Sessions was at Lancaster, on the 2nd of October, 1750, recorded for Protestant Dissenters.

Colonel Roger Sawrey was the owner of Broughton Tower. Numerous mentions of him are made in the Cockermouth Church Book. Died 6th of August, 1699. Nightingale notes the Rev. Robert Stott was here and was subsequently at Keswick.<sup>15</sup> The Evans List, in a scored through entry also notes the presence of Stott at Broughton Tower. The congregation at Hawkshead Tower were probably associated with this congregation. Nightingale also notes the registration of the Ulverston house of Myles Sandys, Baptist, in 1745.

Roger Sawrey's son, Jeremy married Anne, daughter of Dr. Richard Gilpin, brother to the Whitehaven merchant John Gilpin. The Quaker Thomas Storey records a visit to widow Anne Sawrey' at Broughton Tower on March, 6th, 1715, both attending the Hawkshead Quaker meeting. Jeremy's son Richard Gilpin Sawrey was Baptised at the Cockermouth Independent Church, 10th of December, 1691.<sup>16</sup> This should not be confused with Broughton Tower, North of Preston, Lancashire.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire, (London, 1921), p.184.

<sup>13</sup> W. T. Whitley, T.B.H.S.,ii, 1910, pp.95-109. M. Reeves, 'Protestant Nonconformity', V.C.H.Wiltshire, iii, 1956, pp.108-115. W. T. Whitley, Baptists of North West England, 1649-1913, (1913) passim. T. Taylor, An Historical Sketch of the Baptist Church at Tottlebank, from....1699 to the present time, (1864, repr. 1932), passim.

<sup>14</sup> See appendix C. 1. 2 Hawkshead Tower. It is likely that the Quakers of Furness made inroads into whatever cells of Protestant Dissenters there were in this area.

<sup>15</sup> LN, Vol.1, p.255. James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.654.

<sup>16</sup> Lewis, Cockermouth Congregational Church, p.118.

<sup>17</sup> VCH, Vol.7, (1912), p.118. H. Fishwick, TLCHS, Vol.19, 1901, p.75.



### B. 3. Darwen (Blackburn Parish).

Charles Sagar was minister here during the Restoration period. A member of Thomas Jolly's church he was ordained on the 8th of November, 1687.<sup>18</sup> He ministered briefly to the church at Walmsley (c.1686-7), becoming the minister at Darwen c.1688 until his death on the 13th of February, 1697. Nightingale says the dissenters of Darwen secured the old Episcopal chapel under a license from James II on the 21st of July, 1687. The chapel was eventually secured by the Vicar of Blackburn. The license is unusual in that it recognises the dissenters of Darwen as those 'who are of the persuasion commonly called Congregationall'.<sup>19</sup> Nightingale dismisses this as an interchangeable synonym for 'Presbyterian'. I would disagree, in light of the fact that at a subsequent opportunity to define the church's denominational identity, at the Preston Quarter Sessions of the 14th of July, 1692, the Darwen congregation registers 'A barn for charles Sagar and his congregation.'<sup>20</sup> The ecclesiological distinction was being applied and registered. Darwen showed a strong adherence to orthodoxy and Independency in the eighteenth century. It was supported by the Independent Fund in the Evans List<sup>21</sup> returns and was the only Independent church in Lancashire so listed to survive into the nineteenth century as a Congregational church.

### B. 4. Walmsley/Turton. (Turton Township, Bolton Parish).

The church here covenanted under the Irishman Michael Briscoe in the 1640s and 1650s and was in intercommunion with Jolly's gathered church at Altham.<sup>22</sup> It seems to have gone into rapid decline with the departure of Briscoe for Toxteth Park in 1654. Thomas Kaye, a member of Jolly's church ministered there at some point after 1668 (ordained 1671). The church was registered under the indulgence of 1672 to 'Thomas Key to be a Congr. Teacher in the Howse of Francis Norbury of Entwistle in the Hundred of Salford Lancast.'<sup>23</sup> Apart from Sagar's brief ministry there in 1686-7. Nightingale suggests the Walmsley dissenters were without a minister until 1706. They registered the

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, p.87.

<sup>19</sup> LN, Vol.2, p.246.

<sup>20</sup> Lancs.CRO/QDV4

<sup>21</sup> The Evans List, Bolton District, p.60.

<sup>22</sup> Kenworthy, 'The Story of Wamsley Chapel', pp. 4-9, for the extent of Briscoe's Independency.

<sup>23</sup> G. Lyon Turner, Original Records of Nonconformity, local variations.

house of Evan Dewhurst and called as minister, the Scot, the Rev. James Milne, whose ordination took place in 1709.<sup>24</sup> There are strong indications from Thomas Jolly's Note Book that Kaye's role at Walmsley left much to be desired.<sup>25</sup> Jolly persuaded the dissenters of Walmsley to renew their covenant after Kaye had been banished from communion in September, 1685. Kaye remained a thorn in the flesh of the Lancashire ministers, moving to Walton-le-Dale where he was in receipt of the Common/Presbyterian Fund grant until his death and burial on the 27th of April, 1698.<sup>26</sup> There is no indication whether Kaye's offence was one of doctrine or discipline. His registration at the Preston Quarter Sessions of the 18th of July 1689 of a dwelling house and barn at Over Darwen and Walton Hall at Walton-le Dale for 'the Rev. Thomas Key and his congregation' cover a multitude of sins and probably don't refer to the Walmsley church. The first mention of 'Walmsley' in the Toleration Act Registers is at the Manchester Quarter Sessions of the 23rd of July, 1691 but it is not for this church. It is for Henry Pendlebury's church meeting at Bass Lane and Holcombe in Walmsley and Shuttleworth township in Bury Parish, (Appendix C. 2. 10). The first registration I can find for this church in the Toleration Act registrations at the Quarter Sessions was at Wigan, on the 9th of October, 1710, for a house in Turton registered for 'Presbyterians'. Indentures made on the 13th and 14th of April, 1713, for the transferral of property to the trustees only add to the complexity of trying to ascertain the denomination:

the said Edifice Chappell....To be Used and Employed for and as a Meeting place and an Assembly of a particular congregation of Protestant Dissenting from the Church of England' the minister being 'of the Gospell of the presbyterian Judgement and practice as to Church discipline and Government and not of any other perswasion.

Kenworthy was of the opinion that this did not mean the congregation was doctrinally open minded or liberal. It is probable that a minister of 'presbyterian Judgement' means simply one who was not part of a hierarchy. The Walmsley church's next settled minister was:

**James Milne (1706-?)**- Scottish, came in 1706 and ordained 1709 after the Presbyterian fashion. The fact that he was Scottish may indicate that the church was still seeking for an orthodox supply of

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<sup>24</sup> LN, Vol. 3, pp.50-52. This registration is not in the Quarter Session records QDV4 and may have been taken out at the Consistory court at Chester or from the Kenyon MSS.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, pp. 67, 69-70, 71-72, 77, 78, 79, 83, 100, 101, 107, 109, 137.

<sup>26</sup> Kenworthy, 'Walmsley', p.11. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.303.



ministers. They seem to have lost whatever rights they had in the Episcopal chapel soon after. the Protestant Dissenting chapel being built in 1713. The church was returned in the Evans List as receiving the Independent Fund grant.<sup>27</sup>

**Robert Hesketh junior (1733-1740)-**, who was ordained in 1725 at Carnforth. He must have been at Walmsley c.1730 and was definitely minister there in 1733 when he is mentioned in Peter Walkden's Diary. Walkden received a letter from Hesketh on Sunday the 18th of February, 1733, indicating that recent 'Differences at Walmsley beeing compromised, as far as is known to me, I think it not improper to propose an exchange with you'.<sup>28</sup> He is mentioned in Richard Kay's Diary for the 9th of January, 1738: 'This day I've been at a lecture at Bury Chappel and have heard a Sermon preach'd by Mr.Hesket from Walmersley from Isaiah 48.22'.<sup>29</sup> He had moved to a ministry at Eastwood/Northowram, West Riding, at the latest by 1745, though probably by 1740. The subsequent minister was

**Samuel Waterhouse (1740?-1749)-** Born 1708? Died 1762? Was gone from Walmsley by 1748/49. The entry from the Diary of Richard Kay from the 19th of February, 1740. says 'the Revnd.Waterhouse now chose Minister at Walmersley Chappel', which implies he had recently been chosen. He was ordained at the Lower Chapel Darwen on the 12th of August. 1741.<sup>30</sup> We know the church was vacant in 1750 (Appendix Carnforth/Tatham C.1.3).

**John Helme senior (1750-60)-** See entry for Crook, Westmorland. (Appendix F.1.3)

### **Total Independent 3**

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<sup>27</sup> LN, Vol. 3, pp.54-57; His son Rev. John Milne, Presbyterian minister of the High Pavement church, Nottingham, d.1772. Kenworthy, 'The Story of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel', pp.1-20, 50-77. William Probert, 'Account of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel', Christian Reformer, 1834.

<sup>28</sup> Transcript Walkden Diary, 1733-4, Sunday February the 18th, Sunday March the 18th, pp.25-26.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Kay's Diary, p.19.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Kay's Diary, p.31, 44.

## C.1. Protestant Dissenting Churches Extinct in the Eighteenth-Century.

### **C. 1. 1 Hartbarrow (Cartmel Fell Township, Cartmel Parish)**

Richard Frankland's Dissenting Academy was here in 1684. Situated in the Winster Valley it is just inside Lancashire on the Westmorland border. It probably early became associated with the Kendal, Westmorland, Dissenters. Its relationship with other registered meetings at Tottlebank, Broughton Tower, Hawkshead Tower and Sawrey are undetermined. Its first mention in the Toleration Act registrations was at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 20th of July, 1694.<sup>31</sup> It is possibly referred to in the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 9th of January, 1700, licensed as three Protestant Dissenting Houses in Furness. No mention of this society is made in the Evans List but we know from other sources that it survived to mid-century. It was reported to be vacant in 1738 along with Crook, Westmorland, after the removal of the Rev. John Jackson, who was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant there from the 6th of May, 1734, until 1737.<sup>32</sup> Various short ministries ensued at Crook (Appendix F 1. 3). In November 1740, John Birkett of Kendal wrote to Philip Doddridge in Northampton to discuss a trial period for a minister at Hartbarrow. Doddridge suggested the young Scot Thomas Gillespie. The ministers of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association found him too orthodox however. He returned to Scotland and founded the Relief Church, a major channel of voluntary church ideas and evangelical reforms that were to subsequently to have an effect on the churches of the north-west of England. Hartbarrow must have closed soon after the decision of the Presbyterian Fund managers of the 3rd of March, 1746, to withdraw its grant along with that of Crook, Westmorland, and transfer them to Ravenstonedale, Westmorland. 'til the congr. at Crook and Harborough revive'.<sup>33</sup> This church is not mentioned in the Evans List.

### **C. 1. 2 Hawkshead Tower (Hawkshead Parish)**

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<sup>31</sup> Lancs.CRO/QDV4

<sup>32</sup> ONK, pp.156-157, 442-3; Presbyterian Fund Minutes, Vol. 3, pp. 191, 196, 215, 234, 251, 269, 392. DWL.

<sup>33</sup> Sell, pp.27, 43, 116-117. G. F. Nuttall, The Calendar and Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, D.D., 1702-1751, (H.M.S.O., 1979). ONK, pp.442-3.



Mentioned in the Toleration Act registrations at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 11th of January 1709- two Presbyterian dwellings at Hawkshead and Sawrey.<sup>34</sup> These were registered by George Braithwaite of Hawkshead for William Dennyson of Waterside near Hawkshead.<sup>35</sup> The Evans List records it as the Tower of Hawkshead, the minister a Mr. Gardener, with 88 hearers and 18 county voters.<sup>36</sup> See Tottlebank (Appendix B.2).

**C.1.3 Carnforth (Warton Parish), Tatham (Tatham Parish):** Closely associated with Nether Kellet (Bolton le Sands Parish) and Milnthorpe, Westmorland.

The first place registered under the Toleration Act in Lancashire, at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 16th of July, 1689 was at 'Nether Kellett, the House of George Benson upon the certificate of Richard Willson, John Willson, Wm Braithwaite- The house of Mr. George Benson is recorded for a place of meeting for an assembly of Protestant Dissenters'.<sup>37</sup> Benson seems to have been instrumental in the setting up of itinerant provision in these locations. This seems to have been backed by the Presbyterian Fund: '1691-Milthorp and places adjacent, far remote from any meeting of nonconformists, have lived under a careless ministry, and are like to perish for lack of knowledge desire some allowance may be afforded to them to encourage some awakening ministers to come in their turns once a month, August 24th, 1691'.<sup>38</sup> Mistakenly under the entry for Cumberland in the Presbyterian Fund records there is the entry 'Mr. George Benson att Kellett, Neere Lancaster aged 70 yeares in ye same circumstances has but 71Lpr annum as pr No. 111'.<sup>39</sup> Thomas Jolly mentions in his note book for February 1691 'A monthly exercize being sett upp in Millthropp in Westmorland I was desired to begin it'. In April 1692 Jolly visited Milnthorpe and Tatham but met with discouragement. Benson having died 'to the great loss of the Kellett people'.<sup>40</sup> There are subsequent visits, the last entry being for June, 1693, when things seemed gloomy for this congregation.<sup>41</sup> The church at

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<sup>34</sup> Lancs.CRO/QDV4.

<sup>35</sup> Nightingale, Quaker Movement in Lancashire, p.192.

<sup>36</sup> Janet D. Martin, 'The Hawkshead Connexion: Some Cumbrian Baptists', CWAAS., 91, 1991, pp. 213-235.

<sup>37</sup> Lancs.CRO/QDV4

<sup>38</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.121.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Jolly's Notebook, pp.110-111.

<sup>41</sup> 'My journey towards Milthrope was in a cloud of doubts as to the opportunity there, yet I durst not decline it it proved a disappointment by the suspending of that meeting'.

Burton-in-Kendal, Westmorland, was also supplied by Benson. Nightingale suggests elsewhere that Robert Waddington was ministering here after he left Shireshead and before he went to Tockholes in 1700, so a possible ministry c. 1694-1700.<sup>42</sup>

The Evans List mentions this grouping under the heading Carnforth/Tatham. James Crossland and Robert Hesketh, with a £4 grant from the Presbyterian Fund, 138 hearers and 17 county voters. James Crossland (1687-1752) went to Great Salkeld, Cumberland, (Appendix E 2. 11) where he received the Presbyterian Fund grant as minister (1718-1733). Colligan says that the building in which he preached in Carnforth is now a smithy.<sup>43</sup> It would seem likely that the Carnforth church was the successor to the Nether Kellet society. We have some information about Robert Hesketh junior's ordination from the Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden. Hesketh was from Craven and was ordained on the 27th of October, 1725, by eleven attending ministers at Carnforth.<sup>44</sup> This is the last documented account of any activity at any of these churches. Nightingale provides some more information on Hesketh. The Rev. Robert Hesketh senior was educated at Rathmell by the Rev. Richard Frankland, entering as a student there in 1692. He was a candidate for the ministry before the Lancashire ministers at Bolton in April, 1696. His first charge was probably Bispham, then Platt Chapel near Manchester in 1704-1712.<sup>45</sup> Whitehead says he was minister at Horton-in-Craven, West Riding, (c.1711-1736). He was called there in 1710 and received Common/Presbyterian Fund grants there 1711/12. He moved in 1736 to Upper Green, Lee Fair, Tingley, West Ardsley. Died 31st of January, 1752. Buried at Morley. Robert Hesketh junior was a Glasgow student and after Carnforth was at Walmsley chapel c.1730, after the death of the Rev. James Milne there. Proof that Hesketh was minister at Walmsley in 1733 comes from transcripts of Peter Walkden's Diary for Sunday the 4th of March, 1733, where he notes that he informed the people of Newton 'I expect mr Hesketh to be here. he and I being then to Exchange pulpits'. On the 18th of March, 1733, Walkden was preaching at Walmsley and dined with 'mrs Hesketh'.<sup>46</sup> He subsequently ministered at Eastwood and Northowram in the West Riding.<sup>47</sup> There is a tablet in Northowram chapel stating that he had been a

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<sup>42</sup> Nightingale, *The Ejected*, p.714. J. H. Turner, *Heywood's Diaries*, ii, pp.209-211.

<sup>43</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', *CWAAS*, 8, 1908, p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> *Peter Walkden's Diary*, pp.17. 23-24.

<sup>45</sup> *LN*, Vol. 5, pp.154-155.

<sup>46</sup> *Transcript Walkden Diary 1733-4*, March, 1733.

<sup>47</sup> *LN*, Vol. 3, p.58. J. Horsfall Turner, *Oliver Heywood's Diaries*, Vol.4, p.317. *Munimenta Glasguensis*, (1450-1717), Vol.iii, p.212.



minister of the Gospel 52 years, pastor of that church for 29 years. He died on the 19th of January, 1774, aged 77.<sup>48</sup>

Tatham appears to share the grant in 1717. The Dissenters here had occupied the Episcopal chapel and registered the old school house at Tatham Fell, 'belonging to William Bond and John Cort of Tatham Fells affords. is rec. for a meeting pl. for an assembly of the Presbyterian perswasion' at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 29th of April, 1690 for the use of Presbyterians. This was registered by William Thornton and Richard Bond. Two houses for the use of Protestant Dissenters were registered at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions of the 13th of January, 1691. One was Richard Sedgwick's house, Tatham Fell. The other was James Talbot's house, Tatham. Talbot was the Curate of Arkholme in 1661 but he is not noted in the list of Lancashire ejections dated 1691.<sup>49</sup> In the Presbyterian Fund records it appears as 'Teatham Chappell whereunto Mr. Carrington has got Mr. Sawry a dissenting schoolmaster and licensed for Dissenters worship. Supplied by Mr. [Roger] Anderton and Mr. [Thomas] Taylor candidates for ye Ministry, the maintainance (besides the Schoolmrs Settled salary) is but 7L pr ann promised by ye people, but ye smallness of which maintainance the meeting is like to fall, and if it should what a ruine would it be to ye vastly numerous poor people yt flock thither.'<sup>50</sup> William Bonds house, Tatham was again recorded on the 4th of October. 1692 . at the Lancaster Quarter Sessions.<sup>51</sup> Thomas Sharp, the Rector of Tatham, complained at the Quarter Sessions at Lancaster on the 4th of April, 1693 that the Dissenters had taken over the chapel which had been Anglican 'time out of mind.' The justices ordered that the Dissenters vacate the chapel on the 25th of April. 1693.<sup>52</sup> The Carnforth and Tatham congregations, though still functioning at the time of Evans survey, do not seem to have survived beyond mid-century. With the arrival of the Rev. James Daye at the Lancaster Protestant Dissenting church, support for these rural churches probably ceased. Daye came to Lancaster from Dr. Caleb

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<sup>48</sup> LN, Vol. 1. p.159.

<sup>49</sup> Matthews, Calamy Revised p.474. Note also that Thomas Drinchal was Curate of Tatham Fell in 1650 and 1655 and was buried in Lancaster in 1674, p.171. The Datestone on James Talbot's house, Moorhead, Lower Tatham, records 1676. See Emmeline Garnett, Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale, (NWRS, Lancaster University, 1994), p.156. Garnett's dates for Talbot, 1653-1706, cannot be right if he was the Curate of Arkholme in 1662.

<sup>50</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp. 63-64.

<sup>51</sup> Nightingale, The Quaker Movement in Lancashire, p.184.

<sup>52</sup> The Kenyon Papers, HMC, 744, pp.245-7. Thanks to Richard Harrison for this reference.

Rotherham's Kendal Academy in 1736 and was most probably holding Arian views early in his ministry.

To summarise. James Talbot probably sustained the Tatham Dissenters in the period 1660-1690 and George Benson the Carnforth grouping from his removal from Cockermouth to his death in 1692. John Carrington (born c.1653) is then credited in 1692 with making provision for the Tatham Dissenters. According to Nicholson and Axon, Carrington entered Frankland's Academy on March 27th, 1680, and in the normal course of events he would have finished his studies five years later. He was ordained minister of the Lancaster congregation on the 4th of September, 1689.<sup>53</sup> By his own admission in the Surey Demoniack pamphlets he was a native of Cheshire, though how far one should accept any evidence from these pamphlets as fact is open to question. It is possible that his family were resident in the Lune Valley. Francis Carrington (1626-1709) was the owner of Cantsfield House, Cantsfield township, Tunstall parish, the family having been in the area since 1543. He had nine children and all his sons pre-deceased him.<sup>54</sup> John Carrington died in March, 1701, at the age of 48, so this would be plausible. There are some unusual elements in Carrington's chronology which may be explained by his residence in Cheshire. If his age is given correctly by Nicholson and Axon, he was 27 when he entered Frankland's Academy, rather older than most students. He would have left in 1685 but there is no mention of him until his involvement in the Surey Demoniack case and his ordination in 1689. According to the Presbyterian Fund minutes, Carrington got Roger Anderton and Thomas Taylor to supply preaching at Tatham. Both Anderton and Taylor entered Frankland's Academy shortly before Carrington left. Anderton entered the Academy on the 3rd of June, 1684. Taylor on the 28th of October, 1684. Anderton was ordained at Rathmell in 1693 and was minister of the Whitehaven Dissenters in the same year. Of Taylor and Sawrey nothing is known, unless the latter was related to Colonel Sawrey of Broughton Tower.

The next evidence we have is the Evans List, c.1717. Crossland left for Cumberland in 1718 when Robert Hesketh junior became the minister, probably of both congregations and was ordained in 1725. He had most probably moved to Walmsley c.1730-33.

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<sup>53</sup> ONK, pp.552-3.

<sup>54</sup> Garnett, Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale, p.34.



According to the DNB, George Benson's father, John Benson was from London and moved to Great Salkeld, Cumberland towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. His oldest son was Robert Benson (DNB). George Benson was the youngest of his 13 sons, was a parliamentarian and suffered much at the hands of the Scots before the battle of Worcester. He was Vicar of Bridekirk and was one of the first members of George Larkham's gathered church at Cockermouth, 1651, described as one of the seven, the first Teaching Elder. 1653 he was one of the delegation from Cockermouth to the gathered church of Kirkoswald for the ordination of their pastor. Ejected from Bridekirk Vicarage on 31st of October, 1660. The Cockermouth church book says he was ejected under the false accusation that he denied the baptism of children. This may be a case of the refusal of the gathered churches to baptise the children of non-members being held against them in the Restoration. The church book says that he moved to his own county, Westmorland, to provide for his family in the hard times. There was a branch of the family from Kendal, with the notable scion Dr. George Benson, Canon of Hereford. Lewis suggests he was always considered a member of the Cockermouth Congregational church. Benson gave a sermon at Larkham's house at Tallantire on the 5th of November, 1671 which Larkham made notes on. Sermon on 1 John iii. 8, 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil.' The headings of this sermon cover several pages but note 'ix. How Christ Destroys the work of the devil. 2. By outwitting him. Christ is wiser than the devil, though he be subtle. 3. By discovering and making manifest the devil's devices 2 Cor.ii. 14.' Took out a license in 1672 for Presbyt worship in Kirkbie Kendal. Mentioned in Cockermouth church book as at Kendal 1st of October, 1676. Nightingale notes that whilst at Kellett he assisted in the ordination of Robert waddington 5th of June, 1682, who succeeded him there before he went to Tockholes. The Kenyon MSS note that a place was registered for Presbyterians in 1689, same as material from Quarter Session.<sup>55</sup> Benson's death at Kellet was recorded in the Cockerham church book for 1692, by Calamy in 1691. Buried Bolton le Sands, 20th of May, 1692. He was the grandfather of George Benson DD. (1699-1762) who was trained by Dixon of Whitehaven.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> HMC, 14th report, Appendix, pt iv, p.232. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.49.

<sup>56</sup> W. Lewis. History of the Congregational Church, Cockermouth, (London and Cockermouth, 1870), pp. 6, 10, 12, 22, 27, 48, 55, 60, 84, 146. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 709-715 and others.. Rev. George Benson. History of the Life of Jesus Christ, (1764), has a biographical introduction by Thomas Amory. A copy was in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle.

#### C. 1. 4 Bispham (Bispham Parish).

Alexander Gordon noted the remarkable claim made in the Common/Presbyterian Fund records that the congregation here sometimes numbered 1,000 in the years 1690-91, with 100 wealthy hearers in the congregation. Gordon attributed this to the large size of the parish and the poor living for the perpetual curate. The Presbyterian Fund made no grant here but did suggest an itinerancy be established in the 'Ffylde countrey', 'A field white for ye harvest'.<sup>57</sup> At the meeting of the Ministers of Lancashire held in Warrington on the 8th of August, 1699, it was recorded

We recommend it to the northern district, and particularly to Mr. Jolly, senr & junr, to Mr. Carrington, Mr. Aspinall, & Mr. Parr, to make choice of a minister to supply Bispham in the room of Mr. Dickenson for the present, who is to be paid with a summe already remitted for that place'.<sup>58</sup>

Nightingale suggests Robert Hesketh senior was here for a short while before 1704 but Nicholson and Axon suggest that he was at Elswick.<sup>59</sup> The Evans List record John Lomax as having worked there and Thomas Cooper in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant of £7, the congregation having 215 hearers and 45 county voters. In the Evans List, John Lomax received the Presbyterian Fund grant of £6 at Martin in Field. This cannot be identified with any certainty but it is most likely to be Great Marton in the Fylde, (Poulton Parish) and represents early proselytizing efforts in the Fylde. For possible confirmation see Oliver Heywood's comment that dissent was growing in Poulton in early 1688.<sup>60</sup> Lomax was formerly a student of the Rev. John Chorlton in Manchester (21.3.1698- ?).<sup>61</sup> It is possible that this was the John Lomax who had his house in Worsley registered as a Meeting-house at the Ormskirk Quarter Sessions in 1695.<sup>62</sup> At Robert Hesketh's junior's ordination at Carnforth on the 27th of October, 1725, the Rev. Peter Walkden mentions the presence of Mr. Cooper of Bispham, who opened the proceedings and one Lomax.<sup>63</sup> Of Cooper, Nightingale says he was a student at the Rev. John Chorlton's Manchester Academy and was at Bispham by 1716, his next ministry being at Forton c.1729 (Appendix C.2.1).<sup>64</sup> The only other possible mention of Lomax is from Richard Kay's

<sup>57</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp. 63, 64, 180.

<sup>58</sup> Shaw, Minutes of the Manchester Classis, p.362.

<sup>59</sup> LN, Vol. 1, p.116. ONK, p. 588, for a biography of him in the list of Frankland students.

<sup>60</sup> J. H. Turner, Heywoods Diaries, Vol. 3, p.228.

<sup>61</sup> LN, Vol. 1, p.116

<sup>62</sup> Benjamin Nightingale, Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire, (1921), p.188.

<sup>63</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> LN, Vol. 1, p.187. J. H. Turner, Heywood's Diary, Vol. 2, p.325.



Diary for the 14th of February, 1740, attending the bankruptcy sale of John Lomax of Gloributs tenement, near Bury.<sup>65</sup>

In Peter Walkden's Diary for Wednesday April the 4th, 1733, he records a meeting of ministers in Preston where he notes 'And having set with ye ministers till near 4 o clock, and we having Each fixt a day for going to Preach at Bispham in ye field: which day for me is ye 8th of July next: I left ye ministers....'.<sup>66</sup> This implies that Bispham was now vacant, requiring the attentions of local ministers.

There is yet more tantalising evidence for the survival of Dissenting worship here from Richard Kay's Diary on the 13th of June, 1742: 'This day this Sabbath Day in the Morning Cousin and I came from Garthstang to Preston and heard a Sermon preach'd at Mr.Pilkington's Chappel by Mr.Harding from Bispond from Gen.39.9'.<sup>67</sup>

#### **C. 1. 5 Knowsley (Knowsley Township, Hutton Parish).**

Mentioned in the Evans List as being worked by the Rev. Benjamin Mather, in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant of £4, with 180 hearers, 19 county voters and one borough voter. The last minister there was the Rev. James M. Benyon, a Warrington Student, who left in 1772. After that, Warrington students preached there occassionally. It was rented out to the Weleyan Methodists and eventually consecrated by the Church of England in 1830.

#### **C. 1. 6 Walton (Blackburn Parish).**

Built by Sir Henry Houghton in 1719 this church is strongly associated with Preston. The Evans List provides information that would suggest that the Preston Protestant Dissenters moved to the new Walton chapel, leaving the Preston meeting in a state of desuetude, with a move back into the town as the century wore on. The Preston Dissenters were ministered to by the ejected minister John Parr until his death c.1714-16. Nightingale says the Preston chapel was built in 1716, John Turner being called in 1714, probaly leaving in 1716. John Pilkington was the next minister. The Evans List has the entry for Preston crossed out: Preston B.T., John Parr, ord. November 4th, 1687, d. 1716, John

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<sup>65</sup> Richard Kay's Diary, p.30. LN, Vol. 1, 110-117.

<sup>66</sup> Transcript Walkden Diary, April 1733.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Kay's Diary, p.51.

Turner. Presby., 150 hearers. Under Walton is the entry: John Turner as above at Preston. John Pilkington, Presbyterian Fund £4, 286 hearers, 20 county voters and 22 borough voters. We know from Walkden's Diary that the church remaining at Preston went through some hard times. Pilkington ministered at Preston and Walton until his death in 1760. Subsequent ministers worked the two locations together and by c.1810 Walton became too small and was closed and merged with Preston.<sup>68</sup>

**C. 1. 7 Hoghton Tower (Hoghton Township, Leyland Parish).**

The last minister here died in 1782, the congregation being drawn away by the establishment of the Congregational church in Blackburn in 1777.<sup>69</sup>

**C. 1. 8 Yates's Chapel, Darwen (Blackburn Parish).**

Upon the appointment of the Rev. James Burgess to the Lower Chapel, Darwen, a large part of the congregation and eleven of the twenty one trustees seceded, having supported the candidacy of the Rev. Robert Yates. A chapel was built for him a few hundred yards away in which he ministered to the secession until his death in January, 1749. Around about 1750 the Rev. Robert Smalley of the Lower Chapel married into the Yates family and the two congregations merged, Yates's chapel being closed.<sup>70</sup>

**[C. 1. 9 Wymondhouses- see appendix B.1]**

**[C. 1. 10 Martin in Field- (see C. 1. 4 Bispham).]** This was included in the Evans List but not enumerated in the total. This procedure was also followed by Watts and is therefore for the purpose of this analysis disregarded.

**Total Presbyterian 8.**

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<sup>68</sup> LN, Vol. 1. pp.9-21.

<sup>69</sup> ibid., pp. 66-77.

<sup>70</sup> ibid., Vol.2, pp. 264-266.



## **C. 2 Presbyterian Churches Exhibiting Adherence to Orthodoxy in the Eighteenth Century.**

### **C. 2. 1 Forton (Cockerham Parish)**

Nonconformists held onto the episcopal chapel of Shireshead in Cockerham Parish, possibly under the protection of the Duke of Hamilton until his death, when the Forton Chapel was built in 1707. Evidence from the Toleration Act registrations would suggest that Robert Waddington, a member of Thomas Jolly's Wymondhouses church, was an early minister here. At the Preston Quarter Sessions for the 18th of July, 1689, is recorded 'Robert Waddington, Cleavley Chapel in Cleavley is recorded for a place of worship for him and his congregation'.<sup>71</sup> Waddington was ordained in April, 1682, but Nightingale made no mention of his ministry at Shireshead. Waddington might have ministered to the Nether Kellet (Appendix C 1. 2) Dissenters c.1694-1700. His next known ministry was at Tockholes in 1700-1715. The next known minister at Forton was the Rev. Eleazer Aray. Trained by Frankland at Rathmell he finished his education under John Chorlton in Manchester (21.2.1698-1702?). It is possible he began his ministry with the Forton Dissenters around the time Waddington left for Tockholes. He was the good friend of the Rev. Peter Walkden at Hesketh Lane and is frequently mentioned in his diary. Aray died on the 29th of April, 1729. The Evans List gives 416 hearers with 50 county voters.

Shireshead chapel, Cockerham parish, Deanery of Amounderness. Notitia Cestriensis noted that it was built by 1577, and that the chapel had been in the Dissenters hands for some time. It was recovered by the Duke of Hamilton and Mr. Richmond the Vicar of Garstang.<sup>72</sup> Further information from the Duke of Hamiltons papers. A letter from Jo. Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton, 6th of June, 1702, from Garstang records:

The presbyterian parson of Shireshead Chapel is dead, and since the Bishop of Chester sent a letter to the parson of Cockerham to gett possession of the Chapell it being a Chapell of ease to Cockerham Church upon which the parson acquainted me and desired my assistance in it. I told him I was going to Lancaster and would speak to Mr. Rigby concerning it but in thatt event he would give me the Bishop's letter along with me which he did the which I showed Mr. Rigby who advised me to devise the keys and if they refused to deliver them that I should cause staple all the doors up, and having demandcd the keyes and being refused accorddingly I did staple them up, ther are three doors, two of which were bolted in the inner side and

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<sup>71</sup> Lancs.CRO/QDV4.

<sup>72</sup> Notitia Cestriensis. 1 (22). 11 (3), p.407.

the third only latcht, I write to Mr. Righby and acquainted him therewith who sent me word he would meet me at the Chapell the Sunday following which accordingly he did. where he advised me to send for the parson of Cockerham to preach ther that day the which he did, and Doctor ffenten is to preach their tomorrow, and Mr. Richmond the Sunday after and so the rest of the ministers about, I believe they design to petition my Old Lady Dutches to speak to your Grace about it.

23rd of August, 1702, Garstang:

I am surprised that my Lady Dutches should Believe that I should doe any thing to hurt her tennants. it is so far to the contrarie that they are so well pleased that they will have a Church of England men selected at the Chapell and to that they have caused an instrument to be drawn for his maintainance which I send to your Grace a Copie of, believe me that both your graces will be of another opinion when you come hither, and if your Grace pleases I shall gett the hands of all the Clergy and gentlemenn on this County to justifie what I now write to your Grace, The bishop sent over last Sunday are of the Queen's chaplains to preach att the Chappell and I believe the Bishop designs to write to your Grace, Doctor ffenten as I ame told will wait on your Grace and no doubt he will satisfie your Grace how matters stand I beeg of your Graces not to believe some people that either hints or sayes what they cannot justifie.<sup>73</sup>

He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Cooper A.M. (1729?-1746)- trained by Chorlton in Manchester, from Bispham (Appendix C.1.4), who died at Forton on the 15th of August, 1746.<sup>74</sup> Mentioned in Richard Kay's Diary as preaching at the provincial meeting of Ministers at Bolton Chapel on the 14th of May, 1745.<sup>75</sup>

**James Benn (1747-1757)-** Trained by Rotherham at Kendal (1743-1747?). Nightingale assumes he was here a little before Cooper's death, Nicholson and Axon give 1749 when he was known to be here. Moved to Blackley 1757-1756 and then Low Row in Swaledale, where he died on the 2nd of May 1782. Arian, a warm friend to civil and religious liberty.<sup>76</sup>

**Abraham Allatt (1758-1777>)-** Trained by Scott at Heckmondwick, one of the early students, probably leaving 1757 or 8. Assisted in the ord. of Selby Ord at Cockermouth in 1767 and was one of the trustees of Lancaster High Street Independent Chapel in 1777. Nightingale notes that Forton was worked with Preston for a while.

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<sup>73</sup> HMSS. Duke of Hamilton. Lennoxlove MSS, TD94/7, Bundle 4200. My thanks to Richard Harrison for this reference.

<sup>74</sup> LN, Vol. 1, pp.183-191. Nightingale, The History of the Old Independent Chapel Tockholes, pp.76-83.

<sup>75</sup> Richard Kay's Dairy, p.96.

<sup>76</sup> ONK, p.614. LN, Vol. 1, p.188. History of Blackley Chapel, p. 97. Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire, p.312.



**James Grimshaw (1782-c.1832) Heckmondwick.** Born c.1740. Minister South Cave, Yorkshire (1775-?). Tockholes, Lancashire, (?-1782) and then to Forton. Joint ministry with the new chapel at Garstang, built c. 1779. Resigned Garstang 1828. In 1834 he retired from the ministry, living in the area until his death on the 20th of November, 1838, aged 97. Tombstone Forton chapel.

#### **C. 2. 2 Tockholes (Blackburn Parish)**

**John Harvie, (1672-1678). R. Waddington (1700-c. 1715)-** Jolly's Note Book records him dismissed to Tockholes 1700, but other evidence indicates he was ministering to the Dissenters of Shireshed and at Nether Kellett from his ordination in 1682. It seems most likely that he remained a member of Jolly's Independent church. His mission to the Kellett Dissenters was certainly evangelic, an attempt to gather a church.

#### **C. 2. 3 Hesketh Lane, Chipping (Chipping Parish)/Newton in Bowland, (Slaidburn Parish, Yorkshire).**

Churches gathered under the evangelical ministry of Thomas Jolly and others. At Hesketh Lane, Bishop Gastrell noted that James Bolton left £40 to a Meeting house in the late seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> Whitehead noted that Jolly, Heywood and Frankland itinerated at Newton. Martha Mitchell's house, Slenmerrow in Slaidburn was registered at Skipton in 1691. In 1697 Richard Leigh's house in Newton was registered. Both of these were applied for by John Hey, of Pasture House, Horton. Martha Mitchell was a member of the Pasture House/Marton Scar church founded by Oliver Heywood and John Hey.<sup>78</sup> Leigh, who lived at Birkett near Newton built a chapel in 1697 and endowed it with land in Grassington. Whitehead reproduces the endowment which names the trustees as his sons. It was renewed in 1756 with new trustees from within the extended family from Cumberland, Slaidburn and Lancaster.<sup>79</sup>

Oliver Heywood noting on the 13th of January, 1688, that 'Godly dissenters have gained ground and grown more numerous than ever, so that Chippin, Wyresdale, Poolton, &, in Lanc. meeting are set up

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<sup>77</sup> LN. Vol. 2, p.213. Notitia Cestriensis, Vol. 22, p.403.

<sup>78</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, pp.107-131.

<sup>79</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, pp.162-163.

where never any were before'.<sup>80</sup> John Jolly worked the two chapels. Subsequently J. Mitchell (1693-?- Son of Richard Mitchell of Marton Scar, Craven, West Riding, entered Frankland's Academy 26th of August, 1689. Ordained Kendal, 7th of June, 1693. Friend of Oliver Heywood, who names him in his diary as an early minister at Chipping and Bolton-by-Bowland in Yorkshire. Died in Rossendale, November 1712. aged about forty. Possible connection with William Mitchell, Baptist preacher in Rossendale.

Joseph Gillibrand (c.1701-1710)- Member of the Wymondhouses church. Frankland student, 12th of February, 1695. According to Jolly's church book ordained in 1701 with Mr. Hesketh. Whitehead says he became pastor of Newton in 1703 and after the Hesketh Lane chapel was built by him in 1705 he ministered jointly.<sup>81</sup> John Jolly noted in the Wymondhouses church book for December the 10th. 1710, 'Robt. Riley was received into communion with us at Sparth. He was formerly a member with Mr. Gillibrand and Mr. Walkden at Hesketh Lane'. 1710 moved to St. Helens, died there 18th of June. 1740.

Peter Walkden M.A. (1711-1738)- Born near Manchester, 16th of October, 1684. Trained under Coningham in Manchester. On the 1st of May, 1709 began ministering in Garsdale, Yorkshire, until 1711. Moved to farm in the hamlet of Thornley near Chipping and began his ministry at Hesketh Lane. Was minister at Holcombe near Bury (1738-1744) and then the Old Tabernacle, Stockport, Cheshire, from 1744 until his death on the 5th of November, 1769. Succeeded by Henry Walkden junior until his death near Clitheroe, on the 2nd of April, 1795.

**C. 2. 4 Elswick, C.2.5 Horwich, C.2.6 Hallfold/Whitworth**

**C. 2. 7 Rainford**

Reynald Tetlaw (1703-1745)- entered Frankland's Academy 14th of June 1698 and removed to Chorlton's in Manchester. Ord. 16th of June, 1702, being minister of Tintwistle, Cheshire. Moved to

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<sup>80</sup> J. H. Turner, Heywoods Diaries, Vol. 3, p.228.

<sup>81</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.163.



the new chapel at Rainford in 1703. Minister until his death on the 1st December 1745, age 69. His will printed in Earwaker's 'Lancashire and Cheshire Wills', Chetham Society, ns, 3, p.180.<sup>82</sup> Tatlock Mather (1745- d. 1785)- Trained at Kendal (1737-1741). Son of the Rev. Benjamin Mather of Over Darwen and Knowsley. Born 12th of July, 1718. Many of his MS sermons and commonplace book are amongst the Shepherd Papers in Manchester College, Oxford.<sup>83</sup>

#### **C. 2. 8 St. Helens**

Information for this church exists in the Raffles MSS/JRL. Manchester, notably the Rev. Dr. Raffles tract Independency in St.Helen's, produced around the time of the St. Helen's Sunday School jubilee meeting. See Halley, Vol.2, pp.321, 421.

#### **C.2.9 Greenacres, Oldham**

**C.2.10 Holcombe, Dundee chapel** [Recovered by the Presbyterians in the nineteenth century].

**Total Presbyterian 10.**

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<sup>82</sup> ONK. p.610.

<sup>83</sup> LN. Vol. 4, pp.170-180; ONK. p.626.

### **C. 3 Presbyterian Churches in the Presbyterian/Unitarian Tradition.**

Lancaster, Preston, Walton, Chorley, Bury, Wharton [Recovered by the Congregationalists/Presbyterians in the 19th century], Hindley, Cockey, Chowbent, Rivington, Tunley [Recovered by the Presbyterians in the 19th century], Bolton, Gataker, Risley [Recovered by the Presbyterians in the 19th century], Wigan Park Lane,<sup>84</sup> Knowsley, Toxteth Park, Ormskirk, Liverpool Castle Hey/Benn's Garden, Liverpool Hope Street/ Key Street, Warrington, Platt, Gorton, Newton/Failsworth, Blackley, Stand, Rochdale, Manchester Cross Street.

**Total Presbyterian 28.**

### **Appendix D- Denominational Growth, 1750-1799.**

As outlined in appendix A, there were 49 Protestant Dissenting churches in existence in Lancashire up to 1725, diminishing to 43 in 1749. After this date processes become marked that make it valid to begin to distinguish chapels by denomination. Perhaps the decisive date was 1756 with the founding of the Northern Education Society and its Academy at Heckmondwick, which guaranteed a supply of orthodox ministers to the chapels of the north-west. Two tendencies emerged, the one Presbyterian/Unitarian, the other developing into the Congregational movement. I have outlined 28 Protestant Dissenting chapels that are in the Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition (Appendix C. 3). Add to this the Walmsley church (Appendix B. 4), which under the ministry of the Rev. John Helme (1750-1760), a student of Dr. Rotherham's Kendal Academy, was drawn into the Presbyterian/Unitarian nexus. Also three rural Presbyterian chapels that were to expire in and around the 1770s. A figure for those churches defining themselves in a Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition c.1750 then can be assumed of 32. In the orthodox/Congregational tradition c.1750 we must include the 10 rural Presbyterian chapels (Appendix C. 2) and the surviving orthodox Independent church at Darwen (Appendix B. 3), giving a figure of 11. In the subsequent decade by decade analysis of additions and losses in both groupings a running total will be kept to enable a numerical comparison.

#### **D. 1 Churches Founded in the 1750s.**

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<sup>84</sup> William Butlers Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan: a record of three centuries. (1912): UCC/JRL/cupb. C29/extract from the trust deed of Park Lane chapel Wigan 1704; cupb. B 2.15, Letters from George Fox on the history of Park Lane, four letters from Alexander Gordon, 1897.



**D. 1. 1 Bolton Dukes Alley (Independent), 1754.**

**D. 1. 2 Secession from Rivington c.1754, eventually building the Horwich Lee Chapel, 1774.**

**D. 1. 3 Manchester Canon Street/Grosvenor Street (Independent)**

Secession from Manchester Cross Street in 1756. Church built in 1762.<sup>85</sup>

**D. 1. 4 Prescott (Unitarian)**

Secession from St. Helens old Protestant Dissenting foundation in 1756.

**D. 1. 5 Rawtenstall (Independent)**

At the Preston Quarter Sessions for the 12th of January, 1758, is recorded 'A building lately erected in Winwale in [ ] is rec. for a meeting house for Protestant Dissenters called Independents.' This location was in the Colne Valley, the Forest of Trawden area. See also in connection with this the Toleration Act registration at the Preston Quarter Sessions of the 11th of January, 1753. of a 'new building on the ground of William Batty, Wine Wall in Trawden Forest, Whalley Parish' registered for Protestant Dissenters. Wesleyans and Inghamites were evangelizing the Colne Valley in the 1740s and 1750s and these may represent an undenominational response to the revival or they may be Inghamite churches.<sup>86</sup> There exists more information on the subsequent registration at the same Quarter Session: 'A building lately erected in Rawtenstall in the Fforest of Rossendale nr Bacup: for Protestant Dissenters called Independents'. This was built by George Whittaker for his son Richard. The Trust Deed, dated the 17th of May, 1760, stated that it was to be used by 'Protestant Dissenters, distinguished by the name of Independents, so long as there was a minister to preach in it. and a congregation to meet in it, that could and should subscribe unto a Book of Articles, entitled An

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<sup>85</sup> G. E. Evans, Vestiges of Protestant Dissent, p.205-206.

<sup>86</sup> Rev. W. Jessop, Methodism in Rossendale and Neighbourhood. With some Notices of the Rise and Progress of the United Societies, and of Contemporary Events, (Manchester, 1880), p.113. LN. Vol. 2, p.176. E. G. Rupp, Religion in England, 1688-1971, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 480-1. L. Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists, (1873), pp. 145,154, noted the presence of Inghamites in Winewall, from Sell, p.139.

Answer to everyone that asketh a reason of the Hope that is in us'. The Rev. Richard Whittaker was minister there c.1760-1780 and was succeeded by the Rev. John Ingham c.1780-1820, under whose ministry the chapel became Unitarian. Newbigging says he became Unitarian in 1821 and received a grant from Lady Hewley's Fund but this would not square with G.E.Evans's information. He was minister until his death in 1833 according to a tablet in the New Chapel.<sup>87</sup> The chapel was closed c.1860.<sup>88</sup> Thomas Newbigging noted in 1893 that the chapel had been a joiners shop or warehouse for many years. The school at Fold was associated with this chapel, founded 1815. The church was certainly Unitarian by 1819, appearing in the Rev. George Eyre Evans manuscript List of Unitarian Congregations, 1819-1881.<sup>89</sup>

**Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition c.1759 = 33**

**Orthodox/Congregational tradition c. 1759 = 15**

## **D. 2 Churches Founded in the 1760s.**

### **D. 2. 1 Liverpool Octagon (Presbyterian/Unitarian)**

Founded in 1763.

### **D. 2. 2 Holden Chapel, Forest of Bowland, Yorkshire.**

Founded 1768, worked by Lancashire ministers.

### **D. 2. 3 Wigan Chapel Lane (Unitarian>orthodox Presbyterian>Church of Scotland).**

Founded 1769 and with Arian ministers until 1795. Scottish congregants increasingly demanded an orthodox minister. The trustees were reconstituted and called a Church of Scotland minister, William Dinwiddie (1795-1832). He was friendly with local Independents and ministers of the Scottish

<sup>87</sup> Thomas Newbigging, History of the Forest of Rossendale, (Rawtenstall, 2nd edition, 1893), pp. 220-221.

<sup>88</sup> ibid. pp.141-2. Jessop, Methodism in Rossendale, pp.91-2.

<sup>89</sup> UCC/JRL, MSS collection, cupb. D. A. W. Fox, Annals of the Todmorden Unitarian Congregation: A Centennial Sketch, (1924). UCC/JRL/ cupb. D 3/ Walter H. Burgess MSS 2, notes on Nonconformity in Rossendale. G. E. Evans, Vestiges, (1897), p.208. G. E. Evans, Record of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, (1896), pp.156-7.



Secession church. He transferred ownership of the trust to a group of Independents who, at the request of the congregation, sought out a minister of the Church of Scotland and transferred the property to the Presbyterian Church in England in 1832.<sup>90</sup>

**Presbyterian/Unitarian tradition c.1769 = 35**

**Orthodox/Congregational tradition c.1769 = 16.**

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<sup>90</sup> William B. Shaw. The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan: A Record of Three Centuries, (1912), pp.51-102.

### D. 3 Churches Founded/Extinct in the 1770s.

Presbyterian/Unitarian Tradition	Orthodox/Congregational Tradition
Liverpool Octagon sold to Anglicans, 1776	1772, sec. from Lancaster Unitarian to Lancaster High Street Congregational church.
Knowsley virtually extinct	1772, sec. from Liverpool Renshaw Street Unitarian to Liverpool, Newington Green Congregational
Houghton Tower declines after f. of Blackburn.	1777, sec. from Wigan Park Lane to Wigan St.Pauls Congregational.
	1778, sec. from Warrington Cairo Street to Warrington Stepney Congregational.
	1776, new Congregational church f. at Garstang
	1777, new Congregational church f. at Blackburn
	1778, new Congregational church f. at Haslingden.
	1778. Manchester Mosley Street Congregational Church split from Manchester Canon Street Congregational.
Numbers c. 1779 = 31	Numbers c. 1779 = 24

Halley notes that the Thompson MSS in D.W.L. record there were 65 Protestant Dissenting churches in Lancashire in 1772. 15 of them Baptist. Dr.Rippon, The Annual Register of Baptists, (1790) noted that at that time there were fifteen Baptist churches but differs with the Thompson MSS over which were which.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Halley, p.327.



**D. 4 Churches Founded in the 1780s.**

<b>Presbyterian/Unitarian Tradition</b>	<b>Orthodox/Congregational Tradition</b>
1787, Manchester Mosley Street, a Unitarian sec. from Manchester Cross Street.	1780, sec. from Preston Unitarian to Preston Canon Street.  1780, sec. from Duckinfield, Cheshire, Unitarian, to Ashton-under-Lyne Congregational.  1783, sec. from Chorley Unitarian to Chorley Hollinshead Congregational.
<b>Numbers c.1789 = 32</b>	<b>Numbers = 27</b>

D. 5 Churches Founded in the 1790s.

Presbyterian/Unitarian Tradition	Orthodox/Congregational Tradition
Rawtenstall (Appendix D1.4) becomes Unitarian	subtract Rawtenstall
Wigan Chapel Lane (Appendix D 2.3) obtained a Church of Scotland minister 1795.	1791, sec. from Stand Unitarian to Stand Congregational Church.  1791, sec. from Darwen Congregational Church to Darwen Pole Lane Congregational Church.  1792, new Congregational church at Walkerfold.  1797, new Congregational church at Salford, New Windsor.  1798, new Congregational church at Ramsbottom, Park Chapel, most of the Congregation coming from Holcombe.  1793, Bury New Road Congregational, secession from Bank Street.
Numbers c. 1799 = 32	Numbers c. 1799 = 32



**Appendix D. 6 -The Formation of Congregational Churches in Lancashire in the Period 1800-**

**1829.** (This refers to churches formed only).

**1800-1809:**

Eccles/Patricroft Congregational Church, 1800.

Bamford Congregational Church, 1801.

Prescot Congregational, 1802; chapel built 1811.

Bolton Mawdesley Street Congregational Church; secession from Duke's Alley congregation in 1803; church formed in 1808.

Liverpool Welsh Congregational church, 1803; Tabernacle Great Crosshall Street opened 1817.

Liverpool Bethesda, Hotham St./Duncan St. East/Crescent Chapel Everton, 1803.

Tockholes Bethesda, 1803, secession.

Bury Bethel Congregational church; secession from the New Road Church 1804; chapel built 1806.

Wharton old Protestant Dissenting chapel vacant since the last Unitarian minister left in 1799.

Received its first Congregational minister in 1805. It remained Congregational until 1860, when it was given to the Presbyterian Church in England.

Churchtown/North Meols Congregational Church, 1807.

(Duckinfield, Cheshire, Congregational Church, 1807- in the L.C.U.)

Manchester Canon Street 2. 1807.

Burnley Bethesda Congregational Church; church formed 1808; chapel built 1814.

(Douglas, Isle of Man, Athol Street Congregational Church. 1808; chapel built 1813).

Preston Grimshaw Street Congregational, 1808, secession from the Unitarian congregation.

Poulton Congregational 1809

**Total 16**

**1810-1819:**

Kirkham Congregational Church, 1810.

(Ramsey, Isle of Mann, Congregational, 1810).

Wigan Hope Congregational, 1810, secession from St.Paul's; chapel built 1818

Colne Congregational Church, 1811.

Leigh Bethesda Congregational Church, founded 1811; chapel built 1813.

Orrell Congregational. 1811.

Warrington Salem Congregational, 1811, secession from Stepney Congregational  
Egerton Congregational Church, 1812.

Hindley St.Paul's Congregational Chapel, 1812; chapel built 1815.

Liverpool Great George Street Congregational church, 1812.

Edgeworth Congregational Church, 1814; chapel built 1823.

Rochdale Providence Congregational. 1814.

Clitheroe Congregatioanl Church, 1815.

Great Harwood Congregational Church, 1815; chapel built 1839.

Martin Top Congregational church, 1816; chapel opened 1817.

Oldham Union Street Congregational, 1816; chapel built 1823.

Manchester Hulme/Zion Chapel Stretford Road, 1817.

Manchester Chorlton Road Welsh Congregational church, 1818; chapel built 1826.

Bretherton Ebenezer Congregational Church, 1819.

Farnworth Market Street Congregational Church, 1819.

Salford Chapel Street Congregational, 1819

**21 new chapels.**

#### **1820-1829:**

Woolton, Liverpool, Congregational, 1820

Manchester Ancoats Congregational 1821.

Pendlebury Congregational. 1821

Southport Congregational, 1821.

Middleton Providence Congregational Chapel, 1823.

Ashton-in-Makerfield Congregational Church. 1824.

Balderstone. Mellor Brook Congregational Chapel, 1824.

Heywood Congregatioanal Church. 1824.

Oldham Hope Congregational chapel, 1824.

Worsley, Hilton Lane. Congregational. 1824.

Blackpool Bethesda Congregational Church, 1825.



Calderbrook Congregational Church; formed 1825; chapel built 1834.

Heaton Mersey Congregational church, 1825.

Belthorn Congregational Church. 1826.

Inglewhite Congregational Church, 1826.

Manchester Rusholme Road Congregational, 1826

Westhoughton Congregational, 1826.

Liverpool Heath St. Chapel, Toxteth/Hanover Chapel, Mill Street, Toxteth/Berkley St. Congregational, 1827.

Liverpool Gloucester Street Chapel (1827-1840); previously Associate Presbytery (Burgher) church (1807-1827) and subsequently Church of England (1840-1866).

Ormskirk Congregational 1828; chapel built 1834.

Smallbridge Congregational, 1828.

Liverpool Westminster Road Congregational church, 1829.

Oldham, secession from Greenacres 1829, building Providence chapel in 1830. Total 23

Running Total: 92

**Appendix D. 7- Walkden's consignment of devotional literature from John Taylor, stationer, of London, c.1717.**

'Gouges Main Directions' = I have not been able to identify this work of Thomas Gouge from the British Library Catalogue or from Wing.

'Gouges Young Man's Guide' = Thomas Gouge, The Young Man's Guide through the wilderness of this world to the Heavenly Canaan etc. (1672).

'Gouge's Regeneration' = Thomas Gouge, A Practical Discourse of regeneration; or, a word to sinners and a word to saints etc. (London, 1712). is the edition in the British Library Catalogue.

'Reynolds Letters' = Most probably the letters of the irenic Restoration Bishop of Norwich, Edward Reynolds (1599-1676). See William Barlee, Praedestination Defended...To which are prefixed the Epistles of Dr. Reynolds etc. 1656, [BLC]; Praedestination, as before privately, (Geo.Sawbridge, 1656), [Wing 819].

'[Staintons?] Sermons on the storm' = not identified.

'Piggots Sermons on God's dispensing of judgement' = Wing 2219 has Pigot, H., A Sermon [Acts 17:6] preached at the Assizes at Lancaster, March 19, 1675/6. Wing, 2220-2223 has sermons by John Pigott, ranging in date from 1642 to 1700. It is unclear if it is either of these.

'Stronges Sermons on Charity Schools' = Possibly William Strong (d.1654), Independent minister in Westminster Abbey. Possibly James Strong (d.1694), an ejected nonconformist who subsequently conformed, (see Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.468).

'Sterin [ ]ts advice to youth' = not known.

'Protestants Resolution' = not known.

'Gouges Riches Increast' = Thomas Gouge, The Surest and Safest way of Thriving etc. (Wm. Rawlins, 1673), [Wing 1377]; (1676), [Wing 1378]; Riches Increas'd by giving to the Poor: or, Mr. T.Gouge's surest and Safest Way of Thriving... to which is added, a sermon.[on 1 Tim.vi 17-19] of Good Works...And Also, a short collection of Scripture Testimonies for doing good to the Poor. With recommendatory prefaces by Dr.Owen, Dr.Manton, D.Bates and Mr.Baxter. (London, 1709), [BLC].

'Harrisons Thanksgiving Sermon' = John Harrison, A Thanksgiving Sermon for Discovery...September 9, 1683, For W.Crooke, [Wing 895]. This is not the John Harrison in the DNB or any of the three ejected ministers of that name in Matthews, Calamy Revised pp.249-50. as they all died in the 1670s.

'Piggots Sermons I' = see above.

'Welds Sermon' = Nathaniel Weld, (1660-1730, Minister of Eustace Street. Dublin), A Sermon...Preached...April 26th, 1698, Dublin, (By Andrew Crook, for Elphiel Dobson. 1698), [Wing 1261]. See the DNB entry for Thomas Weld by Alexander Gordon.



## Appendices relating to Chapter Four

### Appendix E- Cumberland.

#### E. 1-Licences granted under the 1672 Indulgence

**Allonby-** House of Richard Egleshold, Presby. 16th July.

**Alston Moor-** John Davy, Congl., at the house of Reginald Walton, 29th of June.

**Brampton-** Nathaniel Burman, Presb. General 5th Sept. House of William Atkinson, Presby, 5th Sept.

**Bridekirk-** George Larkham, Presby at his own house at Hames Hill, 2nd of May; house 26th July.

**Carlisle-** House of Barbary Studholm, Ind., 3rd Feb, 1673.

**Cockermouth-** House of Richard Lowry, Presby, 16th of July

**Crosfield -** House of Wilson 30th Sept.

**Crosthwaite-** House of Gawen Wrenn, Presb, 16th July: corrected as Gawen Wrenn Cong, 5th of September. again 18th nov. See Keswick.

**Dearham-** Gavin Eaglesfield, Indpt. at his house, 9th Dec.

**Embleton-** House of John Casse, Presby, 16th July

**Greystock-** Anthony Sleigh, Presb., at the House of John Noble 15th June ? See Penruddock.

**Heskett-** Simon Atkinson, Congl. house of W. Sandertson 29th May. Kirkoswald.

**Holme Cuttram-** House of Thomas Barnes, Indept 9th Dec. North of Blennerhasset.

**Kirkoswald-** Giles Nicholson, Congl, general 22nd July. House of William Jameson, Presby 5th Sept. House of Thomas Therkeldd no description 28th Oct

**Penrith-** House of Thomas Langhorne, Cong 19th Nov.

**Torpenhow-** House of Thomas Youngusband. Presby, 16th July. <sup>92</sup> Close to Blennerhasset but could be for Cockermouth.

16 locations. 11 Presbyterian. 8 Independent.

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<sup>92</sup> Colligan. 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', pp.230-231. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1365-1371.

**E. 2-Protestant Dissenting Churches in Cumberland, 1689-c.1750** (following J. H. Colligan's differentiation, based on subsequent affiliation, into Independent and Presbyterian).<sup>93</sup>

**Independent:**

**E. 2. 1- Alston/Garrigill** (also known as Redwing Chapel)

Nightingale noted two ministers ejected in 1662 lived and preached in the Alston area and a house was licensed in 1672: 'Licence to John Davy to be a Congr. Teacher in Reginald Walton's house at Aulston More, Cumbd. 29 June. The Howse of Reginald Walton at Alston More in Cumber. Congr. 29 June'.<sup>94</sup> The chapel was built in 1695, at the Loaning Head, on the east side of the Tyne, near Garrigill-Gate.<sup>95</sup> The earliest known minister was:

**Thomas Dawes (c.1692-1703)**- twice presented for nonconformity in 1677, described as at Renwick.<sup>96</sup> Nightingale thought he was a student of Richard Franklands. Nicholson and Axon are in some doubt as to whether he was a scholar of Frankland. They cite J. Walton Robinson who suggests his ministry began in 1686/7; a John or Thomas Daws entered Frankland's Academy May 8th, 1690. Thomas Dawes, clerk, was buried 28th April, 1703 (Kirkoswald Register).<sup>97</sup> He appears in a will at Alston in 1692. He was not mentioned in the Common Fund minutes for Cumberland analysed by Gordon, c.1690-1692.<sup>98</sup> He received a grant from the Congregational Fund of £4 on the 28th of March, 1698, according to the Congregational Magazine in 1822. He received the Congregational Fund annual grant of £5 in 1699, £6 in 1700, £5 in 1701; £6 in 1702 and £3 in 1703.<sup>99</sup> His will, dated April, 1703, left £30 for the support of his successors.<sup>100</sup> Colligan was of the opinion that he also ministered at Kirkoswald at some period.<sup>101</sup> The fact that he received the grant from the Congregational Fund after the split from the Common/Presbyterian Fund suggests a strong profession of Independent principles. Subsequent ministers were to receive support from the Presbyterian Fund

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<sup>93</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', pp.212-237.

<sup>94</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1367-1368.

<sup>95</sup> J. W. Robinson, 'Alston Moor Congregational Church, Cumberland', TCHS, Vol. 4, No.4, January 1910, pp.254-257.

<sup>96</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 1271, 1342. Nightingale noted that the presentments were from a manuscript of Professor G. Lyon Turner, the Alston ones coming from Durham Diocesan Records.

<sup>97</sup> ONK, p.580.

<sup>98</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp. 21-24.

<sup>99</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99; Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>100</sup> Joshua Wilson ? (according to J. W. Robinson), 'Statistical View of the Dissenters in England and Wales: Cumberland, Alston Moor', The London Christian Instructor or Congregational Magazine, Vol. 5, March, 1822, pp.162-163.

<sup>101</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.214.



however. Possible author of A Sermon Preach'd...March 5th 1694[5] By F.C. for Gabriel Rogers in Shrewsbury to be sold by John Whitlock, (1695), Wing 451.

**Thomas Dickenson ( ? -1712/13)-** From Preston, Lancashire? Trained Frankland, entering 8th of February, 1692. Ord. 26th of May, 1698. Presented to a meeting of Lancashire ministers in 1699 and 1700. The Congregational Fund Minutes record on the 3rd of April, 1704, that £4 be ordered for 'Mr. Dickenson of Cumberland'.<sup>102</sup> Proposed for a Presbyterian Fund grant in March, 1709, removing to Carlisle, Cumberland. (Appendix E 2.7.1) in 1712/13. Possibly the Thomas Dickenson late of Stainton, Westmorland, administration of whose estate was granted Lancaster 14th of October 1754.<sup>103</sup> Not the Thomas Dickenson, minister at Gorton, Lancashire, who was successor to Oliver Heywood at Northowram, Halifax. Upper Chapel, Sheffield, had a Thomas Dickenson ministering in the 1750s.

**John Turner (1712/13-1714)-** these are the dates followed by Nightingale, though Robinson pace Axon says he left 1719. The Presbyterian Fund Minutes for the 8th of June, 1713, recorded £4 to him as an extraordinary supply. The Presbyterian Fund minutes for 7th of March, 1715, state 'a further allowance of six pounds to Alston Moor and Wiredale in Cumberland when provided of a minister to the satisfaction of the board'. Turner went to Berwick where his burial was recorded in the parish register for the 8th of June, 1760.

**Adam Wilson (1715-c. 1745?)-**From Galowshields, Scotland, he preached for upwards of twenty years and then returned to Scotland.<sup>104</sup> Presbyterian Fund Minutes, 7th March, 1715, request 'That besides these allowances there be further Allowance of sixpounds to Alston Moor and Wiredale in Cumberland granted when provided of a minister to the satisfaction of this Board'. From the Presbyterian Fund minutes for the 7th of October, 1717, we know that he had already been there two years. With Edmund Calamy in the chair

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<sup>102</sup> MS DWL. Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>103</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1272. Robinson, 'Alston Moor Congregational Church', pp.254-255. ONK, p. 586.

<sup>104</sup> Joshua Wilson, Congregational Magazine, March, 1822, p.162.

On a motion from the chairman and a letter from Mr. Thomas Dickenson of Whitehaven and others representing the case of Mr. Adam Wilson of Alston Moor and Wiredale in Cumberland, that he has serv'd those Congregations for two years past ending at Midsum:r last and not only one as represented by Dr. Calamy May 6th last. Agreed that the allowance be paid to him for 2 y past and not only one as agreed at that meeting in May.<sup>105</sup>

The Evans List records him as the minister at Alston c.1717-1719, stating that he was in receipt of the 'I.F.' (Congregational Fund) and a Presbyterian Fund grant of £5. The list went on to say that the congregation was mainly lead miners, the number of hearers being reported by 'Mr.Nesbit' as 250 and by Thomas Dixon of Whitehaven as 150, Nesbit reporting 10 county voters. Wilson ministered at Garrigill and also at Ireshope Burn, a mile west of St.John's Chapel, Weardale, in a new meeting-house that was built during his ministry.<sup>106</sup> Robinson doubts whether he was at Garrigill for twenty years.

**James Ritchie, M.D. (c. 1742-1753)**- Wilson says 'from N.B.' (ie North Britain, Scotland). Dale and Crippen say he was called to the Ravenstonedale Dissenters, Westmorland, on the 9th of September, 1733, and that he had been educated at Glagow University. The trustees took exception to his Arian views and evicted him from his chapel. He pursued a lengthy suit against them through the Chancery, eventually winning. Nicholson and Axon state that Ritchie was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant at Ravenstonedale from 1736 until 1742.<sup>107</sup> In 1749 the Redwing estate was purchased for the Protestant Dissenters.<sup>108</sup> He repaired the Garrigill and Plumptre meeting-houses, itinerating throughout the north collecting money for them.<sup>109</sup> Itinerated in Weardale, the congregation at Ireshope may have been worked together with Alston.<sup>110</sup> Wilson says he officiated here for twelve or thirteen years, then, in about 1751 or 1752 he took charge of Plumptre as well as Garrigill for a few

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<sup>105</sup> Presbyterian Fund Minutes. MS DWL, Vol. Two. p. 315.

<sup>106</sup> R. S. Robson. 'Early Nonconformity in Weardale and Teesdale', TCHS. Vol. 5, No.1, February 1911, pp. 22-33

<sup>107</sup> F. Nicholson and E. Axon, 'The Ancient Meeting-House at Ravenstonedale'. TCHS. Vol. 4, No.1, p.59.

<sup>108</sup> Rev. H. C. Hopton, Alston Church, (1904).

<sup>109</sup> B. Dale and T. G. Crippen, 'The Ancient Meeting House at Ravenstonedale', TCHS, Vol. 3, 1907-08, pp.91-103.

<sup>110</sup> Timothy Nelson MSS. Cumbria CRO, Carlisle. Robson, 'Early Nonconformity in Weardale and Teesdale', CHST. Vol. 5, No.1, February, 1911, p.24.



years, moving to Mixenden in Yorkshire, (1753-63).<sup>111</sup> We know the subsequent minister was ordained to Alston in 1753, so Wilson's figures puts Ritchie arriving at Garrigill c.1740, most likely 1742. Died Shaw Booth. Warley, Halifax, October, 1763, age 65, buried in the Old Presbyterian chapel Mixenden.

He was author of two treatise on Jewish and other sacrifices. A Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices, being an Examination of Dr. Taylor's 'Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement', (1761); this was apparently reviewed in The Monthly Review of 1761 and Colligan was of the opinion that his views were more advanced than those of Dr. Taylor's.<sup>112</sup> Also The Peculiar Doctrine of revelation relating to Piacular Sacrifices and rationale of them. illustrated in two essays, with two Dissertations on the Person of Jesus Christ, 2 Vols, published after his death in 1766.<sup>113</sup> Note this was published in Warrington. See Books Printed in Lancashire in the Eighteenth Century.

**Thomas Smith (1753-c. 1760)-** Wilson states he was from Hunter Hall, Scotland. He remained six or seven years. During his ministry the new chapel at Redwing was built in 1754. Returned to Scotland c.1760, on a presentation to the church at Cumbertree, near Annan.<sup>114</sup> His ordination took place at the Provincial Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland ministers at Penrith. 8th of August, 1753.<sup>115</sup>

**John Dean (c.1760-1763)-** Wilson, writing in 1822, said that this was John Dean the son of Adam Dean of Huddlescough/Kirkoswald who after three years removed to North Shields, Northumberland. Colligan thought this referred to Adam Dean at Kirkoswald who would occasionally minister at Garrigill.<sup>116</sup> In the correspondence of Adam Dean with George Benson, March 31st, and most probably c.1760, Adam Dean talks of trying to get his son John to return from Glasgow, where Benson had secured him a Dr. Williams's Exhibition in 1755. John was not keen, Adam admitting

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<sup>111</sup> Miall, p.318.

<sup>112</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.48

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*, p.49. This work, 2 Vols, quarto, was sent to press in Warrington 1761 before he died but was issued by subscription for the benefit of his widow. Source Timothy Nelson MSS and the Rev. J.Preston. The History of Mixenden, (1823-1841).

<sup>114</sup> Wilson, Congregational Magazine, March, 1822, p.163.

<sup>115</sup> J.H.Colligan. 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', TCHS, Vol. 4, No.3, October, 1909, p.163.

<sup>116</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.214.

that Alston was not inviting. 'It might do for a season'. He notes that Smith is now settled in a Scottish church.<sup>117</sup>

**Timothy Nelson M.A. (1763-1800)**- Trained Glasgow University, where he went with John Dean in 1755.<sup>118</sup> Licenced by the Northumberland presbytery. Resigning in the year 1800, he went to his birthplace of Great Salkeld, Cumberland, where he ministered to the congregation there jointly with Plumpton, dying in 1829 (Appendix E 2.11). Colligan has him down as Nelson, saying he was the first historian of local Dissent, though most of his papers have been lost. Many of his papers remain in the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle. His family were reported to be still associated with the Great Salkeld church.

According to Wilson, after Timothy Nelson's departure, the church at Garrigill almost withered away. John Dickinson of Alston employed the Rev. William Norris senior to preach at Alston. Norris had been employed by the Societas Evangelica in October, 1796, to preach in North Yorkshire and the destitute places of the north. Norris came in 1803, an Independent meeting-house was built in 1804 at Alston, and opened on the 13th of February, 1805, receiving into union with itself the remains of the old church at Garrigill. Around 1809, Norris moved to Borroughbridge, Yorkshire.<sup>119</sup>

**William Norris junior (c.1809-1814)**- Son of the previous minister, trained at the Rotherham Academy, died on the 9th of February, 1814, aged 29.

**John [Jonathan] Harper (1816-1858)**- Trained at the Idle Academy, ministering at Alston and the old Garrigill chapel. The Rev. William Vint of Idle took part in the ordination.<sup>120</sup> Wilson, in 1822, recorded 400 hearers at Alston, 36 of whom are communicants. At Garrigill 60 hearers, 9

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<sup>117</sup> UCC/JRL/cupboard B.19, Benson Letter Collection, 1.

<sup>118</sup> Adam Dean to George Benson, 30th of December, 1755, from Huddlesceugh. UCC/JRL/ cupboard B.19, Benson Letters. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Miall, p.233.

<sup>120</sup> Letter from the Rev. William Vint at Idle to Mr. Curry, Alnwick, Northumberland, 23rd of September, 1816, reproduced in J. Horsfall Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, p.61.



communicants.<sup>121</sup> The List of Recipients of Lady Hewley's Fund for 1830 in James records Alston as an old Presbyterian chapel, Harper as 'Independent' and in receipt of £2 10s.<sup>122</sup> The Surman Index No.548 records that he was born in Thornton near Bradford in the West Riding, 12th of January, 1788. He was subsequently a town missionary in Whitehaven, (1858-68), retiring to Alston. Died 8th of November, 1876.<sup>123</sup>

**R. E. Long (1858-60)**- Born London, 13th of February, 1831. Training Lancashire Independent College, (1852-57). B.A.Owen's/Victoria College Manchester, 1883. Subsequently ran a boarding school in Liverpool and then Hoylake, Cheshire. Died 12th of March, 1909, Liscard.<sup>124</sup> **J. Harker (1860-61, 1863-71)**- Born Manchester, 1828. Trained Lancashire Independent College, (1852-57). Minister Brigg, Lincs., (1857-60). Stockport, Orchard Street Chapel, (1872-1907). Retired. Died 5th of April, 1911.<sup>125</sup> **George Wood (c.1872)**- Surman 2171, possibly the same as the Lancashire minister 2174. **Francis Lamb (1873-77)**- Trained Paton Home Missionary College. Subsequently minister in Cumnock, Ayrshire, (1877-81). Emigrated to Canada.<sup>126</sup> **William Farries (1877-97)**- Born Ecclefechan, Dumfries, Scotland, 2nd of June, 1846. Trained Paton Home Missionary College. Minister Viersen, Germany, (1875-76). Subsequently Walls, Shetland. (1898-1901). Arbroath, (1903-05). Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, (1905-15). Retired Silloth, Cumberland. Brother Alexander. d.1911.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>121</sup> This and information on subsequent ministries were drawn from the Surman Index. DWL, London.

<sup>122</sup> T. S. James. The History of the Litigation and Legislation Respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849, (1867), pp. 737-742. The List of Recipients of the Hewley Fund on the last half yearly distribuion by the Socinian Trustees 13th May, 1830. as returned in the Attorney General v. Shore.

<sup>123</sup> C. G. Hudson, One Hundered Years of Congregationalism in Morpeth, 1829-1929, (1929), p.13 notes that he was recommended by T. Matheson of Durham as the candidate for Morpeth in 1829. Notes he was a very respectable man in Cumberland, though not a very popular preacher. Turner, Idle, p.123 as John. CM, 1822, p.163 has him as John; 1835, p.806. EM, 1816, p.401; 1845, p.206. CYB, 1877, p.371. CHST, Vol. 4, p.258.

<sup>124</sup> Surman, 1057. CYB, 1910, p.157. CHST, 4, p.258.

<sup>125</sup> Surman, 511. CYB, 1912, p.138.

<sup>126</sup> Surman, 45. CYB, 1882, p.246.

<sup>127</sup> Surman, 97.

## **E. 2. 2- Blennerhasset**

Colligan reported no surviving registers for this church.<sup>128</sup> Nightingale noted that several members of the Cockermouth Congregational church lived in the area in the mid-seventeenth century and that houses were registered for Dissenters in 1704.<sup>129</sup> First minister was a Mr. Stewart- In receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant of £8 1714/15.

**James Mallinson (1715-1716)-** According to Nightingale the Presbyterian Fund minutes have him here from April, 1715, to June, 1716. Colligan and others have noted that he was ministering to an Arian secession at Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, c.1714-c.1717, when he removed to Howden, Yorkshire.<sup>130</sup> He started at Ravenstonedale in 1716, when Caleb Rotherham left. John Philip Malleson B.A., minister in Manchester in the mid-nineteenth-century.<sup>131</sup>

**John Seyer-** Probably from Keswick, Cumberland, according to Colligan; the Evans list seems to suggest this. The Evans List entry for Blennerhasset, c.1717-1719, has Mallinson as having ministered there and the current minister being John Seyer, in receipt of £6 from the Presbyterian Fund. It records one gentleman, eleven tradesmen and the rest yeomen in the congregation. Mr.Nesbitt recorded 200 hearers, Thomas Dixon 153, with ten county voters.

**James Saunders-** Scottish according to Wilson in 1822 he was the next minister, claiming he was there in 1739 and 1766 and his ministry lasted thirty four years. He was present for the ordination of the Rev.Caleb Rotherham junior at the Kendal Provincial Meeting, 26th of August, 1756.<sup>132</sup>

**Mr.Dixon-** Scottish, Minister of the church in 1773, according to Wilson.

**Mr. Irwin-**Scottish, Died 1794.

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<sup>128</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.215

<sup>129</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1279.

<sup>130</sup> Miall, p.282.

<sup>131</sup> McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.91.

<sup>132</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland', p.164.



**Francis Rattray (1795-1806)-** From Glasgow, Scotland. Licenced by the Associate (Burgher) Presbytery of Glasgow, 1st October, 1776. Moved to Edinburgh and kept a Classical School there for nearly 12 years. Preaching in Whitehaven, Kendal, Mixenden in 1789. Miall, p.319, notes he was minister at Mixenden, (1791-93), but being a zealous Calvinist he did not please his hearers and he was starved out. Miall does not mention him in Sheffield. Howard Street Chapel. Settled in Sheffield as minister of Howard Street Chapel, (1793-95). Author of The Joyful Sound; being the substance of some sermons from Psalm 89 v.15. By the Rev. F.Rattray, minister of Howard Street Chapel, Sheffield. (Sheffield, 1793). Invited to be minister of Blennerhasset, 7th of February, 1795, where he had been accustomed to preach nearby on journeys to Scotland. His biography records that Henry Townsend of Cockermouth sometimes preached there and that the Schoolmaster was J.Jefferson, who had been educated for the Church of England ministry but joined the Congregationalists, and trained at Homerton.<sup>133</sup> Rattray died on the 22nd of October, 1806.<sup>134</sup> His son John, living in Blennerhasset, dedicated his fathers literary remains to Sir Wilfred Lawson of Brayton in 1837. Colligan said the modern history of the Blennerhasset congregation was associated with Sir Wilfred Lawson and his son Sir Wilfred. C. M. Hilton Day, in his article on Whitehaven Presbyterianism noted an article by R.S.Robson, '1662 and Some of its Survivals. XVI. Whitehaven Presbyterianism', possibly published in a local newspaper c.1910, which claims that towards the end of James Kirkpatrick's ministry at Whitehaven, Rattray was appointed 'colleague and successor'. It implies he was called to Whitehaven in 1798 and that he had Arian leanings and that he went to Blennerhasset in 1805, where he became a Baptist. This chronology does not square with the one provided by his son in his biography.

Wilson in 1822 noted that the chapel was without a minister after Rattray, but was supplied once a month by Mr.Anderson (Scottish) of Wigton. After he moved to Scotland in 1813/14 the chapel was closed. Report of the Northern Congregational Union for 1815 stated that some associated ministers were preaching there and that subsequently Mr. Walton of Wigton was preaching there. John Rattray noted that John Walton moved from Wigton to Blennerhasset in 1828, the new chapel being raised in

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<sup>133</sup> EM, 1825.

<sup>134</sup> John Rattray, (ed.). Select Remains and Memories of the Late Rev. F. Rattray, Student at Glasgow University; and sometime minister at Mixenden, near Halifax; Howard Street Chapel, Sheffield; and at Blennerhasset, Cumberland: comprising also Selections from his Papers and Sermons: accompanied with Observations on the National Universities, Popular Education, Church Establishments, and other great questions of the day, (Carlisle, 1837). Rattrays ministry in Sheffield is not mentioned in Miall, p.355.

1828 with notable contributions from Sir Wilfred Lawson.<sup>135</sup> Walton was in receipt of the Hewley Fund grant here, of £2 10s in 1830. James was of the opinion that the chapel was an old Presbyterian foundation and that Walton was Independent.<sup>136</sup>

**James Samson (1845-57)**- Born Cumnock, Ayr, Scotland, 1810? Trained Glasgow Theological Hall, (1841-44), was expelled and joined the Evangelical Union Church. Possibly ministering at Brayton whilst here. Subsequently minister at the E.U.Church, Newcastle, (1857-60), and in Sheerness, Kent, (1860-78). Retired to Cumnock. Died 23rd of March, 1886. The congregation was not in the Cumberland Congregational Union in 1846, and there is no record of him or the congregation in the Congregational Yearbook after that.<sup>137</sup>

### **E 2. 3- Cockermouth**

This church is by far the largest in Cumberland and Westmorland in the early eighteenth-century. Colligan reported that it was the only church to have early, though not complete records. It was founded as a gathered church under the pastor of the parish church, George Larkham, in 1651, however there is evidence of a Christian Society there before this.<sup>138</sup> The first meeting-house was a dwelling, leased for worship in 1687. In 1719 a chapel was built and superseded in 1735 by the building that became the schoolroom and church hall.<sup>139</sup> Larkham received the Common/Presbyterian Fund in 1690 and the Congregational Fund in 1696. The church has remained Congregational throughout its existence with one temporary secession, c.1765-1783, when the orthodox majority formed their own High Meeting under the ministration of the Rev. Selby Ord, some of the trustees calling the Arian Thomas Lowthian, who died in 1781, the two congregations reuniting in 1783.<sup>140</sup> New Gothic church built 1850.

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<sup>135</sup> *ibid.* p. 85.

<sup>136</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>137</sup> Surman, 99. CYB, 1887, p.75.

<sup>138</sup> Letter to the 'godly christians' of Cockermouth, from Elkanah Wales, 1646, in the Thoresby Papers, Vols 2 & 3, British Library Additional MSS, 4276, f.215; also contains other material by Wales. See also Nightingale, The Ejected, Vol. 2, pp.1385-6.

<sup>139</sup> J. B. Bradbury, A History of Cockermouth, (1981), p.160.

<sup>140</sup> W. Lewis, History of the Congregational Church at Cockermouth, (London and Cockermouth, 1870). Joshua Wilson, Congregational Magazine, May, 1822, pp.272-278. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1255-1257. J. H. Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.215-216.



**George Larkham (1651-d. 26. 12. 1700)**-The Congregational Fund Minutes record payments of £10 to Larkham as a yearly grant on Monday the 13th of April, 1696, Monday the 5th of April, 1697, Monday the 17th of April, 1699, and Monday the 22nd of April, 1700.<sup>141</sup> The Minutes for Monday the 7th of April, 1701 record it was ordered that the church at Cockermouth 'provided with an approved pastor bee allowed L5'.

**John Atkinson (October, 1701-1732/3)**- Frankland student, probably entering March 1696/7. Formerly minister at Crook, Westmorland, (Appendix F 1.4). The Congregational Fund Minutes record only two annual payments to Atkinson, on April the 13th 1702 and on April the 12th 1703, both payments for £5.<sup>142</sup> Meeting-house built in 1718.<sup>143</sup> Nicholson notes that he was not as strict on church order as his predecessor for he relaxed the rule that only the children of church members could be baptized.<sup>144</sup> Whilst here he seems to have entered a theological controversy with the Quakers. In reply to the Quaker pamphlet entitled Absolute Predestination Not Scriptural (1708) he wrote A discourse of election, showing the nature, the proof, the properties, the improvement of election, to which is added. A vindication of the doctrine of election (1708).<sup>145</sup> This also contained a letter to a friend 'once in danger of the Quaker Delusion'. See Smith's Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana.

**Thomas Walker M.A. (1732-?)**- Came from Kirkoswald, Cumberland, (1728-1732). Minister for a short time, moved to Hexham, according to Lewis, The History of the Congregational Church at Cockermouth. Nicholson and Axon provide perhaps more accurate information in covering his nephew, George Walker. George was born in Newcastle and was in the care of his uncle Thomas Walker, minister successively at Cockermouth, Durham, and Leeds. Priestley described him as one of the most heretical ministers in Leeds. Walker's Leeds pastorate at the Presbyterian Mill Hill Chapel, (1748-1763), was marked by controversy and was subsequently to be occupied by Joseph Priestley.<sup>146</sup> The Congregational layman Joseph Ryder, who worshipped at the Call Lane Independent chapel,

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<sup>141</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695 to 1699; Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.* Vol. Two, pp.48, 104.

<sup>143</sup> Lewis, Congregational Church, Cockermouth, pp.120-127.

<sup>144</sup> ONK, pp.603-604.

<sup>145</sup> Sell, p.47; ONK, p. 275.

<sup>146</sup> Miall, p.302.

Leeds. thought that Walker taught that Christ was not God. Walker had a notable controversy with the evangelical minister of the Nether Chapel, Sheffield, the Rev. John Pye, 1756-1757.<sup>147</sup> George Walker, FRS, became distinguished mathematician, tutor at Warrington and Manchester College, President of the Manchester Lit. and Phil. and a decided Arian.<sup>148</sup>

**Thomas Jolly (1737-1764)**- From Wymondhouses Chapel, Lancashire, (Appendix B.1). Died in June, 1764. Adam Dean's (Kirkoswald) letters to George Benson mention Jolly distributing the Congregational Fund grants.

After Jolly's death division emerged over who was to succeed. **Thomas Lowthian (c.1765-d.1781)** became a minister but his Arianism was unacceptable to most of the congregation. There was a Thomas Lowthian at Great Salkeld and Plumpton, Cumberland, (Appendix E 2. 11), related to Samuel Lowthian (Penrith E 2. 9). The orthodox party opened a new meeting-house in November, 1765, calling as their minister **Selby Ord (1766-1777)**. He came from Cotherstone, Scotland, and was ordained in the Presbytery of Newcastle according to Charles Surman's notes, although the church book records for the 5th of April, 1767, that none of the ministers of the Cumberland and Westmorland Provincial would assent to have him ordained and so he could not 'have the seals of the covenant administered'. Ministers had to come from Lancashire, along with Tetley of Ravenstonedale, to perform his ordination. He left to minister in the Church of Scotland at Longformacus, Presbytery of Dunse, Berwickshire, Scotland, in July, 1777. He died there on the 10th of July, 1814, aged 73.<sup>149</sup>

**Smith (c.1782-3)**- Scottish, returned to Scotland. Surman 1275/1409. has possibly James. and possibly the Smith who was at Ravenstonedale, 1784-90 (Appendix F. 1. 2a).

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<sup>147</sup> H. McLachlan, 'Diary of a Leeds Layman. Joseph Ryder, 1733-68'. in Essays and Addresses, pp.35-37.

<sup>148</sup> ONK, p.632. Alexander Gordon, 'George Walker (1734?-1807)', DNB, 20, pp.515-516, says see Rutt, Priestley, 1831, i. 11.

<sup>149</sup> Ord's obituary was in The Carlisle Journal, 23rd of July, 1814. Scott. Fasti, 25, vii, p.524. A. J. L. Winchester, (ed.), The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland, 1756-1781, (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, forthcoming), entry for the 27th of September, 1771. Surman, 154. Lewis, Congregational Church Cockermouth, pp. 128-129.



**Henry Townsend (1783-1793)**- From the Heckmondwick Academy. Left to minister at Darwen, Lancashire in 1793, where he was forcibly ejected for indiscretions in August, 1806. With some supporters he built Townsend's Chapel, eventually becoming a handloom weaver.<sup>150</sup>

For four years the church was without a minister, **Mr. Trail** and **Mr. Williams** Supplying.

**Robert Swan (1797-1814)**- From Dunfries, Scotland. Had attended Scottish university. Returned to Scotland. The Surman Index 2503 says he became minister in the parish church of Wantockhead.<sup>151</sup>

**James Muscutt (1815- d. 7th of August, 1819)**- Educated at Hackney, supplying Darlington some time before 1811. Minister at Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, (1811-1815) where he organised the church on Congregational lines.<sup>152</sup>

**Jonathan Edwards (1819-1821)**- Son of Peter Edwards, minister of Wem, Shropshire, (d.1833). Trained Newport Pagnell Academy, (1814-?). Minister Devizes, Wiltshire. before Cockermouth. Ordained 11th of April, 1820.<sup>153</sup> Subsequently ran a boarding school in Manchester<sup>154</sup> and was last mentioned being resident in Ruscombe, Stroud, Glos.<sup>155</sup>

**Edward Gatley (1821-1825)**- Born Sheffield. Trained Rotherham. Lay Pastor Bolsover, 12 months before coming to Cockermouth. Subsequent ministries Brigg, Lincs., (1825-30). New Malton, Yorks., (1830-37). Lichfield, Staffs., (1837-44). Thirsk, Yorks., (1844-54). Tosside, Yorks., (1854-60). Knottingley, Yorks., (1860-?). Died 14th of January, 1866.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Surman, 1203. LN, Vol. 2, p.271. Turner, Idle, p.120.

<sup>151</sup> Scott, Fasti .Vol. 2, p.329. CM, 1822, p.277. EM, 1797, p.341.

<sup>152</sup> Surman, 2181.

<sup>153</sup> CM, 1820, p.733.

<sup>154</sup> CM, 1822, pp.277, 733.

<sup>155</sup> Surman, 219. CM, 1831, p.809.

<sup>156</sup> Surman, 198. Miall, pp. 313, 371, 372. Matthews, Staffordshire, p.257. EM, 1830, p.204. CYB, 1867, p.283.

**Joseph Mather (1825-1834)**- Born Bolton, Lancashire, 22nd of April, 1797, the son of James Mather, minister of Salford, (d.1840). Student at Mill Hill School, (1813-15), master there 1814-15. Trotman grantee at Homerton in 1815.<sup>157</sup> Minsiter Lower Chapel, Heckmondwick, (1820-25). Ordained 19th of September, 1821. Subsequently at Bilston, Staffordshire, (1834-40). Shepherds Market, Mayfair, London. (January 1841-44). Brentford (Albion or Boston Road), Middlesex, (1844-47?), retired. Died 21st of November, 1868. Couple of books in the British Library Catalogue. In receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £2 10s in 1830. His brother Robert Cotton Mather was an LMS missionary in India, (d.1877).<sup>158</sup> Even James had to recognize this chapel as an old Independent foundation.<sup>159</sup>

**Andrew Fielder Shawyer (1834-1843)**- Son of Andrew Shawyer. Born Rugeley, Staffordshire, 26th of April.1811. Trained Rotherham Academy, (1830-34). Ordained 20th of August, 1835. Also minister at Booth, Cumberland, for a while.<sup>160</sup> Subsequently minister Turvey, Bedfordshire, (January 1843-45), Allonby and Flimby, Cumberland, (1845-50), Pately Bridge and Dacre, (1850-61?), Delph, Yorks.. (1861-66). Supplied Keswick. Died 30th of July, 1868. Married Dorothy, eldest daughter if Isaac Brown, 9th of January, 1840, Cockermouth.<sup>161</sup> Brother, Joseph Brown Shawyer, Congregational minister.<sup>162</sup> **Robert Wilson (1843-1847)**- From Belfast. Matriculated Glasgow University, 1830. Glasgow Theological Hall, (1830-33). Minister Denholm, Roxburghshire, (1833-43). Ordained 3rd of June, 1835. Subsequently minister Charlesworth, Derbyshire, (1848-53?). Emigrated to Nova Scotia, minister Yarmouth, N.S., 1853? Minsiter Sheffield, New Brunswick, (1858?-70). Subsequently minister in a Presbyterian church.<sup>163</sup> **Portas Hewart Davidson (9th of July, 1848-24th of September, 1854)**- Born Hull, 28th of April, 1819. Trained Rotherham. Minister Dronfield,

<sup>157</sup> CHST, 14, p.91.

<sup>158</sup> Surman, 825. Matthews, Staffordshire, p.249. Miall, p.276. E. H. Cook, Mill Hill School, pp.12, 465. CC, 1842, p.105; 1844, pp.91, 93; 1847, p.42; 1848, p.77. CM, 1821, p.717; 1826, p.701; 1831, p.814; 1835, p.837. CYB 1869, p.259 incorrectly states he was a student at Rotherham. EM, 1821, p.524.

<sup>159</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.738.

<sup>160</sup> CC, 1842, p.81.

<sup>161</sup> The Patriot, 13th of January, 1840.

<sup>162</sup> Surman, 663. CYB, 1846, says of Flimby; 1848, Allonby. 1869, p.277. CC, 1842, p.81; 1844, pp.19, 97; 1845, p.61. CM, 1835, pp.789, 806. EM, 1843, p.84. Waddington, p.409. Whitehead, Nidderdale, p.133.

<sup>163</sup> Surman, 1998. EM, 1835, p.373. CYB, 1854, p.214; 1871, p.226. CC, 1844, pp.99, 119. CHST, Vol. 10, pp.23, 25. Ross, pp.244, 247, 257. MAUG, 12742.



Derbys.. (1845?-48). Subsequently minister Wandsworth, Surrey, (1855-69). Wellington, Somerset, (1870-73). Retired. Died 7th of January, 1894.<sup>164</sup> W. Southwick- Preached four Sundays in 1854, was called in May, 1855 but was too ill.

**Patrick Morrison (1855-1858)**

**W. Southwick (14th of March, 1858- September, 1861, resigned through illness)**

**Robert Hall (1861-1866)**

**W. Lewis (1866-1872)**

**A. Bell (1873-1880)-** Born Halifax, 1845. Subsequently at Londonderry, Ireland. (1883-97). Rothbury, Northumberland. (1898-1902). Kingstown, Ireland, (1902-04). Retired but had subsequent ministries. Retired to Keswick. Died 11th of January, 1932.<sup>165</sup> **Robert Jackson (1880-1884)-** Born Ryde, Isle of Wight, 1839. Previously minister Curbar, Derbyshire, (1865-67), Retford, Notts., (1867-70), Gainsborough, Lincs., (1870-73); Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts., (1873-79). Subsequently Cardiff, (1884-86), Penrith, (1886-88), Petworth, Sussex, (1888-94). Retire Hove. Died 15th of April, 1915.<sup>166</sup> **W. Archer (1885- 1889)-** Born c.1860. Trained Paton Congregational College, Nottingham. Church member Northallerton. Minister Horncastle, Lincolnshire, (1881-85). Retired Southport. Died 1st of April. 1930.<sup>167</sup>

## **E 2. 4- Keswick**

The church existed as a gathered church in Crosthwaite Parish during the Interregnum under the ministrations of James Cave and was in close intercommunion with the Cockermouth church. It seems to have declined after that. Gawen Wrenn registered his house three times in 1672, the one for the 5th of September reading 'The howse of Gawen Wrenn of Crosthwait of Comberland Congr.'<sup>168</sup> Note that James Marr, a Scottish Episcopal minister, was licensed curate of Crossthwaite in 1690. He was also paid to officiate at the Old Chapel. Whitehaven. until a new minister could be inducted in the New Chapel. Around 1694 he was said to have signalled his intention to renounce his orders and

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<sup>164</sup> Surman, 905. CYB, 1895, p.199. Waddington, Surrey, p.336. Cleal, Surrey, p.249. Wellington Weekly News, 10th of January, 1894. A. L. Humphreys, The Materials for the History of the Town of Wellington, County Somerset, (1889), p.399.

<sup>165</sup> Surman, 895.

<sup>166</sup> Surman, 70.

<sup>167</sup> Surman, 679.

<sup>168</sup> Nightingale. The Ejected, p.1369.

become a Presbyterian.<sup>169</sup> A house was registered in 1715.<sup>170</sup> The Evans List states the first minister to have been John Sayers who was subsequently to minister at Blennerhasset, (Appendix E 2.2). The minister in 1717 was Robert Stott from Broughton Tower in Furness, Lancashire (Appendix B.2), who was in receipt of £5 from the Presbyterian Fund. The congregation consisted of eight gentlemen, the rest tradesmen and yeomen. Mr. Nesbit recorded 90 hearers, Thomas Dixon 95, with 12 county voters. Joshua Wilson in 1822 stated that Stott ministered here until c.1730, 'when he bequeathed by will £10 and the books which composed his divinity library'.<sup>171</sup> Wilson then lists subsequent ministers: James Biggers, W.Chalmers, Thomas Gritton and tacks on at the end a Mr. Nelson's list: Stot. Benjamin Peele, James Biggar, John Chalmers, Thos. Gritton. The most likely succession seems as follows:

**Israel Bennett ? c. 1736-** See Brampton, (Appendix E 2. 6).

**Benjamin Peile/Peele-** Student of Rotherham in Kendal (1734-38). Most probably in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund here c.1738-1752 or 1756, removing to Hexham in Northumberland.<sup>172</sup> Died in 1790. Described as a man of amiable manners, a great knowledge, particularly in natural history: a correct and elegant composer, but a very unpopular preacher.

**James Bigger/Biggers-** Colligan noted for the Provincial Meeting at Keswick in 1757 'We have seen it stated that the call of James Biggar, who was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and who had for some time been at Keswick, was recorded in the minutes of the Provincial, although we have not met with this entry. After a ministry at Penruddock, Biggar returned to Keswick, where he died. (Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions, N.S., Vol.5, p.166).<sup>173</sup> Wilson says formerly at Penruddock. (1757-1760), therefore moving to Keswick c.1760.<sup>174</sup> He attended the provincial meeting in Keswick in April, 1756 and in August 1756 was in Kendal for Rotherham's ordination.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> D. R. Hainsworth. (ed.). The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, 1693-1698. (1983).

<sup>170</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.647-658, 1279-1280. Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', pp.216-7, who says the registers are poor.

<sup>171</sup> Congregational Magazine, July, 1822, p.386.

<sup>172</sup> ONK, p.628, where he is recorded as one of Caleb Rotherham's students.

<sup>173</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.164.

<sup>174</sup> CM, October, 1822, p.556.

<sup>175</sup> ONK, pp.338-339.



There was a James Biggar who entered the General Associate (Antiburgher) Theological Hall in the 1777 session under Professor William Moncrieff. He was from the Urr congregation in the Presbytery of Sanquhar and was called to Auchtermuchty, Scotland and Newtownards, Ireland. Ordained Newtownards, 13th of April, 1785. Resigned and returned to Scotland. He was then an itinerating probationer for some time. Admitted to the pastorate of Urr, 1797. 'Loosed from his charge there 1813', residing in Urr. Died 4th of November, 1820, aged 73, in his 36th year of ministry. Thus born approx. 1747.<sup>176</sup> See also the Records of the Synod of Ulster.

**John or W. Chalmers?**- see Great Salkeld, (Appendix E 2. 11), which he left in 1743, so here some time in the 1740s?

**Thomas Gritton (c. 1800-1828)**- From Hoxton Academy according to Wilson, and was still the minister in 1822. Some more information can be gleaned from Nightingale's Lancashire Nonconformity and Charles Surman's Index. He was born in London on the 30th of December, 1756, and died in Keswick on the 28th of February, 1828. He was a student at the Mile End Academy (1787-1790). Ministered at Kilsby and Crick in Northamptonshire (1790-91), Pickering, Yorkshire, (1791-1797),<sup>177</sup> Kendal, Westmorland, (1797-99). One assumes he came to Keswick c.1800.<sup>178</sup>

Wilson says that through the generosity of 'pious friends' who live in London and whose forebears came from Keswick, the chapel was rebuilt in 1803. A general Sunday School was opened in 1819. The history of the chapel is sketchy in this period but some information can be gleaned from the Congregational Yearbook. For 1846 and 1849 they say that the church was without a minister. J. Johnstone was reported as the incumbent (1847?-51).<sup>179</sup> J. B. Clark, Three Hundred Years. A History of the Congregational Church, Keswick, (1954), says Johnstone was here 1842-48. The church was recorded as vacant in the CYB for 1846.

**Thomas Davison (1847-53)**- Born Hull, 25th of the 3rd. 1818. Possibly the brother of Portas Hewart Davison, minister of Cockermouth. Agent of the Home Missionary Society before coming to Keswick.

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<sup>176</sup> MacKelvie

<sup>177</sup> Miall, p.331 is wrong as to his death in Kendal.

<sup>178</sup> LN, Vol. 1, p.287. Surman, 1475. The Evangelical Magazine, 1818, p.422, 1828, p.333. The Congregational Magazine, 1822, p.386, 1826, p.701.

<sup>179</sup> Surman, 764

Subsequently minister Stockton-on-Tees, Norton Road Chapel, (1853-58). Ayton, Cleveland, Yorkshire, (1859-November). Crewe and Haslington, Cheshire, (1861-64). The Quinta, Chirk, Ruabon, Oswestry, (1864-84). Retired Brierley Hill, Worcs. Died 30th of May, 1900.<sup>180</sup> The church joined the Cumberland Congregational Union in 1855. **William Colville (1856-1868)**- Born Wooler, Northumberland. 16th of July, 1814. Trained Rotherham, (1835-39). Minister Middleton-by-Youlgreave, Derbys., (1839-?). Blanchard, Northumberland, (?). Bishop Auckland, Durham, (?), the CYB noting he was ther in 1848. Tean, Staffs., (1852-55-?). Subsequently Bootle, Cumberland, in 1869 and 70. Retired to Keswick Hill until 1889 and then Torquay. Died 17th of May, 1898, Torquay.<sup>181</sup> **Alfred Howson (1871-1884)**- Born Newcastle upon Tyne, 1813. Trained at Airedale. Minister, Haslingden, Lancs., (1846-52). Hartlepool, Durham, (1852-59). Runcorn, Cheshire, (November 1859-1868). Died Keswick, 16th of May, 1884.<sup>182</sup> **Algernon R. Goddard, B.A. (1885-1889)**- Trained Cheshunt. Subsequently minister Ipswich, (1889-92).<sup>183</sup>

## **E 2. 5- Kirkoswald/Huddlescough/Parkhead**

A gathered church seems to have been formed in 1653<sup>184</sup> at Melmerby and members of the Cockermouth church attended the ordination of the minister. They did the same again in 1658 for the ordination of John Davis (d.1676). He was a Congregationalist but was said to have had a general respect for those of other persuasions. Moved to Northumberland and continued an itinerant ministry, often visiting his former church. The Eden Valley saw five ministers ejected in 1662 and two of them seem to have been connected with this church. George Nicholson, M.A. and Simon Atkinson (d.1694).<sup>185</sup> The number of presentments for Nonconformity 1670-1677 would seem to suggest Dissent was fairly well established in this area. Six licences were taken out in 1672: 'Licence to Simon Atkinson to be a Congr. Teacher in the howe of Wm. Sanderson at Heskett in Cumberland 29

<sup>180</sup> Surman, 907. Miall p.226. Urwick, p.194. Powicke, p.152. CYB, 1859, p.185; 1901, p.177.

<sup>181</sup> Surman, 1230. CYB, 1899, p.167. Matthews, Staffordshire, p.262. CM, 1839, p.476. EM, 1839, p.292.

<sup>182</sup> Surman, 2340. LN, Vol. 2, p.147; Vol. 4, p.264. Bethesda Congregational Church. Centenary Souvenir handbook...1835-1935, (1935). EM, 1859, p.902. CYB, 1885, p.198. Urwick, p.139. Powicke, p.459.

<sup>183</sup> Surman 650. J. B. Clark, Three Hundred Years. A History of the Congregational Church. Keswick, (1954), pp.15. W. T. Herd, Bi-centenary Celebration of the Keswick Congregational Church, (1915), pp.16.

<sup>184</sup> CM, 1822, p. 387.

<sup>185</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.330-348



May', 'The howse of Wm. Sanderson at Heskett, Cumber. Congr. Meeting place 29 May.'<sup>186</sup> and also licenses for Giles [sic] Nicholson on the 22 July and the house of Thomas Therkeld, Kirkoswald, 28th of October, both in a long list of Congregational registrations. Licenses also taken out by William Jameson of Kirkoswald, Presbyterian, and Richard Wilson at Crosfield.<sup>187</sup> Nicholson was described in the Common/Presbyterian Fund survey as 'At Kirk Oswald, A wife 3 or 4 Children, hath a little Estate his Congregation Contribute £30 P ann liues wthout want'. 'Mr. Simon Atkinson, At Cawthwaite preacheth in his own howse hath a competent estate, see his request in No.74 ye Second year 1692'. 'Mr.Simon Atkinson att Hescott. aged 68 Refuseth to have any thing from his people, taketh his share when any comes from London, hath a reall estate nigh 20l pr annu he now Sojourns at Cowthaate see his case by himself No.127'. The Congregational Fund Minutes on the 3rd of April, 1704 record the order of payment of £3 to the church at Cathuoot, Cumberland'. It seems more likely that this early church at Calthwaite, whilst intimately related to Kirkoswald, was the forerunner of the churches at Great Salkeld and Plumpton. 'Mr Geo: Nicholson att hill Hiellossould Hudlesbrough in Kirk oswald had 20l pr annum from his people. some reall estate of his own but not much. and a house and some land wch ye ch: bought for their minister, his estate a water-mill with ground to ye vallue of 8l pr an: his people offer att 20l pr ann: but for 30 years past have not done it.'<sup>188</sup> Nicholson received the Congregational Fund grant on the 4th of June, 1697, and died that August.<sup>189</sup>

**Caleb Threlkeld (1700-1712)**- Wilson says his biography was included in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland.<sup>190</sup> Thomas Threlkeld licensed a house for preaching on 28th of October, 1672; probably the father of Caleb.<sup>191</sup> The Congregational Fund Minutes record on Monday 20th of March, 1698/99.

<sup>186</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1366-1367.

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.* pp.336, 339-340, for Richard Wilson. He was the father of Mary Wilson (d.1672), the subject of an extremely rare book known only to exist in three copies; (George Nicholson), The Virgin Saint: or A Brief Narrative of the Holy Life, And Christian Death of Mary Wilson. With Some Memorable Passages and Occassional Speeches a little before her Death added thereunto To which is also adjoynd A Sermon, Preached at her Funeral by Geo. Nicolson Together with Several Consolatory Letters written by divers ministers, to her Mournful Father, Mr. Richard Wilson of Crosfield in Cumberland. London. Printed for Jonathan Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Paul's Church yard. 1673. The Epistle dedicatory by Simon Atkinson.

<sup>188</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.21.

<sup>189</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1259-1260, 1338,1367.

<sup>190</sup> Congregational Magazine, July, 1822, p.388.

<sup>191</sup> For the origins of the Threlkeld family see W. Jackson (ed.), 'Papers and Pedigrees', Extra Series, CWAAS, vi, Vol. 2. 1892; Threlkelds of Threlkeld, Yanwath and Crosby Ravensworth and their

Tho. Threlkeld, Cumberland, L6.<sup>192</sup> This may have been for Thomas in a ministerial role or entrusted to his care for his son, Caleb. Caleb was born in Ketberg, Kirkoswald Parish in 1676. He entered the University of Glasgow, commencing/graduating A.M. in 1698. Returned to Lower Huddlesceugh he was ordained to the Dissenting congregation on the 4th of July, 1700. The Congregational Fund Minutes record payments of £6 annually to Mr. Threlkeld in 'Cumberland' in 1700 and 1701. He received the same grants in 1702 and 1703 and is described as of 'Huddelskew'. In 1704 he received £7 and was described as of 'Cumberland'.

'May 29th, 1711. was our place of worship at Huddlesceugh taken down. The first sermon preached in it, was upon August, 1711'. The 9th of November, 1712, the congregation persuaded him to resign his charge and he took a doctoral degree in physic at Edinburgh, January 26th, 1713, so that he and the Rev. Richard Rigby, the minister of Great Salkeld, would graduate together. Moved to Dublin as minister and physician, Colligan says in 1713. Died some time soon after 1727. His Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum published in Dublin 1727. He was the uncle of Samuel Threlkeld of Penrith. Note Joseph Threlkeld 'of Slack' entered the Kendal Academy 1748.<sup>193</sup>

Bishop Nicolson noted in 1704 'The Church yard [Kirkoswald] is in that ruinous and disjoyned condition, which is common where many of the parishioners (as the case is here) are Dissenters; Who nevertheless are generally willing, and desirous, to be buried here'.<sup>194</sup>

The Evans list records Michael Hope (c. 1712-27?), who removed in 1727. In receipt of £4 from the Presbyterian Fund. Four Dissenting gentlemen the restyeomen and tradesmen and labourers. Nesbitt recorded 300 hearers, Dixon 235. Dixon recorded 20 county voters

**Thomas Walker (1728-1732)** - Born 1705? Ordained on the 10th of April, 1728, according to Wilson. Those presiding Dickinson, (Carlisle), Wight, (Brampton), Stot, (Keswick), Rotherham, (Kendal), Wilson, (Penrith), Wilson, (Alston Moor), Astley, (Whitehaven), Atkinson, (Penriddock).

The thesis was upon the question An Prophetiae Veteris Testamenti ad literam adimpletae sunt in

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branches in Yorkshire and Durham. pp. 120-137; Threlkelds of Melmerby and some other branches of the family. pp. 282-330.

<sup>192</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99, p.92.

<sup>193</sup> ONK, p.632.

<sup>194</sup> William Nicolson, 'Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle with the Terriers Delivered to me at my primary visitation, 1703-1704', Edited by R. S. Ferguson, (1877), CWAAS, Extra Series 1 p.117. Kirkoswald, 25th of February, 1704 [1705 ns].



Jesu Nazareno? [Whether the prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the life of Christ]. Colligan says the Provincial Meeting met at Huddlesceugh in May 1728 and ordained him and that subsequently he was at Cockermouth, (Appendix E 2.3), Hexham and Leeds.<sup>195</sup> Died 1763? The minister prior to him at Cockermouth left in 1732 or 3. The next minister at Kirkoswald was called in 1732 and was ordained in 1734, therefore Walker is most likely to have left in 1732.

**Adam Dean (1734-c.1783)**- From Northumberland? Called to become the minister, 22nd of October, 1732, ordained at the Provincial Meeting at Brampton, 10th of April, 1734. Ministers present: Dickenson, (Carlisle), Astley, (Whitehaven), Rotherham, (Kendal); Threlkeld, (Penrith), Walker, (Cockermouth), Kilpatrick, (Stainton); Wilson, (Alston), Helm, (Penruddock), and two from Northumberland: Dean, (Falstone), Crossland, (Woodside) The thesis was An animae bonorum ante Christi adventum et resurrectionem mortuorum mox post obitum in statum felicitatis receptae fuerint, with his sermon on John vi, 44.<sup>196</sup> The subject leads one to wonder whether he speculated on Mortalism, the subject that was to become so fashionable a shibboleth at Daventry Academy when Joseph Priestley and Caleb Rotherham junior were students there in the 1750s.<sup>197</sup> The fact that Dean speculated on the souls of 'good men' being in a state of bliss before Christ's second coming may indicate a latitudinarian persuasion. He was minister here for upwards of fifty years. Author of The Sincere Christians Happy Prospect After Death. A Sermon Preached at Huddlescough, in Cumberland, June 19th 1765, at the internment of Mrs. Sarah Brown, etc. (W. Charnley, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1765).

Six letters exist from Adam Dean to George Benson from 1751 to 1762. The first on the 5th of June 1751 negotiates over carriage of books and expresses Dean's desire for John Taylor's Hebrew Concordance. Mr. Lowthion has at last determined to go to Newcastle and Mr. Robinson is likely to be invited to succeed him. Notes that he met Dr. Rotherham and sons on their way to Hexham and Dean asked him if he could obtain augmentation of his Presbyterian Fund grant.

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<sup>195</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.162.

<sup>196</sup> *ibid.*, p.162. CM, July, 1822, p.388.

<sup>197</sup> ONK, p.335. B. W. Young, 'The Soul-Sleeping System': Politics and Heresy in Eighteenth Century England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 45, No.1, January, 1994, pp. 64-81.

The letter of the 28th of July, 1751, presses his case for more money, saying that his family is on the increase. 'I was in fear of having been discarded from the Congregational Fund but upon inquiring find the money has been ordered as usual.' It was late for want of a carrier and he hopes that Jolly and Cookson will soon send it. Notes that it is highly probable that Dr. Richie will go to Great Salkeld in the spring. Penrith will be in great difficulty with Lowthion removed and Dean will endeavour to supply.

Undated letter, probably c.1751, wondering whether he should subscribe to Taylor, no other ministers in Cumberland having done so because the cost will affright them. Thinks possibly that it would be ostentatious and excite jealousy. Had his allowance from the Congregational Fund which was delayed. They have a minister from Scotland for Penrith. Dr. Richie promised to come to Great Salkeld. Enquires after Dr. Foster's second volume.

Letter of the 30th of December, 1755, thanks Benson for getting his son a Dr. Williams' exhibition at Glasgow. Discusses how he took his son and Timothy Nelson to the Regent. Met Dr. Leechman who obtained him a pulpit to preach before the magistrates. Drank Benson and Taylor's health in Glasgow. Dean's mother in Norhtumberland ill.

March 31st, [c.1760], thanks Benson for augmenting his sons and Nelson's exhibition. They were attending the Divinity Hall this winter. Pushed John to graduate because Alston Moor would be vacant with the removal of Mr. Smith who is now settled in the Scotch Kirk. Alston wanted him to become their mister if his pulpit performances gave them satisfaction. John wants another year at Glasgow, Alston being an uninviting prospect. Dean says it might do for a season, then proceeds to talk about ministerial changes in Cumberland. Mr. Millar has gone to Haltwhistle who is succeeded at Great Salkeld by Mr. Thomas Lowthion whos father was a member of our society. Mr. Curner death at Brampton succeeded by Mr. Robert Pott. Asks for aid for Mr. Millar, he having only £12. Thinks Millar was rather 'well used at Great Salkeld, though his temper was hot. His neighbour Joseph Nicholson sends his regards. Dean's family growing and he needs 'extraordinary supply.'

29th of March, 1762, requests Benson's assistance. One of his hearers wanted to be buried at the Meeting-house which he complied with. He held a service fashioned on those held at Bunhill Fields where they processed out of the chapel to the burial ground. The Rector and his brother in law, J. Featherstone, then proceeded to prosecute him for holding religious service on unlicensed ground. 'I



never dreamed, but it was as the Meeting-house was licenced, Divine Service might safely be performed within 2 yards or 3 of it, in this age of liberty and toleration.' Notes that he was going to get a licence at the last Quarter Session. Asks what the new Bishop is like. Asks if Benson can inform him whether he needs to license the burial ground and notes that some of his hearers say possibly not, because the grave is where the old chapel used to be and is therefore licensed.<sup>198</sup>

Note that Joseph Benson (1749-1821) was a student for many years living with Adam Dean and became well grounded in Latin, Greek and Hebrew in Dean's large library. Born in Kirkoswald Parish, he opened a school in Cumberland. Became a Methodist and was appointed by Wesley as Headmaster of Kingswood. 1769 went to St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. Was invited to become headmaster of Trevecca by the Countess of Huntingdon but his Arminianism became an obstacle. Tried to obtain a Church of England living. Eventually a Methodist itinerant.<sup>199</sup>

Wilson then goes on to say that the register is blank for his ministry and for that of Richard Paxton and Gavin Henderson and that the next entry in the register was for the arrival of Andrew Carnson in 1796.

**Richard Paxton (1783-c. 1788) -** Was ordained at the Provincial Meeting at Penrith, 17th of September, 1783. He was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Removed to Penrith and received a call to become pastor there on the 20th of February, 1788. In 1791 he became parish minister of Tundergarth, Presbytery of Lochamben, Scotland.

**Gavin Henderson (c. 1788-c. 1796?) - ?**

**Andrew Carnson (1796-1805)-** He was born in Ballymoyle, Londonderry, Ireland, c. 1752. Died 21st of July, 1840. An itinerant evangelist in Ireland and Scotland for four years. He gathered an Independent church in Annan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland (1794-96).<sup>200</sup> Carnson was at Kirkoswald 1796-1805 and then Barnard Castle, Durham, and Cotherstone, North Yorkshire, from January 1806-

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<sup>198</sup> UCC/JRL/cupboard B.19, Benson Letters Collection, 1.

<sup>199</sup> Alexander Balloch Grosart, 'Joseph Benson (1749-1821)', DNB, 2, pp.257-8.

<sup>200</sup> Surman, 237.

1832. He was the father of D.T.Carnson. Congregational minister of Preston, Lancashire (1820-47) and visiting Secretary of the Lancashire Congregational Union (1847-53).

**James Scott (1806- d. 6th of January, 1815)-** From the North Riding, according to the author of the report in the Congregational Magazine, 1822, but the Surman Index 357 has him as born in Bellingham, North Tyneside, Northumberland on the 29th of February, 1760. He was ordained on the 3rd of June, 1806. Died on the 25th of December, 1836 according to the Evangelical Magazine, 1837, p.218, though its possible he died in 1815.<sup>201</sup>

**John Haddock -** Wilson writing in 1822 says he was the current minister. Quoting from a letter of his where he estimates 200 hearers with never less than 50 or 60 in church and 35 communicants. Subsequent ministers are taken from Charles Surman's Index at Dr. Williams Library.

**John Scott (1827-1834)-** In receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £4 in 1830, the minister annotated as 'Independent'.<sup>202</sup> The Surman Index 365 has him as born in London in 1786. Trained at Hackney by G.Collinson. Supplied Selby, Yorkshire, from May to September, 1809. Minister Broadgates, Hexham, Northumberland.(1809-21), where he was ordained on the 2nd of April, 1812. W.St. Weardale, Durham, with a wide itinerancy, (1821-26). Agent of the Home Missionary Society. Minister of Walsingham, Northumberland, (1826-7). Kirkoswald, (1827-34). Sidmouth, Devon, (1834-42). Broadchalte, Wiltshire, (February-August, 1842). Retired to Hexham; died on the 25th of January, 1851. Married Anne Elliot who died of typhus in Sidmouth. Nine children.<sup>203</sup> **William Gibson (1839?-1847)-** Minister at Sutton near Thirsk, Yorks., (?-1819). Mixenden, Yorks., (1819-21). Nightingale says after accepting the pastorate to Whitworth he stayed for 'some months with strange indifference' at Sutton. Whitworth, Lancs., (1826-32). Suspected of Unitarian tendencies. causing his resignation. Surman was convinced this was the man who ministered at Parkhead. Died

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<sup>201</sup> EM, 1815, pp.177,181. CHST, 5, p.167.

<sup>202</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>203</sup> Miall, p.346. EM, 1851, p.246 says that at Hexham he formed other churches at Haydon Bridge, Corbridge, Brampton. In his Weardale itinerancy he served Froskerley, Wilton-le-Wear, Midgham and Alston and Ainstable in Cumberland. CM, 1826, 703; 1831, p.817; 1835, p.809. CHST, 5, 25.



21st of March. 1847, aged 56.<sup>204</sup> The church was not in the Cumberland Congregational Union for 1846. **Joseph Redmayne (1846-1861)**- The Surman Index 237 records that he was born in Horwich, Lancashire, 1800, the son of Leonard Redmayne, the minister of the Protestant Dissenting chapel at Horwich Lee, Lancashire, (1774-1822).<sup>205</sup> Joseph was trained at the Idle Academy, (1820-24?). He was minister at Rillington, Yorkshire, (1827-28). Bishop Auckland, Durham, (1829-32). Wigton and Oulton Baptist churches, Cumberland, (1832-?) and the Kirkoswald Congregational Church, (1844-61), when he retired. He died in Hazel Grove, Cheshire, on the 22nd of October, 1866.<sup>206</sup> **Thomas Bell (1861-67)**- Born Yorkshire, 21st of May, 1824. Primitive Methodist Evangelist. Subsequently emigrated to Nebraska with plans for an English colony. Built the church at Palmyra, Nebraska, organised the churches at Eagle and Paisley. Minister Paisley, (1893-96). Died Palmyra, Nebraska, 31st of May, 1902.<sup>207</sup> Next minister, **Manning**, nothing known. **W. Taylor (1872-1878)**- Born Staveley, Westmorland, 6th of February, 1841. Trained Paton Home Missionary College. Minister with the Primitive Methodists for two years. Also preaching at Gamblesby whilst at Parkhead. Subsequently minister at Flanshaw, Yorkshire, (1878-93). Died 6th of November, 1901.<sup>208</sup> **Joseph Barnfather (1878-1888)**- Entered the ministry in 1863. Minister Ravenstonedale, (1863-67). Dent, Yorks., (1867-77). Retired to Prestwich, Manchester, without charge, 1890-94. Minister Salford, (1895-?).<sup>209</sup> **Samuel Knowles (1888-91)**- Born Halifax, 1855. Trained Paton Home Missionary College. Subsequently minister Range Bank, Halifax, (1891-97).<sup>210</sup>

## Presbyterian

### E 2. 6 - Brampton

<sup>204</sup> Surman, 394/5. LN, Vol. 3, p.275. Miall, p.319. CM, 1826, p.708; 1831, p.810. EM, 1847, p.491. CYB, 1847, p.146.

<sup>205</sup> Surman, 238.

<sup>206</sup> CYB, 1867, p.307. CM, 1827, p.568. Miall, p.339. J. H. Turner, Nonconformity at Idle, (Bradford 1876), p.124.

<sup>207</sup> Surman, 934. CYB, 1868, p.237.

<sup>208</sup> Surman, 246.

<sup>209</sup> Surman, 458. LN, Vol. 1, p.316.

<sup>210</sup> Surman, 550. Colligan noted that the original registers of Kirkoswald were lost but that they were in existence in 1824 when it was stated they were begun by Caleb Threlkeld. See Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', CWAAS, 8, pp. 44-45. Home Missionary Magazine, 1824, p. 134. footnote.

The registers for this church are complete from 1712.<sup>211</sup> The following list is from Penfold, with additional material from Wilson and Colligan. The Common Fund survey c.1690-92 records 'Brampton, mr. Story. preached a while but hath given over \* They have got a young man to preach to them, but have little to give him, they expect help'.<sup>212</sup>

Nathaniel Burnand - Ejected from parish church 1662; licenced in 1672.<sup>213</sup>

James Noble, M.A. (ordained 1688- translated 1690)- Scottish? 1690 removed to Yethholm, Scotland, thence to Eckford, Scotland, where he continued until his death on the 17th of August, 1739, aged 83 and in the 51st year of his ministry. He was reputed to be a firm supporter of the right of the people to choose their minister and in Scotland was one of the 42 protestors against the decision of the General Assembly which led to the formation of the Associate Presbytery.<sup>214</sup>

John Kincaid, M.A. (inducted 1690- d. 1708)- Glasgow degree, 1659. Settled as minister of the parish of Terregles, Dumfries, Scotland, in 1668. Ousted by the rabble and deprived by act of the Scottish parliament. 1690. Friendly with the Vicar of Brampton, John Cockburn. In receipt of the Congregational Fund annual grant, Monday 13th of April, 1696, £3 to 'Mr. Kinkade' described as of Cumberland. The Minutes for Monday 17th of April, 1699, record the Mr. Kinkade 'if he continue at Brampton for the next year Shall be allowed L3'. He received £3 in 1700, £4 in 1701, £3 in 1702 and £3 in 1703. In the Congregational Fund Minutes for the 3rd of April, 1704, his name is not mentioned and it was ordered that the church at Brampton be paid £2.<sup>215</sup> This may indicate the congregation was without a minister from 1704 and possibly up to the time of Campbell's ordination.

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<sup>211</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', pp. 220-221. Rev. H. Whitehead, 'Brampton 17th Century Presbyterians', CWAAS, 8, 1886, pp.348-372. Henry Penfold, 'Early Brampton Presbyterianism, 1662-1780', CWAAS, ns. 3, 1903, pp.94-125. Congregational Magazine, March. 1822, pp.165-166.

<sup>212</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.23.

<sup>213</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.247-261.

<sup>214</sup> Penfold, 'Brampton Presbyterianism', p.99. Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, 6 Vols. (Edinburgh. 1866-71). Vol. 1, p.358. MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, p.378.

<sup>215</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99; Vol. Two, 1700-1704.



**James Campbell A.M. (ordained 1709- translated 1711) - Licentiate of the Church of Scotland.**<sup>216</sup>  
Edinburgh degree. Ord. Brampton 10th of August, 1709. 1711 removed to the parish of  
Legerwood, Presbytery of Lauder, Scotland. 1718 removed for drunkenness.

**Robert Wight M.A. (ordained 1712- translated 1724. Again in 1726-1732)-** Wilson said he began  
c.1715 and returned to his native Scotland in 1734. Graduated Edinburgh University, 12th of May,  
1703. Licensed by the Presbytery of Earlestone, 22nd of March, 1709. Ord. Brampton, 20th of  
August, 1712. The Presbyterian Fund Minutes note on the 8th of June, 1713, 'Also £2 to Mr. Wyght  
of Brampton if his allowance from the Congregational Fund be Dropt this also an Extraordinary  
Supply'. The Presbyterian Fund agreed on the 7th of march, 1715, to grant him £8. Presented by  
Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover to Torthorwald, Scotland, 22nd of October, 1724.  
Recalled to Brampton 30th of May, 1725. Called to St. Michaels 13th of July, 1732, and admitted  
assistant and successor 30th of November, 1732. Died 4th December, 1762, aged 80, 53rd year of  
ministry.

**John Herries (ordained 1734- removed 1736)- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland.**<sup>217</sup> Wilson says  
until 1742. From Dumfries. ord. Brampton 10th of April, 1734. Probably introduced by Wight.

**Israel Bennett (inducted 1736-1745)-** Called from Keswick where he can only have been for a short  
time. Moved to the Carlisle congregation.

**John Allan (ordained 1746- translated 1751)- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland,**<sup>218</sup> from  
Dumfries, Scotland. according to Wilson, who also states he stayed until 1753. This does not concur  
with Penfold who says he received a presentation to the parish of Dunscore, Scotland, from George  
II, dying in 1753, aged 29, eighth year of ministry.

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<sup>216</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.161.

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.*, p.162.

<sup>218</sup> *ibid.*, p. 162.

**John Johnston (ordained 1752- translated 1758)-** Licenciate of the **Church of Scotland**.<sup>219</sup> Wilson claimed he was here until 1752. Ordained Brampton 11th of April, 1753, by the Associated ministers of Cumberland. Removed to be the minister in the parish of **Durrisdeer, Scotland**. Died 1770.

**Simon Currie (inducted 1758- d. 1759)-** from Haltwhistle, Northumberland. Only here for a short while, died in 1759.

Adam Dean (Kirkoswald) in a letter to George Benson 31st of March, 1760, notes that Mr. Curries death at Brampton means he has been succeeded by Robert Potts.<sup>220</sup>

**Robert Potts (ordained 1759- translated 1772)-** Licenciate of the **Church of Scotland**.<sup>221</sup> Wilson says he came in 1752, and that he was 'sucessor to the celebrated Boston, of Ettrick'.<sup>222</sup> Subsequently ministered at Penruddock. Licenciate of the presbytery of Jedburgh, ord. Brampton 16th of October, 1759. Around 1772 became minister in the parish of **Ettrick, Scotland**, until the 9th of May, 1780. Then became minister at Penruddock until his death on the 1st of January, 1806, aged 86, after a ministry of 47 years.

**Robert Hood D.D. (settled 1772- translated 1781)-** Wilson says until 1789 when he removed to Newcastle. He then goes on to say the next minister was Robert Corrie who died in 1783. He was ordained at the Provincial meeting at Penrith, 16th of August, 1780, and was from Hanover Square, Newcastle, according to Colligan, who expressed some doubts about this meeting. He 'preached a sermon on 'The Nature of Christ's Kingdom'. The sermon is described as having been preached before the Protestant Dissenting ministers of Cumberland, at their General Meeting; but whether this is synonymous with the Provincial meeting is doubtful and we should not be surprised if this were an association of those who were taking up a heterodox position.<sup>223</sup> Penfold says Hood had Unitarian leanings and he was a popular minister with a crowded church. Records of sessional procedure disappear under him. He went to Hanover Square, Newcastle. Published A Discourse[Luke xvii.20-

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<sup>219</sup> *ibid.*, p.163.

<sup>220</sup> UCC/JRL, cupboard B.19, Benson Letters, 1.

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.*, p.164.

<sup>222</sup> *CM*, March, 1822, p.165.

<sup>223</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.165.



21] on the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, (Newcastle, 1781) which advocated toleration towards Roman Catholics. Also a posthumous volume of sermons with many Brampton subscribers. Good friends with the Rotherhams. Fourteen Sermons on Various Subjects, (T.Saint, Newcastle, 1782). A Sermon on Ephesians vi. 4, in Seven Practical sermons on rejoicing in the Lord always, (1804, 1815). Samuel Bourne (1714-1798 of Norwich) Four Short Discourses, (1805) includes his sermon on Ephesians.

**George Currie (ordained 1781- d. 1783)**

**John Wightman (ordained 1784- d. 1819)-** Wilson says the congregation declined under him.

**James Laurie (settled 1819- resigned 1831)-** Wilson says from Airdrie, Scotland. The congregation 140 persons, congregants 40.

**Robert Hiddlestone (ordained 1831- translated 1843)-** Present at the ordination by the Presbytery of the North West of John MacKenzie to Wigan Chapel Lane, 18th of October, 1832.<sup>224</sup> **George Brown LL.D. (inducted 1844- resigned 1851)-** Born Aberdeen, 15th of November, 1789. Studied Marischal College, Aberdeen, taking his M.A. in 1808. Took divinity at the Associate (Burgher) Hall, (1810-15), under Dr Lawson of Selkirk, licensed to preach, 18th of January, 1815. MacKelvie says he was at St. Nicholas Lane, Aberdeen, before he got the call to Holcombe. Ordained minister at large at the Dundee Holcombe chapel, Ramsbottom, Lancashire, 27th of August, 1818. Left Holcombe, July 1829, when the Holcombe church ceased to be in connection with the United Secession Church, though it is not clear if Brown did. Brown was the historian who gathered the sources for MacKelvie's Annals and Statistics. Opened Academy in Liverpool. University of Aberdeen conferred an LL.D. on him in January, 1844. June 16th, 1844, he was inducted into Brampton, a church in connection with the Presbyterian Church in England. Brown's re-entry into the ministry was probably the result of the desperate need for ministers at the time in the English Presbyterian Church, which had sided with the Free Church in Scotland, had lost many of its English properties as a consequence

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<sup>224</sup> William B. Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan, p.105.

and was sending ministers to the Free Church in Scotland to help form new congregations. Resigned here in February, 1851. Retired to Liverpool, where he died on the 15th of March, 1869.<sup>225</sup>

**Peter Robert Crole (ordained 1851- translated 1859)**

**Peter Taylor (ordained 1859- resigned 1880)**

**William Thompson McClenaghan (inducted 1881- translated 1885)**

**Walter Cory Blount (ordained 1885- resigned 1889)**

**Robert Brown (inducted 1889-d. 1896)**

**Gustavus James Goodman (inducted 1896- still in 1902)**

### **E 2. 7.1- Carlisle**

Colligan, writing in 1907, seems to be substantially wrong about this congregation, claiming there was no ejected minister and that the Dissenters were kept well away by the workings of the Five Mile Act in this Diocesan city. Nightingale is more informative. **Comfort Starr** was ejected here, though Nightingale admits that evidence for the next thirty years is sketchy. **Elkanah Wales** whilst ministring in Pudsey and Newcastle kept in touch with this and other Cumberland churches. Gordon reproduced these entries: 'Minsiters yt may want A Supply: **Mr. Bull** att Carlile came a month since from Lond: 9r ye 12: 90.'<sup>226</sup>, 'Carlile, Hath Some Dissenters but no minister can be got\*\***Mr. Bull** lately come to Carlile', 'Carlile, M Dan: **Bull** designes to reside there among a poor inconsiderable number of people. to carry on ye work of the Gospell but without some assistance, they mist starve him from amongst them, they desire their case may be considered.'<sup>227</sup> The Rev. **Daniel Bull** was the ejected Rector of Stoke Newington, Middlesex,(1657-62), subsequently preaching in London and Dorset. Assistant to **John Howe** in the Haberdasher's Hall, dismissed for adultery 1681. Howe was said to have preached a reconciliatory sermon on the said infidelity. Was in Carlisle from February 1691 to 1692.<sup>228</sup> Minutes for the Presbyterian Fund for the 29th of December, 1690, note that it was 'ordered that £10 per annum be allowed towards the Propagation of the Gospel att Carlisle in

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<sup>225</sup> Rev. W. Hume Elliot, The Country and Church of the Cheeryble Brothers, (Selkirk, 1893), pp.249-277. MacKelvie

<sup>226</sup> 9th of February, 1691 new style.

<sup>227</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp.22-24.

<sup>228</sup> Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.85. Alexander Gordon, 'Daniel Bull', DNB, 3, p.236, notes that two of his sermons appeared in Farewell Sermons by London Ministers, (1663).



Cumberland'. **Daniel Jackson** was recorded in the Cockermouth church book for the 31st of July, 1692, as the preacher at Carlisle, indicating that, though there was a congregation and minister, there was no formally gathered church at Carlisle, hence he had to join the Cockermouth church to enjoy the priveledges of a covenant relationship with his fellow saints. It records he came from **Broughton Tower, Lancashire** (Appendix B. 2).<sup>229</sup>

**Mr. Menzies- Nightingale** notes he was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant at Carlisle from the 6th of July, 1696, saying his name appears year by year. He also received the Congregational Fund annual grant, the Minutes recording that on Monday the 13th of April, 1696, he was described as of Carlisle but the decision on whether to give him a grant was 'to be put of till another time'. The meeting of Monday the 17th of April, 1699 records the Mr. Menzies 'is to continue at Brampton for next year Shall be allowed L3'. He received £3 in 1700, £4 in 1701, £3 in 1702, and £3 in 1703. The meeting for the 3rd of April, 1704 records that the church at Carlisle be allowed £2. This may indicate the congregation was without a minister.<sup>230</sup>

**Miles Baxter-** Was a student of Richard Frankland's, admitted to Rathmell 29th of January, 1697. He was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant on the 25th of December, 1703, and the 25th of December, 1704, and probably removed to Dorset in late 1710.<sup>231</sup> Nicholson and Axon say he received the Presbyterian Fund grant for the years 1705-8 and was at Windburn, Dorset in 1712. He received extraordinary supply from the Presbyterian Fund there in March, 1741-2. Not one of the four ministerial sons of Nathaniel Baxter, ejected minister of St. Michael's- on-Wyre, Lancashire.<sup>232</sup>

**Thomas Dickinson (1712/13- c. 1745)-** previous pastorate at Alston, moving to Carlisle c.1713. Presbyterian Fund Minutes record an extraordinary supply to him at Carlisle of £4 on the 8th June, 1713, and £10 on the 7th of March, 1715. Still there in 1734 when he was moderator of the Provincial Assembly at Brampton. First hear of his successor Israel Bennett in 1745 and Dickinson is

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<sup>229</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1275-1276. There is no indication that Jackson was trained by Frankland.

<sup>230</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99; Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>231</sup> *ibid.*, 1277. ONK, p.603.

<sup>232</sup> Calamy, Continuation, p.571.

mentioned in a funeral sermon as a minister at Carlisle and living in 1747.<sup>233</sup> Nightingale says he arrived in Carlisle about 1710, his name appearing in the Presbyterian Fund minutes for that year. The grant was withdrawn in the minutes for the 23rd of April, 1723, after a report from Dr. Calamy found that he had an independent estate. The grant was subsequently resumed by him.<sup>234</sup> The Evans List records him as minister there in 1717, in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant, the congregation consisting of seven gentlemen, the rest yeomen and tradesmen. Thomas Dixon's letter to Edmund Calamy recorded 100 hearers, with 12 county voters and 4 borough voters.<sup>235</sup> Wilson says he is known to have been here in the years 1728-1734 from the register of the church at Huddlesceugh.

**Israel Bennett-** Came in 1745 according to Wilson, the church splitting in 1748, with a temporary orthodox secession (Appendix 2. 16 Carlisle 2).

**Isaac Robinson (1748-1767)-** Trained by Caleb Rotherham at Kendal, (1740-46),<sup>236</sup> he ministered here from 1748 to 1767 according to Wilson, moving to North Shields. Adam Dean (Kirkoswald), in a letter to George Benson on the 5th of June 1751, noted that Robinson would be proposed to succeed Samuel Lowthion at Penrith.

**Robert Milne, M.A. (c. 1772- d. 1800) -** From Aberdeen, Scotland. licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Both Wilson and Nightingale say he 'departed from the primitive faith'. He was most probably a Unitarian. He published Lectures on the Antediluvian World and Occasional Sermons, both at Carlisle. Wilson says he was here in 1772, Nightingale around 1775. Wilson noted a secession under his ministry in the 1770s (Appendix E. 2. 21, Carlisle 3, Abbey Street). He died in 1800 and is described by Wilson as the last minister of the Kirk to minister in this place.

The church of Scotland being no guarantee of orthodoxy, the chapel then came under the ministration of the Scottish Secession church. In 1778 the Rev. Alexander Waugh<sup>237</sup> from Newton

<sup>233</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1272. Robinson, 'Alston Moor', p.255.

<sup>234</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1277-1278, 133-187.

<sup>235</sup> John Creasey's Index to the Evans List at DWL has Thomas Dickenson, 706.E.23. pp.19,60, (c.1680-1729), subsequently in Lancashire.

<sup>236</sup> ONK, p.629.

<sup>237</sup> Waugh was subsequently Dr. Waugh of London. See George Burder's Life of Dr. Waugh.



preached in Carlisle to some resident Scotsmen. They built a chapel in Annetwell Street and obtained supply from the Associate (Burgher) Presbytery of Glasgow. The chapel in Annetwell Street was sold c.1781 to the Rev. George Burder of Lancaster, who bought it on behalf of Lady Glenorchy. It became her proprietorial chapel and eventually became an Independent church in 1816 (Appendix E. 2. 26, Carlisle, Annetwell Street/Lowther Street Congregational Church). The Scottish worshippers continued to meet in various places and receive ministerial supply from the Secession Church. The Rev. James Kyle, formerly of the Associate congregation at Kirkintilloch, Scotland, was sent by the Presbytery of Glasgow as their minister. The Old English Presbyterian congregation at Fisher Street called Kyle to take over from the aging Milne. After Milne's death in 1800, Kyle ministered to the Fisher Street congregation, a move which angered the Associate Synod. which severed its connection with him. Upon his death in 1809 the Fisher Street congregation joined the Associate (Burgher) Synod, Presbytery of Selkirk. One assumes that the Scottish element joined with the remnant of Milne's congregation. The old chapel was in receipt of Lady Hewley's Charity, seated 450, and was rebuilt in 1856, with 650 sittings.<sup>238</sup> The old English Protestant Dissenting congregation in Carlisle therefore did not continue as a Unitarian congregation as is sometimes implied. The first Unitarian congregation was founded in 1883, its church building opening in 1889.<sup>239</sup>

**Archibald Henderson A.M. (1810-1818)** - Trained at the Associate (Burgher) Hall, Edinburgh? in Professor George Lawson's class, enrolled in the 1802 Session.<sup>240</sup> Ordained 30th of October, 1810. Resigned 1818 and emigrated to Canada, becoming a government chaplain in St. Andrew's, a post obtained through the influence of Dr. Hall of Edinburgh. See The Congregational Magazine, April, 1822, p.216 for a testimonial of his reviving the flagging cause.

**Richard Hunter (1819-1853)** - From Fala. Wilson says from the University of Edinburgh and that the congregation c.1822 was 300, with an occasional Sunday School and liberal property endowments.

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<sup>238</sup> William MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1873), for this and subsequent information.

<sup>239</sup> G. E. Evans, Vestiges of Protestant Dissent, p.41.

<sup>240</sup> MacKelvie, 'List of Students of Theology'.

Ord. 31st May, 1819. Died 2nd of March, 1853, age 58. Publications: Memoirs of Martha Fowler, A Sabbath Scholar, sermons including Saints Precious in the Sight of the Lord. In receipt of the Hewley Fund grant in 1830 of £5. Secession in James notation.<sup>241</sup> CM for 1822, p.613 notes Hunter as Independent. He does not appear to have been trained in the Glasgow Theological Hall however.

**Robert Drummond A.M., D.D. (1853-1858)**- from the Relief congregation at Irvine, Scotland, where his father was the minister. Trained in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall, entering in the 1847 session, under the Rev. John Brown D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology and four other Professors. Ord. 29th of September, 1853. Translated to Edinburgh, St. James Place, 23rd of February, 1858.

**Henry Miller A.M. (1858- 1869)** - from Glasgow, John Street. Called to North Shields, Ceres, Wigtown and Carlisle. Ord. 3rd of June, 1858. Translated to Hammersmith London 14th of July 1869. **James Christie B.A.**- previously at Otterburn. Called twice to Carlisle. Admitted 12th of July 1870.

## **E 2. 8 - Gilsland/Wardrew (see Haltwhistle)**

The Presbyterian Fund Minutes for 1716 record that 'Mr. Coningham produced a letter from Mr. Dixon of Whitehaven desireing that five pounds a year may be allow'd to Wardrew in Cumberland to support a meeting there for the Lord's Day in the year in water drinking time. Agreed. Paid to Coningham'.<sup>242</sup> Recorded as Wardrew in the Evans List. 'for ye water drinking time, £5 from the Presbyterian Fund'.

## **Haltwhistle (Northumberland)**

Colligan says of this that it probably originated 'through the influences of Gilpin of Scaleby Castle and Burnand of Brampton (brothers in law). In Dr. Evans' time it was at Wardrew (near Gilsland)....and the services were carried on by twelve ministers jointly'. The first trust deed for Haltwhistle was dated 1744, the ministry mainly from Scotland.<sup>243</sup> Minister here **Simon Currie**, before his brief ministry at Brampton (1758-9)? Adam Dean, (Kirkoswald), in a letter to George Benson on the 31st of March.

<sup>241</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>242</sup> Presbyterian Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. 2, p. 288.

<sup>243</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.221.



1760, notes that a Mr. Millar has gone to Haltwhistle from Great Salkeld.<sup>244</sup> This probably James MacMillan, (Great Salkeld c.1756-1760). MacMillan was at the Provincial Meeting in Keswick in April, 1756, and was commissioned as one of the presbyters for Caleb Rotherham juniors ordination, set for the 25th of August, 1756, but he did not attend. Similarly Simon Currie. The Kendal congregation collected £1 5s. on petition from Haltwhistle and £1 11s for the purchase of a field.<sup>245</sup> In 1830 the minister was the Rev. James Stevenson, Church of Scotland, in receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £4.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> UCC/JRL/ cupb.B.19, Benson Letters, 1.

<sup>245</sup> ONK, pp.338-342.

<sup>246</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

## E 2. 9- Penrith

Roger Baldwin was the Vicar of St. Cuthbert's Carlisle. 1648, and lecturer and Vicar of Penrith, 1650. Successor presented by the crown in 1660. Removed to Lancashire to farm around Coppull and later Eccles. Presbyterian, refusing to take the Engagement.<sup>247</sup> A license was taken out for a house in 1672 and presentments for nonconformity are abundant in the 1670s.<sup>248</sup> The Common Fund survey c.1690-1692 records 'Mr Geo: Dawes Near Penrith, has not above 10 l or 12 l pr ann his allowance from his people is 13 l pr ann: see more No.127 [Mr Bland Near ye Same place in ye same circumstances]', 'Penrith att Keswick There was a Church of wch mr Cane was Pastor but ye grave and ye church of England have swallowed up all ye members but one or two'.<sup>249</sup> Dr. Thomas Gibbons of London funded a lecture in Penrith in 1694.<sup>250</sup> Simon Atkinson, living at Calthwaite (Kirkoswald) was known to have preached at this lecture, the cold he caught journeying to it being the cause of his death.<sup>251</sup> The first settled minister was :

**James Coningham, M.A. (1694-1700)-** Educated at **Edinburgh University**. Received the Congregational fund grant of £5 in 1697 and 1698 at Penrith according to Nightingale and ran a seminary at Penrith for the education of young men to the ministry.<sup>252</sup> Nightingale notes a letter from Thomas Doolittle in London, 14th December, 1699, addressed to Coningham at Penrith, thanking him for payment for books he sent him last summer and sending him 32 more books, continuing 'I am glad that catechizing goes on in Cumberland, and should rejoyce to hear of my brethrens success therein, by spreading that knowledge that is so necessary to the salvation of souls'.<sup>253</sup> He moved to Manchester, Cross Street Chapel, in 1700 to assist John Chorlton in the ministry and in running his academy. Moved to London 1712, d. 1st September, 1716.<sup>254</sup> His funeral sermon was preached by Samuel Wright and printed in 1716, with an account of his life and character.

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<sup>247</sup> A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised p.24. The account in CM, October, 1822, p.554, does not seem very accurate.

<sup>248</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 1278-1279.

<sup>249</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp.22-24.

<sup>250</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting' p.160. J. H. Colligan, Penrith Presbyterian Church, (1908).

<sup>251</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected p.1278. Matthews, Calamy Revised, pp.18-19.

<sup>252</sup> Sir Thomas Baker, Memorials of A Dissenting Chapel. Its Foundation and Worthies; Being a Sketch of The Rise of Nonconformity in Manchester and of the Erection of the Chapel ion Cross Street with notices of its Trustees, (Manchester, 1884), pp.19-20.

<sup>253</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1401. Birch MSS. 4275, folio 75.

<sup>254</sup> McLachlan, p.115.



The Congregational Fund Minutes are instructive for this period. At the Monday meeting on the 17th of April, 1699, it was ordered that 'Mr. Cunningham at Perith in Cumberland' be paid £4. In 1701 it was ordered that the church at Penrith be paid £4, £4 in 1702, £3 in 1703 and £3 in 1704, when the Minutes end.<sup>255</sup> The 1704 meeting was on the 3rd of April and news of Thomas Andrew's appointment may not have been conveyed. The Congregational Fund may have chosen simply to continue funding the congregation rather than the minister.

**Thomas Andrews (1701-1709)**- Nightingale says he was in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant for the year following the 25th of December, 1703, and that he was gone by 1709, when Peter Seddon was named as recipient of the grant.<sup>256</sup>

**Peter Seddon (1709?-1721)**- Born 1688, related to the Seddons of Prestolee and Kersley, possibly the son of the Rev. Robert Seddon, nonconformist minister of Bolton, d.1696, who was succeeded by and related to Samuel Bourne senior. The Presbyterian Fund allowed him £10 extraordinary grant upon the request of Dixon on the 8th of July, 1713, and on the 7th of March, 1715. He left in 1717. The Presbyterian Fund Minutes for the 7th of October, 1717, with Edmund Calamy in the chair, noted a motion by Dr. Calamy

that upon the removal of Mr. Peter Seddon from Penrith in Cumberland and the congregation there being destitute of a settled minister since, tho' they have earnestly sought one, and that they have been at a greater charge for supporting it by occasional help than when they had settled minister; agreed that the allowance formerly made to Mr. Seddon be continued to the congr. for a year Commencing at Christmas Last.<sup>257</sup>

Became minister at the Cockey Moor chapel, Lancashire in 1721. Died 26th of April, 1731. His son, the Rev. John Seddon M.A., born at Lomax Fold, became the minister at Manchester. Cross Street chapel.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol. One, 1695-99; Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>256</sup> CM, October. 1822, p.554. William Furness, History of Penrith from the Earliest Record to the Present Time, (Penrith, 1894), p. 197. are both wrong then in saying Seddon came in 1715? Furness calls him Siddons [sic].

<sup>257</sup> MS DWL Vol. Two, p. 315.

<sup>258</sup> LN. Vol. 3, pp. 5-6, 123-124.

The Evans List records Peter Seddon, removed; William Wilson removed; and finally Samuel Threlkeld as having arrived in December, 1728. The congregation consisted of six gentlemen, the rest tradesmen and yeomen. According to Mr. Nesbitt, hearers numbered 50, according to Thomas Dixon 130, with 6 county voters.

**William Wilson (some time between 1721 and 1728)-**

**Samuel Threlkeld (1728-c.1744)-** Educated at Glasgow. Previously minister at Penruddock, (c.1723-c.1725). His uncle was Caleb Threlkeld. (Kirkoswald). Moved to North Gate End chapel, Halifax, Yorkshire, around 1744 according to Wilson. Died there 1767.<sup>259</sup> He is mentioned in the Diary of the Congregationalist layman Joseph Ryder of Leeds, as preaching at the ordination of Joseph Marshall, (Lydgate), at the Pudsey Old Chapel, 4th of August, 1765.<sup>260</sup> A letter of his to George Benson for the 29th of March 1730 exists at the John Rylands Library.<sup>261</sup>

His son Thomas Threlkeld b. 12th of April, 1739, trained Daventry, (1757-) and Warrington, (1758-1762), became minister of Risley, Lancashire, (1762-1778), Rochdale, (1778-1806), where he died, 6th of April, 1806.<sup>262</sup> He was 'Best Man' at Joseph Priestley's wedding.<sup>263</sup> His funeral sermon preached by the Rev. Thomas Barnes. D.D. of Manchester. A Funeral Sermon Preached at Rochdale on the occasion of the Death of the Rev. T. Threlkeld. (Manchester, 1806).<sup>264</sup> In the list of subscribers to George Benson's Life of Christ, issued posthumously in 1762, the name the Rev. Joseph Threlkeld, Bladensburgh, Maryland, and Henry Threlkeld, Frederick County, Maryland.<sup>265</sup>

Joseph Threlkeld of Slack a Presbyterian Fund student at Kendal, entering 3rd of April, 1749, his allowance starting midsummer that year. On Rotherham's death, transferred to Ashworth at

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<sup>259</sup> Miall. Congregationalism in Yorkshire, p.267, gives more family details.

<sup>260</sup> H. McLachlan. 'Diary of a Leeds Layman, Joseph Ryder, 1733-68', in Essays and Addresses, pp.37-8.

<sup>261</sup> UCC/JRL. cupb.B.19, Benson Letters, 1.

<sup>262</sup> *ibid.*, p.256-257. G. E. Evans, Record of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire. (1896). p.162. The Monthly Repository, 1807, p.169.

<sup>263</sup> H. McLachlan. 'Reviews', UHST, Vol. 10, Numb. 1, October, 1951, p. 39.

<sup>264</sup> Ian Sellers. 'The Risley Case', UHST, Vol. 16, No. 4, September 1978, p.178; W. E. A. Axon, A Notice of the Rev. Thomas Threlkeld (Manchester, 1874). Henry Fishwick, The History of the Parish of Rochdale, (Rochdale, 1889), p.255 take the biographical information from Barnes's funeral sermon.

<sup>265</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.54. The Monthly Repository, 1807, p.160.



Daventry. Resolution of 2nd of April, 1753, he was allowed to spend a fifth year as a fund student, beginning midsummer 1753. Mid-1754 left and appointed to Longdon near Lichfield, Presbyterian Fund managers agreeing that the grant be continued to him there, 11th of November, 1754. Still there in 1760. Emigrated to Virginia.<sup>266</sup>

**Samuel Lowthian (1745-1752)-** Nightingale has a couple of pages on George Lowthion B.A. abstracted from the Kirkoswald Parish register. Became rector of Whitfield, Northumberland. 1666. His son Ulrick was baptized at Kirkoswald 1678, a daughter Anne was buried there 1697. Ulrick succeeded to his fathers old living in 1703.<sup>267</sup> Colligan says the father of Samuel Lowthion<sup>268</sup> removed from Kirkoswald and settled in Penruddock upon his marriage to Margaret, the daughter of John Noble of Penruddock on the 21st of June, 1699.<sup>269</sup> Trained by Rotherham at Kendal.<sup>270</sup> He ministered for seven years at Ravenstonedale, Westmorland (c.1737-1744?) and then went in 1752 to Richard Gilpin's old church in Newcastle, Hanover Square, (1752-1780), where he was leader of the Arian movement.<sup>271</sup> Adam Dean, (Kirkoswald), writing to George Benson on the 5th of June, 1751, noted that Mr. Lowthion has at last determined to go to Newcastle and Mr. Robinson of Carlisle is likely to be invited to succeed him. On the 28th of July he notes that Penrith will be in great difficulty with Lowthion removed and Dean promises to supply. Wilson says both Threlkeld and Lowthian married into the Cookson family, major supporters of the church, and that Lowthian left in 1748 or 9.<sup>272</sup> Author of :The Reasonableness and Advantage of Allowing Ministers to Deliver their Sentiments with Freedom. Represented in a Sermon [Acts ii, 29] preached at the ordination of ....Mr. C. Rotherham etc (London, 1758). The Christian Course Finished with Comfort and Honour. A Sermon [2 Timothy iv-7-8] occasioned by the death of ....R. Rogerson etc. (Newcastle, 1760). The Blessings of Peace. A Sermon [Psalm xxix, 9], (Newcastle, 1763). That There may be a continuing succession of public religious instructors. fit matter of request to God. A Sermon [Matt. ix, 37-38] preached to the Protestant Dissenting congregation, at North Sheilds, 12th December, 1762, upon.... the death of

<sup>266</sup> ONK, p.632

<sup>267</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 345-346 in somewhat more detail.

<sup>268</sup> ibid., p.346 says his father was Thomas, minister of Penruddock?

<sup>269</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.49. Greystoke Registers.

<sup>270</sup> CM, October, 1822, p.554. ONK, p.625.

<sup>271</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland' p.218. LN, Vol. 1, p.312.

<sup>272</sup> see also Nightingale. The Ejected, pp.345-346, for the Lowthian family of Kirkoswald.

the late Rev. J. Wilkinson, (Newcastle, 1763). The Friendship and Piety of Visiting the Fatherless and Widows in their Affliction. A Sermon [James i, 27] preached at the chapel, Hanover Square, for the encouragement of a scheme for the Relief of the Widows...of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, (Newcastle, 1764).

Note that a certain Samuel Lowthion was recorded as minister of the Prince's Street Presbyterian congregation, Cork, Ireland in 1706.<sup>273</sup>

**Edward Buncle M.A. (1752-c. 1772)**- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland, ordained minister at **Kirkmahoe, Dumfries, Scotland**.<sup>274</sup> Accepted the call after a short visit on November the 15th, 1751, and took his first sacrament in March, 1752. Colligan was of the opinion that his official call from the church was so orthodox in its composition that the church had broken with the Provincial Meeting and was taking the settlement of the minister into its own hands.<sup>275</sup> Returned to Scotland around 1772. Adam Dean, (Kirkoswald), says in a letter circa 1751-2, that the church in Penrith has got a minister from Scotland, having been worried that Lowthion's removal would have left them destitute.

**John Honeyman M.A. (1772-1783)**- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Had been at **Penruddock** for two years and was ordained at Penrith on the 9th of August, 1772. He was called by the Penrith congregation immediately after his ordination. Died 29th of March, 1783.

Colligan noted that 'by the middle of the century the long standing right of the Penrith congregation to appoint both its minister and trustees had been assumed by the trustees- a circumstance which c.1779 prompted a dispute between the congregation and the trustees which was to last for twenty six years', roughly until 1805.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> G. E. Evans. Vestiges, (1897), p.284.

<sup>274</sup> CM, October, 1822. p.554.

<sup>275</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.163.

<sup>276</sup> Colligan, 'English Presbyterian Trust Deeds', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 1, No.2, May, 1915, p.52, quoted in A. P. F. Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', JURCHS, 1990, May. Vol. 4, part 6, p.381.



**James Broadfoot (1783-1787)**- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Called in May, ordained on the 17th of September, 1783, at Penrith. Wilson says new meeting-house opened in 1784.

**Richard Paxton (1788-1791)**- Scottish, Church of Scotland, ordained to Kirkoswald in 1785. Went to the parish of Tindergarth, near Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1791.

**George Henderson**- According to Furness 1792.

**James McConochie**- According to Wilson immediately after Paxton, though Furness says 1793 and only for a short time.

**Henry Thompson A.M., D.D. (1799-1861)**- Secession Church, from Musselburgh, Scotland. Studied at the Associate (Burgher) Hall, entering in the 1791 session. The Professor of Theology was the Rev George Lawson, D.D. Ordained 18th of December, 1799. Degree D.D. conferred in 1811 from the University of Edinburgh. Died 5th of June, 1861, age 88. Author of A Charge Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Richard Hunter, Carlisle; Discourse on Passages selected from the First Seven Chapters of the Book of Acts; The Universal and Perpetual Obligation of the Fourth Commandment, and the Original Institution of the Sabbath, being the substance of two sermons preached in the Presbyterian Chapel, Fisher Street, Carlisle; Sacramental Addresses: The Communicants Manual, comprising the exercises of a Christian in the Lord's Supper, examining himself respecting his knowledge, faith, and repentance; translator of Duvoisin on the Truth of the Gospel. H. Thompson was in receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £8 in 1830.<sup>277</sup> The church is described as an old Presbyterian foundation, the minister Scotch Presbyterian of the Secession church.

**John Tannahill, M.A. (1858-1885)**- from Greyfriars, Glasgow, Scotland. Ordained as assistant to Dr. Thompson, 20th of January, 1858. Furness gives his successor as coming in 1885.<sup>278</sup> **John Scott Cockburn (1885-1892)**- according to Furness. **A.D. Gray, M.A. (1892-?)**

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<sup>277</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>278</sup> MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church; Furness, History of Penrith, p.197.

Joshua Wilson says that the first meeting-house was built in the time of Mr. Wilson, in the 1720s. Furness says the first church building was built in 1688 in a field near the townend, the next one being in Rowcliffe Lane opening in 1785, the present one opening in 1884.

## E 2. 10- Penruddock (Greystoke Parish)

Puritanism seems to have been strongly established among the tenantry here throughout the seventeenth century, provoking long running litigation over feudal rights.<sup>279</sup> Nonconformity began with Richard Gilpin<sup>280</sup> and after his ejection from Greystoke the people were ministered to by Anthony Sleigh, M.A. His degree was from Edinburgh in 1660. Sleigh was one of the ministers due to attend the first nonconformist ordination in Yorkshire, at Pasture House, along with Frankland, Jolly and Heywood, on the 8th of July, 1678. He was however detained through illness and Jolly refused, because he did not know those to be ordained.<sup>281</sup> The Presbyterian Fund grant of £8 was made on the 17th of November, 1690, to 'Mr Anthony Sleigh at Threlkeld'. It continued for a few years and then stops until well into the eighteenth century.<sup>282</sup> The Presbyterian Fund survey recorded 'mr Anto: Sleigh about 56 yeares of age see his case No.127. Penruddock Att Keswick At Threlkeld, A Congregation, hath not above £5 p Ann Some yeares not above. 40s, his wife when dyed left him Money wth wch and manageing a farm liveth pretty well', 'the above mentioned mr Antho: Sleigh aged 60 yeares has continued among his people (under many hardships, fineings, imprisonments, exiles) ever Since the removal of Dr Gilpin at ye restauration of C:ye 2nd. All his people can doe will not amount to above 6 l pr an. are affraid of his removall by death, being infirme, and therefore concerned for ye future See also at Kirkoswald.'<sup>283</sup> Sleigh received the Congregational Fund annual grant of £5 at Penruddock recorded on the 13th of April, 1696, £5 in 1699, £4 in 1700, £5 in 1701, £6 in 1702.<sup>284</sup> He died on the 13th of June, 1702.<sup>285</sup> On the 12th April, 1703 and the 3rd of April.

<sup>279</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', pp.222-224. Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.1261-1268. Colligan, 'Penruddock Presbyterian Meeting-house', CWAAS, ns. 1905, 5, pp. 150-171. Colligan, 'The Penruddock Kist', CWAAS, 1909, 9, 225. Colligan, Three Penruddock Puritans, (1908).

<sup>280</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.454-479. For some of the Gilpin genealogy see Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Society. Vol.50, 1866, (Durham. 1867), pp.143-45.

<sup>281</sup> Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, pp.116-117.

<sup>282</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1269.

<sup>283</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.22.

<sup>284</sup> Congregational Fund Minutes, MS DWL, Vol.One, 1695-99; Vol.Two. 1700-1704.

<sup>285</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1269. Matthews, Calamy Revised, p.445.



1704, the Congregational Fund Minutes record grants of £3 to the church at Penruddock. This possibly implies that there was no settled minister until after 1704. The Congregational Fund Minutes for a thirty year period after 1704 are lost.

**Samuel Audland (c.1702-before 1709)**- We know that he was a student of John Chorlton in Manchester but was not a Frankland student.<sup>286</sup> Thus there is a period between 1699 and 1709 when he must have trained for the ministry and ministered at Penruddock. If we assume a four year period of training, then the earliest he could have been at Penruddock was 1703. He preached the funeral sermon of the deacon John Noble which contains a lot of information about the church in the seventeenth century<sup>287</sup> and also wrote an account of Henry Winder senior's re-conversion from Quakerism.<sup>288</sup> Removed to Kendal c.1709.

**Cotley**- The Greystoke registers note the burial of Mr. Cotley, "Presbyterian minister at Penruddock 'June 1, 1710.'" This is a new name.<sup>289</sup>

**Mitchell**- According to Joshua Wilson.<sup>290</sup>

**Joseph Dodson M.A. (1712-1721)**-Graduated Edinburgh, 15th of February, 1709, probably after training at an academy in northern England.<sup>291</sup> Signatory of a trust deed here in 1712, in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund on the 8th of June, 1713, receiving £2. On the 7th of March, 1715 he received £8 here from the Presbyterian Fund. Moved to Faringdon and Buckland in Berkshire in 1721, died

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<sup>286</sup> J. H. Turner, (ed.), Oliver Heywood's Diary, Vol. 4, p.321

<sup>287</sup> Samuel Audland, A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. John Noble of Penruddock, Near Penrith in Cumberland, March 14. 1707/8 by Samuel Audland. To which is added a Postscript Concerning the Deceased, by another hand. London: Printed for John Clark at the Bible and Crown in the Old Change, 1708. J. H. Colligan, 'John Noble, of Penruddock, and Notes on Penruddock Church', PHSEJ, i, pp.128-134.

<sup>288</sup> Samuel Audland, The Spirit of Quakerism Cloven-footed....containing a Summary account of H.W.s case : Henry Winder died aged 100 and was buried on the 9th of February, 1717. One assumes he was the Grand father of Dr. Henry Winder, b. Hutton John, nr Greystoke, Cumberland. 15th of May. 1693. Educated by Dixon at Whitehaven, Boyse at Dublin. Min. Tunley, Lancashire (1714-19), Castle Hey, Liverpool (1719- d. 9th of August, 1752). See LN, Vol. 6, p.112.

<sup>289</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected p.1270.

<sup>290</sup> CM, October, 1822, p.556.

<sup>291</sup> Colligan, 'Penruddock Presbyterian Meeting-house', pp.163-164.

in 1755.<sup>292</sup> Undoubtedly of the New Scheme, his 1719 sermon Moderation and Charity sparked of recriminations in the Provincial Meeting, the orthodox John Atkinson of Stainton, Westmorland, replying with Jesus Christ the Son, essentially the Same with God the Father.<sup>293</sup>

The Evans List records Joseph Dodson removed to Berkshire, followed by Samuel Atkinson, in receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant of £6. The congregation consisted of two gentlemen, the rest yeomen and tradesmen. Mr. Nesbit returned 130 hearers, Thomas Dixon 100, with three county voters and one voter in Lancaster/Lancashire.

**Samuel Threlkeld (1722-1725)**- Omitted by Wilson. Presbyterian Fund minutes for the 8th of January, 1722, recommend that the grant be continued to him as he was recommended by nine neighbouring ministers. Moved to Penrith, Cumberland. c.1725.

**Samuel Atkinson (1725-1732?)**- Omitted by Wilson. Presbyterian Fund grant of £6 on the 26th of October, 1725. Probably left 1732.<sup>294</sup> Colligan says that neither Rattray or Nelson recorded his name. Mentioned as having taken part in the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Walker at Parkhead in May 1728.<sup>295</sup> Possibly the Daniel Atkin mentioned as receiving a grant from Lady Hewley's charity in 1728.<sup>296</sup> Notknown if he was any relation to Simon Atkinson (d.1694), minister to the Kirkoswald Dissenters.

**John Helme senior (1741?-1749?)**- See the entry for Crook Chapel, Westmorland (Appendix F 1. 3).

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<sup>292</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1270.

<sup>293</sup> Joseph Dodson, Moderation and Charity, recommended in a sermon preach'd at Keswick, to the Associated Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland. By Joseph Dodson. A.M. London: Printed for Eman. Matthews. at the Bible in Pater-Noster Row, 1720, (six pence). ONK, pp.276-285. Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1401 noted that in the Monthly Repository for 1818, p.601, Dr. Disney gave a full account of Michael Dodson, the eminent lawyer and son of Joseph with much information on father and son.

<sup>294</sup> *ibid.*, p. 1270.

<sup>295</sup> Colligan, 'Penriddock Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.164.

<sup>296</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities.



**John [Roger] Dickinson (c. 1750-1755)-** according to Wilson. Student of Rotherham at Kendal, (1744-1749).<sup>297</sup> Born 11th of February, 1713. In a deed dated 1755/6, he is mentioned as the late pastor. Moved to Palgrave, Norfolk, where he was friendly with Priestley. 1758 assistant to the Rev. Thomas Haynes at the Upper Chapel, Sheffield, and co-pastor with Haynes successor, the Rev. Joseph Evans until his death in 1780.<sup>298</sup>

**James Biggar (1757-1760)-Scottish.** Originally ministered at Keswick, Cumberland, Colligan saying he was there in 1730 seems unlikely. Moved to Keswick in 1760. **Licentiate of the Church of Scotland.** Death recorded in the Crosthwaite parish register, 24th of July, 1784.<sup>299</sup>

**Timothy Nelson (March, 1761-June, 1763)-**Born Great Salkeld, Cumberland, 16th of September, 1737, the son of Thomas. Graduated Galsgow 1758. Licensed by the Northumberland Presbytery in 1760. Subsequently minister at Alston, Cumberland, until 1801, then minister of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, Cumberland.

**Smith (Autumn, 1763, for three months)-**Probably the Rev. Thomas Smith afterwards at Haltwhistle.<sup>300</sup>

**Moncrief (Autumn, 1764-June, 1771)-** From Scotland, returned to Scotland. Probably William Moncrieff M.A., graduated Edinburgh 1716. Colligan says according to Nelson he was in Weardale, then Penruddock.

**John Honeyman M.A. (1771-1772)-** From Aberdeen, Scotland. Graduated Aberdeen in 1763. Licentiate of the Church of Scotland in 1767. His forebears had been ministers in the parish of Kineff, Kincardine, Scotland. Ordained at the Provincial Meeting at Penrith, 9th of August, 1772, immediately called by the Penrith church and accepted.<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> ONK, p.620.

<sup>298</sup> B. L. Manning, Upper Chapel, Sheffield, p.79. Miall, p.353.

<sup>299</sup> Colligan, 'Penruddock Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.166.

<sup>300</sup> *ibid.*, p.167.

<sup>301</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.165.

**David Johnston (Autumn, 1773-1778)**- From Scotland, returning to Scotland in poor health. Probably a native of Banff who was at Aberdeen University 1764-1768, M.A., divinity 1770-1773. He does not appear to have graduated or held a living in Scotland.

**Thomas Moresby (1778-1780)**- Possibly from Kirkoswald.

**Robert Potts (1781- d. 1806)**- Licentiate of the Presbytery of Jedburgh. Formerly at Brampton, Cumberland. (1759-1772) and Ettrick, Scotland (1772-1780). Retired from Ettrick due to drinking habits, came to Penruddock with an allowance of £35. Buried at Penruddock.

**John Cockburn**- from Scotland for twelve months supply.

**Mr. Beattie**- Went out as a missionary on *The Duff*, upon her second voyage. The vessel being captured he returned to England, resuming at Penruddock. He did not remain long, becoming a Sandemanian Baptist according to Wilson.<sup>302</sup>

**Andrew Rattray (1812-c. 1828)**- Trained by Haldane at Edinburgh, minister in Annan, Scotland for a while. Succeeded in June, 1812. Still there in 1822 according to Wilson. Instituted village preaching and Sunday Schools. Church most probably Congregational under him.<sup>303</sup> It appears that Dr. Thompson of Penrith was asked to preach Rattray's funeral sermon and persuaded the congregation to join the Secession Church, getting supply of a sermon from the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle in 1829. Ten persons in the congregation tried to block this move and obtain supply from the Congregational church but the trustees were Presbyterian, as were the land and trust deeds, according to MacKelvie.

**John Miller (1830-1862)**- From Newarthill, Scotland. Ordained, 5th of August, 1830. Died Borrowstounness, 30th of January, 1862. 1862-1870- supplied by short term students and preachers.<sup>304</sup> Colligan says that upon Miller's death the congregation became a preaching station.

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<sup>302</sup> CM, October, 1822, p.556.

<sup>303</sup> The Monthly Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of England

<sup>304</sup> MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church.



Rev. John Hutchinson B.A.-. was minister for a short while. Subsequently at Renfrew where he was ordained, then Bonnington Edinburgh. Moderator of the United Presbyterian church. D.Y. Storrar (1864-1866)- A native of Strathmiglo, Fife, Scotland. Entered St. Andrew's University 1850. Licensed by the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kinross, 1860. Died 1887, aged 50, buried Strathmiglo. Since then the congregation has been under the control of the Penrith congregation. Became part of the Presbyterian Church of England in 1876. From 1880 supplied by students from Queen Square House, London/Westminster College, Cambridge.

## **E 2. 11- Great Salkeld and Plumpton**

Near to Kirkoswald and in its early history undoubtedly associated with that church. Nightingale claimed these churches must have been associated with Simon Atkinson, the ejected vicar of Lazonby, living at Calthwaite. Nightingale estimates that the Great Salkeld Meeting-house was built in the early 1700s; c.1911 it was being used as a barn. The Plumpton Meeting-house was built in 1709 and was subsequently bought by the Wesleyans.<sup>305</sup> The congregations seem to have been united very early, moneys left in wills were invested and the annuity used to support the minister.<sup>306</sup> Colligan notes that several important families were associated with these churches, there notable scions being the Rev. George Benson D.D., the two Caleb Rotherhams; Caleb, Samuel and Thomas Threlkeld; Thomas Lowthian, born at Great Salkeld and Samuel Lowthian, born at Penruddock; and Timothy Nelson. He also notes the ministry was 'almost identical with that of Penrith'.<sup>307</sup>

It should be noted that the Rector of Great Salkeld from March, 1683, until 1703 was William Nicholson, future Bishop of Carlisle. He was also Vicar of Torpenhow, preaching there alternately. He was prebendary of Carlisle cathedral, archdeacon of the whole diocese and chaplain to the bishop. He was a Tory and royalist until his elevation in 1702 and was a protegee of Sir Joseph Williamson. As archdeacon he would have had responsibility for the ecclesiastical courts in the diocese. This may go some way towards explaining the fact that it wasn't until 1703 that the first Protestant Dissenting

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<sup>305</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1273.

<sup>306</sup> CM., October, 1822, p.557.

<sup>307</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p. 224. Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', CWAAS., ns, 8, 1908, pp.41-54. Notes the polity of the church was discussed in The Monthly Messenger, November, 1906,-February, 1907.

minister took up residence. Nicholson was no bigot however, and had a close friendship with the Leeds Dissenter and antiquarian, Ralph Thoresby.<sup>308</sup> The first known minister here was:

**Richard Rigby M.D. (1703-1717)**- From Lancashire Parliamentary family.<sup>309</sup> His medical degree was from Edinburgh, 13th of May, 1714.<sup>310</sup> The earliest mention of him here is in the Presbyterian Fund minutes where he was to receive £2 10s for six months, under the date 25th of December, 1703. The Congregational Fund Minutes for the 3rd of April, 1704, record the order of £3 be paid to the Church of Cathuoot, Cumberland'.<sup>311</sup> The Presbyterian Fund Minutes record he received £3 on the 8th of June, 1713, at Salkeld and he is referred to as 'Dr. Rigby of Cauthwaite or Salkeld' on the 7th of March, 1715, receiving £10. He moved to Hereford in 1717, and then to a large congregation in Reading, Berkshire, in 1718 and died in 1749.<sup>312</sup> According to Colligan, at the Salters' Hall conference, he was a non-subscriber.<sup>313</sup> Jonathan Woodworth, (Kingsley, Cheshire), in a letter of the 22nd of February, 1717, to Peter Walkden, (Hesketh Lane, Chipping, Lancashire), noted that

Maxfield [Macclesfield, Cheshire] has wanted a Fixed Pastor this long time, ye made their application only to Two, Mr. Kings, and Mr. Cushell. Mr. Kings congregation would by no means allow his removall, and so he refused to come. Mr. Cushell from Hereford has by degrees brought his congregation to comply, and I hear Dr. Rigby from near Penrith is to succeed him.<sup>314</sup>

Rigby is mentioned in the Evans List as having removed to Hereford. The congregations of 'Salkeld or Cauthwaite nr Kirkoswald, Plumpton' are described as containing one gentleman, 'ye rest of meaner sort of yeomen and poor farmers'. Nesbit and Dixon both say the hearers numbered 100, Dixon saying that there was one county voter and one borough voter in Carlisle. The grant from the Presbyterian Fund was £7. The next minister in the Evans List was:

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<sup>308</sup> F. G. James, North Country Bishop: A Biography of William Nicolson. (New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), pp.1-41.

<sup>309</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.45 gives as sources Timothy Nelson's MSS and Eccleston Parish Register.

<sup>310</sup> Edinburgh Medical Graduates, 1705-1865.

<sup>311</sup> MS DWL, Vol. Two, 1700-1704.

<sup>312</sup> John Creasey's Index and the Evans List pp.4, 19, 46. Rigby is described as a Presbyterian in R. Tudur Jones, Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962, (1962), p.125.

<sup>313</sup> Quoting Drysdale, English Presbyterians, p.502. James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.705.

<sup>314</sup> James Bromley, 'Correspondence of the Rev. Peter Walkden. Letters from a Lancashire student at Glasgow University During the Rebellion of 1715', THSLC, Vol. 36, 1884, pp.15-32, p.31.



**James Crossland (1718-1733)**- Is also mentioned in the Evans List as at Carnforth/Tatham, Lancashire (Appendix C. 1. 3). Married Rachel Benson of Great Salkeld, the second sister of the Rev. George Benson D.D.<sup>315</sup> Evidence from the Presbyterian Fund Minutes put him here by the 4th of november. 1717:

Upon the motion of Dr. Calamy, agreed that an allowance of £6 be made to Mr. George Benson a student who has already made a considerable progress in his studies in order to finish them at Glasgow being recommended by Mr. Dickson of Whitehaven, Mr. Crossland of Salkeld and Dr. Rigby of Hereford to commence Christmas next.<sup>316</sup>

Moved to Swalwell, near Newcastle, where he died in 1752.<sup>317</sup>

**J. Alderson (c. 1735-1737)**- According to Wilson.<sup>318</sup> Colligan says probably a native of Westmorland, trained at Kendal. Here a short time c. 1735. Moved to Lowestoft in 1737, where he died in 1760. Reported to be of Arian sentiments.<sup>319</sup> Allowance continued to the following minister by resolution of the Presbyterian Fund, 2nd of October, 1738.

**John Whiteside (1739-1743)**- Born Lancaster. Student of Rotherham at Kendal, (1734-38),<sup>320</sup> where he was a fellow student with Alderson. 1738/9, subsequently moving to Keswick? Colligan says he was here about 1739-1743. In May, 1743, moved to The Old Meeting, Great Yarmouth, where a secession had taken place on doctrinal grounds. Assistant to Mr. Milner, succeeding him on his death in 1761.<sup>321</sup> 1772 chose Rev. J.M. Benyon of Knowsley, Lancashire to be his assistant.<sup>322</sup> Author of The Duty of Hearers: A Sermon Preached at Palgrave in Suffolk, at the ordination of the Rev. Mr.

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<sup>315</sup> *ibid.*, and Evans List pp. 19, 61.

<sup>316</sup> MS DWL. Vol. Two. p. 317.

<sup>317</sup> Articles on the Swalwell Church. 1906, and the Great Salkeld congregation. 1907, in The Monthly Messenger of the English Presbyterian Church.

<sup>318</sup> CM., October, 1822, p. 557.

<sup>319</sup> MS of his in DWL. His son, Rev. Robert Alderson, Octagon Chapel, Norwich, Recorder of Norwich; see Brown, Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, p.281.

<sup>320</sup> ONK. p.633.

<sup>321</sup> Old Meeting minutes in DWL; Brown, Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk.

<sup>322</sup> Hadfield, Manchester Socinian Controversy, (1825).

Barbould, Mr. Benyon, Mr. Alderson and Mr. Pilkington, September 13th, 1775. Died 1784, Yarmouth.

**John Helme junior (1746-49?)**- Son of John Helm senior, Minister of Crook and Penruddock. Student of Rotherham at Kendal (1741-45?).<sup>323</sup> Common/Presbyterian Fund Minutes record grant to him at 'Cauthwaite or Salkeld' from 1746-49. He moved to the Holcombe congregation in 1750, his father being the neighbouring minister at Walmsley from 1750-60. The Common/Presbyterian Fund made an extraordinary grant to him there on the 11th of November, 1751.<sup>324</sup> He was next minister at Blackley (1755-57) and Duckinfield (1757-61).

**James Richie (c. 1752-3)**- Also minister at Alston /Garrigill (Appendix E 2. 1). He was noted for travelling throughout the north collecting money for the repair of the meeting-houses. £60 remained after the repairs, so a field was bought, which was let in 1822 at £5 5s pre annum. This was said to be all the property of the congregation.<sup>325</sup> Letter from Adam Dean, (Kirkoswald), to George Benson 28th of July, 1751 says that it is likely that Dr. Richie will go to Great Salkeld in the spring. Letter from Richie to George Benson, 30th of August, 1753.<sup>326</sup>

**James MacMillan (1754?-1759?)** - Minister here in at least by 1756, when he was said to be absent from Caleb Rotherham's ordination.<sup>327</sup> Adam Dean (Kirkoswald), in a letter to George Benson on the 31st of March, 1760, says that Mr. Millar has gone to Haltwhistle (Northumberland) and is succeeded by Mr. Thomas Lowthion whos father was a member of our society. He proceeds to ask for aid for Mr. Millar who has only £12, describing him as being well used at Great Salkeld, possibly because of his hot temper. Colligan says he was from Scotland. Here 1754-1758 and at Haltwhistle 1759-1767. The remainder of his ministry was spent in Yorkshire.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> ONK., p.623.

<sup>324</sup> Minutes MS DWL Vol. 3. pp.398, 406, 418, 467, 474, 483, 497; Vol. 4, p.77.

<sup>325</sup> CM, October, 1822, p.557.

<sup>326</sup> UCC/JRL/ cupb. B.19, Benson Letters, 1.

<sup>327</sup> Colligan, 'The Provincial Meeting', p.164.

<sup>328</sup> Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.49



**Thomas Lowthian (c. 1760-c. 1765)-** According to Wilson. Educated at Samuel Lowthion's Academy in Newcastle. Colligan says he was here 1758-1763. He was called to Cockermouth in 1764. Thomas Lowthion was minister at Cockermouth, Cumberland, 1765 until his death in 1781. His Arminianism split the congregation there.

**Timothy Nelson M.A. (1801-1830)-** Born Great Salked, 1737, his father married Sarah Rotherham in 1732. Glasgow University, (1755-1758), entering with John Dean. Licentiate of the Northumberland Class of Presbyterians. Minister Penruddock, (March, 1761-June, 1763). Minister at Redwing/Alston, (1763-1800). Moved to Great Salkeld/Plumbton 1801.<sup>329</sup> Nightingale notes the 1822 Congregational Magazine says the church was Independent under Nelson. The 1826 Congregational Magazine says 'There is a chapel at each of these places, but supplied by one minister. They were formerly Independent, but are now in the hands of the Unitarians. The present minister is Rev.--Nelson'. Nightingale goes on that the 1832 Congregational Magazine it appeared that there were two lists of recipients from the Lady Hewley Funds in 1830, and under the Anti-Trinitarian list appears 'T. Nelson-Salkeld and Plumpton' with a grant of £8.<sup>330</sup> In James list for 1830 he appears as a member of the Scottish Secession church, in receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £4, the congregations being noted as old Presbyterian.<sup>331</sup> MacKelvie claimed that because of Nelson's age the congregation looked for an assistant in 1827 and applied to the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle.

Before granting this request, the Presbytery required the congregation to show what pecuniary resources it possessed, when evidence was afforded that, besides seat-rents and collections, which from several circumstances were necessarily small, they were in receipt of £8 annually from Lady Hewley's Charity; that they had a common interest in a plot of ground which lets for £4 10s; and that they received a common benefit of £7 out of the Presbyterian Fund, London.'

The church was accepted into the United Associated Presbytery and received a grant of £10. Nelson died in 1830, aged 93. Nicholson and Axon note that Colligan had read some of Nelson's papers and

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<sup>329</sup> MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church; Colligan, 'Great Salkeld Presbyterian Meeting-house', p.50 says the Nelson MS referred to in this article was a letter sent to Joshua Wilson in London. Richard Wright, the Unitarian Missionary, mentions him in his A Review of the Missionary Life and Labours of Richard Wright. Written by Himself, (D. Eaton, London and Liverpool, 1824) for the year 1814.

<sup>330</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1274.

<sup>331</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.738.

was convinced that he was orthodox. They claim that he was visited by Mr. Wright, the Unitarian missionary who found that Nelson was anti-Trinitarian.<sup>332</sup>

**George Chapman (c. 1833-1870, possibly longer)-** from Bethelfield, Kirkkaldy, Scotland. United Associate Presbytery, ordained 8th of May, 1833, at Great Salkeld. Author of An Exposition of the Fifth and Three Following Chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. He died in 1881. Has since then been a preaching station of the Presbyterian Church of England.

## **E 2. 12- Whitehaven (St. Bees Parish)**

**James Street or Low Meeting House-** Nightingale notes there was no ejected minister and that the nonconformists here were closely associated with the Cockerham Independent church.<sup>333</sup> Isabella Dixon licensed her house for Dissenting worship in 1672. He goes on to say that a large influx of Irish refugees in the 1690s led to the building of the chapel in 1694. The Presbyterian Fund had given £6 towards the propagation of the Gospel on the 28th of December, 1690. The Commom/Presbyterian Fund survey noted 'Att Whitehaven, They are laying out themselves to gett a minister'.<sup>334</sup> The first deed of conveyance for the Nonconformist chapel is dated the 18th of March, 1694; the next the 4th of October, 1694, and was quoted by Wilson as saying 'for the use of Protestant Presbiterians or Congregationall Dissenters in the worship of God in their way'.<sup>335</sup> The Trust Deed of the Nonconformist chapel date from the 23rd of April, 1695, appointed Roger Anderton, minister.<sup>336</sup> 'Elisha Gale'.<sup>337</sup> Henry Palmer, William Atkinson, William Feryes, and John Shepherd as having collected subscriptions and being empowered to build a house or chapel in a decent manner, and handsome gate etc, to be used by Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England, whether Presbyterian or congregationall'.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> ONK. p.288.

<sup>333</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp. 810-814, 1280-1282.

<sup>334</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.24.

<sup>335</sup> CM. December. 1822, p.665.

<sup>336</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1280. See Alexander Gordon's notes in Roberts's Hope Street Church, Liverpool, p.15. Ralph Thoresby's Diary, Vol. 1, p.270 for his meeting with Sir John Lowther and Mr. Anderton.

<sup>337</sup> Elisha Gale was the younger brother of John Gale, Sir John Lowther's steward and substantial Anglican merchant, extremely hostile to the Dissenters. Elisha was a Dissenter, merchant and master mariner. Carried Irish Jacobites to France after the treaty of Limerick in 1691.

<sup>338</sup> CM. December, 1822, p.665.



A more detailed picture of events here can be built up from the correspondence of Sir John Lowther.<sup>339</sup> The situation in August, 1693, was that the Lowther interest was attempting to remove James Marr<sup>340</sup> from the old episcopal chapel so that they could pull it down and place a new incumbent in the new chapel. In a letter of the 7th of January, 1694, John Gale reported that the Anglican party was trying to raise an annuity for the minister of the new chapel but that William Atkinson and the Dissenting faction were trying to dissuade everyone in town from subscribing, beginning a campaign to have the Old Chapel licensed as a place of Dissenting worship. The letter informs of Atkinson's plans to have the chapel licensed on the 10th of January at the Quarter Session at Cockermouth, notwithstanding they already had a meeting-house. A letter of the 11th of January, 1694, informs that the justices had refused to hear Atkinson. A letter of the 9th of January, 1694, encloses a petition from some of the inhabitants to Sir John, asking him to oppose the meeting-house and provide for a school in the old chapel. A letter from William Gilpin on the 27th of January, 1694, urges that the old chapel be pulled down or Mr. Atkinson will always have a cause for disruption, disturbing relations between the Dissenters and the Church of England which is crucial for trade. The elections then began for a new clergyman at the New Chapel. The Dissenters began to petition Sir John in March, 1694, for the use of the Old chapel. The problem was soon resolved. William Gilpin wrote on the 10th of March, 1694, 'On Monday last I pulled down the old chapel, and laid the foundation of the new school. The design had not taken air, so that Mr. Atkinson, and two or 3 of Mr. Marr's friends (who disagreed) being surprised with the suddenness of it, had no time to form their opposition'.<sup>341</sup> John Gale wrote on the 11th of March, 1694, 'My last told you of Mr Marr's preaching thatt day in the old chappel and his indeavors to draw a party after him. This putt us upon

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<sup>339</sup> D. R. Hainsworth, (ed.), The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven 1693-1698: A Provincial Community in Wartime. Records of Social and Economic History, ns. 7, (British Academy, 1983). Christine Churches, 'Sir John Lowther and Whitehaven 1642-1706', Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991; Robert Hopkinson, 'Elections in Cumberland and Westmorland 1695-1723', Ph. D. thesis, University of Newcastle, 1973; D. R. Hainsworth, Stewards, Lords and People: The Estate Steward and his World in Later Stewart England, (Cambridge, 1992). E. Hinchcliffe, 'The Washingtons at Whitehaven and Appleby', CWAAS, 71 ns, 1971, pp.151-198. Annie Eaglesham, The Growth and Influence of the West Cumbland Shipping Industry, 1660-1880, Lancaster Ph. D. thesis, 1977. J. H. Colligan, 'The Old Meeting, Whitehaven' PHSEJ, ii, pp.142-7. C. M. H. Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church, a heritage of 250 Years', PHSEJ, viii, pp.42-56.

<sup>340</sup> Scottish episcopalian minister, licensed as curate of Crosthwaite 1690 and paid to officiate in the old Whitehaven chapel until a new minister was chosen for the new church, p.678. Also Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.810-814.

<sup>341</sup> Hainsworth, Sir John Lowther's Correspondence, p.110, Letter 99.



soliciting Mr. Gilpin to prevent the like for the future soe wee all agreed in pulling downe the old chappell which was begun on the 5th instant and is now levilled with the ground, without other opposition than what Mr Atkinson ventured....However the mallignants as I may call them, who now serve God for spite more than anything else that is good, they did this day accompany Mr Marr to a place called Arleton<sup>342</sup> where he preached to them, and as we are credibly informed intends to renonce his orders and qualify himself as a presbyterian preacher and have a separate congregation from all others'. Subsequent letters discuss the temper of the new minister needed to bring the disaffected Dissenters back to the church.<sup>343</sup> Affairs then become involved with the consecration of the new church by the Bishop of Chester.<sup>344</sup> On the 6th of July, 1694, the Whitehaven Dissenters petition Sir John for a grant of land to build a chapel on and pressed for the aquisition of a freehold. William Gilpin syaing that 'they are afraid that the winter now approaching they may loose the season of building. The most convenient place as I conceiv is in James Street (Towards the end of Hodgson Croft).... The person they name for their Trustee is Mr. Elisha Gale.<sup>345</sup> Gilpin continues on the 10th of November, 1694, 'Either a feoffment to Elisha Gale, or a lease and release, can be used to convey the land for the Dissenting chapel. This suggested method however saves two deeds. I made them the usual allottment "because you do not think fit to take notice of the use they intend it for". I perceive they intend "to retire their house a little from the street to avoid disturbance" '. On the 20th of March, 1695, the Dissenters of Whitehaven send a petition of thanks to Sir John for the grant of land. Gilpin is reporting on the 4th of April, 1695, that the Dissenters were less fractious, contributing to the new church and Mr Yates the clergyman. A letter in October, 1695, reports that Elisha Gale had settled the meeting-house on trustees to prevent its descent to his brother. Religion and politics seem closely knit here. It appears that the Dissenters tried to pack vestry meetings for the vote on the new minister in August, 1694, renting pews in the church to maintain a voteand, one assumes, to hear sermons, maintain appearances and occassionally conform. From 1695 onwards, Sir John Lowther's

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<sup>342</sup> Arlecdon, 5 miles N.E. of Whitehaven, p.111.

<sup>343</sup> Hainsworth, Sir John Lowther's Correspondence, Letter 107.

<sup>344</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 152 ff 1-5 , consecration certificate, 16th of July, 1693. 'humble request of ye inhabitants of this Place for ye Consecrating of Our church'. Says that Sir John Lowther has consented to this and provided an endowment for living. Details of consecration procecedure contained in 2-5. My thanks to Richard Harrison for this reference.

<sup>345</sup> Hainsworth, Sir John Lowther's Correspondence, 22 September, 1694, letter 149.



grant of land to the Whitehaven Dissenters was used to discredit James Lowther's standing with Anglican voters.

**Roger Anderton (c. 1688?-1704/1705)**- Born near Bolton, Lancashire, though his baptism is not in the parish register. Trained by Richard Frankland, [May 3rd] June 3rd, 1684. The Rev. C.M. Hilton Day was of the opinion that Anderton was ministering here from 1688 and was ordained at Rathmell on the 7th of May, 1693.

This was quite in accordance with the practice of the times, and licenciates quite frequently preached and held charges before they were actually ordained to the ministry. From Oliver Heywood's Diary, which contains the record of the ordination, we learn that Mr. Anderton "was settled at Whitehaven, from which the people had sent a very full testimonial of his abilities, usefulness, and conversation".<sup>346</sup>

How this squares with the Common Fund report c.1690-92, 'they are laying out themselves to gett a minister' is not clear. The Common/Presbyterian Fund also indicates that John Carrington of Lancaster had Roger Anderton and Thomas Taylor preaching for the Dissenters of Tatham in the Lune Valley (Appendix C 1. 3). Ralph Thoresby met him in Whitehaven on the 20th of September, 1694. In receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant 1696. Moved to 'Newcastle' in 1704/5. Hilton Day says Newcastle-under-Lyme, as does J.H. Colligan.<sup>347</sup> There is no mention of him as ministering at Newcastle in Matthews's Staffordshire or in Evans's Vestiges.<sup>348</sup> A newspaper account of the congregation published c.1910 by R.S. Robson says Newcastle-under-Lyme. Colligan claims that Alexander Gordon in Freedom After Ejection has an account of Anderton and claims he went to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Died in April 1705. A letter from John Gale to Sir John Lowther, from Whitehaven the 13th of August, 1693, mentions that the Presbyterians had a minister at their licensed

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<sup>346</sup> Rev. C. M. Hilton Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church: A Heritage of 250 Years', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. 8, 1945, pp.42-56, p.44. Joseph Hunter, The Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood, p.378.

<sup>347</sup> J. H. Colligan, 'The Old Meeting, Whitehaven', Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, Vol. 2, 1922, pp.142-47, p.143.

<sup>348</sup> A.G. Matthews, The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire, p.258. G. E. Evans, Vestiges of Protestant Dissent, p.183. He may have acted as assistant to George Long MA, MD, at Newcastle under Lyme who retired in 1705 as the minister of the Presbyterian meeting. Matthews has his successor William Brian entering the pastorate in 1705, Evans more uncertainly in 1707. Anderton may have exercised a brief ministry there before his death. There is no mention of Anderton at Newcastle upon Tyne as assistant to Benjamin Bennett.

meeting-house. F. Nicholson owned a copy of Barton and Smith's Psalms of David in Meter, owned by Anderton, the gift of William Hutchinson in 1700.<sup>349</sup>

**Thomas Dixon (1705-1719 or 1723)** - Alexander Gordon noted in his DNB entry for Dixon, (1680?-1729), that he was probably the son of Thomas Dixon, 'Anglus e Northumbria', who graduated M.A. at Edinburgh on the 19th of July, 1660, and was ejected from the vicarage of Kelloe, Durham, as a Nonconformist.<sup>350</sup> Herbert McLachlan, following A.G. Matthews, considers this wrong and that he was the son of an episcopalian. McLachlan's essay 'Thomas Dixon and the Whitehaven-Bolton Academy' is probably the most accurate compendium of information on Dixon to date.<sup>351</sup> Thomas was trained by Chorlton and Coningham in Manchester, (1700-1705). Said to have gone to London after this, succeeding Anderton in 1708. It seems this is wrong. McLachlan states he was at Colchester 1704/5 but must have moved to Whitehaven almost immediately. In the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian there exists a letter from Dixon to John Dunton, the Whig bookseller and pamphleteer, dated Whitehaven, 22nd of October, 1705. Gordon claims the Whitehaven chapel was founded by Presbyterians from the north of Ireland. Accompanied Dr. Calamy to Scotland in 1709, where Dixon received an honorary degree in Edinburgh on the 21st of April. Started Academy in Whitehaven 1710 and on Coningham's removal from Manchester Dixon's was the leading Academy in the north. Moved to Bolton, Lancashire, in 1719 to succeed Samuel Bourne the elder. Evans List says 1723. Nightingale says there was a minister between Bourne and Dixon who was omitted by Franklin Baker, who may have been assistant to Dixon or sole pastor.<sup>352</sup> Took degree M.D. from Edinburgh and continued Academy in Bolton. Died 14th of August, 1729. Son Thomas, (1721-1754), was assistant to Dr. John Taylor at Norwich. Letters from Richard Dixon in Whitehaven to Richard Cooke in London for the years 1735-39.<sup>353</sup> Some Dixon manuscripts were in the Winder collection in the Ullett Road vestry in Liverpool according to Gordon; they were lost in the 1880s.

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<sup>349</sup> ONK, p.562.

<sup>350</sup> A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised p.165 does not indicate this.

<sup>351</sup> H. McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, pp.131-147.

<sup>352</sup> LN. Vol. 3, p.8. Franklin Baker, The Rise and Progress of Nonconformity in Bolton, (1854), p.102. The Christian Reformer, 1854, p.487. The Congregational Magazine, 1822, p. 665. MSS of his among the Winder papers in the Library of Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool?

<sup>353</sup> UCC/JRL/ MS cupb. B1.27.



The Evans List has him as succeeded by Emanuel Latham, removed. The congregation is described as having 20 gentlemen worth above £20,000 pounds, 4 worth more than £4,000 each, the rest tradesmen, yeomen and labourers. Dissenters had such an influence by trade that they could turn the Cockermouth elections. The hearers were numbered at 350, with 8 county voters and 6 borough voters!

Emanuel/Lemuel Latham (1723) for a short time according to Wilson. This might be Lemuel Latham M.D., son of Richard Latham the nonconformist minister of Frodsham, Cheshire and Wem, Shropshire. (c.1695-1706), the brother of the distinguished tutor, Ebenezer Latham of Findern.<sup>354</sup> The Presbyterian Fund Minutes provide us with some more information about Lemuel Latham. At a meeting on the 5th of May, 5th, 1718

Upon a motion of Mr. Tong that an allowance be made to Mr Lemuel Latham of Temple Hall, Leicestershire, a letter being produced by Mr. Tong subscrib'd by several of the neighbouring ministers. £6 midsum. next.<sup>355</sup>

Dr. Lemuel Latham was subsequently resident in Sunderland according to the Memoirs of the Newcastle merchant, Ambrose Barnes. Latham was the Rev. Benjamin Bennett's doctor and son in law, posthumously seeing into print two of Bennett's works: The Second Part of the Christian Oratory: With Discourses on Several other Subjects. By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Bennet. Publish'd from his own Manuscripts. By L. Latham, M.D., (London, John Gray, 1728); The Truth, Inspiration, and Usefulness of the Scripture Asserted and Proved. In several Discourses on 2 Timothy 3, xvi. By the Late Reverend and Learned Benjamin Bennett. Published from his Manuscripts By L. Latham, M.D., London: Printed for John Gray, at the Cross-Keys in the Poultry, 1730. The discourses were mostly preached in 1724 and Latham explicitly states that he saw them into print 'because of the growth of infidelity'.<sup>356</sup> The Rev. C.M. Hilton Day was convinced this was Lemuel

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<sup>354</sup> McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, p.148.

<sup>355</sup> MS DWL. Vol. Two, p. 325.

<sup>356</sup> Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Late Merchant and Sometime Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne, Surtees Society, Vol. 50, 1866, (Durham, 1867), pp.473-478.

Latham, later of Sunderland.<sup>357</sup> It is by no means certain that this is the correct identification of this minister and Colligan is right to be cautious:

Dixon was succeeded by Emmanuel Latham. The surname is found in the Fylde district of Lancashire, but, unfortunately, there are no particulars relating to this minister, and his name has become confused with that of Lemuel Latham, afterwards of Sunderland. In all probability, the Rev. Ebenezer Latham M.D., later the well known tutor of Findern Academy, was related to this Whitehaven minister; whoever he was and whatever was his Christian name.<sup>358</sup>

Emmanuel may be from another branch of the Lathom's descended from Henry Lathom described as of Mosslands, in 1634, upon whose ancestors lands the chapel at Rainford in Lancashire was built.<sup>359</sup>

**Ralph Astley (c. 1728-1756)**- Nightingale says he was a native of Chowbent, Lancashire. Recorded in the Parkhead/Kirkoswald register as being here in 1728. Chapel enlarged 1749. His gravestone in the old church yard recorded he died on the 30th of March, 1756, aged 59. Other references to him come from the Diary of Richard Kay, who undertook to accompany his cousin Samuel Taylor of Moston on a business trip to Whitehaven, setting out on the 5th of June 1742. On the 9th of June

This Day we have spent at Whitehaven, towards evening we pd. a short Visit to the Revnd. Mr. Astley, a Lancashire Man, Mr. Braddock desiring his Service to him; Mr. Astley told me he remember'd our Family, and was intimately acquainted with Uncle John Kay (deceased).<sup>360</sup>

His son Thomas, b. 5th of September, 1738, at Whitehaven and educated at Whitehaven Grammar School, Daventry and Warrington. subsequently minister at Congleton, Preston, and Chesterfield. Died 15th of October. 1817, aged 79.<sup>361</sup>

**Radcliffe Scholefield (1757-1772)**- Born Rochdale, trained by Doddridge at Northampton, came in 1757. Ran academy for the training of gentlemens sons 'and was perhaps more successful as a tutor

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<sup>357</sup> C. M. Hilton Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church'. p.44.

<sup>358</sup> Colligan, 'The Old Meeting, Whitehaven', p.145.

<sup>359</sup> LN, Vol. 4, pp.170 note, 253. *Notitia Cestriensis*, Vol. 2, part 2, (Chetham Society. 21, 1850), p. 213, note.

<sup>360</sup> Brockbank and Kenworthy, (Eds), *The Diary of Richard Kay*, p.50. Braddock was minister at Bury under whom Kay worshipped.

<sup>361</sup> CM, 1822, p.665. LN, 1, pp.14-15.



than a preacher'. Left for Birmingham on the 14th of October, 1772, where he continued as minister until his death in 1803. Wilson says the church register begins in his period. Author of Numbers No Criterion of Truth, (Whitehaven, 1769), preached before the General Meeting at Keswick; Love to Enemies expalined and recommended in a discourse on Matthew v, 44, (Deritend, 1791). A Farewell Address from a Tutor to his Pupils, (Stourbridge, 1814).

Probable antecedents: Radcliff Scolfield was a student of Richard Franklands, entering the 18th of July, 1688. The son of Radcliffe Scholefield esq. and Frances Frankland, of Scholefield Hall, Rochdale. He appears as starred in Heywood's list but is not known to have conformed. May have been a clergyman in early manhood. Nonconformist minister at Whitworth, Lancashire, (1717-1727) and at Hale, Cheshire, (1727-1728). Died near Radcliffe Bridge, Lancashire; buried 16th of August, 1728. Scholefield was described as of Ratcliffe when he obtained a marriage licence to marry Mary Smith of the same place. Hunter says she was of Bradford.<sup>362</sup>

Possible relation: Richard Scholefield removed from the new congregation at Buxton, Derbyshire, on the 15th of April, 1730, because the congregation could not be persuaded to contribute towards a minister.<sup>363</sup>

**James Kirkpatrick (1772-1804)**- Came in 1772, ordained in June, 1773.<sup>364</sup> 'No existing documents furnish information as to the extent of his usefulness, or the particular situation of the church. He is well reported of: and in the summer of 1804, having given up the ministry, he retired into Scotland' where he died in the present year (c.1820). Hilton Day quotes Henry Sands history of the congregation, noting that many wealthy families attended the congregation in Kirkpatrick's day.

There follows a period of neglect and decline. Hilton Day says up until 1810 they only had occassional supplies of ministers and candidates who did not remain. He quotes R.S.Robson's article '1662 and Some of its Survivals. XVI. Whitehaven Presbyterians', saying that Francis Rattray was called in 1798, who had been a licentiate in the Secession Church. This seems highly questionable,

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<sup>362</sup> ONK, p.573.

<sup>363</sup> G. F. Nuttall, 'Review', JURCHS, Vol. 2, n.4, October, 1979, pp.112-116, on The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith 1708-1755. Part One, Edited by Vanessa S. Doe. Derbyshire Record Socirty. Volume 2, 1978.

<sup>364</sup> This ordination is not recorded by Colligan in 'The Provincial Meeting'.

(Appendix E 2. 2). The Congregational Magazine for 1822 states that from 1804-1812 they were without a minister, except for two years. Hilton Day pace Sands claims a Church of Scotland minister was here 1810-12, 'but had to leave owing to his intemperate habits'. The Trustees ignored the wishes of the people to have a settled minister. A gentleman from Scotland came and 'having preached for a short time, was approved, tho by the trustees and the congregation, and might have remained as the minister of the Low Meeting; but on his selecting elders from among the people, and refusing to consider himself as unconnected with a presbytery, he was rejected'. The trustees then applied to the Rotherham Independent College and called:

**William Rose (1812-1818)**- The agreement was that if either party were dissatisfied after 12 months the contract would end. He was unanimously elected after 15 months. Ordained a Congregationalist by his old Classical Tutor, the Rev. Joseph Gilbert. Died after six years there. The congregation had gone from 50 to 400 under his ministry, occasionally 600, and the membership went from 30 to 100. Trustees closed the building. Congregation left and formed a Congregational church in James Street, then Duke Street (Appendix E2. 27).<sup>365</sup> Hilton Day says the trustees and the older members of the congregation were dissatisfied with the changes Rose made, despite his success, and refused to have another student from Rotherham College, 'maintaining that it was their solemn duty to preserve the Presbyterian traditions of the congregation'. Bearing in mind that the trust deed of 1695 said that the chapel was for the use of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian or Independent persuasion this was not a strong legal position.

**Walter Fairlie (1819-1836)**- Came in November, 1819. Ordained 1st of December by the Presbytery of Glasgow, Church of Scotland. Around 1820 The Congregational Magazine for 1822 records the congregation was sometimes 200. It is not clear whether the Congregational element returned. Fairlie connected the chapel with the Church of Scotland. Founded Sunday School 1822 moving to premises in Irish Street in 1827. Began weekly prayer meetings in 1837. Around 1836 he moved to a living at Gilmerton, Edinburgh, and after the Disruption joined the Free Church of Scotland. It was Fairlie who was instrumental in founding the Presbytery of the North West of England in 1824.

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<sup>365</sup> A Narrative of Recent Proceedings relative to the chapel in James Street, etc. (1818).



Colligan said the supply was from the Church of Scotland until the Disruption of 1843, when the congregation allied itself with the Free Church of Scotland. In 1876 it became part of the Presbyterian Church of England.<sup>366</sup> The next three ministers were A. S. Paterson (1836-38), William Wilson (1838-42) and Matthew Graham (1842-44). The subsequent ministers were Joseph Burns (1844-65), George MacKay (1866-89) and Mathew Young (1890-1915). On the 24th of February, 1895, the James Street meeting joined with the High meeting to form one church under Matthew Young. Hilton Day provides the history and ministry of the church up until 1945.<sup>367</sup> Registers at the Public Records Office 'Independent': Baptisms, 1879-1819; Baptisms, 1818-1836; Burials, 1823-1838.

## E 2. 13- ?

Another distinct congregation may have existed c.1690-92. The Presbyterian Fund survey records: 'A congregation on the borders of England. wch were before a bad people now Seriously attend and have a Scotch man for whom they raise 15 l or 20 l newCastle sent them 10 l p Ann'.<sup>368</sup> Possibly Kirkandrews on Esk.<sup>369</sup>

## Baptist

### E 2. 14- Egremont

Nightingale says this was closely associated with the Broughton church. The Evans List records it as Anabaptist, no settled minister, with between 30 and 50 hearers.<sup>370</sup>

### E 2. 15- Outon of Broughton (Two separate churches)

Baptist church here in 1691, associated with the Association for Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire.<sup>371</sup> The Evans List records Samuel Blenkinship as minister, the congregation mostly

<sup>366</sup> J. H. Colligan, 'The Old Meeting, Whitehaven', PHSEJ, ii, pp.142-7. C. M. H. Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church: A Heritage of 250 Years', PHSEJ, 8, pp.42-56.

<sup>367</sup> C. M. Hilton Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church', pp.47-50.

<sup>368</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, p.22.

<sup>369</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, pp.297-301.

<sup>370</sup> CM, May, 1822, p.278.

<sup>371</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1283. Douglas, History of the Northern Baptist Churches.

yeomen and tradesmen, hearers 200, county voters 16, borough voters at Carlisle 4.<sup>372</sup> E 2.15a-  
Oulton-Samuel Ruston is mentioned as the minister in the Hewley Fund list of 1830, a Baptist, the  
grant being £2 10s.<sup>373</sup>

#### Churches Founded c. 1725-1749.

E 2. 16- Carlisle 2 (1748- c.1760)- Wilson reports that there was a secession from the Fisher Street meeting in 1748. This may have been over the theology of Israel Bennett, or the appointment of his successor, Isaac Robinson. Wilson notes 'A seperation seems to have taken place amongst this people in 1748 (Jollie's Cumberland Guide, p.28), and another house for worship was prepared in the same street. The people assembling here were favoured with the services of Mr. **Robert Henry**, the Historian, for 12 years, when he removed to Berwick on Tweed; and the seperatists were dispersed, or returned to their old place of meeting.'<sup>374</sup>

#### E 2. 17- Workington High Meeting, Church of Scotland, f. 1749

Founded by Scots residents in connection with the Church of Scotland. The chapel was erected in 1749 from money subscribed by Dissenters in England and the Church of Scotland. Henry Curwen of Workington Hall gave £50. First minister was a **William Thompson**- said to have been Church of Scotland.

**John Selkirk** (c. 1787-1829)- His immediate successor, provided the information on the church to Joshua Wilson c.1820.<sup>375</sup> Ordained 1789 and died in Workington in 1829, according to Thompson from the Fasti. This is difficult to square with Muschet complaining about him in 1787. In the 1830 list of Hewley Fund grants the Church of Scotland minister is the **Rev. Cole Turner**, in receipt of £4.<sup>376</sup> The Rev.Coll Turner was present at the ordination of John MacKenzie in Wigan by the North West Presbytery to Wigan Chapel Lane on the 18th of October, 1832.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> Also Joshua Wilson, Congregational Magazine, April, 1822, pp.214-215.

<sup>373</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.738.

<sup>374</sup> CM, April, 1822, p.216.

<sup>375</sup> CM, supplement, 1822, p.714.

<sup>376</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>377</sup> W. B. Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan, p.105.



Churches Founded in Cumberland c.1750- 1799

**E 2. 18 Whitehaven, Charles Street, Baptist, f.1753.**

Meeting-house opened 5th of March, 1754. Lots of material in The Congregational Magazine. 1822.

**E 2. 19 Whitehaven High Meeting, Associate Presbytery, f. 1758**

According to Wilson the early records of the church were lost by the second minister and his record is from oral information. The church originated with 'a few pious Scotsmen, who were dissatisfied with the doctrine then preached at the Low Meeting'.<sup>378</sup> MacKelvie says in March, 1755, twenty-seven persons, mainly Scots, applied to the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery of Sanquhar for a minister. They met in a storeroom in Howgill Street until a chapel was built in 1760. The chapel had 700 sittings, and was rebuilt in 1871. The first minister was:

**William Graham (1758-1771)- Antiburgher.** From Craigmallen, Scotland. Trained at the General Associate (Antiburgher) Hall under Professor of Theology, Alexander Moncrieff, entering in the 1754 session.<sup>379</sup> Came in 1758, ordained on the 19th of November, 1759. Wilson says from oral evidence that he was a devoted pastoral visitor. Unknown how long he stayed. Moved to a Newcastle Antiburgher congregation. Author of The Worth of the Soul; illustrated by considerations on its greatness, durability and particularly its redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ etc. (1764; Brit. Lib. cat. says Newcastle, 1772), an epistolary address urging spiritual renewal in those who attended his ministry. False Prophets Unmasked: A Sermon {Matt. vii, 15-16} preached and now published at the Desire of the Committee of the Protestant Association in Newcastle upon Tyne, February 20th. 1780. (Newcastle. 1780; Republished with a preface by R.Stodhart, London 1800). Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments in Europe; containing their history; with a candid examination of their advantages and disadvantages....and attempting to define the extent of civil legislation respectign ecclesiastical objects: with a discussion of the question "Should religious tests be made a rule of law, in conferring

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<sup>378</sup> CM. December, 1822, pp. 669-670.

<sup>379</sup> MacKelvie. Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church

civil rewards, or inflicting civil punishment? And an Essay tending to show both the political and moral necessity of abolishing exclusive establishments: with answer to some principle objections. (Glasgow, 1792; 2nd edn, London 1796; Exeter abridgement, 1816). The Whole Earth Filled With the Redeemers Glory. A Sermon [Psalm 72,19] with MS notes. (Newcastle, 1796). An Essay, Tending to Remove Certain scruples, respecting the constitution and direction of the Missionary Societies; especially that of London. In a Letter to a Minister, (Newcastle, 1796). The Nature and Beauty of Christian Unity [Sermon on Psalm 133.i] in Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects. Removed to Newcastle on the 6th of June, 1771. The Rev. John McKerrow recorded in his History of the Secession Church that Graham suffered a stroke in October 1810 and died on the 19th of January, 1801.

The church book of the Whitehaven Baptist congregation records this for 1764;

The Seceeders and one of the Baptist brethren having some conversation on the subject of infant baptism, their difference thereupon was so aggravated from time to time, that at last it issued in a publick disputation on the day called Good Friday. 1764, in the Baptist Meeting-house. The Seceeders rested their whole building on infants right to church membership under the Old Testament, which right they insisted upon was never disannulled, and as they still had their unrepealed right to church membership still standing, they must have a right to that ordinance by which they are made church members. The baptists thought this objection sufficiently removed by observing, that that Testament itself was void. Much unnecessary talk made the meeting tedious. It continued from half past nine in the morning till after seven in the evening. The meeting was closed by Mr. Graham, the Seceeding minister, by desiring both sides, as they were neitherable to convince one another, to forebear reflection etc'.<sup>380</sup>

The congregation called Mr. Ramsay but he went to Duke Street, Glasgow. The next minister was

**John Colquhoun (1773-1785)-** From Nicolson Street, Edinburgh. Trained in Professor William Moncrieff's Theology class at the General Associate (Antiburgher) Hall, entering in the 1769 session. This would put him finishing his studies c. 1773. Wilson says he was Minister here for fourteen or fifteen years, fourteen years later being 1787, when the next minister is known to have arrived. Ordained 14th of April, 1773. Also in buisness, bankrupted and imprisoned, with the loss of the church records. Resigned 1785. On release, went to the Isle of Man, 'where he died an ignoble

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<sup>380</sup> CM, December, 1822, p.668.



death'. The Rev. Hilton Day records that the earliest minutes of the Associate Dissenting congregation in Whitehaven, 19th of September, 1787, record that the Associate Presbytery of Sanquhar had suspended the previous minister.<sup>381</sup>

**David Williamson (1787-1820)-** From Abernethy. Called to Montrose and Whitehaven. William Moncrieff's Theology class at the General Associate (Antiburgher) Hall, entering in the 1781 session. Wilson says a native of Fifeshire. Soon after his arrival published Lectures on Civil and Religious Liberty. Wilson claims that these lectures induced Lord Muncaster to offer him a living in the Church of England but he was too much a friend of Liberty to accept. Also published The Whole Duty of Man [A Sermon on Ecclesiastes xii, 13-14] in Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects by Ministers in the General Associate Synod, (Edinburgh, 1819); Reflections on the Four Principle Religions which have obtained in the World; Paganism, Mohammedism, Judaism and Christianity; also on the Church of England, and other denominations of Protestants; and on Evangelical religion, 2 Vols., (London, Printed Whitehaven, 1824). Political Debate on Christian Principles or the Substance of a Correspondence between...J. Newton [Rev. John Newton, the Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London]. and the Rev. D.W. (1793). Author of The Doctrine of the Churches of England and Scotland etc, with respect to the Eternal Sonship of Christ, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost, etc., in Reply to the Socinian Writings of a Mr. Murray of Newcastle, and a Mr. James Sykes of Whitehaven, (1800). Described as having a thriving congregation in The Congregational Magazine of 1822 but again business contact brought him low. He left in the summer of 1820, in conflict with his people. The Whitehaven Gazette for the 23rd of July, 1821, reported his death in New York on the 13th of May.

**Robert Hogg (1821-1832)-** was minister at the time Wilson was writing. Trained in the General Associate (Antiburgher) Hall, Edinburgh, under Professor of Theology George Paxton D.D., entering in the class of 1814. From Balckswell, Hamilton, Scotland. Ordained 27th of June, 1821. Resigned 1832. Admitted to Alyth, 22nd of May, 1833. **Alexander Sutherland (1834-1845)-** From Oakshaw Street Paisley. Ordained 28th of January, 1834. Resigned 18th of February, 1845. Joined

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<sup>381</sup> Hilton Day, 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church', p.51.

the Church of Scotland, minister of Strathbungo. Author: Echoes of Grace, Revivals and Presbytery and Independence. **James Howie (1847-1849)**- From Oakshaw Street, Paisley. Trained in the United Secesion Hall under Professors Mitchell, Brown, Duncan and Balmer, entering in the 1839 session. Ordained 16th of March 1847. Resigned 7th of May, 1849. The congregation then called Mr. Ketchie, afterwards of Earlestone, and Mr. M'Lean, after of Kirriemuir, both of whom declined. **William Drummond (1852-1865)**- From Leven. Called to Campbelton and Whitehaven. Ord. 13th of April, 1852. Demitted his charge 11th of July, 1865, returning to Leven as occasional preacher. **James Anderson (1866-76)**- Formerly of Dunbar First. Admitted 26th of June 1866. He left in 1876, the year of union with the Presbyterian Church in England.

The Whitehaven High Meeting was subsequently in the Presbyterian Church of England. The next minister was: **W. A. Macaulay (May, 1876-resigned)**. **J. W. Ellison (1876-78)**- Moved to Sunderland. **J. M. Bonnar (1878-81)**- Ordained Haltwhistle, Northumberland, 17th of June, 1875. Inducted Whitehaven 1878. Began the church at Harrington, south of Workington, where he became minister (1881-1911 retired). **Alexander King (1882-84)**. **A.G.Kettle (1884-90)**- Probationer of the United Presbyterian Church, ordained 1884. Resigned c.1890. **A. W. McDougall (1890-94)**- ordained 1890. Resigned 1894. The last five ministers resigned because of the discouraging prospects for the church. United with the James Street Meeting on the 24th of February, 1895, under the ministry of Matthew Young, (Appendix E 2 12).

**E 2. 20 Cockermouth High Meeting secession 1765-1783-** See Cockermouth I (Appendix C 2.3).

**E 2. 21 Carlisle 3 Abbev Street- c. 1772-1810**

Wilson noted that during the ministry of the Rev. Robert Milne at the Carlisle, Fisher Street church 'A number of hearers disapproving of his new opinions, retired to a small building for divine service' inviting 'Mr. George Thomson, a native of Galloway [Scotland] (Jollie's 'Cumberland Guide', p.28) to administer to them the ordinances of the Gospel'. 'Mr. Thompson deceased in 1810, when his few remaining adherents were distributed amongst other congregations. His 'Spirit of General History', and his reply to Archdeacon Paley, on the contentment of the Poor, clearly evince the exercises of an enlightened and liberal mind.'



## **E 2. 22 Wigton, Baptist/Unitarian /Methodist, f. 1774 or 1784?**

Wilson got his information for this church from the Rev. Joseph Jefferson, formerly of Wigton and resident in Basingstoke in 1822. He gives the date of 1784 for the foundation of this cause but Nicholson and Axon note from the Kendal church book that in 1774 Caleb Rotherham Junior preached at the opening of a chapel in Wigton with the Baptist Rev. Robinson of Kirkalnd and Milne of Carlisle.<sup>382</sup>

**Rev. Anthony Robinson-** built the chapel. He was minister at Broughton Baptist Chapel, went to Bristol Baptist Academy, became a 'Socinian' and went to Wigton, in connexion with the Rev. John Davies. Chapel built February 15th, 1789. Land given by Mr. Johnson of the Kings Arms, Wigton. Dedication service by Robinson of Kirkalnd, Rev. Milne of Carlisle, Rev. Rotherham of Kendal.<sup>383</sup> Author of A Short History of the Persecutions of Christianity, (Carlisle, 1792). **Ruston-** Minister of Broughton preached here 'to the people who were willing to hear evangelical truths' but he was not acceptable to some of his hearers. Resigned, preaching his last sermon on the 5th of July, 1807. Chapel was then claimed by Johnson's daughter. Ground floor a weaving shed. **John Cockburn-** a Haldane student from Edinburgh, was only here a short time. His religious sentiments were said to have changed considerably during his short stay. **Anderson -** From Scotland. Obtained a living and returned to Scotland about 1813. Subsequently rented by Mrs. Heron of the Methodists.

## **E 2. 23 Marvport 1, Church of Scotland, f. 1773**

Founded by a few 'worthy mechanics' who had been members of a similar church in Workington. The church Minutes record that on the 17th of April, 1773, at a meeting of forty-three inhabitants. the Presbyterians in Marport endeavoured to 'procure a Minister to preach every third Sunday or as often as can be afforded'. Assembled in a hired room and began building a Meeting-house in 1775. which

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<sup>382</sup> ONK, p.348.

<sup>383</sup> The Cumberland Paquet, 4th of March, 1789. Nicholson and Axon say The Cumberland Paquet for October, 1774. records this dedication service.

was opened on the 9th of February, 1777.<sup>384</sup> Kendal Market Place Chapel made a collection of £4 16s 6 1/2 p for the building of this chapel in 1777.<sup>385</sup> Chapel built under the first minister in John Street:

**MacRae (1777)-** From Scotland. He left on the 3rd of March, 1777, and was the first settled minister. Said to have returned to Scotland because he was outraged by the profanation of the Sabbath in Maryport.

**John Dunn (1778-1817)-** From Scotland. Ordained 18th of August, 1778, in Maryport. Minister for forty years, the congregation much diminished in his latter years. Resigned 5th of October, 1817. Christmas. 1817, returned to Edinburgh.

**Robert Wallace (1817-1820)-** Church of Scotland. Ordained by the Presbytery of Stranraer, he was inducted to Maryport on the 15th of March, 1818. Enlarged the chapel. Moved to the living of Kirkpatrick, Galloway, Presbytery of Dumfries, after three years, to become assistant and successor to the Rev.Dr. Lamont. Glover says retired to Kinneswood, near Kinross, where he died on the 15th of December. 1823.

**Robert Carr (1821)-** Ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, admitted to the Maryport congregation 11th of February, 1821. 'During his ministry a secession of a considerable part of the congregation took place from the influence of the Trustees, who attempting to exercise a kind of patronage over the Chapel, opposed Mr. Carr's admission'. The seceders worshipped as a United Secession Church from 1821. (Appendix E 3.5). Carr left for the parish of Luss. Presbytery of Dumbarton.

**William Rintoul (1821)-**From Kincardine, Perthshire. Licentiate of the Presbytery of Dunblane, Church of Scotland.<sup>386</sup> Ordained 14th of August. admitted to the charge of Maryport, 2nd of

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<sup>384</sup> Rev. F. C. Glover, 'A Brief History of the Events Leading to the Formation and Subsequent Union of the John Street and Crosby Street Presbyterian Churches, Maryport. (January 1st, 1888), Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 6, 1938, pp.233-7.

<sup>385</sup> ONK. p.350.



September, 1821. The Rev. Glover credits him with being the driving force behind the formation of the Presbytery of the North West on the 21st of January, 1824. Described as William Rintone in the list of Hewley Fund recipients of 1830, his grant £3 10s.<sup>387</sup>

According to Glover, the ministers succeeding Rintoul were: Robert Carr[sic?], William S. Blackwood, Moses Harvey; William Harvey and in 1872 James Cochrane. At the formation of the Presbyterian Church of England in 1876 union between the two chapels was discussed, especially after Cochrane left for Kingston, Jamaica, but neither congregation could agree. Next minister at John Street was David Eades (1880-c.1887)- Ordained 17th of July, 1880. In 1887 the Presbyterian Church of England forced the two congregations in Maryport to unite under the pastor designate of John Street, Mr. Patterson, who was ordained and inducted on the 25th of January, 1888. The two congregations united in the Crosby Street Chapel, the John Street Chapel being taken over by the Salvation Army.<sup>388</sup>

#### **E 2. 24 Workington, Low Meeting, Associate Presbytery/Independent, f. 1778**

MacKelvie says this church was formed in 1778 by a few Scotchmen calling their minister from the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod. Wilson's information comes from the elder, Peter Macgaa and the minister in 1820, Samuel Peele. He says that the ground was purchased in 1779 and the chapel was built early in 1780. Macgaa was an officer in the Whitehaven Antiburgher church and raised most of the money. The first minister was James M'Ewan-From Bucklyvie, Perth. Ord. 23rd of March, 1780. Resigned 1784, went to Dundee. Possibly also minister at Carlisle, in MacKelvie's list of students.

MacKelvie said the church became extinct after his departure but this is not the case. The chapel has quite a confused history henceforth, complicated by the presence of the Church of Scotland High Meeting, (Appendix E 2. 17). that had been in Workington since 1749. Lady Glenorchy bought the New Chapel Meeting and burial ground on the 19th of June, 1786, from the owner, Peter McCan,

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<sup>386</sup> CM, December, 1822, p.664. Rev. F. C. Glover, 'A Brief History of the ...Formation and Subsequent Union of the John Street and Crosby Street Presbyterian Churches, Maryport', PHSEJ, vi, pp.233-7.

<sup>387</sup> James. Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>388</sup> Christopher Stell, Northern Chapels, (HMSO, 1995), p.54.

mercator. for the price of £250. It was her proprietorial chapel and upon her death later in the year it was administered in trust by Lady Maxwell.

**Henry Muschett- Wilson** in The Congregational Magazine, 1822, says he came in 1785 and had officiated at the Dissenting chapel at Annetwell Street in Carlisle. Lady Glenorchy had sent him to Workington in October, 1785.<sup>389</sup> He remained only one and a half years but the ministry was successful in the conversion of sinners. Returned to Shettleston, Glasgow. Died 6th of August, 1825. The Workington Minute Book contains his farewell charge to his people: 'I advise every succeeding pastor to have no correspondence with the minister or people of what is called here The High Meeting, as their present parson Selkirk has all along maintained a heart hatred and malice to the Lady's Glenorchy and Maxwell, and has at different times uttered very bitter speeches against them'.<sup>390</sup> Part of the problem seems to have been that although the chapel was a proprietorial chapel of Lady Glenorchy, the Church of Scotland considered it under its jurisdiction and it was included in Scott's Fasti.

**Samuel Peele (c. 1787or 1792-1848)**- Trained at Heckmondwick and Rotherham. Ord. a Congregationalist on the 18th of September, 1781. Came to Workington, 1787. There were 40 to 50 church members in 1820, 100 hearers. A tablet on the wall of the church records that he was minister here for 56 years. Died 26th of August, 1848, aged 83. In 1843 the congregation was received into the County Congregational Association. Church enlarged 1855 **Henry Hibbert Harris (c. 1846-55?)**- Church member Grosvenor Street, Manchester. Trained Airedale. Minister Wigton at some point. Ordained 15th of April, 1847. Without charge 1855-57. Joined the Church of England.<sup>391</sup> **Thomas Hinde (1854-58)**- Previously minister at Carlisle, Lowther Street (1847-54), Appendix E 2. **26. James Rennie (1858-83)**- Born Huntley, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, c.1822? Training, Kings College Aberdeen; Glasgow M.A. Ministerial training Highbury. Assistant minister to his uncle John (d.1879). Culsalmond, Aberdeenshire, (1849-50). Tideswell, Derbyshire, (1850-53). Lee Croft,

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<sup>389</sup> Thompson, Lady Glenorchy and Her Churches, pp.57-62.

<sup>390</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>391</sup> Surman, 650. CYB, 1855, p.197.



Sheffield (1853-57). Retired to Whitehaven. Died 1st of June, 1904, aged 82.<sup>392</sup> **Charles Burrows** (1883-1906)- Trained at Chilwell General Baptist Academy. Minister Holymoorside, Derbyshire,(1867-69). Hinckley, Leicestershire (1869-71). Dronfield, Derbyshire (1875-83). Retired subsequently, died in Galashiels, 7th of March, 1921.<sup>393</sup> [ MacKelvie c.1870 says the church was recently revived in connection with the English Presbyterian Church ]. Possible Penrith Ebenezer Congregational church founded 1780?

## **E 2. 25 Bootle Independent, f. 1780**

Wilson says there was preaching here by 'Romaine and De Courcy', who were introduced into the parish by 'Messers Parke and Whitridge'. Dwelling registered, then a barn, in which Mr.G.Gibbon of Ulverston and Mr.G.Burder of Lancaster occassionally officiated. Meeting-house built in 1780 at the expense of Whitridge, who endowed it in his will with £1,000. Mr. Gibbon preached one of the first sermons on the 30th of July, 1780, subsequently published as A True Guide to Happiness. It is dedicated to Whitridge and Wilson quotes from the exordium; 'The degeneracy of the present age, from the doctrinal articles of the church, is truly deplorable, and loudly calls upon all lovers of our Lord Jesus in sincerity, to endeavour the extirpation of those Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian tenets, which have been substituted in their stead.'<sup>394</sup> The name of the first minister not known. First known name was that of a Mr. Derbyshire, said to have been persecuted by the Rector, Thomas Smith. **Daniel Gray**-Trained at Trevecca, minister in 1795. Died and was succeeded by his son. Also minister in Kendal, Westmorland, for the Countess of Huntingdon, c. 1782-1795 (Appendix F 2.2).<sup>395</sup> **William Gray**- Preached two or three years. Charged with misconduct. Conformed to the Church of England. Around 1820 they had no pastor but a flourishing Sunday School of two years standing. **James Hamilton** (1846-48)- Privately Educated. Subsequently minister Leven, Scotland. (1848-54?).<sup>396</sup> **John Aird** (1849-51/2)- Surman 190 has him from Cumnock, born 1804. Minister Muirkirk Antiburgher Presbyterian Church (1832-36). Resigned from the presbytery. Applied for re-admission. Then minister Bootle. Subsequently missionary for fifteen years in Blackburn, West

<sup>392</sup> Surman. 457. Miall, p.356. CYB, 1906, p.233.

<sup>393</sup> Surman, 2885.

<sup>394</sup> CM., March. 1822, p.164.

<sup>395</sup> Sell, pp.61-64.

<sup>396</sup> Surman. 273. Ross, Independency in Scotland, p.252.

Lothian. Applied for re-admission to the United Presbyterian Church as minister without charge, 1875. Died the 4th of October, 1877.<sup>397</sup> **Thomas L. Lessell (1853-61?)**- Born Aberdeen, Scotland. 23rd of April, 1807. Surman's recorded dates for this individual seem somewhat odd. He queried Ross's dates for Lessell at the Glasgow Theological Hall, (1840-43). Surman has him at Aberdeen University and Turvey, Bedfordshire, (?-1836). LMS, India, (1837-52) and again (1861-68), subsequently ministering at Puddletown, Dorset, (1870-76), when he retired. Died Southborough, Kent, 23rd of April, 1884.<sup>398</sup>

## **E 2. 26 Carlisle 4 Annetwell Street/Lowther Street, f. 1781**

This was the church purchased from the Rev. Alexander Waugh of the Associate (Burgher) Presbytery by George Burder of Lancaster, acting on behalf of Lady Glenorchy, sometime in July, 1781.<sup>399</sup> In 1786 a church covenant was formed with 11 members, stipulating that the chapel was to be used by Presbyterians or Independents. Lady Glenorchy required assent to the Westminster Confession however. Her rules for the pastor state 'He shall at his admission to office of pastor, renounce all Arian, Antinomian, Socinian, Arminian, and Sandemanian errors; and declare his firm belief of the doctrines of free grace, as explained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms thereof'.<sup>400</sup> In 1816, Lady Glenorchy's Trustees handed the chapel over to the members and it became Independent.<sup>401</sup> Supplied with temporary preachers (1781-1783). First settled minister was **Henry Muschett (1783-1786)**- Licentiate of the Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Stirling (Appendix E 2. 24).

**John Hill (1787-1790)**- Trained at Highbury. Moved to Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, organising the church there on Congregational lines (Appendix F 1. 2a).<sup>402</sup>

<sup>397</sup> There is an account of him in **R. Small, The History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church**, (1900), Vol. 1, p.345.

<sup>398</sup> **J. Sibree, Registers of the L.M.S. Missionaries**, (1923), p.352. **CYB**, 1854, p.213; 1885, p.206.

<sup>399</sup> **MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church**.

<sup>400</sup> **CM**, April, 1822, pp.216-218.

<sup>401</sup> **D. P. Thompson, Lady Glenorchy and Her Churches**, (1967), pp.45-49.

<sup>402</sup> **Surman**, 1555.



**Thomas Kennedy (c. 1790-1792)-** Born Kilmarnock, Scotland. Educated in Edinburgh, served in the Church of Scotland. 'a solid and able preacher, but not popular in manner'. Matriculated Glasgow University 1777, M.A. 1781. From Scotland According to Wilson. Moved to a congregation in Manchester in 1792. This was the Manchester Moseley Street secession from Manchester Canon Street Congregational church, a break precipitated by Scottish elements in the congregation (See Chapter Five). Here c.1792-1794. Returned to Scotland upon presentation to the living of St. Madoes, Presbytery of Perth, Church of Scotland 1795-1828.<sup>403</sup>

**George Bennet (1791-1807)-** From Scotland. Born 1750. Died 1835. Church of Scotland. Continued sixteen years. Hebrew scholar and one of the principal contributors to The British Critic. Correspondent and friend with Milner, Dean of Carlisle and his brother, and with Archdeacons Paley, Markham, Nares and with Bishops Porteus and Horsley. Nares as editor of The British Critic introduced him to Horsley and others. Harvard College, Massachusetts, conferred upon him an honorary D.D. in 1802. Author of A Display of the Spirits and Designs of those who, under pretence of a Reform, aim at the Subversion of the Constitution and Government of this Kingdom.. With A Defence of Ecclesiastical Establishments, (Carlisle, 1796) and Olam Haneshamoth or, a View of the Intermediate State, as it appears in the records of the Old and New Testament, the Apocraphal [sic] Books in heathen authors, and the Greek and Latin Fathers; with Notes, (Carlisle, 1800), which Horsley praised in his Hosea. His friends wanted him to take Anglican orders but he wanted a Scottish living. Chapel declined and in 1807 he was persuaded to leave. Archdeacon Markham applied to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Mansfield, who appointed him to the parish of Strathsmiglo. Fife, Scotland.<sup>404</sup> Seth Kelso, a communicant of the church, sailed on the missionary voyage of *The Duff* and now has a small charge near Kendal according to The Congregational Magazine, 1822. The church then obtained supply of students from the Rotherham Academy, inviting Christopher Hill to become their minister-Trained at the Rotherham Academy. Began at the close of his academic studies. July, 1808. Ord. July, 1809. Church revived. instituted weekly communion. Pastoral

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<sup>403</sup> Surman, 162. LN, Vol. 5, pp.138-139. Evangelical Magazine, 1794, p.252. Scott. Fasti, vii. p.287, viii, p.372.

<sup>404</sup> James Mew, 'George Bennet', DNB, 2, pp.229-230.

visitor. Formed a Cumberland Itinerant society. Author of Religious tracts. Retired 1812 through ill health, retiring to his fathers house Longthorpe, Boroughbridge, d. 18th of November, 1812.

**John Whitridge (1813-1819)-** Born, Bootle, Cumberland, 23.5.1790. Trained at the Rotherham Academy under Edward Williams. Ordained Carlisle 7.7.1814. Died Carlisle 28.7.1854. Changed the communion to monthly, according to the general practices of the English Congregational churches. A Published account of his ordination exists, with the attending ministers listed. Chapel enlarged October, 1816, also Sunday School, with a dedicatory sermon preached by the Rev. Greville Ewing of Glasgow. Church members increased from 31 to 114. Village itinerancy. Preached in Kirkandrews. Supplying South Cave, Yorkshire, 1819. Retired to take charge of Oswestry Ministerial Academy in Shropshire and be co-pastor of the church at Oswestry with his uncle the Rev. John Whitridge, (June 1819-September 1824). Minister of Manchester Canon Street Congregational Church, (1824- 23.9.1827), when he retired through ill health. Minister of Harrogate Cross Chapel, (1827-29), retiring to Cumberland where he occasionally supplied pulpits.

He was the son of William, member of the Bootle Congregational Church. Lineal descendant of Ann Askew, (1521-1546, DNB). His mother; Martha, was the daughter of Abraham Fletcher, mathematician (1714-1793, DNB). John Whitridge Married Sarah, daughter of Isaac Brown, deacon of the Cockermouth Congregational Church, 1814.<sup>405</sup>

**Thomas Woodrow (1820-1833)-**Glasgow Theological Academy. Ord. 29th February, 1820. Church members 400 c.1822. In receipt of the Hewley Fund grant of £3 10s in 1830, Woodrow described as Independent.<sup>406</sup> Emigrated to the U.S.A. There is a gap here of ten years. **Henry Wight (17. 3. 1843-1846)-** He was the son of Lt.Col.Wight, in legal practice in Edinburgh? He formed a church in Edinburgh to which he ministered,(1832-43/1846-60). Last service in the old Annetwell Street chapel on the 17th of March, the new church opened in Lowther Street on the 19th of March. 1843.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Surman. 1059. CYB, 1855, 243; EM, 1855, 313; 1816, 191; 1834, 290; CM, 1822, 219, 713; CHST, xi, 183; xii, 80; xviii, 68; Miall, p.270' Elliot, p.42; Whitehead, Nidderdale, pp.257, 279. Nightingale,The Ejected. Vol. 2, p.1283.

<sup>406</sup> James. Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.92.

<sup>407</sup> Ross. Independency in Scotland pp.230,248. John Thomas and C. A. Porteous, Memorials of Lowther Street Congregational Church, Carlisle, 1786-1936, (Carlisle, privately printed,1936), p.25. Thompson. Lady Glenorchy and her Churches, p.47. EM, 1846, p.485. CYB, 1898, p.209.



Thomas Hinde (1847-1854)- Trained Bedford, (1842-?) and Highbury. Minister Oldbury, Staffs., (1846-47). Subsequently Workington, (1854-58). Westbury, Wiltshire, (1858-66). Gideon Chapel, Bristol. (1866-72). Not mentioned in the ministerial lists in the CYB, 1873-77. Joined the Baptists.<sup>408</sup> W. A. Wrigley (1855-1858)- Born Astley Green, 6th of May, 1826. Trained Rotherham College, (1849-55). Minister Carlisle, Lowther Street, 1855-58, a troublesome ministry, seceded with some of the congregation to form the Charlotte Street congregation, of which he was the minister until 1885. He then moved to the pastorate of Silloth, Cumberland, (1885-95), when he retired. Died 5th of October, 1916. His son Francis was born on the 23rd of April, 1868 at 51 Chiswick Street, Carlisle, and was subsequently co-pastor of Salem Chapel, Leeds. Died, 1945.<sup>409</sup> Ninian Wight (1858-63)-Son of Henry Wight.<sup>410</sup> Born Edinburgh, the 14th of March, 1826. Trained Highbury, (1843-?). Minister Aberdeen, Blackfriars Street, (1847-52). Liverpool, Wavertree, (1852-58). Carlisle, (1858-63). Edinburgh, Richmond Place, (1864-72), his father's old church. Retired to Harrogate. Became minister of the congregation at Yarm Road, Stockton on Tees, (1887-90). Retired Harrogate. Died 17th of March, 1897.<sup>411</sup> J. B. French (1864-1866)- Born Hackney, 13th of October, 1826. Trained Fakenham and Cheshunt, (1850-54). Minister Lister Hill, Bradford, (1854-56). Supply Margate. Richmond, Surrey, (1857-63). Subsequent ministries after Carlisle. Died 23rd of February, 1893.<sup>412</sup> Robert Harvey Smith M.A. (1867-73)-Born Rhynie, Aberdeen, 1824. Trained at the University of Aberdeen. M.A. Glasgow. Theological Hall in Glasgow and Edinburgh, (1853-56). Minister Princess Street. Dundee, (1856-59). Peterhead, (1859-67). Subsequently agent of the Liberation Society in Scotland, 1873 onwards. Retired to Rhynie. Minister Duncanstone, (1883-93). Died 11th of January, 1901.<sup>413</sup> John Renshaw Bailey (1873-1878)-Born Cheadle, Cheshire, 24th of September, 1848. Trained Lancashire Independent College, (1869-73). Ordained 7th of October, 1873. Subsequently minister Halifax, Park Chapel, (1878-93). Eccles, Manchester, (1893-1912).

<sup>408</sup> Surman, 1627. CYB, 1848, pp.138, 170; 1855, pp.164, 197; 1859, p.186; 1878, p.229. Matthews. Staffordshire, p.258. EM, 1846, p.484.

<sup>409</sup> Surman, 2474. CYB, 1917, p.215. Thompson, Lady Glenorchy, pp.48-9.

<sup>410</sup> Surman, 1154.

<sup>411</sup> Surman, 1154. CYB, 1898, p.209. Ross, Independency in Scotland, pp.244, 248. Thomas, Memorials of Lowther Street, p.30.

<sup>412</sup> Surman, 861.

<sup>413</sup> Surman 1502. Ross, Independency in Scotland, pp.248, 254, 260. CYB, 1884, p.245; 1902, p.196.

Died 1st of September, 1914.<sup>414</sup> **John James Williams (1878-83)**-Born Dover, 29th of September, 1826, Nightingale noting he was from an old Kentish Nonconformist family. Evangelist for the East Devon Association. Minister, Fakenham, Suffolk, (1854-64/1864-67?). Oldham, Greenacres, (1867-78). Subsequently minister Horwich New Chapel, Lancs., (October 1883-92). Garstang, Lancs., (1892-96). Retired. Died 13th of January, 1906. Brothers: Rev. George Williams, Baptist minister, Astley Bridge, Bolton. Rev. Richard Gould Williams, (d.14th of January, 1884), minister of Providence Congregational Church, Rochdale.<sup>415</sup> **John Thomas (1884-1895)**-Born Yatton, Somerset, 6th of May, 1842.<sup>416</sup> Trained Bristol Theological Institute. Minister Chepstow, Monmouth, (1865-1868). Portland Chapel, Circus Road, St. John's Wood, Middlesex, (1868-81). Drybrook, Gloucestershire, (1881-84). Subsequently minister Dursley, Gloucestershire, (1898-1902). Died 16th of July, 1915.<sup>417</sup> Author of The Memorials of Lowther Street Congregational Church Carlisle, (1886).

## **E 2. 27 Whitehaven, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion/Independent, f. 1783**

Supplied by the Rev. George Burder and Trevecca students. **John Derbyshire** - sometime of Bootle, preached here in 1783. **Thomas Jones** - for one year. **John Williams**-for a short while. **Thomas Jones junior**-15th of September, 1785, whose continuance was not long. **Robert Ellis** - for about three quarters of a year. returning to Ulverstone.

**Thomas Cook (1788-1819)** - Trained at Trevecca, began his ministry here 26th of June, 1788, and preached in the same place for some time until it was converted into a granary. Then occupied a tobacco room in Scotch Street. Chapel in **Duke Street** was opened on the 15th of December, 1793, with Daniel Williams of Ulverstone and Daniel Gray of Bootle. Wilson says he officiated here for many years. Cook resigned on the 18th of April, 1819. The chapel was obtained for the congregation raised by Mr. Rose, that had left the Whitehaven old Presbyterian Chapel in 1818 on Rose's death and worshipped in James Street Chapel. Chapel enlarged. Called new minister:

<sup>414</sup> Surman. 76. LN, Vol. 5, p.16. CYB, 1915, p.133.

<sup>415</sup> Surman, 1562. LN, Vol. 3, p.109; 5, pp.244-45. **John Browne**, The History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, (1877), pp.527, 543. **T. J. Hosken**, History of Congregationalism and memorials of the churches...in Suffolk, (1920), pp.271, 277. CYB, 1907, p.180.

<sup>416</sup> **J. Thomas and Charles C. Porteous**, Memorials of Lowther Street Congregational Church, Carlisle, 1786-1936, (1936).

<sup>417</sup> Surman, 534.



**Archibald Jack (1820-44?)**-Trained by Ewing and Wardlaw at Galsgow Theological Hall, (1816-20).<sup>418</sup> Ord. the following spring, his tutors in attendance. Addresses published. The late minister (Cook) holds the office of deacon. There were 500 hearers and 150 church members. Jack removed to North Sheilds. What appears to have happened is that the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion may have lost the chapel when the sole trustee put it on the market or died. It was bought by the orthodox secession worshipping in James Street and called a Scottish Independent as minister, the congregations uniting as a Congregational church. Subsequently known as Providence Chapel, Duke Street. Subsequent ministers were: **James Macfarlane (1844-49)**- Born Stirling, Scotland, 6th of may, 1817. Matricualted Glasgow University 18345. Glasgow Theological Hall, (1839-42). Minister Shore Lane, Wick, Caithness, (1842-44). Subsequently minister Holmfirth, Yorkshire, (1849-55). Windsor, Berkshire, (1855-62). Holmfirth, Yorkshire (1862-65). Died 13th of July, 1866.<sup>419</sup> **Daniel Smith LL.B (1851-53)**- Born Colne, Lancashire, 25th of January, 1825. B.A.London. Trained Springhill College. Birmingham, (c.1849-51). Subsequently joined the Church of England.<sup>420</sup> **H. Saunders (1854-59)**- Born Sheepy, Leicestershire, 9th of August, 1827. Subsequently minister Zion Chapel, Wakefield. (1854-73). Emigrated to Canada. Minister in Hamilton, Ontario. (1873-77). Died 21st of December, 1877.<sup>421</sup> **William Place (1860-67)**- Born Bridgehouse Gate, Pateley Bridge. Yorks. Trained Pickering and Airedale, (1855-60). Subsequently minister in Patricroft, Eccles, Lancashire, (1867-1887). Retired through ill health to Southport. Died 12th of February. 1911. Son. Rev. Ernest William Place.<sup>422</sup> **Angus Galbraith (1867-January 1876)**- Born Kilcalmonel. West Tarbert, Ayr, Scotland, 1827. Matriculated Glasgow University, 1848. Trained Glasgow Theological Hall, (1848-52). Minister Stuartfield, (1852-57). Leith, Constitution Street, (1857-60). Stuartfield, (1860-67?). Subsequently minister Brighouse, Yorks., (1876-1900). Died 19th of July. 1901.<sup>423</sup> His assistant in 1869 was **John Wilson**, born Oughterside. Cumberland, 15th of November, 1843. Trained Paton Home Missionary College, (1866-69). Subsequently minister of Staithe, Yorkshire.

<sup>418</sup> Ross, Independency in Scotland p.256.

<sup>419</sup> Surman, 127. CYB, 1849, p.136; 1867, p.298. EM, 1845, p.36. Ross, Independency in Scotland p.205, 259. Miall, p.278.

<sup>420</sup> Surman, 1314. CYB, 1854, p.214.

<sup>421</sup> Surman, 127. CYB, 1874, p.221; 1879, p.345. EM, 1854, p.723. Miall, p.367.

<sup>422</sup> Surman, 1137. LN, 5, p.13. CYB 1912, p.167.

<sup>423</sup> Surman, 14. CYB, 1902, p.175. Ross, Independency in Scotland pp.254, 252, 259.

(1872-76). Clayton West, Huddersfield, (1876-84), and Eastwood, Todmorden, (1884-1906). Died 3rd of December, 1913.<sup>424</sup> A. Nairn (1876-1906)- Born Glasgow, 18th of June, 1839. Matriculated Glasgow University, 1859. E.U.Theological Hall, (1861-64). Minister at Thornhill, Dumfries, (1864-67). Tillicoultry, Clackmanan, (1867-71). Stirling, (1871-76). Also ministering at Parton and Cleator Moor. Retired to Barnet, died 17th of April, 1907.<sup>425</sup>

#### **E 2. 28 Bewcastle, Church of Scotland/ Independent, f. 1790**

Founded by a Mr. Lauder. Unpleasant circumstances caused his removal for seven years. Services conducted by Messers Anderson and Wright. Lauder was the minister c.1820. In the list of Hewley Fund recipients for 1830 is recorded the Church of Scotland minister the Rev. William Lander, the grant £5.<sup>426</sup> The CM for 1822 records Lauder as Independent.

#### **E 2. 29 Longtown, Church of Scotland, f.1798**

Wilson says this church originated in 1798 and was built by subscription.<sup>427</sup> Earliest known minister: Wright- Author of Sermons on Interesting and Important Subjects (1807) Subsequent ministers: James Chalmers, Robert Laurie, A. MacFarlane- minister c.1820. Congregation 150-200. The Rev. James Paton was the minister in 1832. He was present at the ordination in Wigan by the North West Presbytery of John MacKenzie to the pastorate of the Wigan Chapel Lane Chapel, 18th of October, 1832.<sup>428</sup> The church in Longtown may or may not be related to the United Presbyterian congregation in Longtown that MacKelvie said was formed in 1832.

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<sup>424</sup> Surman, 1972.

<sup>425</sup> Surman, 7. Ross, Independency in Scotland, p.266.

<sup>426</sup> James, Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, p.738.

<sup>427</sup> CM, July, 1822, p.386.

<sup>428</sup> W. B. Shaw, The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan, p.105.



### E. 3 - Dissenting churches formed in Cumberland, 1800-1829.

**E 3.1 Maryport, Independent congregation (1807-1822>?)**- Ministers trained by the Haldanes introduced Independency. The CM for 1822 notes, somewhat enigmatically, 'Ministers of this communion had never been refused the pulpit of the Old Meeting house, and indeed the people, though professedly of the Scottish Church, were of course, as being out of Scotland, no farther under the ecclesiastical control of that establishment'. Eventually a new congregation was formed in an upper room, by Charles Kitchin in 1807. 'His prospects of usefulness were flattering; and numbers appeared anxiously concerned to know the way of salvation from him. Two years, however, had not elapsed before the public avowal of strict Antipaedobaptist sentiments closed the door of future success. The church, which had promised to become numerous, divided and subdivided, til its members were scattered; and Mr K. has now the charge of about from 12 to 20 hearers'. No indication of a chapel ever being built.

Surman 403 records an Independent minister William Baker at Maryport, 1850-53?, subsequently entering the Church of England.<sup>429</sup>

#### **E 3. 2-Wigton Congregational, c. 1815.**

**J. Whitridge** of Carlisle began preaching in a schoolroom. Itinerant was engaged. **Mr. John Walton** of the Hackney Academy was said to be minister here, coming in 1816. New Meeting-house built in 1819. Also ministering at Blennerhassett, c.1822.<sup>430</sup> Surman 650 notes that **Henry Hibbert Harris** was ministering here some time before 1846, when he became minister at Workington. **George Young (1845-57)**-Born Melrose, Scotland. Trained Edinburgh E.U.Theological Hall, (1843-45). Ordained 12th of June, 1845. Subsequently minister in Annan.<sup>431</sup> **Richard Salkeld (1862-66)**-Church member Brampton. Trained Lancashire Independent College, (1854-57). Minister Colne, Lancs., (1857-62). Joined the Church of England. Trained Birmingham College. Ordained to Anglican orders, 1870. Probationer Chester, 1871. Curate, St.Thomas's, Hyde, Chesh., (1870-73). Vicar Millbrook. Chesh.. (1873-82). Vicar St.Mark's. Duckinfield. Chesh., (1882-1903). Died

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<sup>429</sup> CYB, 1854, p.211.

<sup>430</sup> CM, 1822, p.164, 713. Report of the Northern Congregational Union for 1815, p.11.

<sup>431</sup> Surman, 69. Ross, Independency in Scotland p.263 confuses him with Ebenezer. CC, 1846, pp.63, 107. CYB, 1858, pp.169, 190. Not in 1859.

1903?<sup>432</sup> **Samuel Neil Waterhouse (1866-68)**-Born Lydiate, Yorkshire, 1837. Trained Paton Home Missionary College, (c.1864-1866). Subsequently emigrated to Natal, (1868-75). Returned to minister at Ash. Kent and New Hampton, Middlesex. Died 18th of April, 1917.<sup>433</sup> **John Mitchell (1868-82)**-Trained Paton Home Missionary College. Joined the Church of England.<sup>434</sup> **Joseph Price (1884-1900)**-Trained Bristol Theological Institute. Previously ministering at Plymtree, Devon, (1869-70), Upwey, Devon.(1870-74), Nayland, Suffolk, (1874-78), Newcastle upon Tyne, (1878-84). Died June 1916.

### **E 3. 3-Penrith Congregational church, f. 1815**

The CM of 1822 notes this cause started because of the declining state of religion in the old meeting house. This would have been under the ministry of the Rev.Henry Thompson D.D. (1799-1861) of the Associate (Burgher) Presbytery. Pious congregants seceded, requesting the assistance of neighbouring ministers. Registered the school room in 1815 and was an important itinerant station along with Temple Sowerby. In 1819 a larger building procured. Sunday School with 'promising prospects' extant in 1822. Chapel built 1824.<sup>435</sup> **William Brewis (1837-69)**- Born Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8th of October, 1804, the son of an elder in the United Presbyterian Church there. Trained Rotherham, (1820-24?). Minister Lane End/Caroline Street, Longton, Staffordshire, (1824-27), ordained there 26th of April, 1825. Kirby Moorside, North Riding, (1827-30). Gainsborough Caskgate Street, Lincolnshire, (1830-37). Whilst at Penrith preached at Temple Sowerby and Eamont Bridge (replaced by a chapel at Kirby Shore 1869) alternate Sundays. Married a daughter of one Harrison, physician and coroner, Kirby Moorside. She died 1846. He remarried a few years later. Died 22nd of May, 1869.<sup>436</sup> **William Henry Bassett (1870-74)**-Trained Hackney, (1853-56). Lapford Drive, (1856-61). Fordingbridge, Hants., (1861-66). Bradford upon Avon. Wilts., (1866-70). Subsequently

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<sup>432</sup> Surman, 55. LN. Vol.2 .p.179.

<sup>433</sup> Surman, 448. CYB, 1918, p.157.

<sup>434</sup> Surman, 1432. CYB, 1883, p.226.

<sup>435</sup> CM 1822, pp.554, 613. Christopher Stell, Northern Chapels, (HMSO, 1995), p.56

<sup>436</sup> Surman, 2125. Matthews, Staffordshire, p.257. Miall, p.298. J. T. Barker, Congregationalism in Lincolnshire, (1860), p.35. CM, 1825, p.392; 1832, p.721; 1837, p.670. EM, 1869, p.658. CYB, 1870, p.277



entered the Church of England.<sup>437</sup> Robert Jackson (1886-94)-Previously minister Cockermouth, (1880-84). (Appendix E 2. 3).

**E 3. 4 [Whitehaven Congregational Secession, 1818]**, from the old Protestant Dissenting Chapel in James Street, Whitehaven, (Appendix E 2. 12). The dispute arose when the trustees chose a Church of Scotland minister over a Congregational minister. Seem to have very soon been worshipping in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion chapel, (Appendix E 2. 27), which became a Congregational church. The Rev.Hilton Day in his article 'Whitehaven Presbyterian Church', says 'the Independent section of the old Protestant Dissenting congregation had removed to a chapel in Duke Street, and ultimately there was built the Congregational Church in Scotch Street'.

**E 3. 4-Brampton Congregational Church f. 1818.**

Cause originated with James Scott of Kirkoswald who with other ministers used to preach here. Mr Ivy of the Hackney Academy became their minister. Meeting house opened October 1818. Church member 34, attenders 150.<sup>438</sup> Supported by the County Association.

**Robert Ivy (1819-22)**, Trained Hackney. Ordained Brampton 2.9.1819. Subsequently minister at Barnard Castle, Durham, (1822-27), where he was assistant. Minister Duckinfield, Cheshire, (1827-41).<sup>439</sup> Died 7.9.1841, aged 55.

**John Williams (1823-25)**- Ordained Zion Chapel, Brampton, 23.1.1823. Subsequently minister at Calderbrook and Smallbridge near Rochdale, Lancashire, (1825-6); Leigh, Lancashire, (April, 1826-January 1828); Ramsbottom Park Street (1828-1830); possibly subsequently at Grassington, Yorks., (1830-33) and Settle, (1835-38).<sup>440</sup> **John F. Wardlaw 1837?**-Trained under Professors Dick and Mitchell, United Secession Theological Hall, entering 1830. MacKelvie noted that he was minister of the United Presbyterian congregation at Longtown, being ordained there on the 10th of November,

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<sup>437</sup> Surman, 597. CYB, 1875, p.21.

<sup>438</sup> CM, 1822, 165,613.

<sup>439</sup> Surman, 140; LN, Vol. 5, p.309; Urwicke, p.348; Powicke, p.246; CM, 1819, p.246, 1827, pp.455, 623, 1822, p.165.

<sup>440</sup> Surman, 1516; LN, Vol. 3, pp.170-250, Vol. 4, p.120; EM, 1823, p.294; CM, 1823, 720; Miall, 347.

1835. Became an Independent and was deposed. Ministered at Brampton and afterwards at Stockton. Durham. **Thomas Beardsley Attenborough (1846-48)**-Born Ilkeston, Derbyshire, March 1810. Assistant minister Wigan Hope Chapel. Minister Sedbergh, Yorkshire,(1844-46). Minister Brampton. Winslow, Buckinghamshire, (1848-56). Newark, Notts., (1856-65), retired. Died 25th of September, 1874..<sup>441</sup> **John Smith (1849-56)**-Born London, 1817. Trained Cotton End, (1846-49). Ordained 1850. Subsequently minister of Witheridge, Devon, (1856-77). Died 14 of April, 1877.<sup>442</sup> **George Crowther Smith (1856?-59)**-Trained Cotton End Academy, (1854-56). Subsequently minister Alderston, Suffolk, (1859-60). Folkestone, Kent, (1860-63). Joined the Church of England.<sup>443</sup> **William Gibson (1882-91)**- Born Cumberland, 1850. Trained Rotherham. Minister Knottingley, Yorrks., (1876-82). Whilst at Brampton, oversight of Castle Carrock, Dalston, Allonby and Thursby. Subsequently minister Park Chapel, Ramsbottom, (1891-97). Hawes, Bainbridge, Yorks., (1899-1901). Thornaby on Tees, Mansfield Street, (1901-09). Wakefield, Stanley and Halfacres. (1909-16). Retired. Died 17th of July, 1923.<sup>444</sup>

### **E 3. 5-Maryport, Crosby Street United Associate Presbytery, f.1821.**

A secession from the Church of Scotland congregation at Maryport. The congregation became vacant due to the presentation of the minister to a parish in Scotland. A dispute ensued over the choice of sucessor which turned into a dispute over the rights to the property owned by the congregation. The trustees Alexander Hay, Isaac Middleton and Joseph Middleton and a good percentage of the congregation opposed the appointment of the Rev. Robert Carr to the John Street congregation. They left and called for supply of a sermon from the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle in 1821 and worshipped in the old Cotton factory in Nelson Street. They issued a law suit for the John Street property but were defeated at the Cumberland Summer Assizes on the 31st of July, 1826. Glover desdcribes one of the seceeding trustees, Andrew[sic?]Hay purchasing land in 1832, when the Crosby Street Presbyterian Church was built.<sup>445</sup> MacKelvie claims that their first minister was the Rev. Dobie of the Langholm congregation in Scotland who ministered to the two congregations

<sup>441</sup> Surman, 952. Whitehead, Dales Congregational Churches, p.365. Miall, 345.

<sup>442</sup> Surman, 1454. CHST, 18, p137.

<sup>443</sup> Surman, 1365.

<sup>444</sup> Surman, 936. LN, 3, p.174. CYB, 1884, p.133; 1924, p.95.

<sup>445</sup> Christopher Stell, Northern Chapels, (HMSO, 1995), p.55, says 1831.



jointly and subsequently **Hugh Milvain**, from Ivy Place, Stranraer. Ordained 29th October 1823. Died 1827, aged 32. MacKelvie said the chapel was vacant until 1831. The Rev. Glover claims that they were ministered to in the old Cotton factory by **Mr. William Bookless**. He in turn was succeeded in the Crosby Street Chapel by the **Rev. John Scott Craig** (July 1st, 1851-87). The Presbyterian Church of England retired Craig in 1887, and forcibly amalgamated the two Maryport congregations in the Crosby Street Chapel under **Mr. Patterson**, the minister designate of the John Street congregation, who was ordained in the Crosby Street Chapel on the 25th of January, 1888.

### **E 3. 6-Aspatia Congregational Church f. 1826**

**William Knight (1846-50)**-Born Combe Martin, Devon, 20th of September, 1813. Assistant to the Rev. George Smith at Combe Martin for five years. Trained Cotton End Academy. Minister Tamworth, Warwickshire, (1841-46). Ordained Aspatia, 8th of July, 1846. Also ministering at Hinton whilst in Aspatia? Subsequently minister Chalvey, (Slough), Buckinghamshire, (1850-56). Egham, Surrey, (1856-61). Littlehampton, Sussex, (1861-81). Retired. Died 30th of November, 1892.<sup>446</sup> **James Black (1853-59)**- Born Rockcliffe Cross, Cumberland, 3rd of July, 1824. Trained at the Cotton End Academy, Bedfordshire. Subsequently at Malmesbury, Wilts., (1859-79). Retired Malvern. Died 10th of March, 1892.<sup>447</sup> **George Taylor Wallace (1859-65)**-Trained Cotton End Academy, (1857-59). Subsequently minister at Hungerford, Berkshire, (1865-69). Retired but became minister of Stokesley, Yorkshire, (1870-1901).<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> Surman, 528. E. E. Cleal, The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey, (1908), p.295. CYB, 1862, p.217; 1894, p.207.

<sup>447</sup> Surman, 1435. CYB, 1917, p.167.

<sup>448</sup> Surman, 193. CYB 1860, p.192. Miall, p.368. CHST, 18, p.138.

## Appendix F - Westmorland

Unlike Cumberland, Westmorland has received far more analysis from historians, owing to the small size of the sample of nonconformist churches involved and the wealth of material extant in Lord Wharton's correspondence in the Rawlinson/Carte manuscripts at the Bodleian. The most notable secondary works are Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, The Older Nonconformity in Kendal, (Kendal, 1915) and Alan P.F.Sell, Church Planting: A Study of Westmorland Nonconformity, (Worthing, 1986).

### F. 1 Protestant Dissenting Churches founded 1689-c. 1750

#### F 1. 1 Kendal

**William Pendlebury M.A. (1701-1706)**- Son of James Pendlebury of Turton, Lancashire. Student of Frankland (January 1699) and Chorlton's Manchester Academy (April 1699- ?). No evidence in any of the graduation rolls of the Scottish universities of his having graduated. January, 1702, the managers of the Presbyterian Fund increased his allowance from £6 to £10.<sup>449</sup> Only known published work The practical influences of the speculative doctrine of Christianity demonstrated. In a Discourse upon 1 Timothy vi.3. Moved to Mill Hill, Leeds. Died Bath, 23rd of September, 1729.<sup>450</sup> Note that he took part in the ordination of the Rev. James Milne to Walmsley, Lancashire, on the 30th of June, 1709. Nightingale reproduces the certificate.<sup>451</sup>

**Samuel Audland (1709-1714)**- Trained by Frankland and Chorlton. Minister at Penruddock, Cumberland (Appendix E 2.10). Died Kendal, 24th of October, 1714.

**Caleb Rotherham (1716-1752)**- Born Great Salkeld, Cumberland. 7th of March, 1694. Trained by Dixon of Whitehaven. Kendal chapel built in 1720. Conducted Academy, (1733- 1752). Admitted to degree M.A. at Edinburgh on the 27th of May, 1743, proceeding at once to his D.D., awarded for his public defence of his thesis on the evidences of the Christian religion Dissertatio...de Religionis Christianae Evidentia, (1743). Died Hexham, 8th June, 1752, aged 59. Funeral sermon by the Rev.

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<sup>449</sup> ONK, pp.238-239.

<sup>450</sup> LN, Vol. 1, p.281.

<sup>451</sup> LN, Vol.3, p.54. Hunterian MSS, British Library, add. MS 244[8]84 has his ancestors genealogy.



James Daye, of Lancaster preached on the 14th of June, The Christian's service compleated with honour, (1752). Eight letters from Rotherham to George Benson and two to E. Blackstock, including letters from Samuel Nicholson to John Nicholson discussing Rotherham, 1731-1751, in the Unitarian College Collection.<sup>452</sup> The Evans List says 1716 Caleb Rotherham, £7 from Presbyterian Fund. 10 Gentlemen the rest yeomen and tradesmen. Hearers 100 (Nesbitt) , 205 (Dixon). 12 or 15 county voters and one Lancashire county voter. One borough voter at Lancaster.

**Caleb Rotherham junior (ord. 25th of August, 1756-d. 30th of January, 1796)-** Ordination sermon by Samuel Lowthion of Newcastle, published The Reasonableness and Advantage of allowing Ministers to deliver their sentiments in Freedom.

Subsequent ministers: John Harrison (1796-d. 1833); E. Hawkes M.A. (1833-d.1866); J.E. Odgers (1866-1868); John Russell (1867-1874); William Birks ; James Macdonald.

#### **F1. 2a Ravenstonedale**

**Timothy Puncheon-** Frankland Student Feb.19th. 1688, having already graduated M.A. Edinburgh 1686. In receipt of the Presbyterian Fund grant, 1690-1693.<sup>453</sup> At some point he removed to Riveley, or Branton, Northumberland. Buried Alnwick, Northumberland, 29th December, 1716, will proved in Durham 1717.<sup>454</sup>

**James Mitchell (1697-1712)-** Frankland student, married Ravenstonedale 24th of August 1697. Presbyterian Fund grant 1704-1711. Buried Ravenstonedale, 15th of September, 1712.<sup>455</sup>

Pulpit vacant in 1713. Here Nicholson and Axon say that the Presbyterian Fund grant was orded to be paid to Caleb Rotherham and his successor, Malleeson.

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<sup>452</sup> UCC/JRL/cupb. B1. 36

<sup>453</sup> Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, 'The Ancient Meeting-House at Ravenstonedale', TCHS, Vol. 4, no.1, January 1909, p.59. I rely here on ther information from the Presbyterian Fund minutes, which was submitted to correct allegedly false assumptions in the article by the Rev. T. G. Crippen and Rev. J. H. Colligan, 'The Ancient Meeting House at Ravenstonedale', TCHS, Vol. 3, 1907-08, p.91. Nicholson and Axon suggest that because of the succession of Kendal students after the secession the rift lasted longer than 1722 but it ismore likely that accomodation was reached and the only available source of supply was used.

<sup>454</sup> Crippen & Colligan, 'The Ancient Mceting-house', p.93. ONK, p. 570

<sup>455</sup> Metcalf, Ravenstonedale Registers.

**John Magee (1713/14-1732-1743)-** Irish ? Ordained 14th of April, 1714. Secession took place during his ministry over doctrine. Continued with most of the congregation, built chapel in 1726. Retired in 1732. Possibly Irish; Dale and Crippen say that he died around September, 1743, probably on a journey to Ireland.

The Evans List records Caleb Rotherham removed to Kendal 1716, then James Mallinson and beside them the £10 from the Presbyterian Fund crossed out and then John Magee with a grant from the Independent Fund. Nesbitt seems to suggest that the secesion had 89 hearers and Magee 220. Dixon's figure is 300 hearers but may refer to both sides of the schism. Only 3 county voters are recorded. Four gentlemen, the rest tenants under Lord Wharton. Crippen and Colligan after reading these runes are sure that Mallinson only remained a few months and removed to Howden in the East Riding for the next thirty years.

There is evidence from the Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden of Chipping, Lancashire, for the year 1733 that elements of the Ravenstonedale church wanted him to be their minister. In his entry for the date February 11th, 1733, Walkden read a letter from Ravenstonedale dated the 22nd of January:

Revrd Sir.

Mr McMurray Encouraged us yt there was a probability of prevailing wth you to come and Give us a Sermon, which would be very acceptable to us, Therefore if you would be so kind as to come and Give us a Sermon on ye 3rd Lords day in February, which will be ye 18th day, you will meet with a wellcome reception, and shall be rewarded for your pains, and if you could Tarry Two Lords day amongst us. you would so much more oblige your friends in Revenstonedale. These are all from your Loveing friends John Perkins, John Bell, John shaw, John Hewetson. P.S. You are desired to come to John Shaw's at Revenstonedale Town.<sup>456</sup>

Walkden did not supply the sermon on the 18th. He wrote back to John Shaw on Tuesday the 1st of March and despatched the letter by carrier on the 4th of March. On Sunday the 8th of April he gave notice at the Hesketh Lane chapel that he would preach at Ravenstonedale in a fortnight. He set out on Wednesday the 18th of April and preached in private houses in Lancaster on the way. On Friday he stayed with the Rev. McMurray in Garsdale, arrived in Ravenstonedale on the Saturday and

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<sup>456</sup> Transcript Walkden Diary, 1733-34, January/February 1733.



preached in the chapel on the Sunday, April the 22nd. 1733. As he was getting ready to leave the following Tuesday

John Shaw came with me to ye street, where he gave me a pint of Ale, and askt what I thot as Givenig Revenstonedale people Encouragement to be their Pastor if ye Gave me a call: I said I could not Give him Answer here to till I had confirmed with my friends and family: and Knew what ye people wod do for my Encouragement, but I wod send him account how I Got home, and what my wife said, and other friends. So he Gave me 5s for what I had done, which I told him was too Little, considering what a length my journey was and what I haddone. he owned it was. but hecould do no more at present being much out of Pocket which he knew not how to get in again.<sup>457</sup>

Obviously times were hard for the Ravenstonedale Dissenters. Walkden wrote to John Shaw on Sunday May the 20th. 1733, presumably declining the offer of the pastorate.

**James Ritchie M.D. (1736?-42?)**- Scottish, degree at Glasgow University. Litigation during his ministry because he was suspected of having reservations concerning the 1647 Confession of Faith. He was ejected by the trustees but got possession of the Meeting-house and his stipend through the court of Chancery. Mention litigation relating to this in the Library of New College. Spent most of his time ministering at Alston, Great Salkeld and Plumpton, Cumberland. By 1753 he was Arian and had removed to Mixenden, near Halifax. Magee continued in oversight until his death in 1743. No further Presbyterian Fund grant was made until 1736 and this was to Ritchie, occuring annually until 1742.

Crippen and Dale note that in the Joshua Wilson papers in the Congregational Library there is a mention of one 'Welsh' in Russendale, 1742. This could be Rossendale, Lancashire. It is clear that there was a desperate attempt to get an orthodox minister, a letter 1st July. 1743, the Rev. James Scott of Horton-in- Craven was called by three named elders and 34 church members but he declined and soon moved to Tockholes, Lancashire.

**Robert Simpson? (1745?)**- There is some evidence from letters that he was minister or ministerial candidate here at this date, but this is probably Robert Simpson.

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<sup>457</sup> Transcript Walkden Diary, 1733-34, April 1733 lines 767 to 774.

**John Hardy**-Rotherham student at Kendal. Grants were made to him for midsummer 1743. In 1751 in receipt of the P.F. Minister of Horwich, Lancashire, (1751-1754). Arian.<sup>458</sup>

**Samuel Lowthion**- Presbyterian Fund grant was made to him for midsummer 1744. Born Penruddock, educated at Kendal, (1740-44). Minister in Penrith after a short ministry at Ravenstonedale. Subsequently kept an academy at Newcastle, leading New Scheme preacher.

**John Blackburn** (1745- 1747 or 1749)- Rotherham student at Kendal. Possibly a native of Ravenstonedale, probationer in South Shields in 1744. Presbyterian Fund grant made midsummer 1745, continuing until at least 1751, Blackburn being the last named minister. If the grant continued to 1751, who was it going to? The Crook and Hartbarrow grants were from the Presbyterian Fund were transferred to him here in early 1746, (Appendix F 1. 3). Trained by Rotherham at Kendal, (1738-1741).<sup>459</sup> Crippen and Dale say he had left for King John's Court, Southwark, (George Benson's former church 1729-1740), in 1747 and published two sermons in Reflections on Government and Loyalty: Thanksgiving Sermon Preached at St. John's Court, April 25th, 1749 and Funeral Sermon, (1753) and edited the posthumous work of Hopton Haynes, assay master of the mint, A Scripture Account of the Attributes and Worship of God, and of the character and Offices of Jesus Christ, (1750), which was said to have been uncompromisingly Unitarian.

**Richard Simpson** (Here no earlier than 1747)- Trained by Doddridge at Northampton, (1745-?). According to Nightingale he might have been here, Crippen and Dale saying he was at Stainton, Westmorland. (Appendix F1. 4), from whence he removed in 1763 to Warley near Halifax. Dale and Crippen say that his preaching was intensely evangelical. Publ. posthumous sermons Seven Practical and Experimental Sermons. To muddy the waters, Colligan suggests that this was the Richard Simpson who was Dr. Rotherham's assistant at the time at Kendal and that his ministry was at Stainton.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> ONK., p.623. LN, Vol. 3, pp.104-105.

<sup>459</sup> ONK., p.615.

<sup>460</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland'. p.219.



Of the four letters from John Birkett to Philip Doddridge in Northampton two concern Richard Simpson. One on the 12th of January, 1745, from Poolbank 'conveys a friend's commendation of Richard Simpson, of "the northernmost part of Westmorland", "a religious Ingenius Young Man in the 21 Year of his Age who had design'd for the Ministry but was oblig'd to take up with teaching a School being but poor". A letter from Kendal on the 9th of September, 1745, maintains that Birkett was grieved with Richard Simpson's behaviour, who formerly taught school in Barnard Castle and notes that as he needed recommendations of two ministers, Birkett referred him to his nearest neighbour, David McMurray at Garsdale and James Scott at Horton-in-Craven.<sup>461</sup> As the nearest congregation to Garsdale was Ravenstonedale, this would suggest that Simpson was minister at Ravenstonedale, 1745, or that he was in training with Doddridge to be their minister and he may have come from Ravenstonedale.

**William Scott (1762-1764)-** Church of Scotland, Licentiate of the Presbytery of Dalkeith on the 2nd of December, 1760, ordained at Ravenstonedale by the Presbyterian Class of Newcastle on the 6th of October 1762. Removed to Abbots Rule near Jedburgh, Scotland, 1764.<sup>462</sup>

**James Tetley (1767-1774)-** Heckmondwick student, described in Nonconformity in Idle as being the younger James Tetley, 'Sowerby, 1762'.<sup>463</sup> Not connected with the Cumberland provincial, ordained Selby Ord at Cockermouth. Lewis, The Congregational Church at Cockermouth, in an entry for April 5th, 1767, says the ministers of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association would not ordain Ord, who had been with them for a year, so they applied to Tetley 'who is not in connection with the Cumberland provincial, who indulged us with the favor to come and preach to us, and administered both ordinances, the Lord's Supper, and Baptised children, which our orthodox had denied us.'<sup>464</sup>

**James Sommerville (1775-1781)-** From Pitmuir, Berwickshire, Scotland. Had spent ten years at Edinburgh University. Licensed by the Presbytery of Lauder, Church of Scotland, December.

<sup>461</sup> G. F. Nuttall, The Calendar of Correspondence of Philip Doddridge D.D., (1702-1751), (1979), pp.210, 221.

<sup>462</sup> Dale & Crippen, 'The Ancient Meeting-house', p.97.

<sup>463</sup> J. Horsfall Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, p.119.

<sup>464</sup> LN, Vol. 1, pp.295, 313.

1771. On the recommendation of the Rev. James Scott of Heckmondwick he ministered to the Stainton, Westmorland, congregation for two and a half years c. 1772-1775. First sermon at Ravenstonedale on Acts x. 29, 28th of May, 1775. Ordained 27th of September, officiating Selby Ord. Cockermouth; A. Allatt, Forton; Luke Prattman of Cotherstone. Called to Branton, Northumberland. 1781, farewell sermon 21st of March, from Acts xx. 32. Had received £40 stipend. 1777 married Isabella Sprott in Scotland. Chapel register begins in 1777. Dale and Crippen say he moved to Branton in 1784. died there 8th of July, 1808, aged 65.<sup>465</sup> At Branton he catechised and took an interest in the ministerial career of William Vint, who was subsequently the minister of the Congregational Church at Idle in the West Riding, (1791-1834).<sup>466</sup>

Smith (1784-1790)- nothing known. Surman 1409 has James.

John Hill (1790-1809)- Born 1753. Trained Mile End Academy, London, under the tutors the Revs. Jos. Barber, S. Brewer and John Kello. Completed course 1780-81? Minister at Preston and Haslingden, Lancashire. Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Carlisle, (1787-1790). Called by 34 church members. in church book. Started Sunday School 1793. Built Sunday School 1802. Hill's evangelism in Dent led to the conversion of James Batty and the formation of the Dent Congregational church on the 31st of March 1809. Hill died 26th of November, 1809, aged 77.<sup>467</sup>

James Muscutt (1811-1815)- Hackney student, first ministry at Darlington. Accepted the call to Ravenstonedale on the basis that the church would be organized on Congregational principles. Ord. June 12th. 1811. 1815 removed to Cockermouth, where he died August the 7th 1819. aged 34.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> LN, Vol. 1, pp.313-4; Evangelical Magazine for 1808, p.392; 1809, p.45. 54. Scott. Fasti. Vol.7, pp.507, 523.

<sup>466</sup> J. Horsfall Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, with the History of Airedale College. (Bradford. 1876). p.59.

<sup>467</sup> Evangelical Magazine, 1809, p.47. LN, Vol. 1, p.314. Crippen & Dale, 'The Ancient Meeting-house', pp.98-99. Thomas Whitehead, History of the Dales Congregational Churches. (Keighley, 1930). p.258.

<sup>468</sup> W. Nicholls. History and Traditions of Ravenstonedale. (Manchester, 1877) p.83.



R. H. Bonner (1815-1835); Wm. Hassell [Hessle] (1836)- Described as W.Hessle, trained at Airedale College in the new building at Undercliffe, opened in 1834.<sup>469</sup> Seceeded to the Wesleyans with a considerable proportion of the congregation building a chapel in 1839. Sedgwick (1837); Bryan (1844); W.Matthison (1846-1856); Joseph Barnfather (1863-67)- Subsequently minister Dent, (1867-77) and Parkhead, (1878-88). See entry for Parkhead/Kirkoswald. Robert Pool (1868-9)- Born Annan, Dumfrieshire, 11th of February, 1832. Evangelist in Caldbeck, Cumberland. Minister in Parton, Cumberland, before coming to Ravenstonedale. Subsequently minister at Sedbergh, Yorkshire, (1869-74) and Shelley, Yorkshire, (1874-94).<sup>470</sup>

#### **F 1. 2b Ravenstonedale secession 1714-1722**

Secession overseen by Dr. Dixon of Whitehaven. Ministered to by Caleb Rotherham (1714-1716) and then by James Malleeson, from Blennerhasset. Probably ended with the cessation of the grant from the Presbyterian Fund in 1723. Nicholson and Axon say that the grant was made until 1722.

#### **F 1. 2b Crosby Garrett Independent/Baptist, c. 1754**

Sell notes that Joseph Richardson of Mossgill House licensed his home on the 7th of October, 1754, for Dissenting worship and subsequently an Independent Chapel was built by converting adjacent farm buildings. It was Independent and closely associated with the Ravenstonedale congregation in the neighbouring parish. It is doubtful if it had a separte minister. Nicholson and Burn record nine Dissenting families in 1777. Nancy Richardson of Mossgill House, Ravenstonedale, married the Baptist merchant George Greenwood in 1804 and Baptist influence increased in the church. with a Baptist church eventually forming. Until 1856 both the Independents and the Baptists used the chapel, the Ravenstonedale minister preaching on alternate Sundays.<sup>471</sup>

#### **F1. 3 Crook**

Both Crook and Stainton were associated with Kendal. Both are five miles equidistant from Kendal and probably developed under the strictures of the Five Mile Act. Moss Side, Crosthwaite, the house

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<sup>469</sup> Turner, Idle, p.139.

<sup>470</sup> Surman, 1226.

<sup>471</sup> Sell, p.95-6.

of James Garnett, registered 15th of January, 1692.<sup>472</sup> Richard Frankland's will of 1698 left money for sermons to be read at either Stainton, Kendal and Crook and the other at Attercliffe or Rathmell.<sup>473</sup> Sell notes that Nightingale in The Ejected suggested that Frankland evangelized the area when based at Hartbarrow, in association with Gabriel Camelford, who was later to minister at Tottlebank. (Appendix B. 2). Sell notes that Nicholson and Axon conclusively proved that Camelford was ejected from Staveley-in-Cartmel, Lancashire, not Staveley, Westmorland but this would geographically increase the likelihood of Camelford's involvement, not diminish it. Colligan has the congregation as Presbyterian.<sup>474</sup>

**John Atkinson**-Trained by Frankland he went to the Congregational church at Cockermouth, Cumberland. (Appendix E 2. 3), on the 5th of October, 1701. Nicholson and Axon say that it is almost impossible to differentiate the two John Atkinsons who entered the Academy the same year. 'Johannes Atkinson, Anglus peregrinus e Lancastria' graduated M.A. at Edinburgh 29th of March, 1699, and John Atkinson entered Chorlton's Academy Manchester on the 26th of June, 1699. John Atkinson of Crook was mentioned in May 1701 under the description of a 'Presbiterian priest' and a 'Presbyterian minister' as being in trouble for preaching without a licence. The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund recorded that on 'January 5th. 1701-2, Agreed [name not given] and Crook nere Kendall 3 miles each in Westmorland have two ministers and to lessen the Allowance of Kendall from £24 to £17'.<sup>475</sup>

**Mr. Stevenson**- Named as minister in 1704 in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board.

**Samuel Bourne (1711-1719)**- Born in 1689 in Calne, Wiltshire. Son of Samuel Bourne the elder, of whom Nightingale says he was nephew to his predecessor at Bolton, Robert Seddon. Began ministry

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<sup>472</sup> Sell, p.30.

<sup>473</sup> Sell, p.43.

<sup>474</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', map.

<sup>475</sup> Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1289.



Bolton c.1696- d.1719. Funeral sermon by his son the Rev. Samuel Bourne, from II Kings, ii, 3. A scarce small volume of sermons of his was published by his son in 1722.<sup>476</sup>

Samuel Bourne the younger trained at Chorlton's Manchester Academy and his first settlement was at Crook. Several local ministers boycotted his ordination in 1711 because he refused to subscribe to the Westminster Shorter Catechism.<sup>477</sup> Nicholson and Axon noted that some of his congregants at Crook were Baptists and he made account of their views by devising a service of infant dedication.<sup>478</sup> Became Arian c.1719. 1720 succeeded Henry Winder at Tunley, Lancashire. Received call from Park Lane chapel, Wigan, Lancashire, 1725.<sup>479</sup> Accepted call to Chorley, Lancashire, dated 29. 12. 1727. 7th May, 1731 he was chosen one of the Monday lecturers at Bolton. 19th of April, 1732 he preached the opening sermon at the New Meeting, Birmingham, and on the 21st and 23rd of April he was called to be co-pastor with Thomas Pickard in charge of the Birmingham congregation and the larger one at Coseley. Running battle with local Anglican gentry. Controversialist with the more orthodox. See DNB for his catechisms and his Anti- Popery works. Good friend of Job Orton at Shrewsbury.

The Evans List records a £5 grant from the Presbyterian Fund, describes the congregation as 4 gentlemen, the rest yeomen and tradesmen. Hearers are recorded as 40 (Nesbitt) and 130 (Dixon). There are 5 Lancashire county voters, 1 Westmorland county voter, and 1 Wiltshire county voter. There was one voter in the borough election at Lancaster.

Henry Knight (1719)- received Presbyterian Fund grant in 1719 or Crook and 'Harborough' (Hartbarrow in Cartmel, Lancashire, Appendix C 1. 1). Removed about 1724 according to Nightingale in The Ejected.<sup>480</sup> The Evans List has the date 1719 with his name circled which is often an indication of the leaving date. As Bourne left in 1719 as well this may indicate that he was only here for one year at most. The next we know of him he was invited to preach two Sundays at Dob Lane Chapel, Failsworth, Newton Parish, close to Manchester on the 8th and 15th of November, 1724.

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<sup>476</sup> In Bolton Free Library. LN, Vol. 3, pp.6-7. Toulmin, Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bourne, (1808), p.2.

<sup>477</sup> Sell, p.43; Sell, 'Eighteenth Century Presbyterianism', p.365; English Presbyterians, p. 135. Sell, 'A Little Friendly Light: the Candour of Bourne, Taylor and Towgood'.

<sup>478</sup> ONK, p.441.

<sup>479</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Samuel Bourne the younger (1689-1754)', DNB, 2. pp.933-935.

<sup>480</sup> Page 1290

He became minister at Dob Lane soon after and remained until 1739. when he subsequently became minister of the Cross Street Chapel, Sale, Cheshire.<sup>481</sup> There are four mentions of him made in Richard Kay's Diary, the last being from the 22nd of October, 1742, when he officiated at the ordination of John Seddon to Cross Street, Manchester, examining the candidate.<sup>482</sup>

**Abraham Ainsworth**-mentioned as successor in October, 1725.

**John Helme senior (1731-34)**-A great deal of confusion has emerged in mistaking the details of this divine with those of his son of the same name. The first evidence of John Helme senior that has come to my attention is from the Diary of the Rev. Peter Walkden for Sunday August the 31st, 1729. 'Mr.Helm' is described as schoolmaster near Houghton Tower. He was examined at Preston for entry into the ministry and was approved, asking to preach at Hesketh Lane.<sup>483</sup> He is mentioned in the Diary in other places<sup>484</sup> and preached at Hesketh Lane on Sunday the 12th of October, 1729, and at Newton on the 1st of January, 1730.<sup>485</sup> On April the 1st, 1730, Walkden notes that 'Mr.Helm called on me, in his return out of the north'.<sup>486</sup> This, one would assume, was on a trip to the chapel at Crook to preach as a candidate. A letter from John Helme to George Benson at the King John's Court Chapel Southwark, survives, dated the 20th of November, 1730.<sup>487</sup> One assumes the substance of this was ensuring a grant from the Common/Presbyterian Fund. Nicholson and Axon, using the Common/Presbyterian Fund Minutes were of the opinion he was minister at Crook from at least the 5th of April, 1731, the Minutes indicating that 'the allowance to Crook be continued to Mr.Helm from the time of his settlement'. He is named as minister there in 1732. In 1733 no ministers name is given and the Fund grant was transferred to John Jackson on the 6th of May, 1734.<sup>488</sup> So, in the

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<sup>481</sup> Alexander Gordon, Historical Account of Dob Lane Chapel, Failsworth and its Schools, (Manchester, 1904), p.29.

<sup>482</sup> Brockbank and Kenworthy (eds), The Diary of Richard Kay, pp.14, 21, 50, 55; October 2nd, 1737 he was absent from the afternoon service at Newton Heath; February 27th, 1738 preached a funeral at Newton; June 6th, 1742, preaching at Lancaster.

<sup>483</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, p.38.

<sup>484</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, pp.43, 77,89, 97, 98.

<sup>485</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, pp.49, 90.

<sup>486</sup> Peter Walkden's Diary, p.107.

<sup>487</sup> UCC/JRL/cupb.B.19 Benson Letters 1.

<sup>488</sup> ONK, p.442. Common/Presbyterian Fund Minutes, DWL, Vol. 3, pp.143, 151, 166, 191, 196, 215, 234, 251. Nightingale, The Ejected, p.1290.



period 1729-30 he was a candidate and between 1731-34 minister of Crook. G.E.Evans says he was minister at Lancaster at some point before 1738 but on what grounds is not known.<sup>489</sup> The Congregational Magazine for 1822 says that he was the minister of Penruddock 1741-50 and says that he went to Lancaster in 1750, though not as minister. The Rev.James Daye had been minister in Lancaster since c.1736 or 1738, so he was not the incumbent minister. There is a long period of uncertainty at the Lancaster congregation c.1724-38 (see appendix Tatham C 1. 3) which does not preclude Helme being there between 1734-38. Helme must have gone to Penruddock at some point between 1728 when we know Samuel Atkinson was there and 1749 when we know John Dickenson was there. We know he left Crook in 1734. At some point between then and 1749 he was at Penruddock and may have been at Lancaster.

He moved to the Walmsley chapel in Lancashire next. Nightingale was of the opinion he moved there in 1750 but the chapel memorial tablet says he was there in 1745. As no mention of him is made in Richard Kay's Diary which ends in 1750 and makes frequent mention of sermons at Walmsley, I would suggest he was not there until 1750.<sup>490</sup> He practiced medicine, was a noted opponent of the Methodists and died on the 1st of February, 1760, aged 60, putting his date of birth c.1700.<sup>491</sup> For his son John Helme junior who was Minister in Great Salkeld, Cumberland see Appendix E 2. 11.

**John Jackson-** received a grant in 1734 from the Presbyterian Fund of £5 for Crook and Hartbarrow.

In 1738 there was no minister. March 3rd, 1746, Presbyterian Fund minutes record

'At the motion of Dr Benson agreed that the allowance formerly made to Crook and Harborough be granted to Mr Jno. Blackburn at Russendale [Appendix F1.2a] from Midsummer last til the congregation at Crook and Harborough revive'.

Minutes of the congregational Fund Board under Lancashire record Mr. Webster at Hartbarrow with a £6 grant. 2nd of March, 1747.

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<sup>489</sup> Evans, Vestiges, p.126.

<sup>490</sup> Brockbank and Kenworthy, (eds), The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716-51, (Chetham Soc., Manchester 1968). There are no entries in the Diary after July 1750.

<sup>491</sup> Kenworthy, 'Walmsley', p.59. He noted that Nightingale confused Helme senior with his son, saying he was trained at Kendal. See also Alexander Gordon, 'John Helme senior', The Christian Life, 1906, Vol. 32. p.223.

#### **F 1. 4 Stainton**

In 1672 two licences were taken out for Presbyterians for houses in Heversham parish, most likely one for Milnethorpe and the other for Stainton. Richard Frankland was called to minister at Natland, (1674-83), where he also ran his academy. Work begun on chapel 1697, opened 1698. John Hind's house, Stainton licensed 13th of January, 1698.<sup>492</sup> Colligan says built in 1697, though as Nicholson and Axon pointed out care should be exercised with what he and Nightingale surmized about the first known minister.<sup>493</sup>

**John Atkinson (1708-1726)-** Took Oath of Allegiance Summer of 1708.<sup>494</sup> Was the champion of the orthodox party in the Cumberland Westmorland Association. Nightingale suggests that he wrote the Sketch of John Noble's life appended to Samuel Audland's sermon.

**Evans List** gives it respectively 72 hearers (Mr Nesbitt) or 86 hearers (Thomas Dixon), with either 10 or 11 county voters. the congregants described as mostly yeoman farmers and labourers. The grant is from the 'I.F', ie the Congregational Fund.

**Kilpatrick/Kirkpatrick- Scottish.** Nightingale in The Ejected says his name was John.

**James Scott (1739-41)- Scottish**

**Richard Simpson-** Student of Doddridge at Northampton. Dale and Crippen say he was here, leaving for Warley near Halifax in 1763, though on what authority it is not clear. Nightingale only mentions him being at Ravenstonedale. (Appendix F 1. 2a). Nicholson and Axon only have evidence for him for continuing Rotherham's Academy for a short while in 1753, with entries for him in the Kendal register for 1755 and 1756. They say he was minister in Warley from 1764 until his death in 1796 and that the Warley church was Presbyterian/ Unitarian but subsequently became Congregational.<sup>495</sup> They

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<sup>492</sup> Sell. Church Planting, p.30. LN, p.291; ONK, Ch. 13.

<sup>493</sup> Colligan, 'Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland', p.220. ONK, p. 604, 284ff.

<sup>494</sup> Kendal Indictment Book.

<sup>495</sup> ONK, pp. 330-331. Miall, p.377.



note that Thomas Dickinson, formerly of Alston, Cumberland, (Appendix E 2. 1) may have been ministering here up to c. 1754.

**James Sommerville (October 1772-1775)- Scottish, Church of Scotland.** Subsequently minister at Ravenstonedale (Appendix F 1. 2a).

The Thompson manuscripts said in 1772 that 'the congregation at Stainton is reduced very low by the decay of some families and the removal of others. Their numbers do not exceed 30 or 40.' George Burder of Lancaster visited the chapel on the 21st of November, 1779, and claimed that the cause was almost deserted.<sup>496</sup>

#### **F 1. 4 Burton-in-Kendal (Burton Parish) / Milnthorpe (Heversham Parish ?)**

These two congregations mentioned in the Presbyterian Fund survey of 1690-92 were probably linked to missionary efforts under the elderly Benson in north Lancashire (Appendix C 1. 3 **Carnforth/Tatham/Nether Kellet**). 'Ministers yt have A competent Supply mr Benson mr Darnley-Neare Burton. hath a Congregation At Kendall, for the present hath a considerable Company he is a young man [Darnley], hath 231 p Ann they want a Meeting house', '1691 Milthrop- and places adjacent, far remote from any meetings of nonconformists, have lived long under a careless Ministry, are like to perish for lack of knowledge desire some alloweance may be afforded to them to incourage Some awakening Ministers to come in their turns once a month- augt ye 24, 1691.'<sup>497</sup> Thomas Jolly received £8 from the Common Fund from the 31st of August to June, 1693, to preach at Milnthorpe.<sup>498</sup> There is no mention of these congregations in the Evans List Survey so I am assuming they were extinct by 1717. Thomas Jollie's note book indicates that the whole evangelical effort north of Lancaster was struggling from the moment of its inception and it is likely these congregations did not long survive the death of Benson.

Nightingale's notes for Heversham Parish record that John Wallace was ejected from the living in 1663 and the and the former sequestered minister Thomas Bigge returned c.1661- d.1677. Prosecuted Quakers for non-payment of tithes 1664. Nicholson and Axon note that licences were taken out for

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<sup>496</sup> Sell, Church Planting, p.44. H.F.Burder, Memoirs of the Rev. George Burder, (1833), p.83.

<sup>497</sup> Gordon, Freedom After Ejection, pp.121-122.

<sup>498</sup> ONK, p.230.

the houses of John Hind and Edward Bridges in Heversham in 1672.<sup>499</sup> It seems likely that nonconformist elements in this area gravitated towards the Stainton and Kendal chapels.

### Chapels founded after 1750 in Westmorland.

#### **F 2. 1 Kendal Associate (Anti- Burgher) Presbyterian church f. 1763**

In 1763 'Seceders and others, well-wishers to the cause of truth and the reformation' petitioned the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery of Edinburgh. Thirty one people seceded from the Old Chapel, Market Place, on account of the Unitarianism preached there by Caleb Rotherham junior. Sell notes that the petition does not survive and so it is not certain that they came from the old Kendal Presbyterian chapel.<sup>500</sup> Chapel built c.1764.<sup>501</sup> The First minister was James M'Quhae (1765-1771)-Ordained 1765. He became a Congregationalist in 1771. Along with adherents he retained the property, despite the trust deed stating the chapel could only be held by Presbyterians. Presbyterian party bought out the Independent party, who proceeded to build their own church in Lowther Street. M'Quhae moved to the old Protestant Dissenting congregation at Tockholes, Lancashire. (1771-1777) and then founded the Independent church in Blackburn, Lancashire, (1777-1804).

**Thomas Simpson (1774-1780)-** From Loreburn Street, Dumfries. Ordained 14th of December, 1774. Resigned 1780. Studied medicine, afterwards a surgeon in Preston, Lancashire, where he died. 1784-5.

**Francis Rattray** possibly preached here in 1789 before becoming minister in Sheffield. Subsequently at Blennerhassett (Appendix E 2. 2). For a period of 20 years the congregation remained without a minister. Miss Kirkland, a linen draper of Kirkland, left £50 for a minister to officiate in the summer. She had been accustomed to attend the communion season in Secession churches in Scotland. Chapel

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<sup>499</sup> ONK, p. 234.

<sup>500</sup> Sell, p.42.

<sup>501</sup> LN, Vol. 1, pp. 284-290. MacKelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, pp. 480-483.



sold in 1806. A loan of £100 from Abraham Williamson of Keswick enabled them to buy it back but they could not maintain this and it was sold again in 1812 to pay back the money lent them by a Church of England minister in the buying-out of the Independent faction. Abraham Williamson, on travelling through Kendal, gave them the money to re-purchase. Bought the theatre in Woolpack Yard and converted it. The recently formed United Secession Church took a renewed interest in this congregation and the Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle sent preachers in 1823. Services were held in the crown inn and then from November, 1823 in the old theatre in Woolpack yard.<sup>502</sup>

**Alexander Marshall (1825-1828)**- from Stow. Ordained 13th of July, 1825. Died 22nd of January, 1828. age 28. Sunday School opened 1826. Preached in Ambleside, hoping to start a church there. Itinerated around Kendal.

**Robert Wilson A.M., D.D., (1828-1833)**- From Broughton Place, Edinburgh. Called to St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Ord. 25th of December, 1828. Fund raising in Scotland to remove debt. He was said to have lectured provocatively on removing Unitarians from formerly Trinitarian chapels and trusts. Moved to Greenock, Nicolson Street, 20th of June, 1833. Author of The Shorter Catechism in Verse, (1828).

**Henry Calderwood LL.D., (1834-1838)**- From Peebles East. Ord. 28th of May, 1834. Resigned, 24th of April, 1838, accepting the call to missionary work for the LMS. Civil Commissioner, Victoria, South Africa. LL.D. from Edinburgh. Author of Caffres and Caffre Missions: with a Preliminary Chapter on Cape Colony, as a field for emigration and basis of Missionary Operations.

**John Guthrie A.M. (1840-1843)**- Seceded to form the Evangelical Union, taking most of the congregation with him in 1844 to a separate Evangelical Union church in Kendal. **John Inglis (1845-1858)**- from Perth North. Ord. 13th of August, 1845, after being a missionary in Kendal for year and a half. Retired through ill-health 19th of January, 1858. Became manager of Savings Bank. Author of Reminiscences of the United Presbyterian Church in Kendal. **Hugh Wallace (1859)**.

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<sup>502</sup> Sell, p.90.

## **F 2. 2 Kendal Independent, Lowther Street, f. 1771.**

The Independent remnant met in an old building in Stricklandgate, adjoining the Seven Stars Inn. George Burder. (Lancaster) and Daniel Gibbons. (Ulverston), met on the 9th of June, 1779, and took the old Kendal playhouse for a year. 1781 new chapel built in Lowther Street, then called New Street. The Kendal Unitarian congregation donated some of the money.<sup>503</sup> There is uncertainty over the first ministers:

**James Kenworthy** (16th of August, 1783, for a short time). **Daniel Gray**, a preacher for the Countess of Huntingdon was in Kendal 1782-1795 but was rejected by the Independent congregation. Was also minister at Bootle. Cumberland.<sup>504</sup> Sell was of the opinion that he was ministering to a separte congregation of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. **Mr. Houlton**. **Francis Rattray** possibly preached here in 1789 before becoming the minister of Howard Street Chapel, Sheffield. Rattray was minister in Blennerhssett in 1795 (Appendix E 2. 2). **Thomas Gritton** (1793?-1795?)- Surman says 1797-99. See entry for Keswick, Appendix E 2. 4. **Luke Collins** (? -1801?). Unsuccessfully called the Rev. T. Burton of Rotherham College. Declined. **James Kay** (1801-1810)- became a Unitarian Baptist in Kendal. **Robert MacLean** (1810?). **William Colefax** (?-1822)-Idle Academy student, described as of 'Kendal, Hexham, 1821, Pudsey'.<sup>505</sup> **John Jefferson** (1822-1825). **David Jones** (1826-1861)-Student from Idle Academy.<sup>506</sup> February, 1862, funds sought from the Lancashire Congregatonal Union to stop the church closing. **William Nicholls** (Sept. 1862-Summer, 1867)- Sent by the LCU for six months. Re-established the church on a sound footing. **John Peill** (1867-1874); **W. Burrows** (1875-1881); **H. W. Mote** (1881-1884); **W. Hudson** (April, 1885). Sell says the cause made its last appearance in the CYB in 1928.

**F 2. 3-Kendal Unitarian Baptist Church (1810-c. 1817)**- Rev. James Kay became a Unitarian and Baptist whilst minister of the Lowther Street Independent congregation. Led a congregation in the Caledonian Room. Market Place. Left to minister in Lancashire for the methodist Unitarians. Church members were absorbed into the Market Place Unitarian church.<sup>507</sup>

<sup>503</sup> LN, Vol. 1, pp.284-290. Sell, pp.42-43.

<sup>504</sup> Sell, pp.61-64.

<sup>505</sup> Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, p.123.

<sup>506</sup> Turner, Nonconformity in Idle, p.123.

<sup>507</sup> Sell, pp.74-5.



**F 2. 4-Appleby Congregational, f. 1811**- Itinerancy instituted in the area in 1811 and a church formed with sixteen members. William Selby minister there in 1827, with oversight of Temple Sowerby.<sup>508</sup>

**F 2. 5-Temple Sowerby Congregational (f. 1813-56)**- Home missionary station. Building converted into a church 1813. Appeared in the CYB for the last time in 1856.<sup>509</sup>

**F 2. 6-Kirkby Stephen, 1814**-Purchased the old Sandemanian chapel that had been used by the Baptists in New Inn Yard. John Capper ordained 8th April, 1824. Joint ministry with Ravenstonedale in the 1840s and between 1857-63. Last appeared in the CYB in 1945.<sup>510</sup>

**F 2. 7-Kirkby Lonsdale Congregational, f. 1815** - Rev. Joseph France of High Street Congregational Church, Lancaster, got permission from the LCU to preach here on the 26th of November 1815. Supported by the West Riding Itinerant Society and Rev.Maclean of Kendal. Chapel opened October 1816. First minister William Maclean the son of Robert, of Kendal. Itinerates. Church dissolved 1830. Reformed. At times worked with Wray and Milnthorpe. Last noted in the CYB in 1964.<sup>511</sup>

**F 2. 8 - Crosby Garrett Congregational, f. 1815**

**F 2. 9 - Milnthorpe and Burton Congregational (f. 1818-43)** - Milnthorpe; September 1818 room opened for worship. Building converted to chapel, 5th March 1820. Supported by LCU and Kendal. Joseph Smedley, (1821-22). James Hargreaves came, 1823. Trained Idle/Airedale.<sup>512</sup> Ordained 29th of July, 1824 and the church reconstituted. Services had been held in Burton since 1818. Building of

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<sup>508</sup> Sell, pp.75-6.

<sup>509</sup> Sell, p.77. LN, Vol. 1, p.321.

<sup>510</sup> Sell, p.78. LN, Vol. 1, pp.305-09.

<sup>511</sup> Sell, pp.79-80, 140

<sup>512</sup> Turner, Idle, p.124.

the Anglican church in Milnthorpe caused decline in 1837. Chapel closed, reopened in 1839.

Reconstituted 1843 but declined. Disbanded, building sold 1866.<sup>513</sup>

**F 2. 10 - Brough Congregational, f. 1824 - Capper of Kirby Stephen supplied it in 1826.<sup>514</sup>**

**F 2. 11- Birks Congregational (f. 1829) - redundant by 1860.<sup>515</sup>**

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<sup>513</sup> Sell, pp.80, 140. LN, Vol. 1, p.318.

<sup>514</sup> Sell, p.80. LN, Vol. 1, p.320.

<sup>515</sup> Sell, p.81, LN, Vol. 1, p.321.



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A Preparation Sermon at Chipping Meeting preached April ye 12th in ye year 1717  
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August 28th 1715. A Sermon Preached at Newton ['and Chipping' scored through]  
begun to be written in this book as it was preached from ye day and year aforesaid.  
Peter Walkden. Sermon 1 Psalm 2, last verse. A Preparation Sermon Preached at  
Newton the same heading [28 pages]. *Finis*, ended April 9th, *Anno Domini* 1717.

A Short Catechism for Children taken out of the Scriptures. For the instruction of  
my own children and family in the Scriptures, By Peter Walkden Minister of ye  
word. Thornley written for ye End afforesaid. in ye year of Christ 1715. Matt 28,  
'Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you and lo I am  
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Christ Thomas Whittaker AM Late Pastor of a Congregation at Leeds in Yorkshire,  
who died November th 19th, 1710, by Thomas Dickenson Minister of the Gospel at



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