

**THE GODLY MINISTRY OF OLIVER
HEYWOOD (1630-1702):
HIS EXPERIENCE AND
SIGNIFICANCE**

Christopher James Toole
479721680

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Abstract

Oliver Heywood (1630-1702) lived through a period of fluctuating religious persecution and toleration after the Restoration in 1660. As a moderate Presbyterian minister, he provoked local opposition from some of his congregation in Coley near Halifax and was suspended from office in 1662, before being formally ejected under the Act of Uniformity later that year. However, supported by his lay hearers, a group of sympathetic gentry families and an informal network of like-minded Nonconformist clergy, he continued to preach and minister across a broad area of Yorkshire and Lancashire for the next thirty years. He experienced bouts of fierce persecution, harassment and imprisonment under the penal acts, which he survived through sustained and, at times, dramatic acts of resistance. Heywood's archive consists of a wealth of first-person primary sources, including an autobiographical work, diaries and reflections in the tradition of Puritan self-scrutiny, together with published treatises, sermons and letters. Using this material and applying a microhistorical perspective to his accounts of specific events, alongside contextual, literary and quantitative analysis, this thesis takes a thematic approach to analysing Heywood's experience and establishing his significance. It considers the areas of life-writing, community, patronage, itinerancy and his published oeuvre to argue that Heywood deserves greater recognition from historians of post-Restoration religion. This derives from a number of reasons: his substantial literary output, his success in sustaining Presbyterianism under challenging circumstances and his influence and legacy over a wide area of Northern England. Thus, this thesis aims to establish Heywood's importance in two related fields of scholarship: Puritan life-writing and the social dynamics of seventeenth-century Protestant Dissent.

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Abbreviations

Add. CH – Additional Charter in BL Catalogue

Add. MS – Additional Manuscript in BL Catalogue

BCP – *Book of Common Prayer*

BL – British Library

DNB – *Dictionary of National Biography*

HT – *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, Four Volumes*, ed. by J. Horsfall Turner (Vols. I and II, Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1881-82. Vols. III and IV, Bingley: T. Harrison, 1884-85)

NP – no publisher

ODNB – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

THAS – *Transactions of Halifax Antiquarian Society*

Vint - *The Whole Works of Oliver Heywood, B.A. Now First Collected, Revised and Arranged, Including some Tracts extremely scarce, and others from unpublished Manuscripts: with Memoirs of his Life, in Five Volumes*, ed. by William Vint (Idle: John Vint, 1825-27)

WYAS – West Yorkshire Archive Service

Conventions

Original spelling has been used for quotations from seventeenth-century sources, with some bracketed additions to aid understanding.

Some of the terminology is explained in the text, but for clarity is summarised here:

- Anglican – this has been used to label the conservative, ‘High Church’ party within the Church of England which was opposed to further reform; also referred to as Episcopalian. Puritan – members of the Presbyterian, Congregationalist (or Independent) and Baptist Churches have either been labelled individually or collectively as Puritans. As a result of the 1662 Act of Uniformity, these denominations (together with the Quakers and secessionist sects) were variously referred to as Dissenters or Nonconformists. These last two terms have been used interchangeably.
- Chapelry – this was the clerical division within the larger parishes and is sometimes described as a sub-parish.
- Curate – Heywood’s appointed position in Coley, but he also referred to himself as minister and these terms have been used interchangeably.
- Township - this was the civil administrative division of a parish or manor.

Terms which were used at the time and carried particular emphasis in the context of religious divisions have been presented in inverted commas in the first instance and thereafter without.

For example, ‘godly’, ‘elect’, ‘society’, ‘hearer’.

Capital letters have been used throughout to denote proper nouns and denominational terms; for example, the Church of England, Nonconformity, Dissent, Episcopalian.

Years have been referred to in the New Style, that is the second of any pair of recorded dates.

Dramatis Personae

Heywood Family in Coley

Oliver Heywood (1630-1702) – Curate of Coley, Minister of Northowram Presbyterian congregation, itinerant preacher, diarist and published author

Elizabeth Heywood, née Angier (1634-1661) – first wife of Oliver Heywood

John Heywood (1656-1704) – eldest son of Oliver and Elizabeth Heywood, Presbyterian Minister of Rotherham and Pontefract

Eliezer Heywood (1657-1730) – second son of Oliver and Elizabeth Heywood, chaplain at Wallingwells and Presbyterian Minister at Dronfield

Abigail Heywood, née Crompton (1632-1707) – second wife of Oliver Heywood

Martha Tetley, née Bristow – servant to Oliver Heywood, later quarrelled with Abigail Heywood

Heywood Family in Bolton

Richard Heywood (1596-1677) – father of Oliver Heywood, textile merchant

Alice Heywood, née Critchlaw (1593-1657) – mother of Oliver Heywood, strict Puritan

Francis Critchlaw (d. 1669) – uncle of Oliver Heywood, introduced him to Coley

Margaret Brereton (d. 1697) – second wife of Richard Heywood, stepmother of Oliver Heywood

Nathaniel Heywood (1633-1677) – brother of Oliver Heywood, Curate of Illingworth and Presbyterian Minister at Chapel House, Ormskirk

Nathaniel Heywood (1659-1704) – nephew of Oliver Heywood, Presbyterian Minister at Ormskirk

Angier Family in Denton

John Angier (1605-1677) – father-in-law of Oliver Heywood, Minister at Denton

Margaret Angier, née Mosley (d. 1675) – second wife of John Angier

Samuel Angier (1639-1713) – nephew of John Angier, Presbyterian Minister at Dukinfield

Key Members of Heywood's 'society' and supporters in Coley

Jonathan Priestley Snr. (1633-1705) and his son Jonathan Priestley Jnr. (1660-1722) – members of a local yeoman family. Jonathan Jnr. was executor of Heywood's estate

William Clay (d. 1704) – yeoman, donor of land in Northowram to build Heywood's school

John Brooksbank (d. 1713) – landowner, obtained a licence in 1672 to hold services at his home in Elland

Captain John Hodgson (1618-1680) – Civil War soldier, co-tenant of Coley Hall with Heywood, father of Timothy Hodgson, chaplain to Sir John and Lady Hewley in York

Opponents in Coley

Stephen Ellis (d. 1690) – churchwarden, yeoman, owner of Langley House, Hipperholme

Robert Gibson (1628-1691) – churchwarden, clothier, owner of Slead Hall, Brighouse

Sir John Armitage (1629-1677) – landowner, magistrate, owner of Kirklees Hall

Nathaniel Whitley – yeoman, sent his servants to keep watch over Heywood

Fellow Ejected Ministers

Eli Bentley (1631-1675) – met Heywood at Trinity College, Cambridge, ejected from Halifax in 1660, moved to Bingley

Joseph Dawson (1635-1709) – ejected from Thornton in 1662, lived in Northowram, later Minister at Morley, Leeds

Richard Frankland (1630-1698) – ejected from Bishop Auckland in 1662, founder of Rathmell Academy

Thomas Hardcastle (1637-1678) – ejected from Bramham, near Wetherby in 1662, preached at Shadwell

Thomas Jollie (1629-1703) – met Heywood at Trinity College, Cambridge, ejected from Altham, Lancashire in 1662, later Minister at Wymonhouses, Lancashire

Timothy Roote (1635-1689) – ejected from Sowerby Bridge in 1662, preached at the meeting house at Sowerby built by Joshua Horton

James Sale (1619-1679) – ejected from Leeds in 1662, preached in Pudsey and Leeds

Elkanah Wales (1588-1669) – ejected from Pudsey in 1662, preached in Leeds

Gentry Patrons

Robert Dyneley (1602-1688) and his son Robert (1632-1699) – owners of Bramhope Hall, Otley

Sir Richard Hoghton (1616-1678) – MP for Lancashire, owner of Hoghton Tower, Preston, offered Heywood the living of Preston in 1652

Sir Ralph Knight (1619-1691) – landowner and parliamentarian, friend of the Taylors of Wallingwells, accompanied Heywood on his journey to London in 1682

Sir Edward Rodes (1600-1666) and Lady Mary Rodes (1608-1681) – High Sheriff of Yorkshire, owner of the Great Houghton estate, near Barnsley

Samuel Taylor (d. 1679) and his son Richard (1649-1699) – owners of Wallingwells Hall, Nottinghamshire, employers of Eliezer Heywood as domestic chaplain

Philip, Lord Wharton (1613-1696) – parliamentarian and supporter of Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers, endowed scholars at Heywood's school in Northowram

‘The York Ladies’:

Katherine, Lady Hewet – described by Hunter as ‘a friend of the Puritan ministry’

Sarah, Lady Hewley, (1627-1710) – wife of Sir John Hewley (1619-1697), MP for York, founder of the Lady Hewley Trust, noted philanthropist

Susannah, Lady Hoyle (d.1668) – second wife of Sir Thomas Hoyle (1587-1650), former Lord Mayor of York

Anna, Lady Watson (1598-1679) – wife of Sir Stephen Watson, former Lord Mayor of York, advised Heywood against obeying the York Consistory Court summons in 1661

Vicars of Halifax

Richard Hooke (1623-1689) – appointed in 1662, High Church Anglican, persistent opponent of Heywood

Edmund Hough (1632-1691) – appointed in 1689, sympathetic towards Nonconformists, married the widow of Eli Bentley

Richard Marsh (1585-1663) – ejected in 1642, returned in 1660 and ejected Eli Bentley

INTRODUCTION: A LIFE OF RELIGIOUS STRIFE

... twice have I been excommunicated, thrice imprisoned, once plundered,
banished from my own house, oft sought for by warrants many times,
made to flee, suspended from publick preaching, ventured in the mouth
of apparent danger, been threatened, watched, often vexed with disputes ...¹

Although living far from the centre of political power and the national debates over religion, Oliver Heywood experienced an eventful life and bore witness to the fact that the religious convulsions of the second half of the seventeenth century in England were inescapable for an active clergyman. As a Presbyterian minister in Yorkshire, he suffered periods of persistent persecution after the Restoration when the ‘High Church’ Episcopalians were in the ascendant. This was interspersed by times of relative freedom but was always accompanied by fears of renewed restrictions or punishments, as he summarised in the quote above from his ‘Solemne Covenant’ of 1680. He added that, despite the trials he had experienced, ‘yet my bow resides in strength, strengthened by the mighty god of Jacob’.² His faith and his determination to continue his ministry remained undimmed. This extract from the annual assessment of his spiritual health and relationship with God is to be found within a vast collection of primary source material. The Heywood archive contains the bulk of the life-writing he produced in his lifetime in manuscript form and was preserved by succeeding generations of his family, before being deposited at the British Museum in 1944.³ For thirty-six years between 1666 and 1702, Heywood recorded his resistance to uniformity, his

¹ Heywood Papers, British Library, Add. MS 45966, fol. 19^v; J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702; His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1882), Volume I, p. 326. Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication for printed primary sources is London.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 19^v; p. 326.

³ It is now in the Manuscripts Collection at the BL and the WYAS in Halifax.

observations on others' behaviour and on changes in the political sphere, together with a rigorous spiritual self-examination. Alongside this output, he published treatises of practical theology and a life of his father-in-law, the Lancashire Nonconformist cleric John Angier (1605-1677). Using these sources, this thesis examines Heywood's experience of Dissent with two primary aims: to deepen historians' knowledge of living in such a hostile environment and to establish how significant a figure he was for the agency and legacy of Nonconformity.

A biographical summary illustrates the instability of his era. Heywood was born in 1630 in Little Lever near Bolton in Lancashire into a staunchly Puritan family. He was educated at Bolton Grammar School and attended Trinity College, Cambridge between 1647 and 1650, where he was influenced by the Puritan preacher at St. Giles' Church, Samuel Hammond (d. 1665).⁴ In 1650, during the Interregnum, he was appointed curate of the chapelry of Coley in the parish of Halifax in the West Riding of Yorkshire at the invitation of elders from the congregation. As early as 1657, he began to suffer harassment from some of his flock, who objected to his refusal to use the *Book of Common Prayer* and to his imposition of 'discipline' (the need to demonstrate a god-fearing life and regular church attendance as qualifications for receiving Holy Communion). After the Restoration, Heywood found himself at odds with the new religious settlement and its revival of episcopal governance. His position as a moderate Presbyterian within a broadly-based Church was suddenly no longer tenable and, as a result of local opposition, he was suspended from his post for contempt of court in June 1662, just prior to the imposition of the Act of Uniformity. Ejection followed swiftly for failing to meet the Act's demands that ministers should forswear the Solemn League and Covenant,

⁴ Brooke asserts that at this time 'the principal vocation of Cambridge was to produce Puritan preachers'. Christopher Brooke, 'Cambridge in the Age of the Puritan Revolution', in *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume II, 1546-1740*, ed. by Victor Morgan (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 464-82 (p. 480). Curtis comments that Cambridge offered a 'refuge for tender consciences'. Mark Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642* (Clarendon Press, 1959), p.194. For a broader history of the university in the seventeenth century, see John Twigg, *The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution, 1625-1688* (Boydell Press, 1990). Heywood is listed in John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge University Press, 1922), Part I, Volume II, p. 342.

use the *BCP* liturgy in its entirety, subscribe to each one of the Thirty-Nine Articles and, where necessary, be re-ordained by a bishop. However, Heywood remained active amongst both his godly ‘society’ and across his former chapelry, despite the dangers involved, before being forced out of his home (albeit temporarily) in 1666 under the Five Mile Act. He then embarked on an itinerant ministry across the North of England to sustain Presbyterianism in the face of persecution. Although ejected from office, Heywood continued to minister to those from his congregation who had followed him out of the Church of England and to serve other Nonconformist groups across Yorkshire and neighbouring counties.

As the political wind changed once more, Heywood was licensed to preach in the nearby village of Northowram in 1672, under Charles II’s Declaration of Indulgence.⁵ However, the Declaration was cancelled the following year and the licences were formally revoked in 1675. This was followed by ongoing harassment and persecution, culminating in a year’s imprisonment in York Castle in 1685 for failing to pay a fine. Finally, in 1687, by virtue of another Declaration of Indulgence as part of the shaky political manoeuvrings of James II, he was permitted to hold services in public again. After the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688, he enjoyed a period of religious freedom under William and Mary for the last decade of his life, following the passage of the 1689 Toleration Act. He spent his time preaching at his newly-built chapel, founding a school, travelling, writing, administering pastoral care and playing a prominent role within Presbyterianism in Yorkshire and Lancashire, before his death in 1702.

In order to evaluate Heywood’s achievement and his *modus operandi*, it is important to understand more about his physical environment and his personal circumstances: the ‘ecosystem’ of Halifax and its surrounding area in the 1660s. Coley was one of twelve chapelries within the extensive Parish of Halifax, which was the third-largest parish in England

⁵ Heywood, like many other Presbyterian clerics, was hesitant about the Declaration, as it was a manifestation of the Royal Prerogative over religious affairs rather than parliamentary legislation. See Mark Goldie, ‘Toleration and the Godly Prince in Restoration England’, in *Liberty, Authority, Formality: Political Ideas and Culture, 1600-1900*, ed. by John Morrow and Jonathan Scott (Imprint Academic, 2008), pp. 48-73.

by area and the largest in Yorkshire. Coley is a hamlet situated on the sparsely-populated uplands between Halifax and Bradford. Its chapel, originally built in 1513 and enlarged in 1631, sits in an isolated location near Coley Hall, about three quarters of a mile from the village of Northowram.⁶ In 1650, having been recommended to the chapel's elders by his uncle, Francis Critchlaw (d.1669), Heywood preached there twice and was then offered the curacy at a salary of £30 per annum (£20 from the stipend and £10 raised by the congregation), even though he had not yet been ordained. Unusually, the congregation at Coley retained the right to appoint its own minister, without involvement from the Vicar of Halifax, who was nominally the incumbent's superior. This delegation of authority proved to be a source of potential conflict within the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, aside from any doctrinal differences. A streak of independence in the remoter Northern parishes, evident in Coley in its relationship with the local seat of power in Halifax, was summarised by a contemporary commentator as follows:

They have no superior to court, no civilities to practise; a sour and sturdy humour is the consequence; so that a stranger is shocked by a tone of defiance in every voice and an air of fierceness in every countenance.⁷

On his arrival in Coley, Heywood lodged with Richard Best (d.1660) in his house in Northowram for four years before moving to another lodging in nearby Godley.⁸ He shared this with his younger brother, Nathaniel, who was curate at Illingworth, one of the other chapelries within Halifax Parish. On his marriage to Elizabeth Angier in 1655, Heywood settled with her in a house on Towngate in Northowram and they had two surviving sons, John and Eliezer, before her death in 1661. Throughout the 1650s, perhaps growing in confidence

⁶ The boundaries of the ecclesiastical and civic domains did not align, so that although Coley Chapel was situated in the township of Hipperholme, it served a congregation drawn from Northowram, Shelf and Hipperholme townships and its boundary intersected with all three.

⁷ Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent, Exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood, One of the Founders of the Presbyterian Congregations in the County of York* (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842), p. 76. Francois suggests that a tradition of Nonconformity in Halifax resulted from its remoteness and its inhabitants' desire to avoid the constraints of national authorities. Martha Francois, 'The Social and Economic Development of Halifax', *Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Proceedings*, 11.8 (1966), pp. 217-80 (p. 271).

⁸ Best is described by Hunter as 'a wealthy carrier and dealer in wool'. Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 88.

thanks to the authority invested by his appointment, he began to demonstrate increasing spiritual rigour, and, in 1657, he introduced the concept of discipline in line with the Puritan model. It was at this time that he first met opposition from within his own congregation, pre-dating the introduction of legislation and reflecting existing differences of opinion within the Church of England prior to the Restoration Settlement.⁹ Undeterred, he continued with his commitment to Presbyterian church government and worshipping practices, even though his stance resulted in divisions and animosity amongst his flock. It led to his ejection when these divisions (previously accommodated within a broad spectrum of attitudes and practices) were exposed in the 1660s through the demands of the legislation under the misnamed 'Clarendon Code'.¹⁰ It is thus that Heywood began his ministry, open about his commitment to Presbyterianism but confronted by the local reality of deep fractures within the Church. The death of his first wife in 1661 coincided with continued opposition from within his flock and was followed by his suspension in 1662. He then found himself in a vulnerable position on a personal and a professional level, with two young sons, but without a post or income, and living in fear of being apprehended for continuing to hold illegal conventicles. His financial security was only sustained through the generosity of friends and patrons, while the situation in his personal life was eventually ameliorated through a second marriage, to Abigail Crompton of Bolton (1632-1707), in 1667. He was encouraged by various support networks throughout his collision with Archbishop Sheldon's re-establishment of episcopacy and the concerted attacks on any deviation. Aside from his lay followers and fellow ejected clergy, his family was both a

⁹ In 1660 he was forced out of his lodgings in Towngate in Northowram, after the landlady, Bridget Mellen, twice increased his rent at the behest of two local opponents. Identified only as MD and JL in his 'Memorials of Mercy', Heywood recorded their subsequent fates of death through injury and drunken degeneracy respectively as manifestations of God's providence. In 1672, Jonathan Priestley (1660-1722) bought the property for Heywood who lived there until his death. Add. MS 45966, fol. 90^v; HT III, p. 181.

¹⁰ The legislation passed in five acts of parliament between 1661 and 1670 is known as 'The Clarendon Code', after Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), Charles II's Lord Chancellor. In fact, the driving force was Gilbert Sheldon (1633-1677), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1663, and it should more accurately be labelled 'The Sheldon Code'. See George Abernathy, 'Clarendon and the Declaration of Indulgence', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 11.1 (1960), pp. 55-73 (p. 62).

source of comfort and of concern, at times adding to the pressures of his vocation and public position. In his diaries and ‘Returns of Prayer’, Heywood often expressed anxiety about the conduct and progress of his sons (both of whom became Presbyterian ministers), while it is apparent from his confessional outpourings that the submissiveness of his first wife was replaced by the more robust and critical personality of his second wife. His wider kinship network included his own siblings, the Cromptons of Brightmet in Lancashire and the Goodwins of Bolton, together with the Angiers in Denton.¹¹ (His father-in-law, Angier, was minister at Denton in Lancashire and retained his post, despite his Nonconformist leanings, owing to local patronage. He was a respected figure amongst Dissenting clergy and supported Heywood in his ministry.) Heywood also continued to receive support from a band of hearers from his original congregation at Coley Chapel and he pursued his ministry within his former chapelry and across a wider region alongside a small group of like-minded Dissenting clergymen, most of whom had been ejected from their livings under the Act of Uniformity.¹² The disruptive changes in his personal circumstances failed to distract him from the central calling of a Nonconformist mission which defined his adult life and for which, this thesis argues, he deserves more scholarly attention.

The outline of his life (tabulated in Appendix One) reflects the changing political and religious climate of his time and the challenges which he faced. However, a simple biographical approach to the research would not address key questions around Heywood’s legacy or how his experience deepens the way in which we view the relationship between religious and secular life under pressure from reform and persecution. This thesis is therefore based around a thematic structure, building a cumulative picture of Heywood’s world and how he operated. Biographical facts and incidents are used to illustrate his strategy of resistance or

¹¹ See Appendix Five for a genealogical table of Heywood’s immediate family. Two of the sisters of his second wife, Abigail Crompton, married Puritan ministers in Bolton: William Gregg (dates unknown) and Richard Goodwin (1613-1685) who was ejected from Bolton-le-Moors in 1662.

¹² This group included Eli Bentley (1631-75), Joseph Dawson (1635-79) and Thomas Jollie (1629-1703).

his attitude towards the forces of authority and serve to refine our understanding of how individuals proactively managed their response to the imposition of oppressive legislation.

Heywood's stance and consequent persecution were not unique, but the combination of an energetic dedication to his cause and the detailed chronicling of his experience presents us with a powerful exemplar with which to explore the reality of religious persecution and the patterns of behaviour it engendered at individual and community levels. Given the wealth of first-person material, microhistory is the primary research methodology. As defined by Thomas Robisheaux, microhistory's 'reduction of the scale of analysis' means that the focus of the research is often on one individual and his or her lived experience or one incident in a particular place at a particular time.¹³ In this instance, the focus is on Heywood's daily life and work within Coley and Northowram in the second half of the seventeenth century (although the canvas is wider than one location, as Heywood's roving ministry covered a large part of Northern England and it deals with an extended period of activity.) While Heywood's life provides a clear example of religious zeal and resistance to persecution, this thesis explores how typical he was and whether his significance is more than local. Heywood's life invites a comparison with the experience and attitude of other Nonconformist ministers and leads to a wider investigation of how far Conformity was enforced and resisted, especially in regions distant from the seat of royal and church government.¹⁴ The research, therefore, explores Heywood's importance from a number of angles. Firstly, it looks at how his chronicled experience illustrates the reality of persecution and provides detailed evidence of the ultimate failure of a centralised, legislated approach to the governance of religious practice. Secondly, it explores how his position helps to define the moderate Presbyterian 'middle way', as

¹³ Thomas Robisheaux, 'What is Microhistory?' <https://sites.duke.edu/microworldslab/what-is-mc/> See also, Robisheaux, 'Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47.1 (2017), pp. 7-52.

¹⁴ Dale estimates that over a hundred and fifty ministers were ejected in Yorkshire in 1662. Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (Bradford: Mr Dales's literary executors, J. Gregory et al, 1909), p. 3.

espoused by Richard Baxter (1615-1691) in terms of response to Church reform and resistance to authority, and to assess its strength via Heywood's adoption.¹⁵ Thirdly, it reveals how his chronicling of his own and his supporters' struggles not only provides an appreciation of Heywood's feelings and reactions, but also allows us a better understanding of the nature and power of the local community in the later Stuart period. At the outset, it is argued that by endangering his own and his family's safety for upwards of thirty years through his uncompromising stance, Heywood is notable for his sheer obstinacy and for a consistent dedication to his beliefs, despite being repeatedly tested. Through his preaching to numerous congregations across the Northern counties, through distributing his published works and through taking a leading role amongst the Nonconformist clergy in the fields of education and polity, the influence which he exercised within Dissent becomes clearer.¹⁶ Heywood was not a lone actor and he worked with his fellow ejected clergy in resisting the demands of legislation, but he inspired others, such as Thomas Sharp (1633-1693) and Timothy Jollie (c1659-1714), his friend Thomas's son, to be ordained in the Presbyterian Church and his preaching and writing reached a wide audience of willing hearers and readers. The constancy of his endeavours is likely to have been accompanied by personal charisma and popularity, which can be deduced from the loyalty of his followers in Coley and from the repeated invitations to preach elsewhere.

To be more specific in terms of scope, the focus of this thesis is not the social history of Halifax in the 1600s, nor the nuances of theological argument between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, but rather the lived experience of Heywood and his circle in navigating the religious oppression which followed the Restoration and how this relates to broader

¹⁵ Baxter did not define himself as a Presbyterian, although he espoused its fundamental principles of worship and government. See Neil Keeble, ed., *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 11. For a fuller biography, see Geoffrey Nuttall, *Richard Baxter* (Thomas Nelson, 1965).

¹⁶ Nortcliffe states 'Surely, he must have been one of the greatest religious figures in the North of his day and a prophet who is largely unsung in his own land'. David Nortcliffe, 'Rev. Oliver Heywood', *THAS*, (1985), pp. 19-29 (p. 29).

developments. Aside from nineteenth-century editions of his collected works and uncritical biographies by antiquaries, Heywood has received some attention from social historians more recently.¹⁷ However, there has been very little research dedicated to Heywood as a religious leader and writer. There has not been a modern study of persecution in Yorkshire, nor a focus on Heywood's place within it and what his position and writings inform us about the nature of religious strife as it affected everyday life. Heywood deserves consideration alongside better-known Puritan diarists from other parts of the country, such as Roger Morrice (1628-1702) of London or Ralph Josselin (1616-1683) from Essex, both of whom produced commentaries on their experience of religious upheaval and who have received attention from historians.¹⁸ Heywood's actions at the meeting point of faith and politics, while not the central preoccupation of his life-writing, nevertheless provide a powerful insight into this juxtaposition from a new perspective, that of a Northern Presbyterian preacher of a determined bent.

Under the first heading listed above, that of religious persecution, the thesis uses the primary sources to address the question of how prevalent and effective state control was over religious behaviour (rather than over the unknowable area of religious belief) in Coley, in Halifax and across other parts of the region where Heywood operated. It illuminates the reality of implementing the Clarendon Code and the extent of compliance. It answers questions about the different forms which persecution took and whether the severity and extent of persecution varied over time. Following Anthony Fletcher's lead, it comments on the enthusiasm, or otherwise, of the law enforcers charged with implementing such divisive legislation in their own localities.¹⁹ The thesis addresses the question of how far we can extrapolate from

¹⁷ See Samuel S. Thomas's *Creating Communities in Restoration England: parish and congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax* (Brill, 2013).

¹⁸ See Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (The Boydell Press, 2016) and Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 1970).

¹⁹ Anthony Fletcher, 'The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1664-1679', *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 235-46 (p. 241).

Heywood's life to refine the dichotomy of views in the historiography between a regime of relentless persecution or a state of amicable toleration.²⁰

Looking at the second topic, the resistance to persecution, the thesis examines the resilience of Presbyterian Nonconformity, using the North as the example, and how it survived the attacks from the state over several decades. The importance of lay support for Heywood is explored and recognised as a central feature of resistance.²¹ The research explores how far Presbyterianism co-existed with Anglicanism and Congregationalism (or Independency) and, specifically, what was involved in 'partial' or 'occasional Conformity' and how prevalent it was. In Halifax, such co-existence was longstanding, as a tradition of Dissent dated back to Elizabethan times and several Puritan ministers had held posts as lecturers or curates in the parish church in the early years of the seventeenth century.²² Heywood's life and his reflections on what confronted him show that resistance manifested itself as both a conscious attempt to oppose the enforcement of religious practice alongside a pragmatic stance of upholding the necessary civic and commercial workings of a local community.

Finally, within the third identified area, that of Heywood's intellectual and emotional response to his situation, the research establishes the characteristics of his prolonged period of defiance through analysing not just what he did but also how he wrote about and reflected upon it. Samuel Thomas has examined Heywood's community interactions and his immediate circle, without looking more broadly at Heywood's areas of influence outside Coley or commenting on Heywood's records of his own spiritual development. This research considers his writings as evidence of his reactions to persecution and resistance, as the means he used to

²⁰ For examples of the two perspectives, see Gerald Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1668* (Cambridge University Press, 1957) to compare with Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006).

²¹ For more detail on the role of the laity in resistance to persecution, see Francis Bremer, *Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²² John Hargreaves, *Halifax* (Carnegie Publishing, 2003), p. 43. Francois, 'Social and Economic Development of Halifax', pp. 273-74. Heywood called John Favour (1557-1624), Vicar of Halifax from 1594 to 1624, 'a great friend to Nonconformists'. Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 76.

disseminate his message and as reflections on how effective he felt he was. His longstanding commercial partnership with the leading London publisher Thomas Parkhurst (1632-1711), whereby Heywood paid for copies of his books before they had been printed and accepted others in lieu of payment after publication to be distributed to his family, gentry supporters and members of his congregation, shows his conscious strategy of using the written word as part of his mission.²³ Heywood's writing provides his thoughts on individuals within his support networks who allowed him to preach and minister when, at times, he had the status of an outlaw, and on his opponents who tried to frustrate him. Heywood commented on characters from the different strata of society from which he enjoyed this support without scruple or restraint.²⁴ This dissertation portrays a man who was, at times, inconsistent and far from a paradigm of virtue despite his godly ideals, but who emerges from his writings, and through a lifetime of practical religious observance, as a determined, if flawed, individual. Sheila Graham has collated quotations showing Heywood to be a shrewd observer of (and frequent participant in) the struggles and challenges of his time, highlighting his 'excess of emotion' or what he often referred to as 'a melting season'.²⁵ Heywood's clerical career has been described by William Sheils as 'an exemplary study of the pastoral tradition in old Dissent'.²⁶ However, there has not been a holistic view of Heywood's life, his writings and his historical significance and the thesis will fill that gap, while relating these to broader contexts and debates.

Chapter One provides a deeper survey of the historical context framing Heywood's position and reviews the historiography and how it has developed. It explains the extent and provenance of the primary sources and the challenges which they pose and outlines the research

²³ Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 208.

²⁴ For more detail on social hierarchies in early modern England, see Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 31-35.

²⁵ Sheila Graham, *A Melting Season: Inside the Mind of Oliver Heywood* (Northowram Historical Society, 2022), p. 3.

²⁶ William Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and his Congregation', *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), pp. 261-77 (p. 261).

methodologies employed in more detail. Each of the succeeding chapters examines a particular theme, designed to address the three research questions identified. These themes are, to a degree, overlapping rather than self-contained, and the aim is to produce an output which covers each element of Heywood's experience while recognising their inter-relatedness.

The theme of Heywood's 'voice', as communicated through his vast written archive, is examined in the second chapter. This body of work, encompassing daily chronicles, private mediations, spiritual self-scrutiny and reflections on local and political developments, is a central element in the argument for Heywood's importance. The practical activities which he undertook in his locality and in his wider visits, which are analysed in the following chapters, are here positioned as the vehicles for expressing his beliefs and values on paper. They reveal not only his personal circumstances and reactions, but they also provide a new insight into the Presbyterian reaction to attempted Anglican orthodoxy, however imperfectly implemented. As Heywood grew older, the nature of his itinerant outreach changed from that of a physical presence through repeated visits to those in need to one of written contact through correspondence and the circulation of books. As a product of Cambridge in the 1650s, Heywood was writing firmly within the Puritan tradition of self-examination to test and prove the strength of his faith. Although it is debatable whether he intended it for publication or not, his life-writing was a key part of his mission to guide his readers to salvation and for them to profit from his own experiences in striving to become one of the 'elect'. The chapter also looks at how far Heywood was consciously creating a written legacy, in order to demonstrate to posterity his own religious commitment and the strength of his faith under attack.

Chapter Three looks at the concept of community in the setting of a West Riding village of the mid-seventeenth century and how far this stretched, both geographically and structurally. It examines Heywood's achievement in operating in multiple communities simultaneously and it reveals his networks to be both discrete and interdependent at different times. The religious

communities of which Heywood was a member existed under the pressures of persecution and, to some extent, thrived through their experience of resistance to it. Therefore, the chapter looks at the overarching questions of how persecution was delivered and how it was resisted through the agency of community response. It considers the porous relationship between the Anglican and the Dissenting communities in Heywood's world. This contradicts the view that his community was defined in purely denominational terms or united in its opposition to distant authority. Heywood's life and his recorded reflections present a complicated, changing and, at times, inconsistent pattern of community impulses, which were multi-layered even in an age where communication was slower than today and when penalties for not conforming to communal norms were higher.

Chapter Four turns to a specific feature of Heywood's support infrastructure: gentry patronage. After providing commentary on the position of the Dissenting gentry across a broader field, the chapter looks at some of the families who supported Heywood and their methods. This section examines the relationship between political power and religious freedom, both at the national level and within Heywood's sphere. It explains the tensions between societal expectations of the aristocracy and gentry and their personal predilections, and it illustrates how they showed these sympathies through financial, practical and moral assistance to ejected ministers. Although not a community of which Heywood was a member, the gentry was of constant prominence in his life. The chapter addresses the question of resistance to persecution by examining how crucial gentry assistance was for Heywood's survival. It also comments on Heywood's criticism of the gentry when he felt their ungodly behaviour deserved condemnation. Part of Heywood's impact derived from the multiple patronages which he enjoyed and the public support which his patrons were prepared to risk in order to receive spiritual guidance themselves and to aid his endeavours more widely.

Chapter Five explores the dimensions of Heywood's geographical reach through the theme of itinerancy. Heywood was a prolific traveller, re-defining the sense of parish boundaries and prescribed areas of responsibility in a way unmatched by any of his local contemporaries. The concept of community is explored here from a spatial perspective to understand how persecution was delivered and how it was evaded. As the legislation attempted to restrict Heywood and other ejected ministers' arenas of activity (notably the Five Mile Act, with its explicit prohibitions regarding residency or preaching in defined locations), so strategies were developed to overcome these obstacles. Heywood demonstrated total disregard for such restrictions and the legislation had the unintended consequences of stimulating a greater dissemination of the Presbyterian message through regular invitations and covert means of worship. Constant travel was both a response to the need to hide from the forces of the law and a means of delivering the Word to otherwise deprived congregations. The chapter uses quantitative analysis to chart the extent of Heywood's reach in terms of miles travelled, services held and locations with which he became familiar. The quantitative evidence is supplemented by microhistorical analysis of his spiritual and pastoral interactions with the distant congregations, households and families to whom he ministered.

Chapter Six comments on Heywood's published work, in the form of treatises and sermons, and places him in the tradition of Presbyterian practical theology expounded by Baxter. While key arguments for the recognition by scholars of Heywood's significance derive from his close engagement with his followers and his corresponding promotion of Presbyterianism under attack, together with detailed records of his personal reflections, his published oeuvre offers additional weight to his reputation. Through a successful partnership with Parkhurst in London, his guidance on how to live a godly life and his commentaries on Christian teaching reached a far wider audience and had a more permanent impact.

The Conclusion draws the various themes together to evaluate Heywood as a historical figure on the evidence of his experience, actions and emotional reactions to the events which faced him. Against the background of religious conflict, Heywood's world was one of constant insecurity and flashes of brutal repression, lessened by sporadic acts of communal resistance and mutual protection, all of which is given added depth by Heywood's chronicling. The Conclusion also provides responses to the key research questions outlined above based on a microhistorical approach with relevant contextualisation. Perhaps because he was not a politician nor active on the national stage, Heywood has not been given as much attention in historical scholarship as Baxter or Edmund Calamy the Elder (1634-1685) and his writings have not been reviewed with the same interest as those of Morrice or Josselin. He has not so much been ignored as confined to hagiographical biography and denied the critical appraisal which this thesis provides. While not pretending that Heywood was unique in experiencing persecution as an ejected minister, this research judges whether Heywood is worthy of greater recognition, based on the depth of his written archive, his persistent strategies of resistance and his influence over post-Restoration Dissent across a wide area of Northern England.

CHAPTER ONE: CONTEXT, LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

After a dark and gloomy winter comes a heart-reviving spring.¹

Introduction

Oliver Heywood thus welcomed the news of Charles II's return in May 1660 as a harbinger of a more peaceful co-existence between the various factions within the Church of England. He hoped (with a nagging doubt) that a programme of considered reform could be implemented, allowing Presbyterianism to be accommodated within the Church, or better still, largely to re-define it. This failed to materialise and he, along with hundreds of other clerics and thousands of their hearers, was summarily ejected from the institution he had striven to mould in what was the central story of the history of religion in post-Restoration England. There is a voluminous scholarship on post-Restoration religious Dissent and the challenge is to navigate a path which includes the essential developments and at the same time informs a precise area of research. This thesis, therefore, contextualises Heywood's experience through referencing the core history of the Church from its post-Restoration upheavals to relative stability after the 'Glorious Revolution' and the Act of Toleration. If Heywood's position is to be fully appreciated, it is important to understand the national context in religious matters and how this has been presented within the historiography. The national narrative provides a framework within which to analyse the detail of Heywood's struggles and to assess his significance. This chapter therefore outlines key aspects of the post-Restoration religious climate and its associated scholarship, focusing on what Heywood's life tells us about the conflict between the Church of England and Nonconformity. It then reviews the existing literature on Heywood and identifies its shortcomings or omissions. This is followed by an

¹ Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent* (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842), p. 119.

explanation of the primary sources and the challenges which they impose. Finally, it provides an exposition of the research methodologies and how they have been applied.

Context: Historiography of England's 'Second Reformation'

In the years after the Restoration, the country witnessed political and ecclesiastical conflicts in the battle to shape the identity of the Church of England. As John Coffey has observed, this led to 'a persecution of Protestants by Protestants without parallel in seventeenth-century Europe'.² The central dispute was between members of the Anglican wing of the Church, who were agitating to restore the pre-Interregnum hierarchy of the bishops and the *BCP* liturgy, and the Puritan reformers, who were intent on establishing a less centralised governance and a freer style of worship. However, Anthony Milton has argued that this battle had been going on for at least thirty years and that there never had been a consensus or sense of stability in the period following the Elizabethan Settlement.³ Tim Harris suggests that the real tensions were not those between Dissenters and Anglicans, but rather 'between those who were sympathetic to Dissent and those who were not', but in reality the conflict cut across the whole of society.⁴ Heywood's own childhood and time at Cambridge illustrate the febrile state of religious division. As a child in Bolton, he had been nurtured in an atmosphere of strict Puritanism, listening to local radical preachers and being taught to oppose Anglicanism in all its manifestations. He described his mother as 'an unreconcilable enemy to the Bishops government' and he recorded 'her forwardness in demolishing the relicks of superstition', when she was involved in smashing the decorated windows of Bolton Parish Church.⁵ At Cambridge University, Heywood's Puritanism was further developed in what Christopher Brooke has

² John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Pearson Education, 2000), p. 169.

³ Anthony Milton, *England's Second Reformation: The Battle for the Church of England, 1625-1662* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 4.

⁴ Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (Longman, 1993), p. 66.

⁵ Add. MS 45963, fol. 32^v, fol. 33^r; HT I, p. 49.

called ‘a training ground for Puritan preachers’.⁶ Writing about Emmanuel College specifically, but equally applicable to Trinity College at the time, Patrick Collinson talks about the ‘godly mafia’ it nurtured, sending out pastors across East Anglia who had been trained in declamation, the use of commonplace books for preaching and Puritan simplicity in worshipping styles.⁷ Thomas Hill, the Master of Trinity from 1645 to 1653, was seen by some as a revolutionary because of his opposition to episcopacy. Hunter quotes a contemporary of Heywood on Hill’s influence:

He learned more of Christ in one year from Mr Hill’s plain and precious Christ-advancing preaching than he had all his time before in the country. Dr. Hill would sometimes lay his hand upon his breast and say with emphasis, “Every Christian has something here that will frame an argument against Arminianism”.⁸

Heywood himself recalled the denominational distinctions he encountered, with fellow students either ‘becoming scepticks or erratticks’ or turning Quaker, while he felt himself educated in doctrine as much by Samuel Hammond at St Giles’s Church as by his tutors.⁹ While the episcopal wing appeared to have triumphed by the mid-1660s, this was only in a legalistic sense. Dissent continued across the country and, in places, it flourished. It is against this background of conflict in religious matters and tensions within the Church of England itself that Heywood’s experience will be examined and the importance of his contribution to our understanding of Nonconformity will be assessed.

⁶ Christopher Brooke, ‘Cambridge in the Age of the Puritan Revolution’, in *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume II, 1546-1740*, ed. by Victor Morgan (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 464-82 (p. 481.)

⁷ Patrick Collinson, ‘Puritan Emmanuel’, in *A History of Emmanuel College*, ed. by Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke and Patrick Collinson (The Boydell Press, 1999), pp.177-226 (pp. 186-87).

⁸ Hunter, *Rise of Old Dissent*, p. 44. Hill (d. 1653) was a friend of Angier at Emmanuel College in the mid-1620s.

⁹ Samuel Hammond (d. 1665) held a fellowship at Magdalene College, Cambridge and, in 1652, was appointed minister at Newcastle, before being ejected in 1662. His preaching attracted a large following from the university and Heywood wrote ‘I cannot but with thankfulnes acknowledge him a profitable instrument for much good to my soul’. William Sheils, ‘Hammond, Samuel’, *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12162. Add. MS 45964, fol. 25^v, fols 25^v-26^r; HT I, p. 160, p. 161. Heywood listed two books by Hammond in his library catalogue.

Although he was a moderate Presbyterian and a well-respected preacher, Heywood lived a life of almost continuous harassment, and sometimes outright persecution, for the thirty years between 1657 and 1687. His moderation manifested itself in opposing sectarianism, in attempts to find common ground with the Congregationalists and in a ministry which included the provision of pastoral care to the ungodly, yet it provoked continuing hostility. His successful preaching served only to exacerbate this opposition, as it was seen as a threat to the re-establishment of Anglican practices. Instability in both the political and religious spheres reflected the powerful shockwaves of the Civil War and the Interregnum, in a way which Jonathan Scott has described as ‘haunting’ those in power because of the ‘traumatic collective experience’ of war and regicide.¹⁰ Such divisions had led to a spirit of revenge, as one side seemed to be in the ascendent for a while, only to see its fortunes swiftly reversed. Claire Cross chronicles Cromwell’s personal espousal of religious toleration and his repeal of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity in 1650 and stresses that this attempt at general toleration did not survive Cromwell’s death.¹¹ In Peter Lake’s summary of scholarship on Puritanism, he states that it was always seen as ‘the deviant other’ in relation to Anglicanism, provoking hostility.¹² Milton observes that the repercussions of the Elizabethan Settlement were far from over and that these continuing upheavals have been labelled ‘The Second Reformation’.¹³ A spirit of revenge on the part of Anglicans who had been displaced by the Puritan ascendancy in the Interregnum meant that stability and peaceful co-existence were impossible.

Religious affiliation constituted a complex mosaic, and, within this complexity, the definition of Puritanism has bedevilled historians. Often used as a term of abuse, Michael

¹⁰ Jonathan Scott, *England’s Troubles: Seventeenth-century English political instability in European context* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 162.

¹¹ Claire Cross, ‘The Church in England’, in *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement, 1646-1660*, ed. by G. E. Aylmer (Macmillan, 1972), pp. 99-120 (p. 103).

¹² Peter Lake, ‘The Historiography of Puritanism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 346-72 (p. 360). For background on toleration in the Interregnum, see William Lamont, *Puritanism and Historical Controversy* (UCL Press, 1996).

¹³ Milton, *England’s Second Reformation*, p. 459.

Winship contends that Puritanism was ‘more of a problem generated by the structure of the Church than a free-standing entity’.¹⁴ This seems too vague, since there had been a defined group of Calvinist-minded reformers since the Elizabethan age and, although, at various times, they were in disagreement over the nature of reform, they regarded themselves as distinct from the general ‘ungodly’ majority.¹⁵ Patrick Collinson stresses the Puritans’ sense of separateness from the rest of society and summarises them as ‘proponents of individualism and a work ethic expressed as religious discipline’.¹⁶ In its simplest form, Puritanism consisted of disparate groups of reformers within the Church who sought to ‘purify’ it from any vestiges of popery surviving from the Settlement of 1559. By the seventeenth century, it had become identified with a moral and religious earnestness which characterised its ‘godly’ adherents and set them apart from others as the elect, focusing on the essentials of scripture and rejecting what were regarded as the idolatrous practices and quasi-popery of Anglican worship. As a result of the post-Restoration penal laws, Puritanism was forced into a position of Nonconformity (alongside Quakerism and the sects) by opposing the new religious settlement.¹⁷

At times used incorrectly as a synonym for Puritanism, Presbyterianism also needs further clarification if the impact of Heywood’s moderate position is to be fully understood. Within the broader ambit of Puritanism (which included Congregationalists and Baptists), Presbyterians viewed the congregation as the primary body of church governance and rejected the Episcopalian hierarchy. They practised a simple form of worship based on the primacy of the spoken word and, unlike the Congregationalists, worked for ‘comprehension’, a settlement

¹⁴ Michael P. Winship, ‘Defining Puritanism in Restoration England: Richard Baxter and Others Respond to *A Friendly Debate*’, *The Historical Journal*, 54.3 (2011), pp. 689-715 (p. 689).

¹⁵ For summaries of the historiography around the term Puritan, see Clare L. Vivian, ‘Puritan Spiritual Diaries and Autobiographies in Seventeenth-Century England’ (PhD thesis, University of Swansea, 2008), pp. 5-14 and Richard Greaves, *The Puritan Nonconformist Tradition in England, 1560-1700: Historiographical Reflections* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 450-59.

¹⁶ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Palgrave, 1988), p. 152.

¹⁷ John Coffey, ed., *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Reformation Era, 1559-1689* (Oxford University Press, 2020), Introduction, pp. 1- 32.

which would incorporate their practices within a reformed, national Church until they recognised that this was unattainable. (The Congregationalists campaigned for ‘toleration’ of religious differences outside the structures and governance of the Church of England.) Heywood’s moderate stance, and enforced Nonconformity, was nevertheless interpreted as dangerous and subversive by his opponents.

What makes Heywood’s experience of ejection less dramatic than it might at first have seemed is that it was one example of a common phenomenon resulting from the ongoing conflicts within the Church. The 1650s and 60s were characterised by a pattern of religious settlement and counter-settlement, which meant that practising ministers were summarily removed from their posts on more than one occasion within a relatively short period. Royalist sympathisers amongst the clergy, and those considered unfit for holding clerical office on account of their poor behaviour or ill-repute, had been removed in the 1650s. Some of them then worked as chaplains or tutors in the houses of sympathetic gentry (foreshadowing what happened to the Nonconformists after 1662). However, they did not disappear and they nursed their grievances, alongside other dispossessed Royalists and a large section of the landed gentry. Robert Beddard emphasises the swiftness of the retaliation post-Restoration, when the dominant sense of revenge on the part of the Cavalier Parliament was at its strongest.¹⁸ Under the 1660 Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers, those pre-Interregnum Royalist or Laudian benefice-holders who were still alive were automatically granted repossession of their former posts and, as a result, around seven hundred incumbents were dismissed, including some quite recent appointments.¹⁹ At the time of the debates about the future of the Church in the early 1660s, the practice of imposing clergy who would conform, and ejecting those who

¹⁸ Robert Beddard, ‘The Restoration Church’, in *The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688*, ed. by J. R. Jones (Macmillan Press, 1979), pp. 155-75 (p.157).

¹⁹ David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 2.

would not subscribe to the latest piece of legislation, was thus quite familiar.²⁰ This outcome was anticipated by Heywood, and probably by others of a similar mind, who could foresee that, in all conscience, they could not adhere to the strictures of the new regime. They were aware that during the proceedings in London at the Savoy Conference and in parliamentary debates on the religious settlement their point of view was not being respected, as the Anglicans were gaining the upper hand.²¹ The point to stress is the recent and repetitive nature of change in religious matters, as reform succeeded reform; a parish may have had a Royalist minister ejected in the Interregnum, to be replaced by a moderate Puritan, who then could himself have been forced out by virtue of either the 1660 Act or the Act of Uniformity two years later.

Halifax provides an example of a place where the changing fortunes of the parties at a national level had an impact on who was standing in the pulpit in the parish church. Richard Marsh (1585-1663), a protégé of Archbishop Laud, fled for his life in 1642 and was legally removed in 1643 'as a delinquent'. He was replaced by the Puritan ministers Richard Booth (d. 1657) and Eli Bentley, but he returned at the time of the Restoration, reportedly interrupting Bentley in mid-service and hounding him out of office.²² Marsh himself was replaced two years later by Richard Hooke, a High Church Anglican, who had petitioned the King and the Bishop of London, Gilbert Sheldon, for the post.²³ As a result of such experiences, instability was an over-riding feature for those holding office in the Church and for the active laity. While

²⁰ Boshier quotes letters and pamphlets suggesting popular opinion in some areas was in favour of a return to pre-Interregnum structures. Robert S. Boshier, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (Dacre Press, 1957), p. 156. Keeble asserts that 'during 1660 the re-establishment of the Church of England was taking place at grass-roots level without any direction or sanction from central government'. Neil Keeble, *Settling the Peace of the Church: 1662 Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 11-12.

²¹ See Douglas Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689* (Rutgers University Press, 1969).

²² Malcolm Bull, *The Vicars of Halifax*, www.calderdalecompanion.co.uk/mmv12.html. Bentley, a close friend of Heywood, served as an assistant to Booth from 1650 to 1657, before becoming Vicar, only to be summarily removed by Marsh on his return in 1660 under the authority of the Act for Conforming and Restoring of Ministers.

²³ Hooke (1623-1689) was born in Worcester and attended Peterhouse, Cambridge, before becoming Rector of Thornton-in-Craven, a post he retained when appointed to Halifax.

this may have resulted in a resigned response to the changes in religious governance, it would nonetheless have made for an uncomfortable and divisive atmosphere at the parish level.

The other element of potential division within local communities was on the political, rather than religious, front: the legacy of the Civil War itself. Such sympathies were not neatly aligned, and all Presbyterians, including Heywood, were criticised as anti-Royalist, when he was not. Known supporters of the defeated Parliamentary cause had their loyalty to the new regime questioned or, as in the case of Captain John Hodgson (1618-1680) of Coley Hall, even faced arrest and imprisonment. Animosity was never far below the surface and, as David Appleby comments, the Anglican polemic continued to accuse Presbyterians of facilitating civil war and doing nothing to prevent regicide in 1649.²⁴ Political divisions in the West Riding of Yorkshire, including the abortive Northern Rebellion of 1663, were later to be used as the rationale for further legislative attacks on Nonconformity.²⁵

The idea of a comprehensive church settlement, proposed by Richard Baxter and others, failed to be supported and, instead, a spirit of enmity and revenge prevailed, fuelled by both spiritual and secular differences. The collapse of the Savoy Conference in July 1661 led to the almost complete loss of influence by the Presbyterians at the seats of political power. Sheldon and the Cavalier Parliament succeeded in re-establishing the authority of the bishops and the pre-eminence of the *BCP*, without any compromise towards the Nonconformists' objections or their suggested amendments to the liturgy. By 1662, the failure of comprehension and the success of the Episcopalians in church and parliament had established a structure which resulted in the expulsion of Presbyterians such as Heywood from the Established Church as an unavoidable and painful consequence.

²⁴ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p. 224.

²⁵ James Walker, 'The Yorkshire Plot, 1663', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 31 (1934), pp. 348-59.

The vicissitudes of the religious climate in the reign of Charles II have been comprehensively studied by historians.²⁶ In particular, the failure of the King to deliver his promises to protect ‘tender consciences’, made in the Declaration at Breda, has been chronicled by many writers, including John Spurr and Harris.²⁷ The difference of views over whether the King deliberately misled the Puritans at Breda and in the early months of his reign, or whether he himself was sympathetic to the idea of ‘liberty of conscience’ and was overruled by his advisers, has been a subject of debate. Milton concurs with Bosher that the King was being manipulated by the Episcopalians in ‘a long game of insincere moderation’, only for this to be jettisoned as soon as conditions permitted.²⁸ What is germane to this research is the fact that the 1660s marked the start of a concerted legislative attack on all Nonconformists, whether they were moderate or extreme and whether they had previously been ministering within the Church of England or been members of the sects, in direct opposition to what had been expected by them at the Restoration. Heywood himself had hoped for meaningful reform undertaken in a spirit of accommodation. Given the recent history of conflict and the intransigence of the Anglican party, this was unrealistic and, indeed, Heywood had his doubts. He wrote that, while he had ‘the hope of a just settlement’, he admitted that ‘I must confess we are in a precarious state, being afraid lest the supreme governor prove wicked...obstruct the work of reformation ... and turn gospel discipline into courts of formality.’²⁹

As Mark Goldie states, 1662 ensured that Puritanism was pushed out of the framework of the Established Church and became, by definition, Nonconformity, or, as its opponents

²⁶ Informative reviews can be found in John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (Yale University Press, 1991), Bosher, *Making of Restoration Settlement* and Neil Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

²⁷ Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 38 and Tim Harris, ‘Lives, Liberties and Estates: The Rhetoric of Liberty in the Reign of Charles II’, in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. by Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie (Blackwell, 1990), pp. 223-24.

²⁸ Bosher, *Making of Restoration Settlement*, p. 149 and Milton, *England's Second Reformation*, p. 452.

²⁹ Richard Slate, ‘Memoirs of Life of Oliver Heywood’, in *The Whole Works of Oliver Heywood*, Volume I, ed. by William Vint (Idle: John Vint, 1825-27), p. 75.

preferred to label it, 'Dissent'.³⁰ Goldie, in fact, goes on to say that this irreparable breach did not look so final at the time, and certainly not until it was crystallised by the 1689 Act of Toleration, since moderate Puritans such as Heywood still worked for the ideal of comprehension. Heywood was never seeking to leave the Church of England; he was forced to secede by virtue of the uncompromising demands made on him by the Act of Uniformity. Unlike members of the Congregational and Baptist Churches and members of the secessionist sects (Quakers, Fifth Monarchists and others), Heywood, as a 'middle-way' Presbyterian, clung steadfastly to the idea of readmission to the Church of England.³¹ He saw himself closer in his preferred ecclesiology to the Anglicans than he was to the sects or even the Congregationalists. However, it eventually became apparent that legislated toleration of other denominational practices outside the Church was the only practical way forward and this was implemented by the Toleration Act. The Anglican hierarchy tended to lump all the Nonconformists together as one, seeing them as equally sectarian in any debate over toleration or comprehension, much to the annoyance of middle-way Puritans such as Baxter and Heywood.³² Baxter made a point of stressing the closeness between his position and that of the Anglicans: he wrote that, 'as long as we agree in Fundamentals, we are of one Religion for all our Differences'.³³ The fact that earlier attempts at negotiated compromise, and the promises made by the King at Breda and afterwards, were so spectacularly spurned and transformed into prolonged hostility can be seen as the inevitable outcome of the triumph of the alliance between the Cavalier Parliament and the High Church Anglicans. It should, however, not be overlooked that there was a moment when the inevitability of this outcome

³⁰ Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 225.

³¹ As Anderson observes, the Baptists were not established to any great extent in Yorkshire, 'being so few, scattered and short-lived as to have very little influence'. Angela Anderson, 'From Puritanism to Nonconformity, 1660-1689' (PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1980), p. 2.

³² Goldie, *Roger Morrice*, p. 226.

³³ Richard Baxter, *The Cure of Church Divisions* (Nevill Symmons, 1670), p. 296, as quoted in Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, p. 138.

was not assured, when the Presbyterian influence built up in the Interregnum had looked more sustainable and when the King appeared to court the Puritans and offered some of them bishoprics. That said, once the moderate Presbyterians had been outmanoeuvred and their hopes for inclusive Church reform dashed, it was then that Heywood and others realised that their earlier forebodings had been justified and that it was only a matter of time before religious freedoms would again be curtailed and their position would be threatened in a spirit of malice.

Heywood was one of an estimated two thousand ministers who were dispossessed of their posts because of the hostile climate between 1660 and 1662.³⁴ The resulting degree of dislocation and upheaval cannot be over-estimated, even if it had been partially foreseen. Many writers have focused on ‘Black Bartholomew’s Day’, 24th August 1662, when over nine hundred ministers within the Church of England (around ten percent of the total) who would not conform to the Act of Uniformity had to abandon their congregations.³⁵ The previous Sunday, 17th August 1662, afforded these clergymen their last opportunity to preach to their flocks and to explain their own battles of conscience, to justify the regretful decisions which they had been forced to make and to proffer advice to their hearers, now facing the future without a sympathetic minister. Many of the sermons have survived and testify to an emotional and painful rupture at the parish level, which reflected the organisational and structural break-up of the Church on a national scale.³⁶ Appleby has commented on the tension within the Bartholomew’s Day sermons between the ‘need to avoid spiritual contamination and the instinct to integrate’.³⁷ The day felt like a major dislocation at the time, even if it subsequently

³⁴ Lee Gatiss, *The Tragedy of 1662: The Ejection and Persecution of the Puritans* (The Latimer Trust, 2007), p. 26. Heywood was suspended from preaching by the York Consistory Court in June 1662, two months before the implementation of the Act of Uniformity, on a charge of contempt of court, but he knew that he would have been unable to stay in post and wrote ‘in all probability I had been swallowed up in the common calamity’. Add MS 45964 fol. 40^v; HT I, p. 181.

³⁵ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day*, p. 2. A. G Matthews, *Calamy Revised, being a revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the Ministers Ejected and Silenced in 1662* (Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. xii-xiii.

³⁶ *A Compleat Collection of Farewel Sermons preached by Mr Calamy, Dr Manton, Mr Caryl et al* (publisher unknown, 1663). There were several editions of the sermons, collected by Calamy and others.

³⁷ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day*, p. 45.

proved to be less decisive: Baxter wrote that ‘a weight more grievous than a Thousand Ceremonies was added to the old Conformity, with grievous Penalty’.³⁸ Heywood called it ‘the fatal day’ and he marked its anniversary for decades afterwards with a religious fast.³⁹

Historians have thus long debated the wider significance and impact of the Act of Uniformity and the consequences which it had for Heywood in Coley encapsulate this debate. For some commentators, it is seen as the defining moment in the rejection of the Declaration of Breda. For example, Collinson states unequivocally that it was this Act which drove Puritanism into Nonconformity at a stroke.⁴⁰ Coffey agrees and characterises the ‘wholesale purge of the Puritan ministry’ as a ‘dramatic break’ with the Church’s past and something that has been overlooked by the way some commentators talk of the Church being ‘restored’ or ‘re-established’ when it had actually been re-shaped.⁴¹ The imposition of the Act displaced Heywood from his formal role in Coley overnight and left the chapelry leaderless. Yet, the impact was not, in the end, so clear-cut. As other writers have pointed out, the Act’s potential significance is not to be confused with its dramatic, short-term impact. Spurr and others have noted that the Act of Uniformity failed either to convert the Dissenters to Conformity or to silence Nonconformity, while Anthony Fletcher has highlighted the patchy nature of its implementation and the methods of resistance.⁴² Heywood established himself as an informal leader amongst Nonconformists and continued his ministry, demonstrating the practical obstructions to the legislation’s effectiveness. Appleby explains the Act’s failure on its long gestation and states that it was far from a state-sponsored plan for the eradication of Puritanism,

³⁸ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, F. Lawrence and F. Dunton, 1696), Part II, p. 384.

³⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 49^v; HT I, p. 190.

⁴⁰ Collinson, *Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 155. Abernathy charts Clarendon’s role in the passage of the legislation and supports the argument that the final label is misleading. George Abernathy, ‘Clarendon and the Declaration of Indulgence’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 11.1 (1960), pp. 55-73 (p. 61).

⁴¹ John Coffey, ‘Church and State, 1550-1750: The Emergence of Dissent’, in *T and T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*, ed. by Robert Pope and D. Densil Morgan (Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 49-71 (p. 60).

⁴² Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 55. Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts 1664-1679’, *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 235-46 (pp. 241-42).

but rather a 'bodged product of an unhealthy, neurotic and inconstant political system'.⁴³ This qualification seems too artificial: the Act was indeed the product of horse-trading and political wrangling between the King and Parliament, but it is apparent that Sheldon was determined to expel Puritanism in all its forms from the Established Church. The intention was clear, although the implementation proved to be ineffectual, because Sheldon's authority was not secure across the country.

That the Act can be considered at once so cataclysmic and at the same time as a failure was the result of the reality which Sheldon and his High Church party faced outside Westminster and Whitehall. The immediate impact was a shock to the structure of the Church as a result of so many defections. This caused a weakening of its presence with the loss of many competent clergymen, creating gaps across their dioceses that the bishops struggled to fill.⁴⁴ John Locke wrote, 'Bartholomew Day was fatal to our church and religion, by throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious and orthodox divines'.⁴⁵ (The national instability was reflected in Coley, where a successor was not found for Heywood until 1664 and that year saw no less than three appointments.)⁴⁶ At the same time, the imposition of the Act was piecemeal because implementation was so reliant on the magistrates, whose enthusiasm could not be relied upon and whom Spurr characterises as 'at best indifferent to the cause of uniformity and at worst active sympathisers of Nonconformity'.⁴⁷ The situation varied across the country, reflecting the relative strength of the Nonconformist presence in different locations.⁴⁸ For example, at one extreme, in Northamptonshire, a magistrate showed his anger

⁴³ David Appleby, 'From Ejection to Toleration', in *The Great Ejection of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath and Ecumenical Significance*, ed. by Alan Sell (Pickwick Publications, 2012), pp. 67-124 (p. 68).

⁴⁴ Ronald Hutton, *Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 177.

⁴⁵ John Locke, *A letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country* (publisher not known, 1675), p. 2.

⁴⁶ Add MS. 45964, fols 45^v-46^r, 51^r; HT I, pp. 186-87, p. 192.

⁴⁷ Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 55.

⁴⁸ Everitt claims that Dissent was strongest in the countryside, as the the Five Mile Act banned it in incorporated towns. However, as Heywood's support in York, Leeds and Manchester attests, this was not uniformly the case. Alan Everitt, 'Nonconformity in Country Parishes', in *Land, Church and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. by J. Thirsk (British Agricultural History Society, 1970), pp. 178-99 (p.185).

at what he was being asked to enforce by bluntly stating, ‘as for the Act of Uniformity, I know not who regards it’.⁴⁹ Alexandra Walsham makes the point that uniformity was frustrated in many places because ‘sympathy or support for Dissenting ministers...interfered with the implementation of the Crown’s policies’, as officials pulled strings for the accused, refused to suppress illegal gatherings or even held conventicles in their own homes.⁵⁰ Heywood’s success in largely evading the sanctions of the Act of Uniformity reflects his integration within the local community and the level of support he enjoyed from his followers and members of the gentry. His stance as a moderate Presbyterian, rather than a radical reformer or secessionist, allied to his recognised accomplishment as a preacher, ensured him an ongoing place in the religious life of his community.

Historiography of Persecution and Resistance: Rejection of the ‘Great Persecution’ Narrative

The nature of the persecution visited on Nonconformists (and Catholic recusants) has been catalogued extensively by historians as a sub-set of the analysis of the antecedents and aftermath of the post-Restoration Religious Settlement.⁵¹ Heywood undoubtedly experienced persecution, as defined by an abrupt loss of employment, income and formal status, together with being put under surveillance, being threatened and being arrested on several occasions. Yet, persecution was only one half of his experience, since Heywood’s stance was supported by others in the community and he was protected and encouraged to maintain his religious

⁴⁹ Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 60.

⁵⁰ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 271.

⁵¹ The term ‘persecution’ warrants some commentary. Employed by Dissenters on the receiving end of the Clarendon Code, it is, perhaps, a strong word to describe their experience in comparison to that of the religious martyrs in the Tudor era. Post-Restoration Nonconformists were imprisoned and fined, rather than burned at the stake, but they were also intimidated and subject to legal restrictions. The term is therefore used advisedly in this thesis, although it is widely employed by other writers; for example, John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in England, 1558-1689* (Pearson Education, 2000), p. 11 and Mark Goldie, ‘The Theory of Intolerance in Restoration England’, in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 331.

vocation.⁵² A combination of personal steadfastness and communal endorsement allowed him to retain his influence and purpose. David Wykes has reviewed the earlier historiography around the enforcement of legislation and concludes that the theory of the ‘Great Persecution’ between the Restoration and the Toleration Act promulgated by Beddard and others needs to be refined.⁵³ It was not a period of universal repression and suffering on the part of all Nonconformists across the country. While Wykes agrees with Fletcher’s conclusion that the impact of the Conventicle Acts has been exaggerated, as the evidence from the relevant Quarter Sessions books reveals that the penal acts were rarely enforced in the courts, he states that Fletcher’s approach was too narrow. He goes on to make the point that prosecution in court is not the only way to measure the effectiveness of a law.⁵⁴ Harassment by neighbours, being placed under watch, excommunication and simply the threat of prosecution can all be seen as forms of persecution and all these were indeed experienced by Heywood. Wykes’ conclusion is now shared by others; that there were bouts and locations of fierce persecution, but that it was far from universal or continuous. Fletcher points out that law enforcement was subject to the assiduity of local JPs, which varied enormously.⁵⁵ Looking at historians’ comments on how persecution was resisted, Fletcher challenges any characterisation of the Dissenters as frightened victims; he points out that many of them resisted persecution steadfastly and used loopholes to avoid the sanctions of the law, such as removing property to another jurisdiction to avoid its being distrained. It has been argued that persecution actively stimulated resistance; a conclusion drawn by C. G. Bolam, who states that punishment, or the threat of it, meant that weaker members of the Dissenting community eventually yielded and conformed, while

⁵² Even his imprisonment in York Castle was more comfortable than might have been expected, with his wife and friends able to spend time with him. Griffiths points out that prisons were privately owned and varied in their regimes. Olive Griffiths, *Religion and Learning: A Study in English Presbyterian Thought from the Bartholomew Ejections (1662) to the Foundation of the Unitarian Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 25.

⁵³ David Wykes, ‘Protestant Dissent and the Law: Enforcement and Persecution, 1662 -1672’, *Studies in Church History*, 56 (2020), pp. 306-19 (p. 307).

⁵⁴ Wykes, ‘Protestant Dissent’, p. 308.

⁵⁵ Fletcher, ‘Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts’, p. 239.

resistance intensified in the hands of more determined Nonconformists, whose faith was strengthened by the very fact of the challenge they faced and, as in Heywood's case, by the support they received in their stance.⁵⁶ Heywood was not fighting his battle of conscience alone, but was helped to resist by family connections and by networks of Puritan sympathisers across the social strata.

John Miller concludes that it was harder for the authorities to achieve law enforcement in towns by comparison to rural parishes. He uses Hull as an example, where in 1670 the local congregation in Holy Trinity Church remained in place in a show of mass defiance when a Nonconformist preacher climbed into the pulpit.⁵⁷ Miller's perspective is that relationships were stronger within a town's mercantile community and therefore resistance was more difficult to overcome, but evidence from Heywood's experience challenges this conclusion. Persecution was less successful in Coley compared to some other, more urban, areas such as the outlying districts of Leeds (where Thomas Hardcastle (1637-1678) was repeatedly arrested in Shadwell), precisely because relationships within the parish were so strong and because a section of the Nonconformist laity was so supportive of Heywood's position. On more than one occasion, Heywood was given advance notice of an impending raid on a conventicle by the constable himself.⁵⁸ Perhaps it is wiser to conclude that the success, or otherwise, of enforcement, whether in a city or village, depended on the relative inclinations of the enforcers, combined with the relative determination of the Nonconformist clergy and their supporters to resist. In a wide-ranging review of the evolution of post-Restoration Nonconformity in Yorkshire, Angela Andersen points out that the penal acts required persecution of the laity in

⁵⁶ C. G. Bolam and others, *The English Presbyterians: from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism* (Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 87.

⁵⁷ John Miller, *Cities Divided: Politics and Religion in English Provincial Towns, 1660-1722* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 153.

⁵⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 80^v; HT I, p. 286; WYAS, SPC 73, p. 48; HT IV, p. 93. Although in manuscript form, the documents in the WYAS collection have single page numbers, not two-sided folio numbers.

addition to that of the Dissenting clergy.⁵⁹ This explains why a series of legislative measures was deemed necessary to combat resistance not only by the ejected ministers but also by disobedient congregations, who still attended illegal conventicles or, where possible, services, even after 1662. This situation led to the two Conventicle Acts, primarily directed at lay Dissenters, with rewards for informers who brought the activities of transgressors to the notice of law officers, and to the Five Mile Act, which strengthened the restrictions and sanctions against the clergy.

The historiography on the question of the nature of resistance to persecution has continued to challenge the earlier view expressed by Christopher Hill that it was characterised by withdrawal and quietism, although Richard Greaves claims that ‘the dominant [Puritan] philosophy was that of passive resistance’.⁶⁰ Neil Keeble’s work focusing on resistance exercised by literature makes the point that withdrawal from the political arena did not equate to defeatism.⁶¹ George Southcombe summarises the features of resistance as ‘principled, visible and powerful’.⁶² That further pieces of legislation were required following the Act of Uniformity is itself testimony to the need to contain ongoing resistance. The reality was that persecution faced widespread, if unequal, pockets of resistance. This is of importance as background to the microhistory of Heywood’s experience in Yorkshire and helps us to understand the climate of opposition into which he was born in Puritan Lancashire. Coffey comments that the earlier struggles for dominance within different strands of the Established Church, dating from Archbishop Laud’s reforms of the early seventeenth century, had, in fact, radicalised the godly and given them something to fight against, which was then available to

⁵⁹ Andersen, *From Puritanism to Nonconformity*, p. 50.

⁶⁰ Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and some Contemporaries* (Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 328. Richard Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1667* (Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 121.

⁶¹ Neil Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester University Press, 1987), p. 284.

⁶² George Southcombe, ‘Dissent and the Restoration Church’, in *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, ed. by Grant Tapsell (Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 195-216 (p. 204).

be drawn upon after 1662.⁶³ The majority of those clergy who were ingrained in the traditions of Puritanism, now rejected by the Church authorities instead of being included in a broadly-based Church, did not surrender or escape persecution by emigrating to the New World. Instead, resistance took many forms and not always that of outright opposition. At times, resistance reflected the long-standing hopes of a future comprehensive settlement and was characterised by differing tactics employed under differing circumstances. Michael Watts makes the assertion that persecution itself depended upon how far Dissenters were prepared to compromise; that there was a symbiotic relationship between the severity of oppression and the degree of opposition.⁶⁴ This generalisation may be too simplistic, because the evidence around the strength of resistance shows that it depended on the relative zeal of local magistrates and on the determination and popularity of individual Dissenters, based on the strength of their own personal convictions. Just as persecution could be legislated for nationally, but not enforced uniformly, so resistance could not be predicted to be the same across the country. Watts also makes the point that repeated persecution could result in resistance on a different plane: that of an intense spiritual experience.⁶⁵ The very fact of being persecuted because of a commitment to their faith could serve to strengthen the Dissenters' zeal and allow them to portray themselves as suffering in the steps of Christ. There is no evidence of a cult of martyrdom, but there was certainly a sense of the sanctity of their position in the face of onslaughts from the ungodly, whatever the latter's legalised motivation.

The fact that religious and political developments were intimately linked in seventeenth-century England has long been acknowledged in the historiography. The relevance to this study is the equation made between religious Nonconformity and political sedition. Greaves analyses both the general landscape, whereby the Anglicans used the fear of

⁶³ Coffey, 'Church and State', p. 55.

⁶⁴ Michael Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 227.

⁶⁵ Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 239.

Dissent destabilising society and being equated with treason to justify persecution, and he also looks at examples of actual insurrection, albeit unsuccessful ones, in his study of radical Nonconformity.⁶⁶ The wording of a warrant issued for the arrest of Heywood's friend, Hardcastle, in 1664 perpetuates the language of fear as justification for his imprisonment:

Whereby ... disloyal persons, to the terror of the king's liege people,
riotously, seditiously and impudently, meet in divers places ... to disaffect
the people to the government, to disturb the king's peace and turmoil
the nation in new combustions and confusions ...⁶⁷

However, this reflects more on the desperation of the magistrates in Leeds to suppress conventicles and other illegal activity, rather than the reality of largely isolated plots which failed to make any headway.⁶⁸ The Presbyterians never advocated revolution, despite such assertions by their enemies and despite their profound and determined disobedience to the penal acts. As such, on the occasions when they were apprehended and imprisoned, they were often treated with civility, as can be seen from Heywood's time in York Castle in 1685, although this would have depended on the attitudes of the individual magistrate and gaoler.⁶⁹

Alongside the Act of Uniformity, the other key date recognised by historians in the cycle of persecution, resistance and mutual acceptance at a national level is that of the 1689 Act of Toleration. Ralph Stevens makes the clear assertion that the Act 'marked the end of the Establishment persecution of fellow Protestants'.⁷⁰ It signalled the end of theological coercion and attempts at uniformity, as Presbyterians and other Nonconformists were allowed to worship freely, albeit under licence and subject to certain oaths of allegiance. At the same

⁶⁶ Richard Greaves, *Deliver us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 199.

⁶⁷ Add. MS 45965, fol. 14^v; HT III, p.18.

⁶⁸ For example, the Farnley Wood Plot of October 1663. See Andrew Hopper, 'The Farnley Wood Plot and the Memory of the Civil Wars in Yorkshire', *The Historical Journal*, 45.2 (2002), pp. 281-303.

⁶⁹ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 82; HT IV, p. 114.

⁷⁰ Ralph Stevens, *Protestant Pluralism: The Reception of the Toleration Act, 1689-1720* (The Boydell Press, 2018), p. 1.

time, it ended any hopes of comprehension, as all forms of Nonconformity (except for Catholicism) were henceforward to be tolerated outside the Established Church, rather than included within its ecclesiology, as Heywood and others had long hoped. Heywood had already taken full advantage of James II's Declaration of Indulgence, despite any misgivings that its true intention might be to encourage 'popery', and he had built a meeting house at Northowram with his own money in 1688. Likewise, he welcomed the 1689 Act, despite its drawbacks and its final rejection of comprehension. William Sheils states that by then the fire had gone out of the Dissenting movement, to be replaced by a languid institutionalism.⁷¹ Spurr concurs and claims that [Dissenters] 'had to organise themselves for freedom and sustain a zeal hitherto honed by persecution'.⁷² It seems that, once deprived of an enemy against which to fight, the energy of Nonconformity began to dissipate, morale seemed to fall (paradoxically) and a complacency set in, of which Heywood was well aware and against which he fought, through the robust dissemination of his message throughout the rest of his life.

What the historiography demonstrates is that Nonconformist practice co-existed alongside Anglicanism and other religious denominations and sects, through both times of persecution and periods of relative harmony. The Church of England, with its formalised structures and ceremonies, would have been the most visible to Heywood's society in Coley and Halifax, given its dominant position in the social fabric and its traditions of festivals throughout the year. However, the other denominations, such as the Congregationalists and the Quakers, would also have been familiar to Presbyterians. At times, relations with the Congregationalists were positive (as when Heywood worked for ecumenical cooperation) and sometimes less so, while the Quakers were regarded with suspicion.⁷³ The recent consensus

⁷¹ William Sheils, 'The Act of Toleration: Household Worship and Voicing Dissent: Oliver Heywood's *A Family Altar*', in *People and Piety: Protestant Devotional Identities in Early Modern England*, ed. by Elizabeth Clarke and Robert Daniel (Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 79-91 (p. 89).

⁷² Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 149.

⁷³ Heywood wrote that the Quakers (and other sects) had abused 'the abundant liberty for religious exercise both in public and private...by their unwise and unwarrantable practices'. Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 127.

amongst historians of religion in the seventeenth century is that state-sponsored oppression was only one amongst many competing imperatives in the lives of the Nonconformists, alongside strong local relationships, more distant contacts with like-minded communities via travelling preachers and a shared literary culture of religious treatises and the distribution of printed sermons. Persecution was practised but it was not as bloody as in the Tudor era and it was interspersed with periods of official relaxation, when licences were granted and meeting houses permitted under temporary declarations of indulgence by the Royal Prerogative. Within the national picture chronicled by Collinson, Spurr and others, the regional focus provided by Bryan Dale and Fletcher illustrates the fluctuations in fortune and practice in different parts of the country, while the microhistorical lens trained on Heywood in Coley allows a precise study of an individual experience amidst all this diffusion.

Heywood Historiography: from Hagiography to Critical Study

There are two key components to the historiography on Heywood himself: the Victorian hagiographies and the later, more objective, accounts of his life. The nineteenth century saw several editions of his collected works in the Victorian tradition of religious panegyric, without critical commentary.⁷⁴ Within more recent scholarship, there have been a couple of academic studies, but there has yet to be a comprehensive analysis of Heywood's contribution to seventeenth-century Nonconformity in all its manifestations. The first key work was published by John Fawcett (1793-1817) in Halifax in 1796, and began the process of positioning Heywood within the context of Puritanism's evolution.⁷⁵ Fawcett was a Baptist minister in Yorkshire and he states that his biography was written in a spirit of tolerance, without 'any

⁷⁴ Despite claiming objectivity, Hunter calls Heywood 'one of those men who ... were the instruments in the hands of Providence of introducing a new element into English society'. Hunter, *Old Dissent*, Preface, p. iv.

⁷⁵ Fawcett also professes neutrality towards Dissenters, before describing Heywood as 'eminent for his strict and conscientious adherence to the divine word, as the rule of faith, for Christian worship, and of obedience in general'. John Fawcett, *The Life of Rev. Oliver Heywood with Historical Sketches of the Times in which he Lived (Halifax: Ewood Hall, 1796)*, Introduction, p. 7.

intention to revive the least degree of that asperity' which had existed between the Established Church and Dissenters.⁷⁶

Fawcett is cited as a key source for Richard Slate (1787-1867), another nineteenth-century biographer and the editor, with William Vint (1768-1834), of Heywood's surviving manuscripts. Vint's five-volume edition of Heywood's life and works was published in 1827, and its importance for the modern historian derives from the fact that it offers a comprehensive collection of Heywood's published treatises, together with his biographies of his father-in-law, Angier, and of his brother, Nathaniel, with his biographical sketches of other members of his family and examples of letters, 'Soliloquies' and other writings, alongside Slate's account of Heywood's life. The tone of Slate's biography is uniformly positive and places Heywood in the forefront of Protestant Dissent, praising 'his singular piety ... the unwearied efforts which he made to do good and the extended usefulness which attended his exertions through the whole of his course'.⁷⁷ It is this edition, together with the four-volume edition of the bulk of Heywood's manuscripts published between 1882 and 1884 by Joseph Horsfall Turner (1845-1915), which forms the core of the nineteenth-century reference works. Horsfall Turner was a Halifax antiquary, whose self-appointed remit was to preserve the written output and reputation of Heywood as a local 'worthy'.⁷⁸ In a similar vein, two other biographies were published in the nineteenth century, by Joseph Hunter (1783-1861) and Mark Pearson (1844-1910), both with uncritical accounts of Heywood's ministry and his high standing in the local community. Hunter writes that 'his love for his whole people cannot be questioned'.⁷⁹ Similarly, Pearson

⁷⁶ Fawcett, *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ William Vint, *The Whole Works of Rev. Oliver Heywood B.A., Now First Collected, Revised and Arranged Including some Tracts extremely scarce, and others from unpublished Manuscripts: with Memoirs of his Life in Five Volumes* (Idle: John Vint for the editor, 1825-27), p. 6. Volume I contains Slate's biography of Heywood.

⁷⁸ J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Vols. I and II, Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1881-82, Vols. III and IV, Bingley: T. Harrison, 1883-85).

⁷⁹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 105.

states that Heywood enjoyed ‘profound regard, and the good man was held in esteem by officers of the law’.⁸⁰

The more recent, less religiously-inspired perspective, together with a more sophisticated approach to social history and its application to post-Reformation scholarship, is seen in accounts of Heywood’s mission by Samuel Thomas and Sheils.⁸¹ Thomas focuses on Heywood’s professional practice in Coley and there is little contextualisation of the religious landscape and his remit is a narrow one. He restricts himself to analysis of the composition of Heywood’s congregation and their worshipping patterns and to an examination of how Heywood’s ministry evolved into written output towards the end of his life, replacing his itinerancy. Thomas’s methodology is an inductive analysis of Heywood’s close relationships within Coley and Northowram. His main concern is to understand the nature of community in the seventeenth century and how Heywood’s experience can help historians to re-define the interactions between family, parish and civic authorities. For Thomas, Heywood is important, not as an exemplar of Dissent, but as a conduit through which a complex pattern of relationships operated and were nurtured, despite formal or institutional pressures working against them.⁸² Sheils uses Heywood’s records to analyse the overlapping networks within the community at Coley and to examine the pattern of household allegiances and the demographic composition of Heywood’s congregations.⁸³

Although not as widely referenced as Baxter or Calamy, Heywood has attracted some attention from other modern writers, coming from different angles. Iris Macfarlane

⁸⁰ Mark Pearson, *Northowram: Its History and Antiquities, with a Life of Oliver Heywood* (Halifax: F. King and Sons, 1898), p. 79.

⁸¹ There are few studies of individuals outside the metropolitan centres. One comparator is Alan Macfarlane’s *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (Oxford University Press, 1976). Josselin was a ‘partial Nonconformist’ in Earls Colne in Essex. A second example is *John Flavel: Puritan Life and Thought in Stuart England* by Brian H Cosby (Lexington Books, 2014). Cosby gives some biographical details of Flavel in Devon, but focuses more on his theology.

⁸² Samuel Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England: parish and congregation in Oliver Heywood’s Halifax* (Brill, 2013), p. 48.

⁸³ William Sheils, ‘Oliver Heywood and his Congregation’, *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), pp.261-77 (p. 271).

characterises Heywood's religious beliefs as a protection against the uncertainties surrounding health and prosperity which coloured everyday life in the second half of the seventeenth century, beliefs no less sincere for their basis in escapism and the promise of stability in the next life.⁸⁴ John Smail writes of the 'complex and often ambiguous divisions' within Heywood's religious and political cultures, which this research into Heywood's own output is able to develop further.⁸⁵ Wallace Notestein traces the key milestones in Heywood's life and stresses his tolerance, both of his Conformist opponents and of rude and unruly congregations, repeating the reference to the 'tone of defiance in every voice'.⁸⁶ Notestein stresses that the Dissenters in general, and Heywood in particular, were closer to their followers than the Conformists were. His thesis is that through their focus on pastoral work and immersion in the lives of their hearers, the Nonconformist clerics were part of the flock, unlike Anglican parish priests who were imposed on his congregation as part of a hierarchical Church structure.⁸⁷ Providing a deeper understanding of Heywood through the self-revelations contained in his writings, Sheila Graham has produced a study which focuses on his personal faith and its challenges.⁸⁸ It helps us appreciate how Heywood found the strength to resist the years of persecution and hardship, as well as providing useful input into the nature of his relations with his family. On the antiquarian, rather than academic, front, David Nortcliffe wrote a factual account of Heywood's life for the *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, which nevertheless concludes with the judgement that 'surely he is a prophet who is largely unsung in his own land'.⁸⁹ This research aims to rectify this omission, but through objective analysis rather than simple praise.

⁸⁴ Iris Macfarlane, 'The Insecure World of Oliver Heywood,' *History Today*, 21.4 (1971), pp. 247-53 (p. 247).

⁸⁵ John Smail, 'Local Politics in Restoration England: Religion, Culture and Politics in Oliver Heywood's Halifax', in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society and Self-Fashioning in post-Reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 243-48.

⁸⁶ Wallace Notestein, *Four Worthies: John Chamberlain, Ann Clifford, John Taylor and Oliver Heywood* (Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 220.

⁸⁷ Notestein, *Four Worthies*, p. 220.

⁸⁸ Sheila Graham, *A Melting Season: Inside the Mind of Oliver Heywood* (Northowram Historical Society, 2022).

⁸⁹ David Nortcliffe, 'Rev. Oliver Heywood', *THAS*, (1985), pp. 19-29 (p. 29).

From both the broader historiography on Dissent and the Heywood scholarship, it becomes apparent that Heywood's life supports the more recent view that the relationship between Dissenters and the wider community was a complex and fluid one. While Nonconformity was rigorously legislated against, Heywood's experience provides a clear illustration of the patchy record of implementation on the one hand and of strong local support which sustained resistance on the other hand. There has not been a recent, comprehensive re-appraisal of his position and significance, but building on the work of Thomas and Graham, it becomes evident that Heywood was a complex figure, alternately practising exclusion and ecumenism, at times a divisive and at times a unifying presence and a clergyman genuinely challenged by the demands of his faith. This leads to a re-evaluation of his reputation as a martyr-like victim of persecution perpetuated by Fawcett, Hunter and Slate in the nineteenth century, but does not lessen the importance of his experience.

Primary Sources: The Heywood Papers

One of the key arguments for establishing the significance of Heywood in the history of seventeenth-century Protestant Dissent is that he was a prolific chronicler of his own life and of the events that he lived through, both locally and, at times, at a national level. He started his diary (the term he used) on 24th March 1666, the day that he left Coley in the wake of the restrictions imposed by the Five Mile Act, and he continued to record his daily activities until a few days before his death on 4th May 1702. However, the diary is only one component of a multi-faceted collection of documents within the Heywood archive, the bulk of which are now preserved in the Heywood Papers in the British Library (BL) and others in the Calderdale branch of the West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS).⁹⁰

⁹⁰ The manuscript primary sources held at the BL and WYAS (Calderdale) are listed in the Bibliography.

The archive is both extensive and varied and contains one of the foremost collections of Nonconformist literary output to have survived. In addition to his journals and the account of his own life from his birth to the time of his enforced itinerancy, Heywood wrote biographies of his parents and his father-in-law and histories of the Heywood family and of Coley Parish. In the tradition of Protestant religious self-scrutiny, the Heywood Papers also contain his notebooks or 'Event Books', with many discrete sections, including quotations from poetry, Biblical references and sections entitled, amongst others, 'Experiences', 'Returnes of Prayer', 'Objects and Observations,' and 'Solemne Covenants and Self-Reflections', together with a selection of sermons and letters.⁹¹ Heywood was an inveterate compiler of lists, and an important document of this nature is the 'Nonconformist Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths' (known as *The Northowram or Coley Register*) which he compiled and which was continued by his successor at his church in Northowram, Thomas Dickenson (1669-1743), until 1752. There are also surviving lists of curates at Coley, of ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity, of his journeys across the North of England and of the fasts, services and baptisms which he held. The archive contains some gaps and duplications in the material and there are unresolved questions around the provenance and loss of some the papers, while there are further complications arising from the classifications and transcriptions of the nineteenth-century editors.⁹² However, there is a remarkable wealth of original manuscript material for historians to access. To summarise what has been identified: the BL catalogue contains twenty-four Additional Manuscript (Add. MS) or Additional Charter (Add. CH) entries under the Heywood Papers classification and the WYAS in Calderdale has six key manuscript sources within a total of sixteen related catalogue entries.

⁹¹ See Appendix Three for an example of Heywood's manuscript, containing a 'Returne of Prayer'.

⁹² See Horsfall Turner's summary of his sources, HT III, pp. 9-16.

Most of the Heywood Papers passed into the possession of Richard Astley through his marriage in 1812 to Heywood's great-great-granddaughter Ann and were given to the British Museum by Harry Astley Roberts, Richard Astley's grandson, in 1944. Of the core volumes (Add. MSS 45963 to 45981, classified as Volumes I to XIX), Volume V (Add. MS 45967) was acquired by Richard Astley as a gift from W. H. Rawson. British Library Add. MSS 24443 and 24486 are transcripts by Hunter for *The Rise of the Old Dissent* (1842) and also contain material on Coley. British Library Add. CHS 71434-36, also left to the British Museum by Harry Astley Roberts, contain family legal documents, including a bond between Heywood's father, Richard, and John Angier as a settlement at the time of Heywood's marriage to Elizabeth Angier in 1655 and the will of his widow Abigail with probate records.

There are several challenges surrounding the archive as a whole. Firstly, some sections have not survived at all and there is some material referred to by the nineteenth-century antiquaries which cannot now be located, such as the 'Vellum Notebook' transcribed by Horsfall Turner or the 'Soliloquies' from 1653, noted by Slate.⁹³ Secondly, it is not clear how or when the 'last diary' became separated from the Astley Bequest to the British Museum. Thirdly, and most importantly, it soon becomes apparent that the archive needs to be reviewed in totality to obtain a detailed understanding of Heywood's attitude to the religious convulsions he experienced and of his own spiritual development. Taking these issues in order; firstly, to consider the gaps in the 'diaries', it is necessary to position the contributions of the three nineteenth-century Heywood scholars already referred to: Vint, Slate and Horsfall Turner. As mentioned above, Vint published a collection of Heywood's output in *The Whole Works of Oliver Heywood, Now First Collected, Revised and Arranged in Five Volumes* in 1827, of which the first volume includes Slate's biography, *Memoirs of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., Chiefly Extracted from his Diary and other unpublished Manuscripts*. (The remaining four

⁹³ HT II, pp. 183-236.

volumes consist of transcriptions of Heywood's published treatises, with a small selection in Volume I of letters and other writings taken from the unpublished manuscripts.) It is to Slate that the modern historian must turn to understand more of the provenance and gaps in the diaries. In the Preface to his *Memoirs of Oliver Heywood*, Slate writes that 'to render the narrative as interesting as possible, it consists chiefly of extracts from Mr. Heywood's private papers, so that the work may be considered a specimen of auto-biography'.⁹⁴ He lists his sources as follows:

1. 'A Relation' of the most considerable passages of his Life from Infancy till nearly the fortieth year of his age (referred to as the 'Autobiography' by Horsfall Turner)
2. 'Soliloquies' on various occurrences from May 1653 to June 1682
- 3-4. 'Covenants', occasional and annual from February 1673 to 1680 and from June 1685 to February 1702
- 5-6. 'Returns of Prayer' from January 1672 to 1677 and from 1682 to 1702
7. 'Self-Reflections' from November 1677 to 1700
8. 'Experiences with Reflections' from February 1680 to 1702
- 9-13. 'Diary' from its commencement in 1666 to 1673, from July 1677 to May 1680, from May 1682 to July 1686, from March 1695 to June 1699 and from October 1699 to 1702
14. 'Particulars respecting Coley, collected by O. Heywood'. A private record of members of the church at Northowram, containing also the church covenant etc.

⁹⁴ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 3. Slate had earlier included a biography of Heywood in *Select Nonconformist Remains* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814), a collection of sermons by Heywood, Jollie, Henry Newcome and Henry Pendlebury (1626-1695).

15. 'The Heywood Family', containing the lives of Mr. Heywood's ancestors and pious relatives, written by himself.⁹⁵

Horsfall Turner replicates this list in an introduction to Volume III of his publication *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702; His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, published in Brighouse and Bingley between 1882 and 1884, although his list consists of sixteen entries rather than the fifteen in Slate, as he splits 'Particulars Concerning Coley' and 'A private record of members of the church at Northowram' into two separate manuscripts.⁹⁶ Horsfall Turner also quotes Slate as saying that he had twenty-two manuscripts in total in his possession; it must be assumed that the additional seven were loose notebooks or memoranda. Of the twenty-two volumes, Slate is reported as stating that eighteen had been lent by 'Miss Heywood of Mansfield'.⁹⁷ As he was writing in 1827, this member of the family was probably Ann Heywood's aunt, Mary (the sister of Ann's father Samuel Heywood), who died unmarried in Mansfield in 1832. Of the other four volumes, Horsfall Turner quotes Slate as stating that two had been lent by Richard Astley (Mary's nephew by marriage mentioned above), one by Dr. Fawcett and the last by Dr. Raffles.

Horsfall Turner quotes another list of sources for Hunter's biography, written in 1819, although not published until 1842, which consists of Slate's list, with the addition of a book of twenty 'Meditations on the Act of Uniformity', 'Accounts of the Ordination of Ministers' and 'Accounts of the Meetings of Ministers in the West Riding'. Horsfall Turner adds the statement that he had not been able to locate the 'Soliloquies' from which Slate quotes. Looking at the diaries only, a sensible starting point for today's researcher is to attempt to match Slate's list with the surviving primary sources in the BL and in the WYAS collection.⁹⁸ From this, it

⁹⁵ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 3.

⁹⁶ HT III, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

emerges that between 1819 when Hunter was using the diaries and 1825 when Vint and Slate were preparing their *Whole Works*, part of the later section of the diaries covering 1695 to 1699 was lost. Horsfall Turner says he has the volume from October 1699 onwards, but that the first half (from March 1695 to June 1699) ‘seems to have been lost or torn out’⁹⁹. There are, in fact, a few extracts from this period in Hunter’s biography and in his transcriptions in the BL collection (Add. MS 24486), together with summarised entries from the diaries for July 1677 to May 1680 and May 1682 to July 1686.

Today, in the archives in London and Halifax, we have the following ‘Diaries’ (all of which have been transcribed by either Hunter or Horsfall Turner):

1 – 24th March 1666 to 7th November 1673 – BL Add. MS 45965 – Horsfall Turner Vol. I

2 — 23rd July 1677 to 7th May 1680 – BL Add. MS 24486 (Hunter transcription – partial) – Horsfall Turner Vol. II

3 - 3rd September 1678 to 23rd November 1682 – BL Add. MS 45967¹⁰⁰ – Horsfall Turner Vol. II, labelled as ‘Mr. Heywood’s Rawson Volume’¹⁰¹

4– May 1682 to July 1686 – BL Add. MS 24486 (Hunter transcription) – not in Horsfall Turner

5– 1st March 1695 to 2nd October 1699 – BL Add. MS 24486 (Hunter transcription) – not in Horsfall Turner

6– 1st October 1699 to 29th April 1702 – WYAS, MSC509/5 – Horsfall Turner Vol. IV

Horsfall Turner had pointed out in his 1883 publication that he was ‘still hoping to find’ the following lost volumes of the diaries: May 1682 to July 1686 and March 1695 to June 1699.

⁹⁹ HT III, p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ To explain the situation here in more detail: the section entitled the ‘Rawson Volume’ in Horsfall Turner Vol. II duplicates a few of the entries under the ‘Diary’ heading in the same volume. The duplication covers the period from 3rd September 1678 to 7th May 1680, although some of the entries are not identical in wording. The ‘Rawson Volume’ is transcribed from BL Add. MS 45967, while the original manuscript of the diary has been lost, although Hunter transcribed it and it is contained in Add. MS 24486.

¹⁰¹ This had been in the possession of W. H. Rawson of Halifax and was acquired by Richard Astley in 1846.

These have now been located (not as original manuscripts, but in Hunter's transcriptions) in Add. MS 24486 in the British Library.¹⁰² Therefore, out of a period of thirty-six years, there is around twenty-four years' worth of journal entries surviving in some form. Horsfall Turner concluded that the portions of the diary from November 1673 to July 1677, from May 1680 to May 1682 and from August 1686 to March 1695 are 'irretrievably lost', as Hunter had made enquiries as to their whereabouts in 1819 and had been unsuccessful in tracing them.

Secondly, it is not clear why the so-called 'Last Diary', which is within Slate's 1827 list, is not part of the Astley Bequest. We do not know how it was separated from the papers which Ann Heywood and Richard Astley presumably inherited from her Aunt Mary on the latter's death in 1832. Nor is it quite clear how it found its way into the Calderdale WYAS Collection. It appears, from research undertaken at the BL and the WYAS, that this volume was acquired by Horsfall Turner, most probably in the 1880s when he was collating Heywood's output and formed part of the bequest that he made to Halifax Corporation in 1915. It has been confirmed that this was subsequently transferred from Halifax Central Library's collection to the Archive Service in the 1980s.¹⁰³

Finally, as has already been touched on with the explanation of the 'Rawson Volume' covering some of the same ground as the diary, the archive needs to be seen holistically to be able to piece together Heywood's recorded chronology, his religious motivation and, ultimately, his significance. While the diaries are the most well-known elements of the Heywood Papers, as Chapter Two illustrates, they offer only one perspective on Heywood's life and are, in general, written in sparse and factual terms. His autobiographical work, 'A Relation of the most considerable passages of my Life', written between 1661 and 1666, provides far more context around his upbringing and education and chronicles the early years

¹⁰² Slate, in fact, has a couple of pages of diary entries which cover 28th June to 3rd November 1682.

¹⁰³ This information was obtained from the staff in the Local Studies Department of Halifax Central Library.

of conflict at Coley, with reflections and elements of self-justification.¹⁰⁴ His ‘Solemne Covenants’ to God, written annually between 1672 and 1702, give judgements on his own behaviour and record a renewal of his vows and a desire to improve on his godly life, while his ‘Self-Reflections’, ‘Returnes of Prayer’ or ‘Temptations’, written at various times, but a large part of which date from the 1670s, are where he examines his conscience in the light of his actions and emotions. All these passages chronicle his experiences in a complementary way to the diaries.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, only a handful of letters have been transcribed and reproduced by Vint and others, including for example those from Heywood to Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), have not been preserved in the recipients’ archives.

Methodology: Microhistory and Literary Analysis

The principles of a microhistorical study, as elaborated by John Brewer, will inform the research. Brewer defines historical figures as having ‘feelings, motives, consciousness, rather than being two-dimensional categories or representatives’.¹⁰⁶ Heywood’s journal, and his other life-writing, where we see his personal hopes and anxieties, his opinions and self-recriminations, allow the microhistorian to treat him more as a living subject than as a preserved object.¹⁰⁷ His first-person written output lets the historian engage with Heywood’s dilemmas and emotions in a way that is more vivid and personal than third-person accounts

¹⁰⁴ Horsfall Turner published Heywood’s work under the title *Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, and renamed the ‘Relation’ as ‘Autobiography’. HT III, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Of the material in the ‘Event Books’ transcribed by Horsfall Turner, one section, the ‘Vellum Notebook’, is missing from the BL’s collection, so all subsequent references to this provide only the Horsfall Turner citation.

¹⁰⁶ John Brewer, ‘Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life’, *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 87-109 (p. 89).

¹⁰⁷ Other classic microhistorical studies with a single individual as their focus include Keith Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor’s Summer: a Scrivener, his City and the Plague* (Yale University Press, 2011), Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Harvard University Press, 1983) and Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (John Hopkins University, 1980). See also David Sabean, *Kinship in Neckerhausen* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (Yale University Press, 2001).

permit. Jill Lepore makes the distinction between microhistory and biography, stating that the former ‘uses a life as an exemplar, an illustration of broader issues’, whereas a biography focuses only on the individual.¹⁰⁸ The challenge is to apply objective analysis to Heywood’s records, to position his stated beliefs in a historical context and to offer theories about the motivation for (and impact of) such an extensive output. He was not the only Nonconformist clergyman to keep a diary and, alongside those of Adam Martindale (1623-1686) and Ralph Josselin, the slighter journals of Philip Henry (1631-1696) and George Trosse (1631-1713) and the autobiographical writings of Baxter offer useful comparisons.¹⁰⁹ For a different perspective, the journal of Roger Lowe (d. 1679), a Cheshire mercer, provides a contemporary insight into the laity’s view of Dissent, while that of Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658) covers a layman’s experience from a slightly earlier period.¹¹⁰ The motivations for keeping a diary are manifold and in Heywood’s case, following the Puritan model of self-scrutiny, he explicitly stated that he wanted to record his pastoral work, to reflect on his own endeavours and shortcomings and to disseminate the Word of God as widely as possible. Within his writings, he revealed other dimensions and insights: human inconsistencies and emotions, unexpected doubts and questions about his faith are to be found amongst the drier recorded facts, statistics and lists. All this affords us the ability to develop a sense of connectedness to his life and to understand his ‘individual agency around his choices and actions’, as Giovanni Levi describes microhistory.¹¹¹

Of the subdivisions within the microhistorical approach, as outlined by Brad Gregory and others, the thesis will employ the ‘systematic’ form; that is, it will approach the social

¹⁰⁸ Jill Lepore, ‘Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography’, *Journal of American History*, 88.1 (2001), pp. 129-144 (p. 133).

¹⁰⁹ Matthew Henry and J. B. Williams, *Memoir of Rev. Philip Henry* (American Tract Society, 1853), Isaac Gilling, *The Life of Roger Trosse* (John Clark, 1715) and Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (Matthew Sylvester, 1696).

¹¹⁰ Ian Winstanley, *The Diary of Roger Lowe* (Picks Publishing, 1994). Paul Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Methuen, 1985).

¹¹¹ Giovanni Levi, ‘On Microhistory’ in *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Polity Press, 1991), pp. 93-113 (p. 94).

history of Heywood's world and community through a reconstruction of his familial and social relationships. It does not rely on the alternative 'episodic' approach, because the relevant timeframe covers the fifty years of Heywood's ministry, rather than a particular incident or episode.¹¹² Similarly, in his microhistory, *Power in the Blood*, David Sabean focuses on a series of incidents in one location in rural Germany, but over a period of some two hundred years, in order to examine the relationship between a particular community and the state authorities.¹¹³ Heywood's written legacy can thus be seen as being particularly suited to microhistorical investigation of incidents recorded in his journals and also from the fact that he was active over an extended period; he provides the opportunity for both depth and breadth of analysis. Some specific episodes will be investigated under the microhistorical lens, but with the aim of adding to the understanding of the relationships involved and the pattern of behaviours and reactions to which they contribute, rather than because of any primary importance of the episode itself. To elaborate, while the key episodes of Heywood's legal ejection from his post in 1662 and his physical ejection from his home in 1666 are important, it is their place in the overall pattern of his experience and the role of the key relationships revealed at these moments which are central to the 'systematic' microhistorical approach. It is the cumulative effect of the episodes which allow conclusions to be made on a larger scale, but derived from the minutiae of Heywood's individual experience.

The depth of reconstruction of Heywood's orbit of influence thus follows the Italian school of microhistory, pioneered by Giovanni Levi, focusing on relationships, with the objective of allowing the dynamics of human interaction to inform the explanations of the historical process.¹¹⁴ A detailed understanding of how Heywood interacted with his family,

¹¹² Brad S. Gregory, 'Is Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life', *History and Theory*, 38.1 (1999), pp. 100-10 (p. 102).

¹¹³ David Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

¹¹⁴ Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 99.

followers, fellow clergy and patrons allows the historian to comment on the reality of precise, circumscribed relationships which developed and survived alongside the ‘bigger picture’ national milestones in legislation or changes of monarch. In a similar vein, Eamon Duffy uses church account books from a single Devonshire village to analyse the structure and relationships of a local community at a time of religious upheaval, again over a period of decades.¹¹⁵ In order to extract the maximum advantage from use of the microhistorical methodology, the thesis will also incorporate some techniques from the German school of microhistory, which focuses on personal lived experience, because the wealth of personal source material suggests that this is a fruitful direction of study.¹¹⁶ The vivid sense of Heywood’s experience of life under the Clarendon Code affords a deeper understanding of its implications and its effectiveness than a chronology of its genesis and implementation produced by a political history could convey. Heywood as an individual has agency from how he reacted to the legislation and what he recorded about how he *felt* in suffering persecution in a way that would not be accessible at the level of a national history of the post-Restoration Religious Settlement. Both elements of the ‘systematic’ microhistorical approach, the focuses on relationships and on experience, serve to make the analysis less abstract or remote and more concrete and experiential.

However, the methodological approach is not limited to that of microhistory, and microhistory itself encompasses the impetus to look beyond the particular and, in Marion Gray’s words, to ‘build assertions of universality’.¹¹⁷ The depth with which the historian can engage with Heywood through his prolific writings provides an insight into the minutiae of both his actions and his thoughts and allows the historian to build up a picture of Heywood as

¹¹⁵ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*.

¹¹⁶ For a key work of the German microhistory school, which has been labelled as *Alltagsgeschichte*, see Alf Ludtke, *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

¹¹⁷ Marion Gray, ‘Microhistory as Universal History’, *Central European History*, 34 (2001), pp. 419-31 (p. 430).

an individual agent, responding to events and at times taking the initiative, to such an extent that his personality becomes familiar and his responses become almost predictable. But what microhistory seeks to do is to discover broader applications of the ‘micro-experience’ and to establish general patterns of behaviour which can illuminate ‘great historical questions’, or, as Filippo De Vivo asserts, to employ ‘the close study of individuals, localities and events in their precise historical context’.¹¹⁸ This is where other methodological strategies are employed; in looking at patronage and itinerancy, the thesis offers comparative analysis from other Dissenting clerics’ experiences, from contemporary developments in the areas of religious persecution and resistance elsewhere and from the written records of others whose voices have been preserved, including laymen as well as ordained ministers. In the analysis of Heywood’s ‘voice’, the research output employs literary analysis as the means of extracting insights from the various genres of his written work. The thesis also contains an element of quantitative analysis, as a contribution to the understanding of Heywood’s reach, and charts his itinerant existence through tabulating the locations he visited, the number of miles he travelled, the families with which he interacted and the various forms of religious activity in which he participated. This was a practice which Heywood himself followed on an annual basis through writing his ‘Solemne Covenants’ as part of rigorous self-criticism and reflection on the effectiveness of his mission.

Conclusion

In order to add to the scholarship, this thesis encompasses an in-depth analysis of Heywood’s archive, a microhistorical immersion in his world and a detailed contextualisation of the consequent insights, with comments on where they add to, or alter, existing opinions. It

¹¹⁸ Filippo De Vivo, ‘Prospect or Refuge: Microhistory, History on the Large Scale’, *Cultural and Social History*, 7.3 (2010), pp. 387-97 (p. 387).

may be a matter of debate whether we can endorse the view of the nineteenth-century scholar, James Miall, who stated:

Baxter did great things for Kidderminster and London. Bunyan did much for the districts around Bedford. But still more was done by Heywood in the wide space over which his influence extended.¹¹⁹

However, this thesis examines whether Heywood's life and legacy transcend his locality to assume a greater importance, and whether Heywood should be seen not only as an actor on the Halifax stage, but as a figure whose activities and influence helped to shape Protestant Dissent across a broader expanse. Miall goes on to ascribe to Heywood the inspiration for the existence of 'a very considerable number' of churches 'which now belong to Independency, more or less directly as a result of the exertions of this most Apostolic man'.¹²⁰ Making allowances for the purple prose employed by the historians of the Victorian age, we are challenged to decide whether to concur with the sentiment, if not the language, expressed by Miall and others.¹²¹ From the application of objective analysis, this thesis poses the same challenge of reaching a conclusion concerning Heywood's legacy and significance.

¹¹⁹ James Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, (John Snow and Co., 1868), p. 123.

¹²⁰ Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, p. 123. He is using the term 'Independency' as a synonym for Nonconformity.

¹²¹ Another example of Miall's hagiography is his conclusion: 'To no servant of God is the cause of Evangelical Dissent in Yorkshire so largely indebted'. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

CHAPTER TWO: HEYWOOD'S VOICE

To lay open more convincingly my posture and gestures ...

to inferre a good caution from the by-past for the remaining part of my life ...

to review by-past providences as a motive for thankfulness [and] ...

to compare my past and present state and observe my proficiency in Christianity ...¹

Introduction

Oliver Heywood set down this rationale for embarking on his autobiographical work, 'A Relation of the most considerable passages of my life', in 1661. Each of the four stated reasons for this major piece of life-writing is worthy of examination and together they provide a valuable starting point for the theme of this chapter: Heywood's 'voice'. Heywood was a prolific writer who deployed the written word as a core element of his Presbyterian mission. Some of his output was printed and sold through a longstanding partnership with his London publisher, Thomas Parkhurst and some of it survives in manuscript form, but may well have been intended for future publication. The variety and coverage of his corpus bear comparison to other, better-known, Puritan figures such as Richard Baxter, Ralph Josselin or Philip Henry and constitute a central argument for recognising his overall achievement. This chapter looks at the nature of Heywood's unpublished written output, its content, the multiple genres he used, its potential audience and, whether overtly acknowledged or not, his motivations. The chapter positions Heywood within the Puritan tradition of literary self-examination and explores how his written work reflected his spiritual development as he experienced the tumultuous post-Restoration years. A comparison is made to other religious diarists of the time in order better

¹ Heywood Papers, BL, Add. MS 45964, fol. 19^r; J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Brighouse: A. B. Bayes. 1882), Volume I, p. 151.

to understand the conventions and practices of this genre. Aside from the diaries, his 'Event Books' containing many other forms of self-examination, commentary and reflection, are also of value in understanding Heywood's voice.

In his survey of Nonconformist literary culture, Neil Keeble writes of the 'inward (but not introverted) man-centred (but not anti-social) emphasis' which characterises the structure and content of Nonconformist writing.² The first of Heywood's stated motives for penning his 'Relation' can be seen as an example of this general impetus. In hoping 'to lay open more convincingly my posture and gestures', Heywood was clarifying his aim to explain his reactions to his experience, both positive and negative. His choice of words is instructive; Heywood wanted his readers, whether they were immediate family members or a wider circle, to understand his 'posture', that is the public response he adopted to what were, at times, very uncomfortable situations, and, therefore, to appreciate more deeply his 'gestures', that is how his actions supported this stance. He was seeking to explain his position as a moderate Presbyterian minister, knowing that his views were not shared by all his fellow Protestants and he was hoping that such an explanation would avoid a cursory dismissal of his work. In his second rationale, he demonstrated his adherence to the ubiquitous Puritan culture of self-reflection in 'inferring a good caution from the by-past'. In other words, he was trying to learn lessons from the mistakes and predicaments of his life so that he could derive benefit for his future conduct. The focus on oneself, with a degree of painful honesty, was central to the Puritan struggle for improvement, although it was not the individual that was of importance, but, rather, what his experience and reflections could teach others. In his third motive, Heywood sought to achieve a balanced view of the past through celebrating his 'providences', or examples of God's blessing, and showing sufficient gratitude to his Maker. In an example

² Neil Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 1987), p. 206.

of the widely-held Puritan trope that, while malign events were the results of human weakness, anything benign was the result of God's love for mankind, Heywood reminded himself and any readers of his obligation to a forgiving God. Finally, he returned to the ongoing challenge of self-improvement and stated that his written records would allow him to compare his past misunderstandings with his present willingness to become more 'proficient' in his faith and therefore more likely to be confirmed as one of the elect, with the promise of a place in heaven.

Puritan Life-Writing: Relentless Self-Scrutiny

The quantity of material remaining, both in published and manuscript form, shows that there was a widespread culture of life-writing in the form of spiritual autobiographies amongst the Nonconformists. Owen Watkins, in his bibliography of 'Puritan Spiritual Autobiographies written before 1725', lists over two hundred individual authors, including Heywood, as well as those within his circle, such as Baxter, Adam Martindale and Henry Newcome (1627-1695).³ While many of those listed by Watkins are Quakers, he restricts himself to autobiographies and does not include diaries or any other form of life-writing. In linking the rise of autobiographical texts to a response to the post-Reformation decline of Catholic oral confession, Watkins regards diaries as essentially source material for what he terms the 'spiritual autobiography'. On the other hand, Andrew Cambers argues that strict classification of records by form is unrealistic. His thesis is that there was fluidity between genres and that many of the autobiographical works (including Heywood's) contain diary-like entries of immediacy and factual record, while many of the diaries were expanded to include passage of reflection and meditation.⁴ Adam Smyth adds that life-writers often transferred material from one genre to another and revised its

³ Owen Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 241-59.

⁴ Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), pp. 796-825 (p. 802).

content in the course of transmission, something which Heywood did on occasion.⁵ Smyth also asserts that non- or only partially-discursive record-keeping, such as household accounts, library catalogues and menus, served an autobiographical function.⁶ A conscious parallel was constructed by Puritans between keeping financial records, particularly double-entry book-keeping, and that of spiritual accounting, enumerating the ‘debits’ and ‘credits’ of an individual’s ‘account’ with God.⁷ Looking at all of Heywood’s output, it is clear that he employed a range of confessional literature as part of his spiritual development and the self-critical dialogue between himself, his readers and God.

It is also evident that the Nonconformists’ impulse was the same for this outpouring of self-examination whether it was committed to paper or verbalised in public and in whatever form it was expressed. The focus on an individual’s struggles with the external demands of religious practice and, even more powerfully, with his own soul, were seen by the life-writers of the time to be of value in a didactic sense. Kathleen Lynch comments that ‘first-person witnessing’ became integral to the Nonconformist message.⁸ The motivation was far removed from that of self-exposure for reputational status, but, rather, was a demonstration of Providence at work in the writers’ lives and a means of teaching others, particularly the young, how to confront life’s challenges. Baxter recommended the reading ‘of exemplary lives [as] a pleasant and profitable recreation to young persons’ and considered that it might ‘work them to a liking of godliness and value of good men, which is the beginning of saving Grace’.⁹ The

⁵ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2. Sangha states that Thoresby ‘re-ordered his experiences more neatly’ in his memoir from diary entries. Laura Sangha, ‘Ralph Thoresby and individual devotion in late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth century England, *Historical Research*, 92.255 (2019), pp. 139-59 (p. 148). For an example from Heywood, see footnote 44 below.

⁶ Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, p. 3.

⁷ Vivian quotes advice given to Nehemiah Wallington ‘to keep a day book [and] write down your sins on one side and on the other side God’s little mercies’. Claire Vivian, ‘Puritan Spiritual Diaries and Autobiographies in Seventeenth-Century England’ (PhD, University of Swansea, 2008), p. 62.

⁸ Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 271.

⁹ Richard Baxter, *Epistle to the Reader* of ‘The Sermon of the Lady Mary Armyne’ by John Dan (Nevill Simmons, 1676), sig. a3^v.

lives recorded were ‘exemplary’ in the sense that they offered examples of spiritual experiences to be learnt from, rather than being exemplars of perfection. The traditional trajectory of a spiritual autobiography was from the innocence of childhood to a sense of youthful sinfulness, often prolonged by a period of (relative) debauchery, and then followed by a conversion to the godly way. (Not all conversions were presented as dramatic moments of self-discovery and, indeed, Baxter expressed his distaste for what he regarded as the emotional excess in some ‘Soul Experiences’, particularly by the Congregationalists.)¹⁰ In retracing the stages of a spiritual journey, the Nonconformist life-writer was not setting out to glorify his own situation, nor to present a work of literature as valuable in its own right; he was revealing his story for the benefit of others and believed that its only value lay in how far it might promote a godly attitude and behaviour.

Cambers takes up this point and argues that the historiography of spiritual autobiographies has been misplaced in its longstanding insistence on introspection and focus on the individual.¹¹ He states that the literature needs to be seen in the context of ‘the Puritan Culture’, as something to be shared within families and across generations, rather than a private repository of conversations with God. In a study of a specific sub-group of religious authors, Victoria Van Hying focuses on convent autobiographies, where there was a clear audience, defined as the next generation of those in Holy Orders.¹² Historians have concluded that not only was a fair proportion of the spiritual autobiographical output used in a social way through circulation and inheritance but that the content was expressly designed as part of an expository impetus. Most obviously, published autobiographies were public records, rather than private

¹⁰ Neil Keeble, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (Oxford University Press, 2020), Volume I, p. 36. Heywood lamented that his conversion was gradual and that he could not date it with any accuracy. Add. MS 45964, fol.21^v; HT I, p. 155.

¹¹ Cambers, ‘Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing’, p. 796.

¹² Victoria Van Hying, ‘Cloistered Voices: English Nuns in Exile, 1550-1800’ (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2014), pp. 30-33.

recollections, and the focus on the first-person experience added veracity in guiding others along the path of righteousness.

Margaret Bottrall takes a different, but not incompatible, viewpoint in looking at spiritual autobiographies from a literary angle. Her core thesis is that the seventeenth century saw a rise in the concept of self-assertion, which led to the Nonconformists' focus on self-scrutiny and therefore a didactic self-revelation.¹³ Where Bottrall further develops the social and pedagogic role of spiritual life-writing is in her emphasis on the self-consciousness of the writing. She quotes Sir John Davies (1569-1626) as saying 'myself am center of my circling thought' in his poem *Nosce Teipsum* (1599) as an illustration of the 'temper of the age' and states that the writer needs to some degree 'to sustain the conviction that he is of some consequence', otherwise he is not in a position to teach others.¹⁴ Her conclusion is that an effective spiritual autobiographer is simultaneously self-centred and detached, full of self-belief and humble, as he narrates a personal story, and that he shows what he has learnt from his experiences and offers it to his readers in the spirit of general edification. Margaret Spufford has pointed to the rising literacy levels across a society which devoured religious works such as spiritual autobiographies and to the centrality of the written word.¹⁵ Dean Ebner makes the point that the Presbyterian authors' determination to include both 'the psychology of their own conversion' and a wide range of external experiences raises a problem of unity, which both Baxter and Heywood address by writing discrete works. In Heywood's case, his 'Relation' deals with his inner struggles and sections of the Notebooks such as his 'Objects and Observations' comment on the outside world.¹⁶ Heywood exhibited all these common characteristics in the life-writing he produced in its various forms. He was elaborating on his

¹³ Margaret Bottrall, *Every Man a Phoenix: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Autobiography* (John Murray, 1958), p. 3.

¹⁴ Bottrall, *Every Man a Phoenix*, p. 15, p. 8. Davies' *Nosce Teipsum* (*Know Thyself*) was a widely-read contemplation of the nature of the human soul. It ran to five editions, winning him favour at James I's court.

¹⁵ Margaret Spufford, *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 78.

¹⁶ Dean Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century England: Theology and the Self* (Mouton, 1971), p. 143.

own experiences, but he was not just reviewing his life from a simple narrative perspective. The 'self-centredness' was not self-indulgent; he was writing with profound self-scrutiny and a self-awareness which is engaging in its openness and confessional tone and with the intent of providing spiritual guidance to his readers as part of his ministry.

In addition to the worldly opposition which Nonconformists faced as a result of the dominance of Episcopalianism, they were also confronting their own spiritual dilemmas. Sophie Oxenham asserts that some Puritan clergy turned to diary-writing as one source of potential comfort for their 'crippling anxiety over salvation', by which 'they attempted to reconcile their relationship with the Word'.¹⁷ Alexandra Walsham points to the themes of suffering and redemption which characterised much Puritan literature and concludes that such life-writing shows that 'there is a distinct sense in which religious minorities thrived on persecution' or even cultivated their own unpopularity.¹⁸ This judgement is hard to prove, but Keeble states that the theme of persecution, as a common experience, stimulated Nonconformist literature such as Baxter's autobiography, Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1671) and Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* (1666).¹⁹

We can see that there were two closely-linked, yet distinct, motives for autobiographical writing: the public and the private. Within the various sub-genres of seventeenth-century religious life-writing, including autobiographical narratives, journals and reflective pieces such as the 'Reflections' or 'Soliloquies' produced by Heywood, the public motive was to use the output as a way of furthering and sustaining the Puritan message at a time of marginalisation. The private motive was to articulate a dialogue with God, revealing the writer's own spiritual struggles and moments of illumination, whereby the very act of

¹⁷ Sophie Oxenham, 'A Touchstone the Written Word: Experimental Calvinist Life-Writing and the Anxiety of Reading Salvation, 1650-1689' (PhD thesis, King's College, London, 2000), p. 113.

¹⁸ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* ed. by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp 279-93 (p. 290).

¹⁹ Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, p. 84.

writing became part of the author's spiritual experience. In Oxenham's words, such texts 'were not merely records of assurance (or indeed anxiety) but processes whereby authors tried to write themselves into (or out of) those states'.²⁰ The linkage between the two motives can be explained by considering the impact on the reader, although in his unpublished work Heywood is not explicit about who this might be.²¹ Nevertheless, by reading about a clergyman's own spiritual doubts and strategies for seeking assurance, both laity and fellow clergy could better understand a particular doctrine, apply it to their own experience and formulate their own response. Through publication, or even through a more limited circulation within families and households, the private pilgrimage, recorded with sometimes painful revelations and itself seen as part of the process of redemption, could offer others an understanding of the demands and sacrifices which characterised godliness.

This strong tradition of autobiographical writing amongst the Puritans had many advocates; one of the most influential was Isaac Ambrose (1604-1664), ejected as Minister of Garstang in 1662 and a protégé of the Hoghton Family of Preston, who were known by Heywood.²² In his treatise *Media* (1650), Ambrose affirmed the private motivation as the primary reason for life-writing. He explicitly proposed the need for 'self-trial':

Self-trial is a Discussion of a man's life, that his Thoughts, Words and Deeds
may be seen, and censured according to the rule of God's law.²³

Ambrose advised that this examination of one's own spiritual wellbeing was best undertaken by a regular chronicling of it and he offered guidance in the form of model diary entries. Ambrose also recommended re-reading one's diaries once a year to measure progress,

²⁰ Oxenham, *A Touchstone*, p. 114.

²¹ It is likely that he believed his unpublished work would be read by his immediate family and a limited circle of friends and that some of it would be printed for a wider market after his death. See pp. 67-69.

²² Another advocate was John Beadle (d. 1667), whose diary published in 1656 was essentially a manual for spiritual diary-writing. See Germaine Fry Murray, *A Critical Edition of John Beadle's Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian* (Taylor and Francis, 2013).

²³ Isaac Ambrose, *Media or The Middle Things in Reference to the First and Last Things* (Printed by T.R. and E.M. for Nathaniel Webb and John Grantham, 1657), p. 56.

something which Heywood practised regularly and reflected upon in his ‘Solemne Covenants’. The language and sentiments of Ambrose’s advice are reflected in Heywood’s own words quoted at the start of the chapter. Ambrose wrote that, through the self-discipline of a formal annual reflection, the writer would receive spiritual growth:

... the use and end of it is this: 1. Hereby he observes something of God to his soul, and of his soul to God. 2. Upon occasion he pours out his soul to God accordingly, and either is humbled or thankful. 3. He considers how it is with him in respect of time past and if he have profited, in grace, to find out the means whereby he hath profited, that he may make constant use of such means; or wherein he hath decayed, to observe by what temptation he was overcome, that his former errors may make him more wary for the future.²⁴

All the elements which Heywood quoted were derived directly from Ambrose: the state of his spiritual health, the sense of humbleness or thankfulness from past experiences and the application of learning from past errors or successes as a guide to future conduct.²⁵ Heywood’s works are both more extensive and richer in detail than those of other Nonconformist diarists and autobiographical writers which have survived who took up Ambrose’s call. His archive is of interest to both social and religious historians and yet has been comparatively neglected. His contemporaries Martindale and Josselin are better known and others include Henry Newcome of Manchester and Philip Henry of Cheshire.²⁶ They all bear comparison with Heywood, but none offers the same degree of insight into their spiritual experience or daily struggles.²⁷ The extant, later years of a diary written by Robert Meeke (1657-1724), a

²⁴ Ambrose, *Media*, p. 70.

²⁵ *Media* is listed in Heywood’s library catalogue.

²⁶ For a later perspective on a rural Nonconformist minister’s life, see Vanessa Doe, ed. *The Diary of James Clegg* (Derbyshire Record Society, 1978-81)

²⁷ Harris has produced a comparative analysis of the diaries of Heywood, Josselin and Edmund Trench (1643-1689), a Nonconformist minister in Kent. Colin Harris, ‘Living Out Nonconformity: Restoration Ministers and their Diaries’, *Revue Electronique d’Etudes sur le Monde Angleterre*, 18.1 (2020), pp. 1-18, doi.org/10.4000/erea.10807.

Conformist minister in Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield, is slighter than Heywood's journal and less reflective, but it provides an interesting example of a local contemporary who retained his post despite expressing evident sympathies with Nonconformity.²⁸ The diary of Roger Lowe (b. 1642) provides an unusual insight into a layman's experience, but is a far less contemplative work than Heywood's.²⁹

Heywood's Autobiography and Diaries: a Rich and Diverse Legacy

Amongst Heywood's papers, a key manuscript within this genre of life-writing is that entitled 'A Relation of the most considerable passages of my life from my infancy hitherto', which Horsfall Turner refers to as the 'Autobiography'. It covers the period from his birth in March 1630 to May 1666 and overlaps marginally with his first diary, which he started writing in March 1666. The autobiographical narrative appears to have been written in stages, probably between 1661 and 1666, as evidenced by a comment about his 'present state for domestical affairs [at] July 28th 1661 at the writing hereof' and the quoted end date of 27th May 1666.³⁰ Heywood commenced his autobiographical record at the time of his initial harassment in Coley over the question of discipline and only two months after he had lost his first wife. That these unfortunate circumstances acted as a catalyst for his writing is only speculation, but it can be supported by the development of his thoughts under the second stated purpose in writing quoted earlier: the 'inference of a good caution from the by-past', as he went on to declare:

That where I have seen danger of a ship-wreck I may observe
such rocks, and quicksands and charge mine owne heart with
more jealousy and watchfulness, and make a covenant with my

²⁸ Henry James Morehouse and Charles Augustus Hulbert, eds., *Extracts from the Diary of Robert Meeke* (H. G. Bohn, 1874).

²⁹ Ian Winstanley, ed., *The Diary of Roger Lowe* (Picks Publishing, 1994). A portion also remains of the diary of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds; Joseph Hunter, ed. *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby* (Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830).

³⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 37^r, fol. 58^v; HT I, p. 177, p. 202.

senses, members, facultys, and know satans devices.³¹

It seems plausible that the motivation for chronicling these tribulations or ‘ship-wrecks’, and his life leading up to them, arose from the desire to record his sufferings and his responses as part of his spiritual development. The act of writing down his experience of persecution can be seen as part of his strategy of resistance and of sustaining his faith. The impetus to write and to disseminate his output are within the broader tradition whereby, as Keeble comments, ‘literary creativity, composition and reading were vital not merely to the survival of Nonconformity, but to its very nature’.³² Its ‘very nature’ was one of constant self-criticism and evaluation, alongside the struggle for survival in the face of the penal acts.

The opening pages of Heywood’s autobiographical narrative are devoted to an explicitly spiritual declaration of his struggles and a description of his ‘graceles, christles, and thereby hoples and helples’ youth. These are accompanied by Biblical references, which are reflected in his use of language and which reinforce his message.³³ Watkins neatly summarises the Puritans’ view that the greatest work of art was ‘the art of living’ itself and Heywood encapsulated this approach when he wrote:

I desire as the lord wil helpe me to deal freely, plainly and ingeniously
with my selfe in so weighty and necessary a business as this is that
concernes the weal or woe of my immortal soul to al eternity.³⁴

He went on to set out his commitment to the doctrine of predestination, saying ‘I dare not build my hopes of heaven on so sandy a foundation as mine owne righteousness’, but rather he set out to ‘search and see ... what grounds of hope’ he had that he might be amongst the elect.

Given his education and vocation, it is not surprising to see Heywood using metaphorical religious language, with Biblical citations provided, to trace his spiritual journey.

³¹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 19^r; HT I, p. 151.

³² Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, Preface, p. vii.

³³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 4^v; HT I, p. 134.

³⁴ Watkins, *Puritan Experience*, p. 1. Add. MS 45964, fol. 4^r; HT I, p. 133.

He wrote of being offered ‘a cloud of hope’, but still worried that Christ would not look kindly on him, ‘the chiefest of sinners’ who was ‘brimful of evil’.³⁵ He recounted his own experience of spiritual pride and an assumption that grace could only be obtained ‘through a present to ch[Christ] to render me acceptable’. He explained how he overcame this sin of self-justification and reformed himself to establish his covenant with God, ‘freely, unreservedly, perpetually to be at his disposal’.³⁶ He stated that his principal concern was his ministry to others; the suggestion that such passages were meant to be read by those to whom he was dedicating his life seems the strongest when he wrote, ‘especially I long after the welfare of this my poore flock over wch [which] the holy ghost hath made me overseer’.³⁷ He denied any desire for personal glory, although, in one of his flashes of perceptive self-appraisal, he admitted that he had ‘thought he could reassume the high and self-denying desires of Moses and Paul’ and then corrected his ‘deceitful hart’ which ‘is apt to beguile me’.³⁸ Here we can see expressed the essential tension between the Puritan autobiographer’s wish to be as great a servant to God as the Biblical prophets and at the same time a recognition that such self-glorification (even if well-intentioned) was not the right way to godliness. Instead, godliness was to be found through its opposite: a life of self-denial. It is in such moments that Heywood’s humanity is illustrated, both in the competing emotions which he experienced and in the faithful recording of them for his own and others’ benefit. His confession is at once highlighting the value of revealing his own experience and presuming its usefulness for others on the same path.³⁹ In what could appear to modern eyes as disingenuousness, but was intended as a sincere declaration, Heywood went on to downplay the value of his own contribution to the Nonconformist cause, to praise ‘more excellent preachers’ and even to name Baxter as ‘that

³⁵ Add. MS 45964, fol. 6^r; HT I, p. 135.

³⁶ Ibid., fol. 7^r, fol. 7^v; pp. 136-37.

³⁷ Ibid., fol. 9^r; p. 139.

³⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 9^v; HT I, p. 140.

³⁹ Haller summarises this stance when he writes, ‘the diary, like the autobiography of which it was the forerunner, was the puritan’s confessional’. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 38.

eminent servant of god'.⁴⁰ In a revealing passage, he illustrated his belief in civility when he continued the theme of wishing for a life of quiet and unrecognised service alongside fellow ministers by saying:

Nor would I limit my love or complacency to those who are of the same judgement with my selfe ... but those that are of other judgements, and opinions in lesser points, and circumstantial things'.⁴¹

In a clear adherence to Baxter's 'middle-way' toleration, Heywood here expressed in writing a willingness to work with other denominations, which, in practice, was reflected in his efforts to achieve comprehension for Presbyterians within the Church of England, or, failing that, a 'happy union' between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Such a statement is also supported by his actions as minister, where he worked for the salvation of both the godly and the reprobate through his pastoral work and collaboration with fellow clergy.

Heywood was careful not to set himself up as a paragon, even in the context of these prefatory dedications to his life of religion. He wrote that, while he asked God to help him combat sin, he admitted that 'it doe sometimes prevail'.⁴² Reflecting one of the motivations for writing such works, he recorded his gratitude to God for His unfailing love of sinful creatures such as he. In the somewhat tortuous logic of providentialism, Heywood argued that God had 'caused also my very sins to work together for my good' and transformed his transgressions into moments of deeper understanding of his reliance on God and his 'unsearchable ways'.⁴³ Using an extended metaphor of medicine, Heywood wrote that, by allowing him to be sinful and to fall foul of that 'bitter and biting poyson', God was then able to fill him with 'a medicinal potion for my soul' and cure him of his degeneracy.

⁴⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 10^r; HT I, p. 140.

⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 11^r; p. 141.

⁴² Ibid., fol. 13^v; p. 145.

⁴³ Ibid., fol. 14^r; p. 145.

In the following section of the autobiographical narrative, Heywood related incidents in his youth, such as the omission of the signing of the cross at his baptism, which he referred to elsewhere.⁴⁴ He traced his life with his 'prudent and provident' parents, whose characters and own spiritual and secular struggles Heywood also wrote about in published and unpublished biographies.⁴⁵ The description of his schooling detailed the battles he waged against his own youthful indolence. He wrote of his university days as characterised by an appreciation of the sermons of Samuel Hammond at St. Giles's Church, by his recovery from an illness which led him to dedicate the rest of his life to the service of God and by the remembrance of the six points of advice from his father Richard Heywood (1596-1677), concerning how he should behave whilst at Cambridge:

1. labour above al things to make your peace with god by humbling your soul evening and morning and oftner before him;
2. be frequent in reading the scriptures with knowledge and understanding;
3. labour every day to get some sanctified thoughts and spiritual mediations and write them in a booke and title it the mediations of my youth;
4. take short notes of every sermon and write some over for your loving mother;
5. often remember how short and precious your time is and yet on it depends eternity;
6. keep a mean, neither be too solitary ... nor too much desire company ... and above al take heed of bad company and seek out for good.⁴⁶

It is of note that three of his father's instructions concerned the written word. Reflecting widespread Puritan practice, his father advised him not only to read the Bible, but to make

⁴⁴ This is expanded upon in a 'Self-Reflection' of 1695. See Add. MS 45964, fol. 19^v; HT I p. 151 and Add. MS 45968, fol. 74^v; HT III, pp. 296-97.

⁴⁵ Aside from the published life of Angier, he wrote short biographies of his father, mother, first wife and mother-in-law. See Add. MS 45963, fols 5^r-14^v and fols 64^r-75^v, fols 24^r-41^v, fols 44^r-58^v, fols 59^r-63^v; HT I, pp. 19-33 and pp. 75-88, pp. 41-57, pp. 57-70, pp. 70-75.

⁴⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 75^r; HT I, p. 160.

notes of the sermons he heard and, in a directive which can be seen as the source of his son's subsequent lifetime of written output, to record his reflections on a daily basis. These were to be re-read for his own improvement and subsequent spiritual development. While there is no manuscript in the archive with the exact title recommended by his father ('the meditations of my youth'), there is a significant volume of such meditative work and this was, indeed, a practice that Heywood adopted for the rest of his life. Outside this account, there are no extant records of his time at Cambridge, but he criticises his own lack of intellectual curiosity, as part of a narrative of later self-improvement contained throughout his written work.⁴⁷

Heywood then traced his arrival in Coley in 1650 and the subsequent conflict within the parish over his introduction of discipline, his suspension and the leave-taking from his congregation prior to the Act of Uniformity and the early years of his itinerant ministry. The 'Relation' ends in May 1666, two months after he had started his daily journal and there is a degree of overlap for this short period. In this period, Heywood was compiling both sources simultaneously, although the material in the autobiographical narrative becomes sparse.

Heywood's autobiographical work was not published until 1882, in the first volume of Horsfall Turner's edition of all of Heywood's surviving manuscripts that could be identified; however, it had been extensively quoted in earlier biographies by Richard Slate, Joseph Hunter and Mark Pearson.⁴⁸ It is difficult to be definitive on whether it was intended for publication. Heywood certainly made no effort to have it published during his own lifetime, although his own biography of Angier, published in 1684, used extracts from the latter's diary and other memoranda.⁴⁹ Given that there is no reference to publishing his 'Relation' or diaries in any of

⁴⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 26^v; HT I, p. 162.

⁴⁸ Richard Slate, 'Memoirs of the Life of Oliver Heywood' in *The Whole Works of Oliver Heywood*, Volume I, ed. by William Vint (Idle: John Vint, 1827) Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent*, (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842) and Mark Pearson, *Northowram, W.R. Yorks: Its History and Antiquities. With a Life of Oliver Heywood*, (Halifax: F. King and Sons, 1898).

⁴⁹ Oliver Heywood, *A Narrative of the holy life and happy death of that reverend, faithful and zealous man of God and minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Angier* (Thomas Parkhurst, 1685).

his correspondence with his publisher, Thomas Parkhurst, or others, it is reasonable to conclude that he intended his life-writing to be read by only a small, private audience.⁵⁰ From this perspective, it appears that he was writing for himself; the discrete steps of composition, review and reflection constituted the personal world of self-assessment advocated by Ambrose. Keeble expresses it slightly differently, when he says that ‘in no facetious sense [Heywood] was the author of his own life, its historian and interpreter.’⁵¹ In the act of writing, he could be seen to be reassuring himself of his fitness for grace and salvation, measured against his daily activities, mistakes and rewards, but with the surer belief that he needed to trust in Providence for the final outcome.

On the other hand, it can be argued that Heywood was always writing with an eye to posterity. The explicitly narrative structure, with its elements of self-justification at times of trouble and its explanations of the positions he took when challenged, could suggest that he was deliberately creating his own record of events, to be positioned alongside those of others when his actions came to be reviewed. In addition, the ‘language of my hart’, as he termed it, used to describe his own spiritual successes and to analyse his anxieties, was the same language which he deployed later in his published, pedagogical writings and could very easily be applied to the struggles of other people, including his future readers. In another passage from the opening pages of the ‘Relation’, he declared that:

yet tis my desire to search and see what grounds of hope I have to believe and be persuaded that my soul is built upon the rock of ages, that I am within the bond of the covenant and sealed up to the day of redemption.⁵²

These were the same questions and attempts to obtain reassurance which troubled his fellow Presbyterians and Heywood’s self-assessment was intended to be instructive. The written

⁵⁰ Having published Angier’s life after the latter’s death, Heywood may have hoped for his own posthumous biography, to be written by one of his sons or a fellow cleric.

⁵¹ Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, p. 208.

⁵² Add. MS 45964, fols 4^v, 5^r; HT I, p. 134.

exposure of his religious state can, therefore, be seen as both immediately personal and potentially universal.⁵³ There are also suggestions that his son, John, was considering writing a biography of his father, based on the manuscripts he had inherited. In a letter to Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) in 1703, John wrote that ‘we have not yet had time to look over dear Father’s MSS. and bundles of letters’ and that while ‘I am doing what I can to forward my father’s life’, he was not making much progress.⁵⁴ In a further letter to Thoresby in the following year, John explained that an indisposition had ‘very much taken me off my design of finishing my father’s life’.⁵⁵ So, it seems that an adaptation of the ‘Relation’ could well have been planned, but was never completed.

A comparison to the autobiographical work of Adam Martindale is constructive; he was a close friend of Heywood and his marriage was solemnised by Angier. At the time of the Act of Uniformity, he was minister at Rostherne in Cheshire and in his life-writing he recorded his refusal to conform and the subsequent loss of his post, employing a more legalistic and emotionless tone than Heywood.⁵⁶ His concern over being ejected focused on his loss of income, rather than the rupture with his previous congregation, as Heywood had bemoaned at Coley. What is of interest in terms of a comparative response to his ejection is Martindale’s retention of his links within his community through a continuation of preaching and catechising, as Heywood did.⁵⁷ He wrote:

It was my custom, so long as it would be borne, to hear my successor
constantly and to recite his sermons; and that evening to repeat his sermons
at home to an housefull of parishioners of the devoutest sort, adding

⁵³ Booy concludes that, in setting down his own experiences, Heywood probably did have a godly readership in view. David Booy, *Personal Disclosures: An Anthology of Self-Writings from the Seventeenth Century* (Taylor and Francis, 2017), p. 74.

⁵⁴ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 442.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

⁵⁶ Richard Parkinson, ed., *The Life of Adam Martindale* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1845), p. 172.

⁵⁷ Martindale had moved out of the vicarage to a nearby house in the parish, where he lived until 1666.

a discourse of mine owne.⁵⁸

Martindale suffered harassment and opposition in the same manner as Heywood and, through the pages of his autobiographical work, it is clear to see the strength of his own opposition to Conformity and to appreciate the strategies which he employed to disobey its strictures. He was pursued by one faction of the local gentry and he received support from others, such as the Hoghtons of Preston, who had offered Heywood a position in the mid-1650s.⁵⁹ Martindale also chronicled a life of pastoral care and religious instruction, but without the depth of personal disclosure and sentiment which Heywood employed.

In declaring his reasons for starting his other major piece of life-writing, his diary, in 1666, which he did specifically when reviewing it in January 1681, Heywood listed the motivations that he had declared for producing the 'Relation': that throughout his life, he would never depart from the cycle of experience, self-reflection and comparison to the ideals of a godly existence. He compiled a list of ten reasons on this occasion, including 'at least to know thereby how my time passeth', chronicling where he had been preaching and sowing the seed of God, 'that I may observe how it comes up' and offering an example to his sons 'to quicken them to diligence'.⁶⁰ In this last point, there is another suggestion of his writing for an audience other than himself, even if it were restricted to his own immediate family, rather than the general public.⁶¹ Of the ten reasons, the sixth has the most spiritual significance and is evocative of the earlier rationale for his 'Relation':

The review of by-past providences may in after times be of singular use

⁵⁸ Parkinson, *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 173.

⁵⁹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 106.

⁶⁰ 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, pp. 225-26. Heywood was an inveterate list-maker and many are to be found in his 'Solemne Covenants' and sermons. In January 1681, he listed forty reasons why he feared popery was on the rise. 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, pp. 216-20.

⁶¹ In a letter to Thoresby, Jonathan Priestley, Heywood's executor, revealed that he had sent some of Heywood's diaries to him, although he described them as 'tedious' and asked for censorship over anything that might cause offence. W. T Lancaster, *Letters to Ralph Thoresby* (Thoresby Society, 1912), p. 145. For commentary on the curation of a family archive, see Mark Williams, 'The Inner Lives of Early Modern Travel', *The Historical Journal*, 62.2 (2019), pp. 349-73 (p. 358).

to mine own soule in humbling my heart, making me trust in god for the future, in greater straits, not to despair whatever may befall me since the same god is alsufficient.⁶²

His other stated reasons for compiling a diary included following the example of St. Paul in recording his wanderings, 'setting straight my accounts' in the sense of justifying how he had spent his time, being able to demonstrate to those who doubted ministers' efforts exactly what he had accomplished and celebrating that everything that he did was for the glory of God.⁶³

Heywood continued the practice of keeping a journal for the next thirty-six years until five days before his death. While certain sections have been 'irretrievably lost', in Horsfall Turner's words, the remaining original passages cover thirteen years of his life. If the years covered by the 'Rawson Volume' of anecdotes and the transcriptions by Hunter are included, the total coverage amounts to some twenty-four years. The regularity of the habit, impressed upon him by his father in his youth, was maintained, if not literally every day, then certainly with an immediacy and diligence in the tradition of Ambrose. Unlike in the 'Relation', Heywood's style in the diaries is generally sparse and factual, recording the facts of the religious services, travels, conversations and incidents which he led or encountered throughout his ministry. If an incident is worthy of reflection or elaboration, it is often repeated elsewhere, rather than developed in his journal, and the style becomes ever more concise and simpler in the later sections.⁶⁴ In the first of the extant sections (March 1666 to November 1673), there is an occasional developed passage, such as that describing his being confronted by two drunken men as he arrived home in June 1666, which he characterised as 'this sweet providence'.⁶⁵ Perhaps reminding himself how shaken he had been, he allowed himself the

⁶² 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, p. 226.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁶⁴ The dates for when entries were written in his notebooks are not given, although the date of the incident being commented on is usually specified. It seems that short diary entries were later transcribed and expanded in the reflective pieces, such as the 'Returnes of Prayer' or 'Temptations'.

⁶⁵ Add. MS 45965, fol. 11^r; HT I, p. 227.

indulgence of recording their interactions, his horse's fright and his unexpected delivery, together with the dramatic revelation that he avoided harm since he 'did not speak for they would have known my voyce' and ended the day's entry with a prayer to his maker; 'blessed be the keeper of Israel, who preserveth my going out and my coming in to this day'.⁶⁶ There are some days of the week (very rarely a Sabbath) where nothing was recorded and there is the occasional clue that entries were being made somewhat sporadically, when the opportunity arose in between the activities and journeys which he was undertaking. For example, in September 1666, he effectively summarised the previous two weeks' elapsed time, when, owing to pressure of work, he had been unable to write:

The lord hath thus long (viz til Septemb 24) graciously continued me
in safety at mine own house and I have spent three Lords days at home
and have had above threescore on a day, kept a fast, preacht on the
week days and found much of the Lords gracious presence, and wonderful
providence, watching over us.⁶⁷

He thus revealed that he was writing on 24th September, seventeen days after his return home, as with a similar passage in the previous month where he 'filled in' his activity on the Sabbath over a two-week period. He made the point that he had been spending his time in spreading the word, despite the threat of persecution, as 'god hid us so that we were scarce suspected' and that he had been watched over 'tho it was pretty generally known that I was at home'.⁶⁸

Such asides acknowledging the protection of God in a hostile environment were more common in this early diary than in the later ones. There is also a recognisable lexis of stock phrases to describe his ability to continue preaching and ministering to the Nonconformist laity. Heywood repeatedly wrote of 'his heart being affected and enlarged' at a time of spiritual

⁶⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 11^r; HT I, p. 227.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fols 27^v-28^r; p. 231.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fol. 27^r, fol. 28^r; p. 230, p. 231.

fulfilment. He frequently acknowledged his debts to God and the fact that he had not been arrested by the forces of authority with such phrases as ‘blessed be god for our protection’ and that he had been afforded ‘much mercy in protection, assistance, influence’.⁶⁹ He often reflected when he had addressed ‘a large auditory’ that it had been ‘a sweet day’ or ‘with the Lord graciously assisting’ and that spiritual fellowship produced ‘a melting season’.⁷⁰ In March 1668, he wrote that his heart was ‘wonderfully melted in the duty’ as he recalled that it was two years since his banishment under the Five Mile Act, yet he was able to hold a private fast at a hearer’s house in Leeds.⁷¹ The constant repetition can appear formulaic, but it would be wrong to consider such expressions as meaningless for at least two reasons: firstly, the use of language appears deliberate and communicated Heywood’s mission and evangelism with a sincerity which would have been recognised and understood by his Nonconformist readers. As with repeated Biblical references, it was a shorthand that was used with a frequency which strengthened its power, rather than degraded it. It was a linguistic device to express the centrality and endurance of his faith, as experienced through his actions, in terms which otherwise could have become incoherent or inaccessible. Secondly, these phrases were not unthinkingly deployed because spiritual satisfaction was not always attained. There were instances when he felt unfulfilled or when he had not performed well in his preaching or ministration. For example, in jointly leading a service with his brother, Nathaniel, for a grieving family in Bolton in July 1667, he wrote that, ‘my brother was 4 or 5 houres, and left me little time, and I was something straitned in my spirit as wel as in time’.⁷² On another occasion in April 1668, he stated that ‘my heart was not so enlarged in the afternoone’s work as usually it is’ and that he reflected on the cause of this: ‘something might be in my want of

⁶⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 33^v, fol. 36^r; HT I, p. 239, p. 242.

⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. 32^r, fol. 31^v, fols 36^v-37^r; p. 239, p. 236, p. 243.

⁷¹ Ibid., fol. 43^r, p. 251.

⁷² Ibid., fol. 36^v; p. 243.

preparation, and something also in others too high expectations'.⁷³ Here, amidst the more frequent declarations of success in engaging his audiences, was self-criticism, allied to a suggestion that, having been practising his itinerant ministry for over two years, he could not always live up to his high reputation.

What emerges from an analysis of Heywood's chronicling of his activities in the 1660s is not only the relentlessness of his efforts and the dedication to his cause, but the self-criticism and scrutiny with which he recorded them. There is very little overt self-congratulation and, on the rare occasions where such sentiment does appear, it is more striking for its sense of confession. (Longer, more detailed self-recriminations and promises to reform were usually reserved for other life-writing outside the scope of his diary.) In July 1668, he recorded that he had entertained Joshua Kirby (1617-1676) at his own home and 'that my hart was wonderfully melted in prayer-time while Mr Kerby was in duty but shut up when I was exercised'.⁷⁴ A further example of disappointment was registered when he wrote that, although he had expressed a wish to preach the funeral sermon for his friend Elkanah Wales (1588-1669), the latter's relations did not permit it, and Heywood admitted that, when he attended the funeral, his thoughts were 'diverted to another subject, tho to my hindrance and disappointment'.⁷⁵ The difference in approach from the brief summaries in the majority of the diary entries and the more extended passages in his Notebooks can be seen from his record of an incident in September 1674 in his 'Temptations'. He dwelt on his own shortcomings and pleaded to be able to appreciate others' abilities instead of being annoyed, when his friend Jonathan Priestley had taken notes from Joseph Dawson's sermon rather than his own and when others had praised Dawson and even left when he began to preach. The diary for this

⁷³ Add. MS 45965, fol. 43^v; HT I, p. 252.

⁷⁴ Ibid, fol. 46^v; p. 257.

⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. 50^v; p. 263.

year has not survived and it is impossible to know how he recorded his feelings on that day, but in the 'Temptations' Heywood wrote that:

I found the workings of a base naughty hart – oh that god would humble me for pride, envy and teach me to blesse god for others gifts and usefulness – Lord help.⁷⁶

What is characteristic of this section of the diary, and is then developed within such works as his 'Solemne Covenants', is a repeated memorialisation of key dates and anniversaries. Included within the account of a fast which he attended in Pudsey with James Sale (1619-1679) in March 1689 is a typical reference to his baptism: 'and this was March 15 the same day that I was baptized 39 yeares before: now I was baptized again with teares'.⁷⁷ From the evidence in the surviving diaries, Heywood rarely failed to mention this anniversary nor those of his marriage, the death of his first wife or the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Such regular commemoration of past dates of significance forms part of the Puritan imperative of not simply marking the passage of time by chronicling it, but, as his father had advised him, of taking the opportunity to evaluate how fruitfully the intervening time had been spent and thanking God that he had been spared for so long.

What is also noteworthy in the diary of this period are the passing references to instances of danger and an underlying sense of intimidation but these are expressed lightly and without complaint. There is, on occasion, a sense of mischief in the recollection of danger averted. For example, in June 1669, Heywood was preaching in Morley when 'comes up Mr Broadhead Vicar of Batley passing among the croud up the alley' and entreating the clerk to turn him out, before riding off to engage the local justice. In clear infringement of both the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act, Heywood simply recorded that '[Justice Copley] took no notice of it, bad let us alone and so through gods mercy we enjoyed the day quietly'.⁷⁸ Revelling

⁷⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 27^r; HT I, p. 335.

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. 49^v, p. 261.

⁷⁸ Ibid., fol. 51^r; p. 263.

in his determined disobedience, on the following Sunday Heywood preached in Coley Chapel ‘all day without interruption’, with the doors open and the bells ringing, as the chapel was ‘destitute’ (the curate, John Hoole, being absent).⁷⁹ He summarised the event thus: ‘blessed be god for this liberty’, in a phrase of striking conciseness, without mention of the formidable risks being run. What was important to Heywood was that the weekly cycle of prayer and worship should be continued, even as the possible sanctions were increased by new legislation and the likelihood of discovery became ever more real. On 8th May 1670, Heywood recorded that he preached at Coley Hall; ‘it was a farewell bec the Conventicle Act took place the 10th May’ and that he only dared to preach again on the following Sabbath in a private house ‘where we kept but just the number’, followed by preaching twice more in the week in his own house ‘to the number’.⁸⁰ What such extracts reveal is that Heywood and his supporters were fully aware of the regulations under the new Conventicle Act (whereby the 1664 Act was renewed, with stricter penalties and higher fines for contraventions).⁸¹ Initially, in a pattern Heywood repeated throughout his resistance to persecution, he met the requirements of the law and held meetings of five people, and ‘preached 4 or 5 times a week because of our paucity’, but by the end of June he was once more preaching to ‘a numerous congregation’ (under the protection of his friend, Henry Swift) and by August he was preaching at Shadwell to ‘a numerous assembly’.⁸² The emotionless tone of the diary when recounting such episodes is noticeable; as when his local opponent Stephen Ellis came to his meeting in May 1670 and noted the names of those attending and his goods were then distrained two months later.⁸³ The language describing his defiance is calm and collected rather than hysterical or aggressive. Commenting

⁷⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 51^r; HT I, p. 264.

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 54^r; p. 269.

⁸¹ The Act was described by Andrew Marvell as ‘the quintessence of arbitrary malice’, H. M. Margoliouth, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell* (Clarendon Press, 1971), Volume II, p. 314.

⁸² Add. MS 45965, fol. 54^v, fol. 55^v; HT I, p. 270, p. 271.

⁸³ Ibid., fols 54^v-55^r; p. 269, p. 270.

on Ellis's intervention (and mindful of being fined), Heywood expressed a simple faith in God's providence:

Let the event prove what pleaseth god – if we pay for it we have something worth, the commodity we have is not dear whatever it cost, we have a good pennyworth.⁸⁴

The prevailing atmosphere was summed up by Heywood in his comment: 'we had a comfortable and quiet sabbath, tho under feares and threatenings'.⁸⁵ While he and his hearers may have experienced comfort and quietness, it was, as always, under the shadow of intimidation. With no comment on his brazenness, Heywood reported that by November 1671 he was holding a service in his own home where 'we had near 40 communicants'.⁸⁶

Heywood's records of births, marriages and deaths are usually in the form of bare, factual accounts of the names involved, occasionally with a single expression of feeling ('oh how sweet heart-melting days were both of them') or with words of gratitude for God's benevolence ('god having dealt graciously with the yong wife according to our prayers').⁸⁷ Death featured consistently in Heywood's pastoral work and the language of the diaries shows a mixture of professional detachment and human sympathy, reflecting the Puritan belief in predestination and self-control, even at times of the testing of emotions. This epitomised by the entry recounting the death of the son of his friend John Hodgson in November 1670: after praying with him on his deathbed, Heywood reported that 'he dyed before morning, we buried him on Thursday, Mr Drake preacht'.⁸⁸ The unadorned sequence of verbs, the detail of the timing and the naming of the preacher are all common features of Heywood's reports of this nature, where deaths were treated with the same brevity and scrupulousness as births, baptisms

⁸⁴ Add. MS 45965, fol. 54^v; HT I, p. 269.

⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 60^v; p. 279.

⁸⁶ Ibid., fol. 79^r; p. 283.

⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 60^v, fol. 57^v; p. 279, p. 274.

⁸⁸ Ibid., fol. 57^r; p. 274.

or marriages and, usually, with the same lack of emotion. However, there were occasional exceptions when Heywood used the diary to capture thoughts and reactions which are usually explored elsewhere. In December 1670, he wrote that he was called to visit Richard Langley's eldest son, John, who 'was fallen suddenly sick' and he narrated an incident which resonated with him because of its strangeness:

The night before he dyed I being with him, there was a candle stood on the cupboard, a great one ... which I observed did swell up in a blew blaze on several times, and then went out of itself ... I thought it strange and looked upon it as an embleme and presage of death.⁸⁹

In amongst the catalogue of names, dates and events, there are occasional flashes of sentiment, such as those on the summer of 1673 describing Edmund Taylour's wife's 'tedious affliction', or Mary Boys being called 'that precious saint' or his being 'kindly entertained' in York.⁹⁰

The two later manuscript sections of the diary, from July 1677 to May 1680 and October 1699 to April 1702 ('the last diary') appear to have been written daily in entries of only three or four lines, without critical comment or descriptive context. Nevertheless, they contribute to Heywood's written legacy through continuing to chronicle his pastoral interactions, his spiritual pilgrimage and his itinerant ministry. Dissenters were still challenging the limits of religious tolerance in the 1670s, so Heywood's open preaching at unlicensed meeting houses therefore still put him in danger.⁹¹ He knew that freedom was fragile. As he wrote in September 1677: 'I preacht for Mr Ward at his meeting-place, god graciously assisted, it was a very numerous assembly, blessed be god for that liberty.'⁹² He made many other similar entries and indeed persecution intensified in the early 1680s, leading to his imprisonment in 1685.

⁸⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 58^r; HT I, p. 275.

⁹⁰ Ibid., fols 93^r-93^v, fol. 94^r; p. 297, p. 298.

⁹¹ The Declaration of Indulgence had been revoked in 1673 and, by 1675, individual licences were being recalled.

⁹² Add. MS 24486, fol. 196^v; HT II, p. 44.

The content of these two diaries largely consists of lists of names and places, with brief notes on external events or internal spiritual experiences, which were then developed into treatises or reflections when Heywood had the leisure and inclination to ruminate on his quotidian existence. What the diaries reveal is the breadth of his itinerancy in the late 1670s. They catalogue his excursions and recall all the individuals he met in a purely factual way. A typical entry for a day of travelling was that of October 1677:

Munday morning visited them at Flanshaw [Hall] praised god for mstrs
Dinelys safe delivery, visited old Mr Holdsworth dying at Mstrs Kirbys
prayed with him, dined at John Kirks, baptized John Poplewels child at
Heckenwike, found all wel at home blessed be god.⁹³

If a day was not spent in travelling and ministering, then Heywood would record how he spent his time writing letters, praying with his wife or reading religious texts. There was, in fact, very rarely a day spent without some social interaction, as a morning's prayer or fasting would usually be followed by a local visit to a neighbour in need. What Heywood seldom mentioned explicitly was how much time he spent in writing sermons, but close analysis reveals that on most Saturdays he mentioned his 'studying', which we can assume was taken up by this activity. The diaries for this period also recorded the frequent provision of 'closet prayer' for his family and household; a theme which he addressed in a treatise published in 1671.⁹⁴

If, by this time, overt instances of persecution had lessened and local harassment had abated, Heywood's records nevertheless reveal the challenges of such a lifestyle in terms of physical danger and fatigue. The diaries record many instances of accidents, of his horse stumbling and of treacherous travelling conditions, none of which was used by Heywood as a reason for slackening the pace nor the extent of his ministry. In October 1677, he wrote that

⁹³ Add. MS 24486, fol. 196^v; HT II, p. 45.

⁹⁴ Oliver Heywood, *Closet Prayer* (Thomas Parkhurst, 1671).

he had ‘a dangerous fall’ while riding to Alverthorpe near Wakefield, but he carried on. In November of that same year, he reported that, together with his son John, they ‘were brought safely through frost and snow’ on a journey to Craven to spend ‘some hours in praying that evening’ and a few days later that ‘melted water gave great dangers’ in travelling, but did not prevent his preaching ‘to a considerable company’ when he had reached his destination.⁹⁵ Without any interruption to his routine, he occasionally revealed the impact that such a frenetic life was having: in December 1677, he wrote. ‘having taken some physick-pills I kept at home all day’, but this didn’t stop him preaching or embarking on a trip to Ormskirk a week later after the death of his brother Nathaniel.⁹⁶ One Saturday that month, he wrote that ‘I studied as I was able with an aking head’ and that he prevailed on his friend Dawson to help him in taking services the following day.⁹⁷

The ‘last diary’ consists of similarly concise entries listing, with comprehensive coverage, Heywood’s daily timetable towards the end of his life. This period provides a coda to the years of travel and active resistance to persecution, since the 1689 Act of Toleration had allowed Heywood the freedom to preach in public in the meeting house which he had built in Northowram in 1683, to endow a school in the village for the children of his followers and to publish religious treatises without censorship. The days of regular travel to far-flung congregations were largely over and his time was being spent in devoting pastoral care of those in need in the vicinity of Coley, writing to his extensive family and professional contacts and maintaining a demanding schedule of preaching and public prayer. As his final years progressed, a greater proportion of Heywood’s time was spent at home, either in private prayer or study, receiving visitors in his house on Towngate in Northowram and continuing to offer them a mixture of spiritual, pastoral and social support.

⁹⁵ Add. MS 24486, fol. 196^v, 197^r; HT II, p. 45, p. 49.

⁹⁶ Not transcribed by Hunter; HT II, p. 50.

⁹⁷ Not transcribed by Hunter; HT II, p. 51.

This diary shows that Heywood was as mentally active as ever in his last years: in October 1699, he noted that he ‘set upon writing Mr Richardsons life and Mr Hawdens’, only to be interrupted by the arrival of visitors.⁹⁸ His correspondents included Thoresby, the Leeds antiquarian, Lady Hewley (1627-1710), his sons and his friends Richard Frankland (1630-1698), Thomas Jollie and Parkhurst.⁹⁹ In several entries, Heywood reported that he was writing letters on behalf of other people; ‘I writ a letter to Norwich for Eliezer Dawson’ in November 1699, for example. It is not clear whether such letters concerned matters of religion or business, but this further illustrates the nature of his pastoral work. Additional evidence of sustained interest in the outside world can be seen when Heywood referred to receiving a copy of ‘the Mercury’, which could have been the semi-weekly newspaper, *The Protestant Mercury*.¹⁰⁰ He continued writing biographies of Presbyterian clerics, as he noted in April 1700: ‘I set about writing the lives of Mr Tho Crompton and Mr Robt Constantine transcribed them’, suggesting a process of rough composition and rewriting into articles.¹⁰¹

There are far more instances of visitors to his home than in the earlier diaries. In October 1699, he wrote that ‘we were 15 at our table in the parlour at noon – many elsewhere’ (presumably within his house) where he was administering the Lord’s Supper.¹⁰² Unlike in the earlier diaries, there are explicit mentions of sermon preparation amongst the time spent studying and a recurrent theme is that of being interrupted in his private work by visitors to the house. He had begun to lose control of how he spent his time and, as more of a recipient than a giver, he became indebted to those who were paying calls and unable to ignore them. After

⁹⁸ WYAS, MISC 509/5, p. 1.2; HT IV, p. 184. (References from the manuscript of the last diary cite the page number and the day of the month for the individual entry, as written originally.)

⁹⁹ Only a few of Heywood’s letters survive. Vint includes twenty-one in *Whole Works*, I, pp. 426-43.

¹⁰⁰ *The Protestant Mercury* was printed in London between 1696 and 1700.

¹⁰¹ WYAS, MISC 509/5, p. 21.15; HT IV, p. 209. Thomas Crompton was the Minister of Astley, near Eccles and Robert Constantine was ejected from Oldham. Heywood was penning short portraits of ejected ministers for a compilation being produced by Henry Sampson. This was not published, as Sampson admitted in a letter to Thoresby of 1699 that the task was too great for him. The material was later incorporated into Calamy’s published collection in 1713.

¹⁰² WYAS, MISC 509/5, p. 1.1; HT IV, p. 184.

another visit from his friend Priestley in October 1699, he wrote, 'I returned to my study, sought god'.¹⁰³ The diary betrays a sense of irritation when uninvited visitors threw him off his daily schedule of study and solitary prayer; for example, in October 1699, Heywood stated that:

Ch [Charles] Hughs came barbed me, some little I did at my study, afternoon
my wife was kneeled down somebody knocks at the door, it was A Naylor's
maid, then came Martha Butterworth.¹⁰⁴

In the last twelve months of his life, the diary recorded itinerancy replaced by domesticity, the large-scale public celebrations of the sacraments by smaller gatherings for private prayer, the outward-looking provision of pastoral service by the receipt of assistance and support on his own part and his over-riding concern for others by a growing awareness of his own mortality. What remained intact were the discipline of self-scrutiny, the review of past actions and, to within two weeks of his death, a determination to minister to others through preaching. Heywood's voice was not to be silenced until a lifetime of vigorous interaction became impossible just five days before his death. He had received his last set of visitors to pray with (and for) him in his parlour, many of them faithfully named for the record as usual in his diary. Perhaps because the effort of recalling and recording everything to the last detail had eventually become too much, his final written words consisted of 'other company'.¹⁰⁵

In old age Heywood increasingly focused on his own past. In January 1700, he wrote:
I set myself to take a view of my Diary and though it was tedious it was in some
sort sweet to view the gracious providences of god concerning me all this year.¹⁰⁶

In terms of analysing his 'voice' in his literary output, this short extract is of interest on three counts; firstly, Heywood suggested that he had been writing his diary partly for himself and confirmed that it was his custom to re-read it in a personal dialogue between his past and

¹⁰³ WYAS, MISC 509/5, p. 3.27; HT IV, p. 185.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 3.28; p. 187.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 96.29; p. 305.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 12.18; p. 198.

present personas; secondly, he admitted to its 'tedious' content, presumably referring to its simple listing of activities and names, rather than containing reflections or exhortations and, thirdly, he repeated the Puritan doctrine that everything he had done and witnessed was thanks to the 'providences of god', emphasising its centrality in his worldview.

Looking within the genre overall, Josselin's and Lowe's diaries provide useful comparators. Although more established within the historiography than Heywood, Josselin's life-writing is not only smaller in volume, but shallower in terms of self-examination.¹⁰⁷ He produced an autobiographical record of his time at Cambridge University and his transfer to Earls Colne in Essex, where he remained until his death in 1683. The bulk of the work is factual, noting the course of national political events, illnesses and deaths within his own family and a running commentary on the state of his finances (as he was constantly short of money). There is very little introspection or religious reflection. Josselin, although a moderate Puritan, retained his living despite the Act of Uniformity's stipulations; his brief entries for the time contrast with Heywood's emotional outpourings. He wrote of 'the last Sabbath of our liberty' and mentioned the *BCP* being placed before him, which he 'used in part'. It may have been this 'partial Conformity' which protected him, as he declared in November 1662, 'and now I am left alone of the Nonconformists, what god will doe with mee I know not'.¹⁰⁸ Josselin wrote short reviews of the year, but without the self-examination undertaken by Heywood. Josselin was more concerned with the state of his health and financial affairs, confining himself to the observation that 'the Lord hath made good the intimation that he sett upon my heart to provide for mee for my livelyhood'.¹⁰⁹ Although it is a useful record of developments in the

¹⁰⁷ Ernest Hockcliffe, ed., *The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (Camden Society, 1908) and Alan Macfarlane, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1611-1683* (Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹⁰⁸ Ralph Josselin, 'Diary: A Thankful Observacion of Divine Providence and Goodness towards mee and a Summary View of My Life', *Camden Third Series*, 15 (1908-12), pp. 1-183 (pp. 140-41).

¹⁰⁹ Josselin, 'Diary', p. 81

Civil War, and of the impact of political change on a rural parish, Josselin's diary lacks the richness and depth of Heywood's.

Roger Lowe's diary is of interest because it provides the lay perspective in the North of England. Lowe, an apprentice mercer in Ashton-in-Makerfield in Lancashire when he started his diary, was a Nonconformist, who suffered when his local minister, James Woods, was ejected in 1663. Lowe wrote; 'Mr Woods came to take leave of every inhabitant and cald upon me and I went with hime and with great lamentation at his going with advise to every family to live well'.¹¹⁰ The genuine sense of loss by a member of Woods' flock was here communicated simply, but Lowe assumed a pivotal role in the religious life of Ashton after the loss of the curate. He had a relatively high level of education and would travel to neighbouring villages to hear a sermon and then repeat it to his neighbours. He recorded that he had arguments over the merits of Episcopalianism and Nonconformity and, in stating that 'the contention had like to have beene hott', he provides evidence of the disputes that the laity engaged in over religion, probably being repeated in Coley and Halifax.¹¹¹ He reported that he was cited 'for ninconformitie to Common Prayer' in April 1664, probably as part of the inspections made ahead of a visitation, and, in February 1668, he wrote that he was in trouble for not standing at the reading of the Gospel, which Lowe described as 'meere Romish foperie'.¹¹² There are several recorded links with Heywood's circle; Lowe mentions a discussion with friends about 'Mr Eangr being a conformer', that is John Angier of Denton; he describes Martindale as someone 'who could provide a good wife for me' and he states that he had read 'Mr Gees booke concerning prayr', a publication of Edward Gee, the minister at Eccleston in Staffordshire where Heywood's younger brother, Nathaniel, had served before moving to Illingworth in 1653. However, the importance in assessing Heywood's voice is the

¹¹⁰ Winstanley, *Diary of Roger Lowe*, p. 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 26, p. 64.

comparison Lowe provides from the laity, chronicling his sense of loss at Woods' ejection and his determination to persevere with his Nonconformity, which we can surmise to have been present within Heywood's followers in Coley. From a literary perspective, Lowe's writing is simpler in style and not only focused on religious matters, but it helps us to understand the importance of religious debate in the lives of the 'middling sort'.

Other Life-Writing by Heywood: Reflections from a Religious Life

Alongside the autobiographical work and diaries, the Heywood Archive consists of manuscript notebooks containing extended passages of life-writing on a whole range of themes. In some ways, these reflective pieces offer a deeper insight into Heywood's voice than either the more self-conscious 'Relation' or the often merely factual diaries. The complex issues of self-awareness and honesty are relevant here; while his intentions around publication of the 'Relation' and journals cannot be definitively established, there is a palpable tone of self-promotion in the former and of self-criticism within the latter. Such deliberate stances suggest Heywood was adopting a particular style in these genres, mindful that they could reach a wider audience in due course, even if he did not publish them in his own lifetime. He was writing about himself in the way that he wished to be remembered, not simply on account of his actions, but of his later commentary on them. In literary terms, there is a contrast between the 'Relation' and the reflective pieces. In the former, the conscious elaboration of certain points or omission of others, the somewhat formulaic responses to events or feelings and the traditional account of youthful sinfulness and reformation can all be seen as indications of a deliberate strategy, rather than an objective narrative. While it is not possible to identify the veracity of a life-writer's personal revelations, the other output in the Heywood Papers certainly provides material for a richer record of Heywood's experiences, on both the secular and spiritual fronts.

The Notebooks contain a rich collection of works in the tradition of Ambrose and Puritan self-examination and allow us to construct a detailed picture of Nonconformity in rural England through Heywood's eyes and reflections. There are sections headed 'Memoranda', 'Observations – Experimental as to Others', 'Experiments with Reflections', 'Temptations', 'Returnes of Prayer', 'Remarkable Providences relating to Others', 'Memorials of Mercy' and 'Solemne Covenants'. There is a variety of style and form, encompassing poetic extracts, simple lists, formal statements of faith and commentaries on the misfortunes of others. It is within these multifarious documents that we can hear more of Heywood's voice, an even more self-critical, more reflective and, possibly, more transparent profession of his reaction to the world. The diversity of expression and genre reflects a diversity of purpose and motivation; in the 'Memoranda' there is a simple list of all the times when Heywood's son, Eliezer, had been ill or suffered accidents. Unlike the accounts of other people's misfortunes, there is nothing to suggest that this was written other than for Heywood's own comfort, to provide proof of God's protection of his sons in their youthful misadventures, and to be read in private. Reflecting the accounts in his diaries of anxiety on account of his sons and pleasure when they had progressed to preaching with him, it appears to be an expression of fatherly affection. Again, it is difficult to be definitive about the intended audience. The documents describe personal struggles with faith, yet also reflect the familiar trajectory of self-improvement and the self-conscious elaboration of past failings and present recrimination used in sermons and treatises.

In one notebook, Heywood wrote out a list of twenty 'Experiments' or experiences from his ministry, conclusions as to where he had been mistaken in his approach and lessons he had learnt from his many years' service. It can be interpreted either as a purely personal aide-memoire and a written confession to God of his own deficiencies and desire for self-improvement, or as a conscious statement of self-awareness designed to impress a later readership. The evidence of Heywood's inclusivity, already seen in the accounts in his diaries

of ministering to those outside his chosen society and his attempts to cooperate with Independents and moderate Conformists, is confirmed with a personal statement:

If I judge al obstinate that have sinned foully, and al unregenerate that cannot evidence it to me, I may offend god and wrong them, I would rather offend by too much charitableness than censoriousnes.¹¹³

Heywood's voice comes across forcibly as a moderate Presbyterian, tempering the religious elitism of the strictest Puritans, and strengthens the view in recent scholarship of a sense of toleration amongst the religious divisions. The value in such lists, as random as they may seem, is that they contribute to our overall understanding of Heywood as a human being who behaved, at times, uncharitably, but then reflected on his past behaviour and resolved to change. The commitment to change was made partly through the very act of recording it, here in listing his private reflections, elsewhere in renewing his vows to God or, more publicly, in offering guidance to fellow pilgrims.

As John Spurr has commented, 'Puritans built their religion on head and heart' and this combination of rationality and emotion was inherently unstable.¹¹⁴ Some historians have characterised Puritanism as appealing to those with anxiety or melancholia, but this is too simple a conclusion: the personal, emotional response to God was central, but it was not prescribed or restricted to self-doubt.¹¹⁵ Although there is a recurring theme of self-criticism, Heywood gave examples of both joy and misery in his writing. In a separate list in the same notebook as the 'Experiments', he recorded occasions of heightened spiritual awareness and this included an admission of a lack of confidence as he took up his role in Coley:

When I began to buckle on the great worke of the ministry, I knew not whether I was fit for it, and was afraid of rashness and missing my way, and running

¹¹³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 62^v; HT I, p. 206.

¹¹⁴ John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Macmillan, 1998), pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁵ For analysis of the relationship between Dissent and melancholy, see Finola Finn, 'Melancholy, Spiritual Experience and Dissent in England, 1650-1700', *The Historical Journal*, 67.5 (2024), pp. 897-919.

before I was sent withal considering the insupportable burden to be laid upon me.¹¹⁶

This example of self-doubt, when he was in his early twenties and contemplating the duties of an ordained minister, reveals a deep self-appraisal and contrasts with his confidence when preaching or guiding his flock. It suggests a private admission of anxiety, as opposed to the public persona of reassurance to others. Some of the notes assume the form of private prayer, with a profound intensity of feeling palpable despite the passage of time. For example, in August 1663, he listed ‘things wch I am upon my watch to answer for’ and included not just forgiveness for his sins and ‘particular corruptions’, but also a direct comment on being dispossessed; he wrote that he wished ‘god would restore me to my publick work in his house and the rest of his ministers, and give us and our people his wonted priviledges’.¹¹⁷ Here Heywood revealed his frustration at being deprived of his public post and his sense of loss of what he regarded as his rightful place within a broad church. It was not just a personal *cri de coeur* but made on behalf of the other ejected ministers. Given that it took almost twenty-five years before Nonconformists were allowed to preach publicly again, the depth of Heywood’s disappointment can be appreciated, even if he mitigated it to some extent through his itinerant preaching, but without legal recognition for himself or his hearers.

Generic themes which are covered in Heywood’s other life-writing can be broadly categorised under three headings: commentary on the fates of others, examples of gratitude for answers to his prayers and declarations of his faith. All three are linked in Heywood’s mind in illustrating God’s providence and reflecting the centrality in his worldview of striving for a godly life but failing to achieve it. In an example of commonplacing, in a section entitled ‘Observations Experimental as to Others’, Heywood recorded aphorisms and statements of faith, defining such transgressions as the foolishness of prodigality, the danger of

¹¹⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 64^r; HT I, p. 209.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., fol. 66^v; p. 212.

procrastination, the sins of pride and covetousness and the need for resolve under pressure.¹¹⁸ These are mainly reported in abstract terms, but under the first theme, they are illustrated with specific examples from his own observations in another section of the notebook entitled 'Observable Providences Relating to Others'. This provides a wealth of detail for the social historian and reveals the Presbyterians' frustration with the culpability of mankind. From the perspective of analysing Heywood's voice, the 'Observations' provide an amplification of some of the episodes and attitudes to be found in the 'Relation' or the diaries. They clarify Heywood's opinion of his neighbours (usually identified by name) and God's rightful judgement on either their godliness or sinfulness. For example, it is here that the character of Hooke, the Vicar of Halifax, is fleshed out. Heywood resisted explicit criticism; he expressed his views by narrating Hooke's behaviour and exposing it to ridicule. Heywood lets Hooke condemn himself with his own immoderate views: 'the Dr preacht a strange rate [rant] that day agt [against] preaching in houses, utterly condemning it, saying it was a dishonour to the gospel'.¹¹⁹ In recording such incidents, Heywood was presenting himself as a moderate reformer in Church matters, meeting the needs of those who had been forced out of the Church and facing opposition from uncompromising extremists such as Hooke.¹²⁰

In many of the recorded anecdotes, God's beneficence or judgement is implied by either a miraculous escape from a mishap or a well-deserved punishment (very often in the form of a sudden demise). For example, Heywood noted, without comment, the fact that Robert Nettleton of Thornhill Lees, having boasted about the speed of his horse, was thrown, 'brake his neck,

¹¹⁸ Add. MS 45964, fols. 73^r-74^v; HT I, pp. 217-21. Twelve of the examples have initials after them and may be quotations from other Puritan ministers. However, the last paragraphs cover episodes in Heywood's own life.

¹¹⁹ Add. MS 45966, fol. 73^r; HT I, p. 350.

¹²⁰ There are many other references within the notebooks to Hooke's erratic behaviour and opposition towards Nonconformity in general and Heywood in particular. Heywood wrote that, in March 1674, Hooke preached the funeral sermon of Alexander Bates, the Curate at Lightcliffe, 'commended him', but was then told Bates had been known to drink so much on the Sabbath that 'he could neither have preacht, nor read prayers sensibly, then sth the Dr I must retract my words'. Add. MS 45966, fol. 78^r, HT I, p. 359. Nevertheless, in an illustration of forgiveness, Heywood recorded the death of four of Hooke's children and added 'Lord, doe his heart good by all'. Add. MS 45966, fol. 79^v; HT I, p. 358.

never spoke a word, but dyed in the place' in June 1673. Heywood described him as 'a great schollar' who had 'sometimes preacht' and was 'a great stickler for the Bishops way'.¹²¹ It is implied that Nettleton met his end not because of his support for the Episcopalians, but as a result of his misplaced pride. Likewise, there was no overt comment by Heywood on the fate of a 'prodigal young man, one Stanup [Stanhope]', simply the bare recording of the facts of his demise and a suggestion of God's condemnation in the background:

He spent 8sh at an alehouse newly married, the day after complained
head-ach, laid on his wives lap, presently struck down and dyed.¹²²

However, other incidents provoked Heywood into an overt comment on his belief in providentialism: the 'great deliverance' of two men being rescued from a coal pit 'through the wonderful power of god alive and likely to live' in Norwood Green in June 1673 or the 'miraculous providence' of the near-drowning of Silvanus Rich in October 1674, when he wrote:

I pray god it may awaken conscience, this man hath made a profession
entertained ministers and meetings at his house, but of late hath given over
often stays out late, comes home in the night ... Lord strike home by this
providence.¹²³

Heywood was pointing to God's forgiveness for an essentially good man who had strayed from the godly path, but (and here the pedagogic element of his religious complexion is appended to the simple anecdotal narrative) he added the exhortation that he hoped Rich would heed the warning and reform his behaviour. The 'Observations' are rich in other such examples that show Heywood's sympathy for human failings alongside a belief in divine retribution.

¹²¹ Add. MS 45966, fol. 74^r; HT I, p. 352.

¹²² Ibid., fol. 78^r; p. 358.

¹²³ Ibid., fol. 79^r; p. 360.

On some occasions, Heywood can be seen to betray an element of self-satisfaction, particularly if he had personally known those concerned. In February 1675, 'just at the time when our licences were called in', he recorded the imprisonment for debt of Edward Copley JP (1622-1676) of Batley, 'who was a very violent persecutor and who made the warrant to strain upon my goods'.¹²⁴ Similarly, he noted that the young son of William Hulme JP, Heywood's former schoolmate, died suddenly after a fight at his school in September 1673 and that his father 'hath been something debauched ... yet exceeding devoted to Conformity...he hath said of my Brother Hultons house that he had rather see it afire than have it hold a conventicle'.¹²⁵ The implication is that Hulme's loss is connected to his mixture of debauchery and Conformity.

Heywood also made notes about the general debauchery around him, following the Puritan tradition of criticism of the unregenerate and the contrast between their sinful behaviour and that of the saints. Heywood recorded that a neighbour, Hodgson's man Henry Taylour, witnessed a couple 'in the act of uncleanness' by the roadside in November 1673 and he could not refrain from writing, 'Oh horrible wickedness! oh prodigious impudence in sinning!'¹²⁶ In 1674, he complained of 'an abominable filthy sign of a man and a woman pictured in a shameful manner' outside an alehouse, which provoked his outrage: 'oh prodigious!'¹²⁷ Sheila Graham has selected numerous examples in Heywood's writings of his indignation at the drunkenness, debauchery or general merry-making in his own neighbourhood and at reports which reached him of similar examples of licentiousness in Rochdale, Elland and Haworth, provoking his conclusion that 'hell seems broken loose'.¹²⁸ Heywood's disapproval of rush-bearing, cock-fighting or even social drinking was not simply stereotypical Puritan

¹²⁴ Add. MS 45966, fol. 80^r; HT I, p. 362.

¹²⁵ Ibid., fol. 75^v; p. 355.

¹²⁶ Ibid., fol. 76^v; p. 356.

¹²⁷ Ibid., fol. 78^v; p. 359.

¹²⁸ Graham, *A Melting Season*, pp. 17-19.

curmudgeonliness. For Heywood, whose mission was to bring the hope of salvation to all whom he encountered and who exhorted people to live as blameless a life as possible, the sinfulness which he felt surrounded him was likely to have resulted in genuine spiritual distress. The mistaken actions of Conformists such as Hooke or the widespread flouting of the sanctity of the Sabbath were not just rules of civil order which had been ignored. For Heywood, they were examples of moral and religious degeneracy, inevitably leading to divine retribution and to the loss of eternal salvation.

The breadth of Heywood's experiences and his recording of them are represented in the variety of his written output, where we can appreciate the differing expressions and tones of his voice. In the second of the three themes identified above, that of gratitude to God, two sets of notes have survived entitled 'Returnes of Prayer'. Here, Heywood provided a counterbalance to his accounts of the precariousness of human existence and the degeneracy of his neighbours through recording occasions when he had overcome difficulties thanks to God's benevolence and reaffirmed his implied election to a state of Grace. In a catalogue of seventy incidents from 1672 to 1677, there are two key categories which engender gratitude: firstly, local instances of recovery from illness or delivery from danger and, secondly, developments on the national stage which Heywood felt to be positive signs of God's protection. In the former category, as with his diaries, the events described consolidate Heywood's place at the centre of his community, whether it be through holding prayers of thanks for the recovery from consumption of his patron Hodgson's daughter or celebrating the safe delivery of a child by his friend Dawson's wife.¹²⁹ In such circumstances, he demonstrated a regular response, whereby he held a private fast, prayed with the families of the suffering individuals in a semi-public setting, and then recorded the answer to his prayers on paper in a private form.

¹²⁹ Add. MS 45966, fol. 57^r, fol. 58^r; HT III, p. 153, p. 155.

In the second category, Heywood regularly communicated a reaction to public events, even if less frequently than his private prayers or community conventicles. For example, he commented on the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, military setbacks for the French and when peace had been concluded with the Netherlands in 1674.¹³⁰ Heywood's tone in such entries was unashamedly nationalistic, and he described what he saw as the positive victory over Catholicism and the unfathomable but momentous displays of God's support for the Protestant cause and for England. He explicitly linked success in European warfare to godliness at home, writing, 'if our sins hinder not I hope it will bid fair to the destruction of both Turk and Pope'.¹³¹ The linkage between public prayer, when Heywood's voice was heard within the community on political topics or religious toleration, and a private recording of thanks when such prayers were answered was made explicit. For example, in February 1674, he wrote that 'we had a solemn publick national fast wherein god did wonderfully draw out my heart in preaching and praying especially for the nation ... particularly for disappointment of Popish projects' and later noted that peace was concluded.¹³² What such entries confirm is the central role of the Church in the political life of the nation, including, in this last example, the Nonconformists, who had only recently been given freedom to meet legally and who were thus participating in the 'national fast' which had been ordered by the Church.

Some of the 'Returnes of Prayer' concern more personal matters: the justices in Westmorland allowing Frankland's Academy to continue in operation, thus allowing Heywood's sons to continue their education; his wife 'opening her soules case' after he had prayed 'that god would make her more forward in religion'; and his son, John, explaining that he had been in debt, not because of frivolity but because he had 'laid out' money to buy books.¹³³ That such situations recurred and required repeated prayers to be answered did not

¹³⁰ Add. MS 45966, fol. 61^r, fol. 62^r; HT III, p 160, p. 161.

¹³¹ Ibid., fol. 61^r; p. 160.

¹³² Ibid., fol. 62^r; p.161.

¹³³ Ibid., fol. 62^r, fol. 68^r; p.162, p. 168.

challenge Heywood's faith in God's benevolence when it was deserved: there are further instances of his wife's shortcomings in religion, necessitating a prayer to 'quicken her heart' and of his sons' mismanagement of money at school (where prayer was supported by a visit, after which he wrote that he 'was comforted in all my bitter agonies of affliction').¹³⁴

Such documentary evidence of Heywood's concerns and his interactions through prayer with God provides us with a model for this form of life-writing. As Spurr states, 'Prayer and meditation, alone, with the family or in private gatherings of 'professors', was a constant feature of Puritan piety'.¹³⁵ The 'Returnes of Prayer' are elements of a process of religious activity: the experience of, and reflection upon, an event; the subsequent practice of sincere prayers of gratitude, either alone or more often in a semi-public setting; and, finally, the recording of God's response. The motivation for writing up the outcomes of prayer was to provide himself, and any future readers, with a documentary record of how his spiritual quest was being undertaken and to show God's influence at work in every aspect of his own life and that of his fellow believers. If godly living was, itself, the greatest art form for a committed Puritan, as Watkins has argued, then the written account of one's life and dependence on God to sustain one's godliness can be seen as a key means of preserving that art form.¹³⁶ That such an act was of continuing importance to Heywood is shown by the existence of another notebook, enumerating another one hundred and sixty-nine incidents under the heading 'Some Remarkable Returnes of Prayer', which covers the period from 1682 to 1701.¹³⁷ Heywood saw such records as a separate genre from purely autobiographical narrative or daily journal-keeping and this is evidenced by his lifetime's adherence to the practice of chronicling such moments of gratitude as part of his dialogue with God. The motive was not to produce a factual record nor a piece of self-justification for past doubts or misdemeanours, but to accumulate a

¹³⁴ Add. MS 45966, fol. 64^v, fol. 93^v; HT III, p.166, p. 172.

¹³⁵ Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 39.

¹³⁶ Watkins, *Puritan Experience*, p. 1.

¹³⁷ WYAS, SPC 73, pp. 1-165; HT IV, pp. 64-171.

personal account of his dealings with God where his prayers were rewarded, to record the failings of humanity and to thank God for His benevolent response to cries for help.

In another section of the notes within the 'Event Book' there are examples of a different category of conversations with God. Under the heading of 'Temptations' Heywood provided a catalogue of incidents where he had fallen short. Examples included losing his temper with his neighbours, anger at the wanton destruction of a wall on his property, annoyance at others' preaching being preferred over his own, anticipating a favourable response to a sermon before he had delivered it and covetousness over a future inheritance.¹³⁸ All the examples record sinful emotions or actions and all are recorded in the spirit of written confession. They are an acknowledgement of a failing on Heywood's part and a recognition that he had strayed, which he felt to be all the more inexcusable as he was a spiritual guide to others. In line with the 'Returnes of Prayer', the written summaries of his weaknesses usually end with a direct plea to God for forgiveness. For example, after arguing with a neighbour over the importance of university education, he ended his account with the words, 'Lord pardon the workings of passion and perversenes'.¹³⁹ After counting his wages on the Sabbath, he wrote, 'Lord strengthen'.¹⁴⁰ While the heading may be a misnomer, as Heywood was recording times when he had actually succumbed to temptation, they are also a part of his regular practice of self-scrutiny and his constant, chronicled dialogue with God over his conduct. The degree of self-consciousness in such practice and the accuracy of these recollections are impossible to validate. The key points are that Heywood was just as severe on his own failings as he was in condemning others' excesses and that such self-criticism forms a distinct component of the overall his life-writing, as an accepted feature of the genre.

¹³⁸ Add. MS 45966, fols 26^r-33^r; HT I, pp. 333-43.

¹³⁹ Ibid., fol. 29^v; p. 338.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. 33^r; p. 343.

Finally, on the third distinct theme, that of professions of faithful obedience to God, Heywood's voice is revealed with clarity and self-awareness in his 'Solemne Covenants'. There are nine such passages covering the period from 1672 to 1682 and which are amongst the most personal of all the documents in the archive recording his spiritual development.¹⁴¹ In a separate notebook, there are a further fifteen 'covenants' or reviews of the year from 1682 to 1701, the last being written in February 1702, three months before his death.¹⁴² Inspired by both Ambrose and his father's advice as he went up to Cambridge, Heywood thanked God for his blessings, catalogued his own failings and renewed his dedication to his sacred vocation with a clarity and self-awareness that are more striking for their repetition. Heywood recognised his own weaknesses and, while not appearing to be designed for publication, these religious testaments reveal a mixture of sensitivity and stubbornness, of self-recrimination and determination, of self-awareness and hope for improvement which may well have endeared him to the hearers of his sermons and the readers of his treatises. It is likely there was a mutual identification and sympathy with each other's spiritual struggles and a sense that, while Heywood understood his followers' doubts and trials because he had shared them, he provided an example to emulate in his determination to reform his behaviour and his dedication to the true faith. He was both preacher and penitent.

In the first 'Covenant' of 1672, Heywood conveyed a painful self-criticism, as he admitted that he had fallen from grace the very day after he had rededicated himself to God:

I fell into a course of carelesnes, self-conceitednes, formality in duty,
and god left me to backslide from him into sin – the same day god hath
set my soul to the exercise of renewed repentance, oh how bitter was sin
to my soule! How base was I in mine own eyes! ... and then and there did

¹⁴¹ Add. MS 45966, fols 4^r-24^v; HT I, pp. 307-32.

¹⁴² Add. MS 45968, fols 3^r-68^v; HT III, pp. 214-85.

my soul set itself to the solemn renewing of covenants.¹⁴³

He then asked himself the most human of questions: ‘but why should I renew my covenants to break it!’ He left the rhetorical question hanging and we know that such a pattern of relapse, remorse and rededication would continue, and continue to be recorded, for the next thirty years. On this occasion, he went on to swear ‘several articles’ in an attempt to avoid such failings in the future: every day, to read and to undertake ‘closet work’ involving self-examination and meditation, to forgo sin and to pray whenever he was tempted to do the wrong thing.¹⁴⁴ In later covenants from this period, he pledged to surrender himself to God’s will, to relinquish worldly preferment in favour of heavenly rewards and, in a passage reaffirming his view of the centrality of his ministry, to fight against the devil ‘both in my personal and publick capacity as a christian and as a minister, that I may purge sin out of my own soul and out of the world’.¹⁴⁵ The familiar themes of pride in his own preaching abilities, recognition of the sin of conceit, and that he could always do better, characterise Heywood’s voice in such passages with a human dimension: his writings illustrate that he was far from an unfeeling stickler for formality or a man exhibiting nothing but the self-righteousness of which the Puritans were accused. In September 1673, he wrote that his heart had been affected by ‘hearing wt [what] an unworthy begging wanderer preacht in my old pulpit last Lords Day’.¹⁴⁶ The regret at not being able to fulfil what he regarded as his rightful place in the community, occupying the pulpit in Coley Chapel, is palpable, even though he had been ejected ten years earlier. Asking God to preserve him in Coley ‘amongst the people of my only choyce and charge’, he vowed to redouble his efforts to be of use:

I humbly promise, purpose, and vow this evening ... to study more industriously,

¹⁴³ Add. MS 45966, fol. 4^r; HT I, p. 307.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., fols 5^r-5^v; p. 308.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. 7^v; p. 311.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 8^r; p. 312. It is not clear whether the preacher was the curate, Ichabod Fournes, or a visitor (suggested by the word ‘wanderer’) nor whether he heard the sermon itself or others’ reports of it.

pray more fervently, preach more affectionately, and perform every part of my
pastorall work more conscionably.¹⁴⁷

The vow succinctly defines Heywood's model of ministry and stresses the indissoluble link between a Presbyterian minister and his chosen hearers within the Church and the community. Heywood's language in these passages is full of rhetorical questions and flourishes; he utilises colourful exclamations, Biblical references and direct address to his Maker.¹⁴⁸

In the second collection of 'Solemne Covenants', the tone is more nostalgic and elegiac, as the years of 'publick liberty' succeeded one another and were commemorated as such (notwithstanding his imprisonment for almost a year in 1685).¹⁴⁹ He repeatedly expressed his indebtedness to God for his blessings and, as this period covered James II's Declaration of Indulgence and the passing of the Act of Toleration, Heywood expressed gratitude for the relative peace and harmony he enjoyed after the years of fear and persecution.¹⁵⁰ He described 1687 as an 'annus mirabilis' and stated that 'nobody is a gainer in this liberty but Presbiterians', dismissing any lingering concerns that such a policy was a way of legitimising Catholicism.¹⁵¹ In these annual covenants he started to catalogue his financial dealings, committing himself to giving away a tenth of his annual income to charity, and to list the number of baptisms, fasts and preaching visits he had carried out, with the necessary miles covered recorded too.¹⁵² The linkage between these 'private' reflections and his published work was referred to in the review dated June 1684, when Heywood wrote:

I have been lately very busy in writing a full Treatise of personal covenanting,
being put on and urged to such a work, and it fit I should practice the doctrine

¹⁴⁷ Add. MS 45966, fols 8^v-9^r; HT I, p. 313.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. 12^v; p. 316. For example, in the covenant of March 1674, he wrote, 'I am a perjured wretch, a sacrilegious villain, a woeful apostate' and he used a series of three declarations of his sinfulness and three responses, mirroring techniques in the oral tradition.

¹⁴⁹ The covenants were generally written at the end of a year or on the anniversary of his baptism (15th March).

¹⁵⁰ Add. MS 45968, fols 16^r-16^v; HT III, pp. 227-28.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., fols 16^r-16^v, pp. 227-28.

¹⁵² Ibid., fol. 36^r; p. 247.

I presse on others.¹⁵³

As he grew older, he repeatedly referred to his own mortality, for example writing in 1686, 'I am determined, by the assistance of gods grace, to prepare more for death and heaven', which involved examining his conscience and evaluating his worthiness for salvation.¹⁵⁴ Given the precarious nature of life at the time, Heywood was increasingly mindful of his old age and expressed a mixture of surprise and trepidation at his advanced years:

How soon are these 60 years of my life past, like a tale that's told, a dream
when one awakes, its but t'other day that I was an infant, a child a schoolboy,
and now I am grown of the older sort and anon I shall not be here.¹⁵⁵

He revealed, in the review for 1696, that he had been offered an opportunity to move to Manchester and preach in 'their famous and spacious meeting-place' and, later that year, that he had been invited to take up the post of pastor in London in succession to Samuel Annesley (1620-1696), but, at this time of his life, he declined both invitations.¹⁵⁶ It is a testament to his reputation that he was offered these posts and to his loyalty to Coley that he refused them. In a letter to his son, Eliezer, he gave seven reasons why he was grateful for his position in Northowram and why he would not consider leaving.¹⁵⁷ By the year 1699, he calmly wrote that he 'had bene brought ... to enter upon the 70th year of my life ... whether I shall live to accomplish that year, I know not, nor am I much concerned'.¹⁵⁸ In that extract, he explicitly stated that he had 'reviewed the last years diary' and he resolved to confess his sins, but 'was surprized with sleepines'. Old age finally caught up with his hitherto forward-looking vows and the last three annual reviews are simply expressions of gratitude for his advanced years,

¹⁵³ Add. MS 45968, fol. 7^r; HT III, p. 218.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., fol. 12^v, p. 223.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., fol. 37^v; p. 249.

¹⁵⁶ Ordained in 1644, Annesley was ejected from St. Giles, Cripplegate in 1662. He continued preaching privately and obtained a licence in Spitalfields in 1672, before having his property distrained when the licences were revoked. He carried on preaching at Spitalfields until his death. Newton E. Kay, 'Annesley, Samuel', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/566.

¹⁵⁷ Add. MS 45968, fol. 55^v; HT III, pp. 268-69.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 64^v; p. 279.

for recovery from illness and for the comfort of his family. In a final, practical self-assessment (of February 1702), he summed up his condition for once in more material than spiritual terms:

I have capacity for studying sermon writing much – sleep well
and eat my meat well have a good digestion have much ease only
fits of coughing but are quickly over – blessed be god.¹⁵⁹

After a lifetime of concern with his religious state, he ended his annual reviews with what amounted to a medical bulletin.

Heywood's Letters: Pastoral Care and Practical Theology

Heywood's mission was also delivered through the practice of letter-writing, although the primary sources do not contain many examples of what was, for other Nonconformists such as Baxter and Calamy, a core channel of maintaining their ministry and their influence. Heywood used letters as a method of delivering pastoral care, increasingly so towards the end of his life. As Alison Searle has pointed out, letter-writing amongst Nonconformist clergy was, in very large part, a response to the state of internal exile in which they found themselves. She uses the examples of Samuel Rutherford (1660-1661), who was ejected from Anworth in Scotland in 1634, and Baxter, who was forced out of Kidderminster in 1662, to illustrate how they ministered to their hearers 'during periods when their religious Nonconformity meant the pulpits and parishes of the state church were closed to them'.¹⁶⁰ Heywood himself prioritised preaching in person and home visiting through his policy of itinerancy, but he used letters as a secondary means of sustaining relationships with his fellow clergy and his gentry supporters. The diaries are full of references to letters to Lady Hewley in York, to Thoresby in Leeds, to his family in Lancashire, to (and from) his sons while they were being educated in Kendal or

¹⁵⁹ Add. MS 45968, fol. 68^v; HT III, p. 285.

¹⁶⁰ Alison Searle, 'Performing Pastoral Care Through Letters', in *The Puritan Literary Tradition*, ed. by Johanna Harris and Alison Searle (Oxford University Press, 2024), pp. 37-57 (p. 38).

Edinburgh and to other Nonconformist clergy colleagues such as Thomas Sharp at Horton Hall and 'my good friend' Robert Ledgard (d. 1699) in Leeds.¹⁶¹ In addition, there are references to letters being sent to Parkhurst in London in connection with his published work.

While the last diary refers to his letters contributing to Heywood's pastoral ministry of this nature, these have not, in general, survived to be examined. However, glimpses of Heywood's epistolary voice remain. In a letter to Jollie, dated June 1700, he offered sympathy for the latter's 'bodily infirmitys' and wrote that 'god will gradually wean us from and weary us out of the world that heaven may be more welcome'.¹⁶² He went on to proffer advice to Jollie in an argument with other Nonconformists over matters of doctrine and ended the epistle with the injunction to 'accept this little treatise as a viand'.¹⁶³ Two letters to his son, Eliezer, on the birth and quick death of his own son, named Oliver after his grandfather, fall into the category of pastoral ministry. He firstly wrote that he hoped his new grandson 'may bear up gods name as well as mine' and followed it three months later with a letter of condolence, writing that the loss is part of providence, occurring 'to train you up under the crosse ... to keep you humble'.¹⁶⁴ A letter of September 1699 to Bridget Taylor (?1689-1761) of Wallingwells, where Eliezer was chaplain for twenty years, was also written to offer condolences on the death of her husband, assuring her 'of new supplys of grace in this your solitary state'.¹⁶⁵

What these few surviving letters do reveal is something of Heywood's own reading. In a letter to Jollie in William Vint's edition, Heywood said he had received a copy of 'your book on the Surry Demoniac ... for which I do give you my hearty thanks' and in a letter to Thoresby, he said he had been reading *The Immortality of the Soul* (1697) by Timothy Manlove (1664-

¹⁶¹ WYAS, MISC 509/5. p. 7.29; HT IV, p. 191.

¹⁶² Not in BL; HT IV, p. 177.

¹⁶³ Not in BL; HT IV, p. 179.

¹⁶⁴ Add. MS 45974, fol. 9^r, fol.10^r; HT IV, pp. 174-77.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., fol. 7^r; p. 179.

1669).¹⁶⁶ Towards the end of his life, Heywood's letters reveal his involvement in Henry Sampson's abortive project to publish a collection of biographies of the ejected ministers, remarking presciently to Thoresby in 1699 that he should tell Sampson 'I doubt his book will not antedate his death, except he make haste' and in a letter of 1701, writing that he hoped 'Mr Tong [will be] making something of Dr. Sampson's papers'.¹⁶⁷

It is likely that much of Heywood's lost correspondence contained secular matters and dealt with mundane issues of property, finance and family news, alongside spiritual reflections and exhortations. The idea that such letters can be seen as part of his ministry rests on the assertion that Puritan culture encompassed secular and spiritual relationships and activities, as both were seen as integral parts of God's plan. In addition, the surviving letters provide examples of Heywood's sustenance of his various networks of support and kinship. The distinction becomes more blurred when the contents of two letters from 1699 to his cousin James Lomax in Little Lever are analysed; the topics included updates on the health of his two sons, gratitude for 'the excellent cheese we are now eating' and a request for another cousin to write to him, but also contained references to the practice of Nonconformist worship.¹⁶⁸ Echoing what Searle calls Baxter's 'emphasis on the minutiae of daily life' in his letters, Heywood wrote to Lomax of his pleasure in hearing that his house 'hath religion in it and the incense of prayer and praise is daily ascending thence heavenwards'.¹⁶⁹ For Heywood, the continuing profession of one's faith, in the domestic sphere as much as in places of public worship, was always intertwined with daily existence.

¹⁶⁶ This was a tract by Jollie, published in 1696, concerning the Lancashire 'demoniack' Richard Dugdale, whom Jollie claimed was cured by his prayers. Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 431. Manlove was Minister of Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds from 1693 to 1698, where Thoresby was a member. Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 438.

¹⁶⁷ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 440, p. 442. Sampson had died in 1700. His papers were used by Calamy in *An Abridgement of Mr Baxter's History of His Life and Times, with an Account of the Ministers who were ejected and silenced after the Restauration of King Charles II* (John Lawrence, J. Nicholson and J. and B. Sprint, 1713).

¹⁶⁸ Not in BL; HT IV, pp. 180-81.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180. Searle, *Performing Pastoral Care Through Letters*, p. 48.

One anomaly to have survived is a love letter to his first wife, Elizabeth Angier, written before their marriage in 1655, when Heywood was twenty-five years old. It is not known if it was part of a cycle of letters, with replies from his wife-to-be, but it stands out on two counts: its focus on Heywood's personal happiness, rather than his duty to others, and its language of romance. The presence of God was, of course, acknowledged, as was the fact that Elizabeth came from 'a praying family', but the overriding spirit is that of youthful love which 'nothing will quench but Yourself' and he signed himself as 'who am by a thousand Links and Chains of pure affections, your devoted servant till death.'¹⁷⁰ For once, Heywood's voice is full of the self-confidence of youth.

Conclusion

A key part of Heywood's achievement is his written legacy. It is important for a number of reasons; firstly, it provides the early modern social historian with a richly-populated picture of seventeenth-century provincial life; secondly, it provides the religious historian with an archive of Nonconformist spiritual writing and attitudes to the religious conflicts of the time; thirdly, it allows for comment on the relationship between the sacred and the secular within the overall setting of community interactions and, finally, it presents us with the reflections, observations and criticism (including stern self-criticism) of an individual personality. Heywood recorded his own achievements exhaustively and, while other diaries have survived and other Nonconformist clergy were active in resisting persecution, none combine the scale of the venture, nor the depth of chronicling that are within Heywood's work. Thus, Heywood's historical significance derives in part from the broad nature of his written legacy, in parallel with, and as evidence of, his impact through preaching, travelling and offering pastoral care for over fifty-years.

¹⁷⁰ Add. MS 45974, fol. 2^v; HT I, p. 132.

CHAPTER THREE: COMMUNITY

I have had the communion of Saints in a considerable company at my house every week day or night since I was debarred of publick opportunity.¹

Introduction

Writing in early 1664, Oliver Heywood here encapsulated the complex position he enjoyed in Coley and Northowram, where he re-defined how a religious community operated outside formal parish structures. He had been barred from his position as Curate of Coley Chapel (his ‘publick opportunity’), but he had succeeded in creating a new sub-community of faithful followers (his ‘communion of Saints’), who persisted in regular collective worship. His local community was therefore split, but not dispersed. He had initially occupied a recognisable, unquestioned place in the formal structure of the chapelry on his appointment in 1650. Having lost this, he re-shaped his role through his actions and through his Dissent. He instituted new, at times illegal, worshipping communities, with their attendant codes of conduct, while at the same time retaining strong links to existing religious and civic communities within the wider parish of Halifax. He also nurtured congregations elsewhere in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where he became a regular and influential presence, sometimes as part of his wider kinship links, even though he was not a resident member of these communities. Finally, he was part of a network of dispossessed Nonconformist clergy in the North of England and here, he was not simply a member of an informal community preserving Presbyterianism against oppression, but was its leader.

¹ Heywood Papers, BL, Add. MS 45964, fol. 44^v; J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Brighouse: A.B. Bayes, 1882), Volume I, p. 186.

The Concept and Reality of Community in Heywood's World

The historiographical debate around how far the godly members of the church were encouraged by their departing ministers in August 1662 to remove themselves from general society in the wake of the divisions created by the Act of Uniformity necessarily frames the discussion of the wider theme of community. The dominant narrative of Dissenting communities being ostracised by the rest of society, as suggested by Gerald Cragg and John Coffey, has been challenged by other commentators such as Bill Stevenson, who suggests that Dissenters were far more integrated into the day-to-day life of the parish and by Alexandra Walsham who argues that fellowship and sociability transcended confessional identities.² While Christopher Hill posits that the Interregnum resulted in a weakening of the parish, John Spurr concludes that the Act of Uniformity led to the formation of a 'Puritan penumbra' around the parish churches and clergy, which, despite the legal distinctions between Conformity and Nonconformity, produced a robust degree of local toleration.³ Many ejected clergy initially attended Anglican worship (until this was proscribed by the Five Mile Act), albeit for only part of the service and usually avoiding Holy Communion, and they were careful to hold their own meetings outside the hours of the Church services, to allow their followers to attend both if they wished to do so. Samuel Thomas has produced a detailed examination of the formation and operation of Heywood's worshipping community, although his focus is limited to that of Coley and he ignores Heywood's wider networks and influence over Nonconformity across the

² Gerald Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution* (Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 10, p. 26. Coffey asserts that 'The Restoration witnessed a persecution by Protestants of Protestants without parallel in seventeenth-century Europe'. John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Pearson Education, 2000), p. 169. Bill Stevenson, 'The Social Integration of post-Restoration Dissenters, 1660-1725', in *The World of Rural Dissenters*, ed. by Margaret Spufford (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 360-87 (p. 361). Alexandra Walsham, 'Supping with Satan's Disciples: Spiritual and Secular Sociability in Post-Reformation England', in *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W. J. Sheils*, ed. by Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (Routledge, 2016), p. 55.

³ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-revolutionary England* (first published; Secker and Warburg, 1964, Verso, 2018), p. 431. John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, (Yale University Press, 1991), p. 45.

region.⁴ In a separate thesis, Thomas points out that other factors frustrated the 1662 Act's attempt to force Dissenters and Anglicans irrevocably apart; the ties of kinship and neighbourliness, together with commercial considerations, all played a part in retaining links across what some parishioners may have seen as artificial and unnecessary distinctions.⁵ He paints a picture of untroubled co-existence amongst the lay members of differing denominations in Heywood's orbit, almost indifferent to the officially-sanctioned exclusion of Dissenters. However, Thomas's picture needs refining, as we know that a proportion of the community in Coley actively opposed Heywood for many years. The implication of this view is that religious affiliation was far less important to lay members of the community than might have been thought, given the official centrality of religion in people's lives. Perhaps the conclusion to support is not that the laity were indifferent to religion, but that some of them were indifferent to the regulations being imposed as a result of denominational differences, for the simple reason that these inconvenienced the smooth running of the secular community and threatened its material prosperity. Against the background of a harsh landscape and a challenging economic environment, William Sheils has concluded that most of the population in Coley worked to find a way round denominational barriers.⁶ The reluctance of local officers and magistrates to enforce the law, which we see from Heywood's diaries, can also be explained by the imperative of maintaining working relationships in the interest of the good functioning of the community. The upheaval resulting from imprisonment or banishment of Nonconformists is likely to have been seen as disproportionate in many bailiffs' and constables' eyes, while some of them would themselves have been related to those whom they were charged with fining or arresting. What is fundamental in understanding how communities

⁴ Samuel S. Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England: Parish and Congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax* (Brill, 2013), p. 88.

⁵ Thomas, 'Individuals and Communities: Religious Life in Restoration England' (PhD thesis, Washington University in St. Louis, 2003), p. 10.

⁶ William Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and His Congregation', *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), pp. 261-27 (p. 275).

reacted to persecution is that it varied across individual locations depending on the challenge posed by Dissent. It would not be accurate to say that Heywood enjoyed universal support in Coley, but rather that members of his godly society, while recognised as distinct from the parish structure, co-existed with their Conformist neighbours in a mutually beneficial relationship. Heywood successfully straddled the two communities, as Thomas points out.⁷

The concept of community in the early modern period has been the subject of academic debate in relation to both its definition and its evolution. Miri Rubin has argued that the term has become ‘a static notion [that] obscures difference and conflict’.⁸ David Sabean takes a differing view and argues that a local community is constructed ‘by mediations and reciprocities’ which include both positive and negative stimuli, such as co-operation and conflict.⁹ Arguing that the seventeenth century was a period of transition for the idea of community, Alexandra Shepherd and Phil Withington state that this often manifested itself in its response to ‘the demands of a centralising system’.¹⁰ We can see Heywood and the Presbyterian community in Coley offering a clear example of this; their reaction to the centralised imposition of the Act of Uniformity essentially defined their new community, separated from the formal parish. Hill and other Marxist interpreters have suggested that community in its traditional manifestation was destroyed, either, in a religious sense, by the Reformation or, in a civic sense, by later industrialisation.¹¹ Less definitively, Patrick Collinson suggests that religious differences did not result in the eradication of community, but rather produced the challenge of coexistence between groups of people of different religious

⁷ Thomas, *Creating Communities*, p. 57.

⁸ Miri Rubin, ‘Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages’ in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Jennifer Kermode (Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 132-50 (p. 134).

⁹ David Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 28.

¹⁰ Alexandra Shepherd and Phil Withington, eds., *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2000), Introduction, p. 4.

¹¹ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-revolutionary England* (Schocken Books, 1967), p. 488.

persuasions living in the same locality.¹² This view is supported by Margaret Spufford and others whose work has established that even some of the more extreme sects, such as the Quakers, were integrated into the wider community. Although Nonconformists had withdrawn from the core religious services and sacraments of the parish, Stevenson has shown that some still served as parish officers.¹³ In more recent work, rather than characterising communities as either shattered as a result of the exclusion of the Nonconformists or as hardly affected at all as a result of amicable integration with them, Walsham has argued for a more nuanced middle way. She concludes that the twin impulses of persecution and toleration were in a constant state of flux throughout the early modern period and that it may be more sensible to regard the bouts of persecution as unusual ‘ruptures of normal neighbourly relations’.¹⁴

The evidence we have of Heywood’s life, and those of his fellow ejected Nonconformist clergy, means that we need to refine the earlier view of general dislocation; like others, Heywood definitely experienced sustained periods of persecution from some elements of his community, while simultaneously enjoying loyal support from others. So, the situation in Coley clearly illustrates the point that, rather than persecution being seen as an occasional ‘rupture’ of otherwise peaceful communities, it is best seen as an ever-present threat, prompted at times by national legislation, but also as the result of longstanding local conflicts over secular matters, for example Heywood’s own dispute with Jonathan Priestley over a parcel of land.¹⁵ Community dynamics seem to have been characterised by persecution being met with equally strong resistance and with a degree of general toleration.

¹² Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Palgrave, 1988), p. 144. This view supports the reality of life in Coley, rather than Collinson’s earlier comment that Puritans were ‘mentally and emotionally separated by their radical estrangement from conventional society’. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 268.

¹³ Stevenson, ‘Social Integration of post-Restoration Dissenters’, p. 385.

¹⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 148.

¹⁵ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 127; HT IV, p. 142.

Community is, therefore, a helpful concept and, in practice, it survived the strains which the religious tensions of the post-Restoration era heaped on it because it was both resilient and useful. While Withington concludes that community is a difficult term to pin down, he believes that 'it was crucial in shaping early modern identities and experiences'.¹⁶ Thomas makes the point that community can mean very different things to different writers, but that it is still a relevant analytical tool when looking at more than one group within society.¹⁷ If Heywood's position is to be fully understood, it is necessary to broaden the scope from Thomas's analysis of Heywood's followers in Coley and to understand the significance of his membership of several communities simultaneously, some through choice and others where participation was forced on him by circumstances.

As a result of his professional standing, Heywood automatically qualified as a member of the official parish structure of the Church of England, but because of his personality and his chosen path, he also sustained relationships within other, less official, religious communities and some secular ones.¹⁸ Although her focus was on medieval society, Susan Reynolds offers a definition of community which is useful in analysing Heywood's situation:

The kind of community with which I am concerned ... is one which defines itself by engaging in collective activities – activities which are characteristically determined and controlled less by formal regulations than by shared values and norms, while the relationships between members of the community are characteristically reciprocal, many-sided and direct, rather than being mediated through officials or rulers.¹⁹

¹⁶ Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: the Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Polity, 2010), p. 105.

¹⁷ Thomas, *Creating Communities*, p. 4.

¹⁸ One important element here was his membership, by birth, of a wide family network across parts of Lancashire and, by marriage, with the Puritan ministers, John and Samuel Angier (see the list of *Dramatis Personae*).

¹⁹ Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 2.

In one respect Heywood offers a conundrum, in that his adherence to discipline within the Presbyterian model suggests that he was shaped by inflexible rules, but his later actions, where he shows concern for the wider community and for all fallen souls, reveal a more inclusive approach, motivated by shared interests and a humane, if not theological, expansiveness. This can possibly be explained by remembering that he was deciding who qualified for Holy Communion, based on his personal judgement of their lifestyles measured against the criteria of godliness, and that he was also choosing those to whom he offered pastoral care in the locality; in both instances, his choices were based on the simple fact that he was familiar with his neighbours, as members of his own local community. Reynolds' definition above is also apposite to Heywood and to Halifax, in that Presbyterianism disdained the hierarchical mediation of the episcopal Church and saw a greater role for the laity in church governance, while Halifax parish was notoriously independent by nature and suspicious of imposed authority, as Sheils has observed.²⁰ This may have been a result of its distance from the centre of power in London or, as Sheils argues elsewhere, because of the link between radicalism and the textile industry, whereby economic prosperity and a tradition of lay involvement in church affairs developed a sense of self-determination.²¹

In considering Heywood's ministry and how the community operated in early modern England, it is helpful to define some other widely used terms, including 'parish', 'society' and 'minister'. Firstly, the parish: given its geographical spread, the parish of Halifax was divided into twelve chapelries, serving, but not coincidental with, its twenty-three administrative townships. The parish was an integral component of the Anglican structure and it was the parish community which lost its monopoly as the rise of Nonconformity challenged Anglicanism's ecclesiology, rather than the concept of community disappearing completely,

²⁰ Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and his Congregation', p. 266.

²¹ William and Sarah Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform: Halifax and its Hinterland', in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Macmillan, 1998), pp. 130-43 (p. 143).

as Hill suggests. Heywood was removed from his position within this established hierarchy in 1662, but he still defined himself by concern for everyone living within it, not simply the practising Christians, but also the souls of the ungodly whom he believed it was his duty to save. He usually talked about his 'congregation', which in general usage was seen as the Nonconformist equivalent to the parish, but in Heywood's terminology it meant all those practising Protestants in Coley, including the Conformists and the Dissenters. The narrower community of Presbyterians who forsook the chapel services and followed him to meetings at his own home (and later at his meeting houses) was termed his 'society'. This community was the smaller group of those whom he judged to be worthy of the Holy Sacrament from 1657 and who formed the core of his followers, selected by him. In addition, he talked about his 'hearers'; this term encompassed all those who came to listen to his sermons, but who could also be attending worship at the parish church at other times on the Sabbath, while his 'professors' were those members of the wider congregation who had subscribed to Presbyterianism to some degree but may not have qualified for membership of his inner society.²² Several observations can be made here: firstly, that the religious community had a number of sub-strata in a vertical sense, with inner groups not accessible to all (for instance, the distinction between communicant or non-communicant members of both the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches); secondly, that the religious community consisted of several co-existing denominations in a horizontal sense (which came into sharper relief with the Act of Uniformity); and thirdly, that individuals could be members of more than one group at the same time. This last point, and the allied practice of 'partial' or 'occasional Conformity' in worship, demonstrate that, while some religious communities required public adherence to certain rites

²² Examples of Heywood's references to these groups include: 'congregation' Add MS 45964, fol. 34^v; HT I p. 173, 'society' Add. MS 24486, fol. 212^r; HT II, p. 31 and 'hearers' Add MS 45965, fol. 42^v; HT I, p. 251.

and rituals to qualify for full membership, others did not.²³ Any sense of neatness, of a uniform orthodoxy of belief and behaviour or of clear-cut denominational boundaries within the chapelry of Coley was simply not the reality of lived events. On the contrary, the picture was as complex and contradictory as the natures of the individual residents themselves. As far as the term ‘minister’ is concerned, this was used by Heywood and by later commentators to refer to both those clergymen who were Anglican vicars and to those who were Nonconformist preachers (as in the label of the ‘ejected ministers’ of 1662). Therefore, it referred to an ordained and recognised official of a church and encompassed this position across the different denominations. Heywood explicitly referred to his time at Coley before his ordination as a period ‘in which I did not look upon my selfe as a minister in office, but a probationer and candidate for the ministry’.²⁴

Heywood’s Definition of Community in Coley

When we look in more detail at Heywood’s stance within Coley and depending on the perspective taken, we see that he either created a new community or divided (if not destroyed) the existing one. He created the community of his godly brethren to form his narrow society and he split his original chapelry community in so doing. The catalyst for this disruption was not the Act of Uniformity; from 1657, five years ahead of the enforced national division, Heywood was choosing his sub-group or dividing his congregation, however it is viewed, by his restrictions on who could take communion. What the Act did was to codify the distinction which Heywood had already made and to remove him from the Established Church and place him in the smaller, exclusive group of the ‘saints’ or godly Nonconformists.²⁵ Collinson points

²³ Keith Wrightson, ‘The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England’, in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Macmillan, 1996), pp. 10-46 (p. 12). Sheils, ‘Oliver Heywood and his Congregation’, p. 261. Thomas, *Creating Communities*. p. 35.

²⁴ Add. MS 45964, fol. 29^v; HT I, p. 166.

²⁵ Heywood later compiled a list of seventy-three names of people who qualified to partake of communion in 1657, out of a worshipping congregation at Coley Chapel of around one hundred and twenty and an overall

out that ‘far from removing themselves, the unseparated [Puritans] considered that it was the unworthy who ought to be ejected’ from the core religious community who partook of the sacraments, while they (the worthy) followed the true path.²⁶ What Heywood and other moderate Presbyterians consistently hoped was that the Established Church would either conform to their way of thinking or at least incorporate them within it and thus prevent a break-up of the religious community at large, neither of which happened. Heywood himself had inflicted severe strains on the religious community at Coley in the years before 1662 and yet, despite his uncompromising position, he retained his status and influence with his own followers, and within the wider Anglican chapelry, for the rest of his life.

Heywood’s actions affected the religious community in Coley in a fundamental way. A microhistorical examination of the steps he took and their repercussions allows us to understand the complexity of community relations. By 1657, after seven years in post, Heywood felt secure enough to reintroduce the Communion sacrament, which had been allowed to lapse since 1642. As Joseph Hunter observes, ‘all would have been right, had he revived the ordinance, and at stated times administered it. But this was not enough to satisfy him’.²⁷ In line with Presbyterian practice, he sought to restrict it to a select body of his parishioners through stipulating qualifications: only those of his flock whose conduct and beliefs warranted receiving the sacrament were to be included.²⁸ The question arises as to why a young, recently-ordained minister would choose to instigate such a divisive strategy. His

population in Northowram of some two hundred adults. See Add. MS 24486, fol. 207^r; HT II, pp. 17-19. In an extract of the 1669 Episcopal returns, Lyon Turner reports ‘neere one hundred’ attendees at conventicles in the chapelries of Sowerby and Coley. G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1911-1914), p. 152.

²⁶ Collinson, *Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 144.

²⁷ Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent*, (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842), p. 99.

²⁸ The issue over who qualified for communion was repeatedly debated by Puritan theologians and taken to its logical extreme by Baxter, who wrote in *Aphorismes of Justification* (which Heywood had in his library) ‘No minister can groundedly administer the sacrament to any man but himself because he can be certain of no man’s justification and salvation’, Richard Baxter, *Aphorismes of Justification* (Abraham Brown, 1655), pp. 258-59. Spurr states that in Jollie’s parish ‘only three families were thought fit to receive’ and that Josselin avoided the controversy by simply abandoning the sacrament. John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Pearson Education, 2006), pp. 134-35.

theological training in the doctrine of predestination at Cambridge offers some answers: it would have led him to divide his fellow men into two incompatible groups: the elect, who were to be saved, and the ‘reprobate’, who were damned, and he applied this division to the congregation in front of him and to all those living within his chapelry, irrespective of the effect on community relations. There are few details of the substance of his lectures attended or texts studied at Cambridge in his life-writing, apart from a reference to a sermon by Samuel Hammond on Luke: 13.24 concerning those who attempt to enter Heaven through ‘the narrow door’ but are not permitted because of a lack of preparation or an immoral life.²⁹ Hunter states that two texts were discovered amongst Heywood’s papers which ‘can be seen as college exercises’ and these were *Itinerarium Totius Sacrae Scripturae* (1619) by Henry Bunting (1545-1606), which Heywood copied out in its entirety, and transcripts of religious works by other authors, including Edward Leigh (1602-1671) and John Donne (1572-1631).³⁰ Heywood revealed that he had studied earlier English Puritan writers rather than the classical philosophers when he confessed that he ‘preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, Sibs [Sibbes] above Plato and Aristotle’.³¹ We also know that he had treatises by Perkins and Baxter in his later library catalogue, including Baxter’s *Disputations on the Sacraments* (1658), and that he would have been educated at Trinity in the doctrine of discipline and the fundamental need to differentiate between the godly and the damned.³²

²⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 25^v; HT I, p. 160.

³⁰ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, pp. 45-46. Bunting’s work recounted the travels of Biblical characters; Leigh’s text chronicled the Roman Emperors; and Donne’s dealt with the first translation of the Bible by seventy-two interpreters.

³¹ Add. MS 459064, fol.26^v; HT I, p. 162. William Perkins (1558-1602), a leading figure within the Puritan element of the Elizabethan Church of England was a prolific author and lecturer at St. Andrew’s Church in Cambridge. Robert Bolton (1572-1631) was an Oxford-based theologian whose most celebrated work was *Four Last Things*, published posthumously in 1632. John Preston (1587-1628) and William Sibbes (1577-1635) were Cambridge theologians, masters of colleges and ‘pious non-separatists’, who believed that the Church could accommodate their Puritanism.

³² Vernon points out that the issue can be traced back to the Westminster Assembly of 1643, where it was argued that the communion sacrament should not to be offered to the scandalous, profane or the ignorant. Elliot Vernon, ‘Presbyterians in the English Revolution’, in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Reformation Era, 1559-1689* (Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 55-72 (p. 63).

Likewise, Heywood does not dwell on outside events in his accounts, but passing references to national developments appear within his diaries in later years and there is no reason to believe that he was ignorant of what was going on outside the West Riding. The failure to establish a lasting, godly Presbyterian Church under the Protectorate had resulted in a fluid and confused religious landscape, as Anthony Milton observes, when he talks of ‘the many different visions to choose from in the 1650s’.³³ Perhaps Heywood took encouragement from a relaxation in rules around Conformity at this stage to construct his own Presbyterian chapelry whilst he was permitted to do so. Collinson makes the point that many Puritans seemed to regard ‘their immediate world as polarised between themselves and their religious enemies: two undifferentiated masses of good and evil’.³⁴ In fact, such a binary classification needs some relaxation in Heywood’s case. As he wrote in his autobiographical narrative, those whom he felt to be ‘grossly ignorant or scandalous’ were barred, but only after he had diligently interviewed them all and offered them help in overcoming their ignorance or reforming their habits.³⁵ He was, therefore, attempting to include as many of his flock as he could within the elect, perhaps conscious of the difficulties his objective would lead to, or as he put it, ‘loath I was to ingage in such untrodden paths’.³⁶ Having explained his plans in ‘weighty’ sermons over several weeks, he ‘at last fel to execution’.³⁷ Displaying a model Presbyterian approach, Heywood initially planned to involve the laity in the selection process, and he ‘desired them to make a choice of some officers, that might assist me in the work’.³⁸ This could have been an attempt to deflect some of the anticipated criticism or simply a more practical way forward given the numbers involved. He was not explicit about the model he was following, but his stance reflects the importance placed on communion in Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian*

³³ Anthony Milton, *England’s Second Reformation*, (Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 416.

³⁴ Collinson, *Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 148.

³⁵ Add. MS 45964, fol. 33^r; HT I, p. 171.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 33^r; p. 171.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 33^r; p. 171.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 33^r; p. 171.

Religion (1536) and it is likely that he had been influenced by this in Hammond's services in Cambridge.³⁹ Whatever Heywood's motivation, there was nobody willing to share the responsibility (or the opprobrium from their rejected neighbours) and he undertook the whole exercise himself. Admittedly written from his own standpoint, Heywood's writings state that he met with around one hundred and twenty people and that 'many were exceeding glad of the opportunity they had to open their conditions to me, who had been long hindered in their resolutions that way by prejudices, occasions and many temptations.'⁴⁰ This is an early example of Heywood's close integration with his followers, as the invitation to qualify was open to all in the chapelry. It demonstrated a level of engagement which would be reciprocated by them in the years of persecution to follow. He was demonstrating two apparently inconsistent behaviours towards the community as a whole and the religious sub-set of it in particular: he was defining membership of a sub-group which splintered the base of the existing community but, at the same time, strengthening the pastoral links between clergy and laity which characterised Presbyterianism. Heywood wrote that this initiative would have been worthwhile even if it had not led to the re-introduction of the sacrament, as he had 'obtained so much acquaintance with the spiritual state of many souls'.⁴¹

He then took another step within this self-imposed process, again apparently single-handedly, without reference to any other clergyman or elders elsewhere.⁴² (He had been married for two years at this point to Elizabeth Angier, but there is no recorded mention of consultation with his clerical father-in-law, John, who enjoyed a position of influence amongst Puritan clergy in Manchester and who would later offer Heywood valuable support at the time

³⁹ Heywood described Hammond as 'that precious instrument' in his spiritual development and recorded that he made notes from his sermons and sent them to his friends. Add. MS 45964., fol. 25^v; HT I, p. 160. In a letter to Jollie of 1698, Heywood recalled their time at Cambridge and 'the heart-meltings under Mr Hammond's ministry' and disclosed that he had visited Hammond two weeks before his death. Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 431.

⁴⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 33^r; HT I p. 171.

⁴¹ Heywood did not use the term 'community', instead referring to the 'congregation' or 'assembly'. Add. MS 45964, fol. 33^v; HT I, p. 171.

⁴² Heywood's approach to the reform of local worship was also adopted by his brother, Nathaniel, who faced similar opposition when he instituted Holy Communion at Illingworth Chapelry in 1655.

of the Five Mile Act.) Heywood communicated the list of those who had met his requirements to the whole congregation and gave the wider group an opportunity to raise objections. This development forced a binary split of adherence or exclusion on the religious side of the community. The allocation of an individual to a group was not solely based on their own choice, but also needed Heywood's explicit approval, thus causing dissension and discomfort in the community. The varied complexion of the Coley congregation, which Heywood hoped could be maintained at a national level, was forced to expose its differences and members were having to declare their positions publicly by the man who had been placed in the role of shepherd of the entire flock. Heywood was wilfully labelling his fellow Protestants as 'good' or 'bad' in a theological sense, not merely assigning them to one or other social or political group but judging them on the highest spiritual stakes of either being worthy of salvation or facing eternal damnation. While he recorded his satisfaction with the outcome, he acknowledged the 'secret surmisings' and the hesitation at this stage amongst the congregation to join him in overt condemnation or approval of their fellow villagers. He celebrated the 'first ordinance [communion service] ... since the late uncivil wars' with a sense of joy and relief, but his record also hinted at the uncomfortable legacy which he was bequeathing. Some of those 'groundedly suspected of visible unworthines' evidently backed off, of their own accord, as 'none could or would stand up to debarre them'.⁴³ Others, in a group who were prepared to exhibit a flicker of resistance, 'resolved to stay, though not submitting to order' but were 'driven back' apparently by the hand of God. Others again, 'enjoyed the ordinance peaceably and comfortably' and presumably exulted in their selection. This episode is crucial in understanding the history of the religious community at Coley in Heywood's time, as it illustrates the plethora of differing views within the Established Church which he, and later the penal laws, attempted to control. It also highlights the strains on the community which

⁴³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 33^v; HT I, p. 172.

characterised the next thirty years and which had been present in the Interregnum, but which ultimately failed to destroy it. Heywood may have won the first battle, to enjoy a 'day of gladness and feasting', but he had undoubtedly stoked the prolonged friction between Puritanism and Anglicanism, provoking a bitter legacy on his own doorstep.⁴⁴

In the wake of his apparent victory, he went on to observe 'every good work meets with opposition, either from pretended friends or from professed foes' and it soon became apparent from the opposition he met that the underlying local consensus of religious toleration had been fractured beyond repair.⁴⁵ This is where the contradictions of Heywood's position can be fully appreciated: while it is evident that Heywood professed and practised a spirit of Christian forgiveness, his adherence to strict Presbyterian mores, and his insistence on the need for public qualification to be allowed to take Communion, provoked a hostile response amongst some of his flock. Any assumptions that his opponents were only those whom he had discarded must be adjusted in the light of detailed analysis. The hostility came not only from some in that position, but also, less predictably, from both the more extreme end of the godly spectrum and also from the more conservative of the Anglicans. The low-level rumblings of discontent coalesced into direct action by sections of the community. As he noted, not only his 'professed foes...use their utmost endeavours to thrust me out of place', but also 'it was my familiar friends and intimate associates, yea I hope (some of them) sincere Christians that are the greatest trouble to me and in this they are worse because I expected better'.⁴⁶ Heywood wrote that his enemies 'railed' on him and 'would almost pul out my eyes in violent contradiction'.⁴⁷ Having made the distinctions between godly and ungodly so public and inflexible, Heywood had opened up the debate to others who disagreed with him and, very probably mirroring the

⁴⁴ In his 'Relation' some four years later, Heywood wrote of Holy Communion that 'we have continued in the frequent and (usually) monethly celebration thereof', but it was at a high cost to community cohesion. Add. MS 45964, fol.33^v; HT I, p. 172

⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. 33^v; p. 172.

⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 34^v; p. 173.

⁴⁷ Ibid., fol. 34^v; p. 173.

range of views within any Protestant community at the time, even in a relatively small one such as Coley, there were as many shades of opinion as to what was appropriate as there were nuances in approach to religion and behaviour. Heywood claimed that he was beset by opposition from both ends of the spectrum: ‘on the one hand some oppose making any distinction at all ... and would have the blood of Christ prostituted to all comers’, while ‘on the other hand, others pleading for an unwarrantable, groundless separation, screw up the pin beyond the reach of the word’.⁴⁸ Heywood thus categorised himself as a middle-way Presbyterian against the extremes of opposition that he provoked, and he soon realised that he could not maintain unity once he had divided his flock so definitively. He wrote that ‘from both sides have I received grievous buffetings’, but the strictest of the godly seemed, initially at least, to be those who were the most dissatisfied by what they regarded as Heywood’s leniency in admitting some who were not, in their eyes, worthy of sharing the bread and wine: ‘I may sadly say the latter [the strict Presbyterians] hath been far more prejudicial to my work and afflictive to my spirits’ than the more lenient judges of others’ characters.⁴⁹ He spelt out the dilemma of any leader who tries to please all his followers: ‘I have gone to the utmost brink, my principles, conscience and the word of god would reach, that I might become all things to all men’, but in vain.⁵⁰

The consequences for Heywood were not long in coming. Mark Pearson states that, rather than the most godly, it was, in fact, the wealthier members of the congregation (likely to be the High Church Anglicans) who turned their dissatisfaction into action, perhaps because they had more to lose economically from a disruption of the local status quo. Heywood wrote that they attempted to deprive him of his livelihood, but failed because he was supported by

⁴⁸ Add. MS 45964, fol. 34^r; HT I, p. 172.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 34^r; p. 172.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 35^r; p. 174.

‘the bulk of his people’ who ‘bravely stood by their minister’.⁵¹ What Pearson records is that Heywood’s enemies, without any legal backing, succeeded in driving him out of his house in Northowram in May 1660.⁵² He was forced to move, with his wife and two young sons, to lodgings in Norwood Green, a nearby village within the parish boundaries. He had created local enemies and initiated a conflict that predated the Clarendon Code and which would rumble on until a degree of harmony was re-introduced via legislated toleration in 1689.

By 1660, Heywood’s position in the local communities, both religious and civil, was re-defined by his stance, but he did not lose his influential status, nor was Coley as a community irreparably damaged. The fault-lines within the community were, however, exposed. Any view that Coley was united in its Nonconformity against the Anglican centre of power at Halifax Parish Church, or that Heywood commanded universal loyalty amongst his existing congregation before he was ejected, is disproved by the evidence of the conflict which he himself triggered and by his own admission of its consequences. Even at this point, before the Act of Uniformity set in train the national split, the level of opposition in Coley can be gauged by the campaign of harassment undertaken against Heywood. In his life-writing he recalled that one of the unhappiest times of his life was around 1659 and 1660, when his third son died in infancy, he lost his home and was subjected to unproven allegations of both political treachery and religious malpractice. Milton argues that the accession of Richard Cromwell (1626-1712) to the Protectorate in 1659 prompted hopes that a more rigorously Presbyterian Church might be achieved at last and Heywood may have been emboldened by this to face the opposition in Coley.⁵³ Even after Richard Cromwell’s fall and the confusion of early 1660, a return to monarchy was seen as likely to be accompanied by a comprehensive religious

⁵¹ Mark Pearson, *Northowram: Its Histories and Antiquities, with a Life of Oliver Heywood* (Halifax: H. F. King and Sons, 1898), p. 71.

⁵² Heywood wrote that his enemies ‘prevailed upon this weak woman my landlady to remove me’, in part by increasing his rent extortionately. Add. MS 45966, fol. 90^v; HT III, p. 181. See p. 5.

⁵³ Milton, *England’s Second Reformation*, p. 440.

settlement by Baxter and others and it seems that Heywood was determined to mould his community along Presbyterian lines. As his life-writing demonstrates, he also understood that in doing so the inclusiveness of Coley's religious community, with a diversity hitherto contained within a broad spectrum of beliefs inside the Church of England, would be shattered.

Opposition on the Political and Religious Fronts

A charge frequently made by the opponents of Nonconformity was that it was not only religiously radical but also politically seditious and therefore needed to be suppressed to protect the security of the state. As Spurr points out, the prosecutor-in-chief of the Nonconformists, Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, made no distinction between moderate Presbyterian ministers and the schismatic sects such as the Quakers; in his view they were all disobeying the law and had to be punished.⁵⁴ This deliberate simplification served the oppressors' narrative well and Sheldon's attitude at the national level was to be reflected locally by that of Richard Hooke, appointed as Vicar of Halifax in 1662. He saw Heywood as a religious rebel and extended this to accusations of his being a danger to civic society.⁵⁵ The inextricable linkage between politics and religion is illustrated by Heywood's experience prior to the loss of his post in 1662. Heywood made an explicit reference to this in his 'Relation', commenting that, while he was managing the consequences of his intervention over discipline, 'in comes an overflowing deluge in the state that promotes divisions in the church'.⁵⁶

The specific instance of this link between the religious and secular communities to which Heywood was referring was an accusation by his opponents (unnamed in his account) of his complicity in the Royalist uprising by Sir George Booth (1622-1684), later Lord Delamere, in Cheshire in 1659. Booth led a revolt against Richard Cromwell's regime and was

⁵⁴ Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ For example, Hooke vehemently criticised Nonconformists in a sermon delivered in 1682. Add. MS 45967, fols 40^v-41^r; HT II, p. 288.

⁵⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 35^r; HT I, p. 174.

initially successful in capturing Chester before being defeated by government forces near Northwich.⁵⁷ Several of Heywood's circle, including John Hodgson of Coley Hall and Thomas Jollie, were implicated and arrested for their part in the uprising, although any involvement by Heywood was never proved.⁵⁸ He may have sympathised with Booth's aim of restoring Charles II, since his own records show that he refused to obey the requirement by the Church to hold prayers of thanksgiving for the rebellion's suppression. He stated, 'this I must confesse I could never say Amen to their prodigiously irregular actings, nor act against my conscience, for I must obey God rather than men'.⁵⁹ This is another example of Heywood following his own conscience, whatever the consequences, rather than obeying the dictates of his superiors or considering the implications for his chapelry. Within the ranks of the Puritans there was a whole spectrum of views regarding the monarchy and the execution of Charles I, and Heywood himself saw the Crown as politically stabilising. He wrote that 'we were weary of monarchy, but shall be more weary of anarchy'.⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that he was harassed by those who were loyal to the Commonwealth in its dying months, only to be subsequently persecuted by the actions of the Royalist 'Cavalier Parliament' as it sought revenge on Presbyterians who had been in the ascendancy during the Protectorate.

Heywood thus found himself in an uncomfortable position in Coley whatever the political complexion of his adversaries, and this situation reflects Sabean's definition of community as a set of positive and negative relationships.⁶¹ His own recorded reflections contain little evidence of his attempting a compromise with those who disagreed with him or of relaxing his own stance and in this, Heywood's intransigence can be seen as a barrier to

⁵⁷ Sean Kelsey, 'Booth, George, first Baron Delamer', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2877.

⁵⁸ For a recent study of the uprising, see Andrew Abram, *For A Parliament Freely Chosen: The Rebellion of Sir George Booth, 1659* (Helion and Co., 2021).

⁵⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 36r; HT I, p. 175.

⁶⁰ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 117.

⁶¹ Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, p. 28.

reconciliation within the community. In 1659, at the time of the Booth Uprising, he accused his opponents of trickery and deceit:

[They] came to discourse with me pretendedly in love and friendship, and got what they could out of me in state affairs, and then when they saw their opportunity threatened they had in writing a charge against me uttered unaware by my own lips.⁶²

He recorded a sense of incredulity concerning the claims of political treachery being made against him and frustration at not being given the chance to defend himself. Evidence of Heywood's personal opinions leading to public animosity and a sectarian divide, because of his prominent position, comes from his account of being 'condemned without trial, when a considerable appearance of my people came to own me at a meeting' but were refused leave to speak on his behalf. Originally based on differing attitudes to religious observance, the two camps of Heywood supporters and opponents within Coley thus became divided on a wider set of issues.

Focusing the microhistorical lens on incidents in the period between 1657, when Heywood instituted discipline, and 1662, when he was suspended, allows us to appreciate the dislocation of the community and the depth of opposition which he faced. The community conflict was in part played out within the church building itself, as shown by Heywood's recollection of his opponents' tactics in 1659 when 'some of them openly contradicted me by sending me a note in the middle of my sermon to distract me', although he goes on to say that they did little harm.⁶³ Heywood's own language is far from conciliatory and it seems that he relished the battle more than perhaps was fitting for a churchman; while he complained that his

⁶² Add. MS 45964, fol. 35^v; HT I, p. 174. For the implications of Booth's Uprising on the political position of the Presbyterians, see George Southcombe, 'The Presbyterians in the Restoration', in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Reformation Era, 1559-1689*, ed. by John Coffey (Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 73-87 (p. 74).

⁶³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 35^v; HT I, p. 175.

adversaries said ‘they could not sit down under any man’s ministry that would not obey authority’, he accused them of being ‘disobedient...with ambitious and covetous humours’.⁶⁴ It is not clear whether these enemies were god-fearing members of his congregation (if so, he could hardly censure them for irreligious behaviour). Nevertheless, the Puritan streak of obduracy emerges on his part, just as much as the determination to harass is evident from their side. If they were unsympathetic Anglicans, his response was more understandable, but Heywood himself acknowledged his struggle to control his reactions: ‘by the help of grace I have not used perverse reflections against them in public’.⁶⁵ It would appear that a spirit of Christian forgiveness was remembered, if only just in time. Heywood’s ambivalent position within the community is again illustrated here; he was at times divisive and antagonistic to those whom he judged to be in the wrong (either those whom he regarded as profane or too strict or unreconstructed Anglicans), while later evidence from his writings shows his efforts to serve the wider community and reclaim any lost souls.

The conflict was not simply one of theological differences, but evolved into a wider sectarian dispute. He was arrested in 1659 (the precise accusation is not clarified in his autobiographical narrative) and imprisoned overnight in Brighthouse, but he was released after a day ‘by the mediation of divers of my neighbours’.⁶⁶ It is evident that both sides in the ongoing conflict showed an ability mobilise their resources and a determination to prosecute their aims; his enemies succeeded in persuading the authorities to arrest him and his supporters must have swiftly organised themselves to appeal against the injustice of this and to secure his freedom. During this period (from 1659 to 1662), it was not a case of the state machinery being directed at criminalised activity, but, instead, of two local parties determinedly pursuing their quarrel at the expense of community cohesion.

⁶⁴ Add. MS 45964, fols 35^v-36^r; HT I, p. 175.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 36^r; p. 175.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 36^v; p. 176.

Those who had opposed the introduction of discipline into Coley (from whatever standpoint) continued to make life as difficult as possible for Heywood prior to their being aided by the national legislation. Stephen Ellis, an Episcopalian and a leading member of the congregation from Hipperholme township (partly within Coley chapelry), plotted with others to stage a public challenge.⁶⁷ On 25th August 1661, Robert Gibson (1628-1691), whom Heywood described as ‘a churchwarden, living in Lightcliffe’, brought up the *Book of Common Prayer* just as Heywood was about to start preaching and laid it on the cushion of the pulpit. According to Heywood’s account, he asked Gibson by whose authority he acted in this way, but he received no reply.⁶⁸ So, he laid the book on the reading desk and continued with the service according to his own formula, ignoring the liturgy of the Prayer Book. Heywood’s personal reflections reveal a mixture of sincerity and self-satisfaction:

I was wonderfully assisted that day in praying and preaching so as many were amazed, as since they have told me; and it satisfys me I did but my duty in what I did, upon my former convictions.⁶⁹

Heywood’s recollection demonstrates several points about the community strife he had precipitated: firstly, the opposition to his stance was locally organised and only later prompted by national legislation. Continuing local disagreement with Heywood’s Presbyterian practices surfaced in these actions and, as Hunter observes in his generally sympathetic commentary on Heywood’s life, ‘there was no very clear right on either side’.⁷⁰ Secondly, the opposition was organised and the public confrontation was planned rather than spontaneous. It is difficult to know whether to ascribe this to personal animosity or to the general community conflict. It

⁶⁷ Stephen Ellis (d. 1690), originally from Craven in the North Riding, bought Langley Hall in Hipperholme in 1655. He is referred to as churchwarden by Heywood and was a leading member of the anti-Presbyterian faction in the congregation. He opposed Heywood relentlessly and, as well as instigating the incident mentioned above, he was instrumental in having Heywood cited at York Consistory Court in 1661.

⁶⁸ The prescribed use of the full contents of the *BCP* was an issue with which the Presbyterians disagreed, although it was not made mandatory until the Act of Uniformity.

⁶⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 38^v; HT I, p. 179.

⁷⁰ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 129.

seems (from Heywood's account) that Ellis was the instigator here and that Gibson was merely allotted the prime role, perhaps seeing it as his duty as a churchwarden. Gibson's social position could have been a factor in his stance and would support Pearson's assertion that it was the wealthier members of the community who were the most active in their opposition to Heywood. The comments by Heywood above show that he was acting according to his religious conscience and not out of spite, but they need to be treated as part of his own self-congratulatory narrative. The tone certainly suggests that he believed he had divine support and that he was being publicly rewarded by being able to deliver uplifting 'praying and preaching' on that day. Hunter comments that it is ironic to see Heywood's imposing his views under the authority of his clerical position when it was something which the Puritans had accused the Anglicans of doing from the start of their Dissent.⁷¹ In his defence, Heywood knew that he had been invited to take up his post by the people of Coley and, as a known Presbyterian, this would have implied acceptance of his style of worship. Nevertheless, the taint of clerical high-handedness persists, a perceived trait of Anglicanism, rather than the engagement with the laity more usually seen in Puritanism.

Heywood's opponents then sought a legal remedy to their grievance against him, further pre-empting national action under the Clarendon Code, which provides evidence of just how divided the religious community had become. In September 1661, Ellis engaged an attorney, William Greenwood, who had recently moved to the chapelry, to apply to the Consistory Court in York for a citation against Heywood. The case illustrates a pattern of confusion and inconsistency in legal proceedings which foreshadows the trouble the authorities later had in imposing legislative control over religious practice. It also provides evidence of the support Heywood received from differing sectors of the wider community, notwithstanding the personal risks involved. On 13th September 1661, Heywood was visited by a bailiff from

⁷¹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 129.

Halifax and ordered to present himself at St Peter's Church (the Minster) in York. As he did not want to incur the expense of legal representation, Heywood attended the court in the north aisle of the church unaccompanied. The charges against him were unclear. He wrote, 'I desired to know then what was laid against me which they refused' and he was merely sent away to come back in three weeks' time; possibly Greenwood and Ellis were implicating him with the offence of refusing to use the *BCP*, although this had not yet been prescribed in law.⁷² The community divide was stark: Heywood received staunch encouragement from the Puritan Minister of Pudsey, Elkanah Wales, and Wales's son-in-law, James Sale, which shows that support was forthcoming from outside Coley, as well as within the chapelry. The dispute had evidently become known amongst the wider community of Presbyterian ministers in Yorkshire, one of the broader groups of overlapping support which sustained Heywood throughout his persecution. Members of the laity outside Coley can also be seen to be involved at this early stage of Heywood's brushes with the law: Hunter states that Dr. Robert Whittie (1613-1684), a York physician, encouraged Heywood to 'stand firm, as an example to others who might be troubled in the same manner'.⁷³ In his own account, Heywood made the observation that Whittie told him that the court had no authority, 'though they expect it at the next session of parliament, therefore they cannot bite, though they be now whetting their teeth'.⁷⁴ Lady Watson (1598-1679), the widow of a former Lord Mayor of York and a supporter of Nonconformity, also assured Heywood that the court was acting without authority and advised him not to attend its summons (which had mistakenly been served for a holy day when the court was not actually sitting).⁷⁵ Instead of attending, Heywood travelled into Lancashire, ignored a second citation because it gave him only two days' notice and only returned to York following a third citation, whereupon the case against him seemed to collapse. In his later

⁷² Add. MS 45964, fol. 39^r; HT I, p. 179.

⁷³ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 130.

⁷⁴ Add. MS 45964, fol. 39^v; HT I, p. 180.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 40^r; p. 180.

narrative, Heywood was vague on the details of this second court appearance, stating only that ‘they dismiss me with the promise of a faire audience next time’.⁷⁶ He appears to be the first minister to be brought before the court in York for such misconduct (which was never fully specified). This may be regarded as an indication of the determination of his opponents and also of his emerging prominence across a wider sphere. It illustrates that the disruption to the religious community in Coley was far from being hidden in a rural backwater, but had assumed a regional dimension, with the involvement of the diocesan court and the interest in the case shown by clerics and others in the wider Puritan community of the county.

The Impact of Legislation: Heywood’s New Position in the Community

While the inefficiency of the judicial process and the encouragement Heywood received from a variety of sources could have resulted in a sense of victory, he in fact recorded a foreboding about the impending legislation and its implications for his local religious community. He wrote:

hitherto god had helped and now I am but in the same position as the rest
of my brethren in the ministry since the passing of this fatal act of
uniformity ... which will strike dead most of the godly ministers in England.⁷⁷

His fears were duly realised and the fracture of the community in Coley was formalised in mid-1662, when his opponents secured his suspension from exercising his ministry throughout the Diocese of York. This was on the grounds of non-appearance and contempt of court, both of which were inaccurate. His suspension was publicly announced in Halifax Parish Church on Sunday 29th June 1662 by the newly-arrived vicar, Hooke, in his first act of what became a sustained campaign of opposition and, as Heywood noted, it deprived him of a final six or

⁷⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 40^v; HT I, p. 181.

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. 40^v; p. 181.

seven opportunities to preach before the Act of Uniformity took effect in August. (Hooke was the author of a staunchly Royalist treatise, *The Royal Guard* (1662), which contained a defence of monarchy, and a second treatise, written in 1661 but not published until 1682, entitled, *The Nonconformist's Champion, his challenge accepted*.⁷⁸ (This latter text refuted Baxter's claims that the Nonconformists' attempts to reform the Church at the Savoy Conference had been ignored and set out the arguments for strict Conformity.) In terms of the effect on the community of which Heywood had been the leader, this appeared to be a defining moment. He complied with the ruling and wrote of the physical separation from his congregation; 'I took leave for present of my dear congregation at Coley the day above mentioned, on which occasion I saw more strong workings of affections and teares of sorrow than I have ever before seen in publick'.⁷⁹ A combination of Heywood's resolute pursuance of Presbyterian practice and the equally determined opposition from a well-organised sector of the Coley worshipping community had seemingly achieved the latter's dislocation, ahead of national developments.

Nevertheless, despite the legal position and the forces of the 'mother Parish' at Halifax that were arraigned against him, Heywood's professional role in the community was preserved. His influence over the spiritual lives of his followers and the core of his pastoral activities outside the church building were to continue and, indeed, to thrive. Heywood's embeddedness within the infrastructure of Coley allowed him to continue his mission and to prosper, despite his ejection from a formal role and despite the opposition from an active group of his former congregation, headed by Ellis. While he obeyed the injunction not to preach in Coley Chapel in the weeks immediately following his suspension, he continued to lead worship in his own home in Norwood Green. With characteristic determination and dexterity, he ensured that he obeyed the legal position, but only to the minimum degree. He continued to visit his flock and

⁷⁸ Richard Hooke, *The Royal Guard* (W. Godbid, 1662) and *The Nonconformist's Champion, his challenge accepted* (Thomas Flesher, 1682).

⁷⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 41^r; HT I, p 182. It is noteworthy that he stated that he only left his congregation 'for [the] present'.

to provide spiritual and pastoral support to all who needed it in Coley. When the Act of Uniformity came into force in August 1662, Heywood had already been deprived of his official post for two months. The impact of the Act on Heywood's position in the community was, in fact, less profound than under the earlier local attacks or than it appeared to be on his suspension from his chapel. What it did was to encourage further legal efforts to separate him from his religious community which, paradoxically, strengthened his position at the heart of a newly self-defined 'community of the ejected'. Additionally, links between Nonconformists in Coley and elsewhere were strengthened, as a result of their common struggle.

In an institutional dismantling of his membership of the Established Church, further steps by the ecclesiastical authorities were taken in 1662 and 1663. Heywood wrote, 'I am now further cast out of church assemblys by an excommunication published at Halifax on 2nd November 1662'.⁸⁰ It appears there was frustration on the part of the authorities at their inability to silence Heywood and a concern at his growing influence over a wider area which necessitated another citation procured in Chester and posted on the door of Bolton Parish Church on 7th December 1662. This was then followed by a formal excommunication from the Diocese of Chester (covering Lancashire) on 4th January 1663, also published in Bolton, his birthplace and where he often visited. As if to underline their apparent powerlessness in the face of Heywood's intransigence, a third excommunication was published on 6th December 1663 by Hooke in Halifax, which Heywood professed not to understand nor to be affected by, other than feeling 'so much nearer to god as men cast me out from them'.⁸¹ The more that formal weapons of exclusion were deployed against Heywood, the more secure he felt within the confines of his own supportive community, writing, 'Many wonder much at my safety and liberty hitherto, especially considering my deserts and the rage of my enemies'.⁸² Heywood

⁸⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 41^r; HT I, p. 182.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 43^v; p. 184. There are no extant references to these proceedings in Lambeth Palace Library nor in the Consistory Court records in York and Chester.

⁸² Add. MS 45964, fol. 44^r; HT I, p. 185.

felt safe enough to continue living in Norwood Green and, in open defiance of the Act, he continued to preach in public. The situation at the national level where Sheldon succeeded in having such legislation enacted, but could not impose uniformity across the country was replicated locally by the fact that Hooke could only fulminate against Heywood, but not control him. Heywood's secure position, based on the strength of local relationships and a growing reputation within the Nonconformity across the county, meant he could not be silenced.

Nevertheless, evidence of the community's divide continued: it was probably a source of great frustration for Ellis and his party to see Heywood still active in their midst.⁸³ Pearson states that, despite the terms of the excommunication preventing Heywood from attending divine service or partaking of Holy Communion, he did both.⁸⁴ Ellis apparently warned Heywood not to attend chapel and then rejoiced in fining him for non-attendance. Heywood summarised the situation with precision and humour:

Stephen Ellis, our churchwarden, came to demand four shillings for my absence from church, four Sabbaths, my servant answered that if I came, he would put me out of Church. Yes, said he, and so I will too, for the law must be executed, both to keep me away and punish my absence.⁸⁵

He was simultaneously being persecuted by one half of the community and protected by the other half and this is evidenced by numerous examples in his writings; two may suffice to illustrate the nature of the attacks on his freedom of movement and speech and how he resisted them. It was not only Heywood who was harassed and, as the legislative sanctions were

⁸³ Ellis, Gibson and other Conformist opponents of Heywood were, through their wealth and position as churchwardens, members of the local elite. In Coley, the social standing of the Conformists was marginally higher than that of the Nonconformists, although this was not universally so. As Withington outlines, in his study of York in the 1660s, the holders of civic office were invariably the 'better' citizens and 'civic power was inseparable from more general status within the community'. Heywood sacrificed a degree of social status by refusing to conform, as he simultaneously enhanced his position amongst the Dissenting community. Phil Withington, 'Citizens, Community and Political Culture in Restoration England', in *Communities in early modern England*, ed. by Alexandra Shepherd and Phil Withington (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 134 -55 (p. 140).

⁸⁴ Pearson, *Northowram*, p. 74.

⁸⁵ Add. MS 45964, fol. 48^v; HT I, p. 190. Pearson, *Northowram*, p. 74.

tightened, he was not the only one who was risking his livelihood and personal safety; so too were his supporters, who risked social exclusion and economic loss. On 10th June 1663, a prayer meeting was held at Coley Hall, at which Jollie had been invited to preach.⁸⁶ Heywood recorded, ‘soldiers had intelligence and came to apprehend them [the congregation] but were disappointed, the persons met having notice of their design’.⁸⁷ In this instance, Heywood himself avoided any danger of capture by being absent in Lancashire, but it illustrates the reality of what his Dissenting congregation faced, living under surveillance in what Iris Macfarlane has labelled ‘an age of anxiety’.⁸⁸ On another occasion, in August 1663, he was warned by messengers that soldiers were on their way to apprehend him at his home. He stated that ‘as I had not broken either gods law or mans law so as to deserve any punishment from them, therefore I resolved to stay and that accordingly I staid and slept as sweetly as ever I did in al my life’.⁸⁹ Several comments can be made: firstly, daily life for Nonconformists under the Clarendon Code was characterised by a constant danger of discovery and arrest. Secondly, there was evidently a network of informers on both sides of the community divide: the soldiers had been informed of the meeting and the worshippers had likewise been informed of the soldiers’ intentions. Thirdly, Heywood had created a level of confidence in his community such that they felt able to meet and worship in his absence. Finally, while members of Heywood’s society would have been able to trust each other’s discretion and count on support at times of danger, there would have been the equally present fear of being spied on by their opponents and of being reported to the authorities.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Thomas Jollie or Jolly was a contemporary of Heywood’s at Trinity College, Cambridge, and a lifelong friend. He was arrested several times and imprisoned in York and Preston for his Nonconformity, before settling near Clitheroe and establishing a meeting house there.

⁸⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 42^r; HT I, p. 183.

⁸⁸ Iris Macfarlane, ‘The Insecure World of Oliver Heywood’, *History Today*, 21.4 (1971), pp. 247-53 (p. 247).

⁸⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 42^v; HT I, p. 183.

⁹⁰ Aside from opposition from Ellis and Hooke, a key local law enforcer was Sir John Armytage of Kirklees Hall, a landowner and magistrate, whom Heywood reports as attempting to arrest him on several occasions, accompanied by the constable and local informers such as Nathan Whitley. *Ibid.*, fols 51^r 54^r; p. 192, p. 196.

Yet, the paradox remains that, while the two sides were irrevocably split on matters of religion and actively conspired against each other, in other dimensions life went on in a way that sidestepped such divisions. As his accounts of public fasts, services of thanksgivings and visits to his neighbours attest, Heywood continued to minister to his Presbyterian followers after his ejection as before and as he was to do so for the next thirty years. Simultaneous with this exclusive activity, existing secular linkages were maintained with the rest of the community. The need for commercial transactions and relationships to be sustained, and the practical demands of life on the civic front, meant that the community continued to function, often ignoring religious distinctions. Wills were written, property transactions drawn up and solemnised, buildings were repaired and erected, and crops gathered; all this communal activity continued to take place despite the religious tensions. Heywood's position often involved him in non-religious matters, mediating in matters of business or resolving disputes between members of the community at Coley and elsewhere. For example, in April 1666 he wrote, 'On the Saturday we went to Manchester to see friends and doe business...upon Monday morning 6 persons came to me about a private business for an agreement of it'.⁹¹ He clearly demonstrated the attitude that, while the ungodly should not be allowed to share Communion or services with the elect, it was not in the interests of civility or civic order for the Nonconformists to become estranged from society at large.⁹² (While there are no secular records, such as account books, within the Heywood Archive, his own writing contains references to his financial and business dealings.)⁹³

His ejection did not constrain his range of activities, and his behaviour revealed how far he was still integrated into the decision-making life of the chapelry, even if it was no longer legally his. The formal ties may well have been broken, but, as Thomas observes, the ties of

⁹¹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 9^v; HT I, p. 225.

⁹² Add. MS 45969, fols 87^v-89^r; HT IV, pp. 47-49.

⁹³ Add. MS 45968, fols 27^r-28^r; HT III, pp. 238-39.

neighbourliness and kinship could not be severed by mere ecclesiastical formalities.⁹⁴ John Smail summarises the situation when he says, ‘the two oppositions [of Anglican and Dissenter] unravelled in the real world of community’.⁹⁵ Heywood recollected, ‘It grieved my heart to see the people scattered from sabbath to sabbath and the place left totally vacant without any solemn assembly for a long time’.⁹⁶ In December 1662, Heywood took it upon himself to send for Robert Lever, ‘a godly minister out of Lancashire’ to preach at Coley Chapel, ‘at least for a day or two’.⁹⁷ It was not within Heywood’s gift to make appointments, however short-lived, within Hooke’s parish and this attempt to continue a ministry along his own lines failed. Lever turned up, with some of Heywood’s former congregation waiting to hear him preach, but was warned off by Heywood’s opponents and threats were made that a troop of cavalry were on hand and would be used to disperse the congregation with force if they chose to persist.⁹⁸ Again, this instance serves vividly to encapsulate the danger which attended Heywood’s community as a result of his refusal to conform and their loyal support of his attitude. From the microhistorical perspective, the incident serves to dramatise both the risks and the loss his followers would have suffered. It seems that the threat worked; Heywood wrote that ‘upon this resolute and unexpected charge we withdrew’, although the authorities had occasionally sent mounted soldiers into places of worship elsewhere.⁹⁹

Without any documentary evidence from members of the congregation, the community response to Heywood’s loss of his official role cannot be verified, but it is reasonable to conclude that the ferocity of local opposition to Heywood and his society was a result of his popularity and influence over the community he served. What the situation undoubtedly

⁹⁴ Thomas, *Creating Communities*, p. 57.

⁹⁵ John Smail, ‘Local Politics in Restoration England: Religion, Culture and Politics in Oliver Heywood’s Halifax’, in *Protestant Identities, Religion, Society and Self-fashioning in Post-reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 240.

⁹⁶ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 95.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96. There is some evidence elsewhere of military force being used as a means of persecution and Michael Watts cites examples of Quaker meetings being broken up by soldiers. Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 232.

reveals is the severe dislocation of religious life in Coley, which was being mirrored to different degrees elsewhere in Yorkshire and beyond, depending on the determination and leadership of the ejected Nonconformist minister and the strength of support amongst his followers. The experiences of Angier in Denton, Henry Swift (1623-1689) in Penistone and Thomas Hardcastle in Shadwell all testify to the differing levels of community instability and their communities' eventual survival. Angier succeeded in retaining his post because of local gentry support by the Mosley family of Ancoats and the mistaken belief that, as an old man, he would not survive for long.¹⁰⁰ Swift was initially ejected and incarcerated in York, but resumed his place through the influence of the Riches of Bullhouse.¹⁰¹ In contrast, Hardcastle was driven out of his parish and imprisoned several times, but continued to be active in the wider Nonconformist community operating across parish boundaries.¹⁰² In Coley, Heywood's records reveal the strain to which community cohesion was subject, as illustrated by his continuing to preach, sometimes in his own home, and, incredibly, on occasion in the vacant pulpit in Coley Chapel, in open defiance of his opponents and the law.¹⁰³

Overlapping Communities

What also becomes apparent in any close study of Heywood's life is that the religious community was a far more fluid construction than might at first be assumed.¹⁰⁴ Thomas states that individuals in early modern England felt themselves to be members of several overlapping communities simultaneously and highlights the key point that membership of Heywood's society, his inner community of core followers, was voluntary.¹⁰⁵ While residency in Coley

¹⁰⁰ Michael Mullet, 'Angier, John', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/550.

¹⁰¹ David Hey, 'The Riches of Bullhouse: A Family of Yorkshire Dissenters', *Northern History*, 31 (1995), pp. 178-93 (p. 184).

¹⁰² Anon, 'Two Hardcastles, Presbyterian and Baptist', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 4.1 (1914), pp. 33-45 (p. 35).

¹⁰³ Add. MS 45965, fols. 41^r, 52^r; HT I, p. 248, p. 265.

¹⁰⁴ John H. Y. Briggs, 'The Changing Shape of Nonconformity, 1662-2000', in *T and T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*, ed. by Robert Pope and D. Densil Morgan (Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 12-21 (p. 17).

¹⁰⁵ Thomas, 'Individuals and Communities', p. 8.

automatically made someone a member of the chapelry community under the Established Church, an explicit decision of conscience had to be taken to be accepted as a member of Heywood's congregation following his ejection, together with the approval of Heywood himself, if an individual were to be admitted to take Communion. Some members of the same families were members of the inner sanctum, while others were not; some married couples joined the society at different times; and simply because the head of a household had been a member of the core society did not automatically mean that his children would follow.¹⁰⁶

Heywood's resilience is perhaps best understood in the context of his membership of multiple communities, not just within Coley and not just within the religious arena. In the years after the passage of the 1662 Act, Heywood received support from both his extended family and from the wider network of Dissenting clergy across the North of England, many of whom were fellow ejected ministers who corresponded and met with each other. The example of support from Angier can serve as an introduction to both, as his relationship with Heywood straddled the two groups. Angier admitted Heywood into his worshipping congregation in Denton and offered him communion in March 1663, prompting Heywood to record his satisfaction in the religious terminology of his station and of his time, 'where and when the lord wonderfully manifested himselfe to my poor soule'.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps influenced by Angier's unwavering attitude, Heywood displayed a growing confidence and disregard for the legislation, buoyed up by the support of his followers in Coley. With a sense of pride, possibly exaggerated with the benefit of hindsight, Heywood stated that, despite the First Conventicle Act taking effect in July 1664, for every Sunday that he had been at home, he had preached to

¹⁰⁶ Sheils points to the significant proportion of women amongst Heywood's followers, even though they were excluded from positions of authority. William Sheils, 'Dissent in the Parishes' in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Reformation Era, 1559-1689* (Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 293-312 (p. 307).

¹⁰⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 42^r; HT I, p. 183.

a sizeable group of followers undisturbed.¹⁰⁸ This was despite the authorities knowing exactly where his house was and, therefore, the location of his religious meetings.

Heywood's relationship with the community at large can be seen from his continuing involvement with the Anglican congregation of the chapelry. Far from abandoning them, his invitation to Lever as a possible successor to himself at Coley Chapel shows his sense of obligation all Protestant worshippers, not just for his exclusive society. After two short-lived appointments at Coley which failed, John Hoole (?1635-1709) was installed as curate there and first preached in October 1664. Heywood wrote that Hoole 'preacheth wel, and is a pious man, and therefore I am resolved not to draw any from public ordinances, but encourage them to wait upon god therein and pray for the blessing of god thereupon', even if his excommunicated status precluded his own attendance, at least in theory.¹⁰⁹ Heywood can here was demonstrating an inclusiveness by taking an interest in who was preaching to the Conformists in Coley and preserving the links he had established with the whole community, even though he had been subject to much local harassment from some of its members. He displayed a spirit of tolerance based on theological and ecclesiological commonalities, which was so lacking in Sheldon or Hooke, who demonstrated ruthless dismissiveness based on mere labelling.¹¹⁰ Heywood often referred to his assurance that he was one of God's elect, for example in his 'Returnes of Prayer' and presented his suffering as a sign of religious conviction.¹¹¹ However, while he exulted in the separateness of the 'saints' and deplored the ungodliness and what he saw as the misguided beliefs of differing religious persuasions, this was despite the fact that he was more inclusive with individual neighbours or former congregants.¹¹² In summary, it is

¹⁰⁸ Add. MS 45964, fol. 49^r; HT I, p. 190.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., fol. 51^r; p. 192.

¹¹⁰ Heywood reflected Baxter's approach in stressing the areas of agreement between denominations and this attitude was shared by some of the other local ejected ministers, such as Joseph Dawson and Thomas Hardcastle. Neil Keeble, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, (Oxford University Press, 2020), Volume I, General Introduction, p. 41.

¹¹¹ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 11; HT IV, p. 70.

¹¹² Add. MS 45967, fol. 31^v; HT II, p. 277.

hard not to conclude that, in spite of the penal acts, of informers who benefitted from fines imposed on apprehended Dissenters and of repeated cases of excommunication, harassment and imprisonment, community-led resistance to the Clarendon Code proved more effective than the resisters had anticipated and more stubborn than the persecutors ever imagined.¹¹³

Heywood created various sub-communities and allowed them to flourish side-by-side. One key component in this mix was his young men's meetings, where sons of existing society members, or those who were about to marry and assume the role of a head of household, came together in religious fellowship. Perhaps stimulated by his desire to instruct his own sons before they left home for Richard Frankland's Academy, Heywood started these meetings in 1673. His diary reveals gatherings of around twelve to fourteen members on a weekly basis, under his personal tutelage as part of his broader commitment to evangelising the next generation through catechizing and supporting the Dissenting Academies. For some young men, the stimulus to join was hearing Heywood preach, as in the case of James Tetlaw, and others were introduced at their parents' request, such as Isaac Sonier.¹¹⁴ The gatherings lasted five or six hours, as the members prayed, debated religious topics and either fasted or ate together. It is likely that the close companionship thus experienced would have cemented a sense of community in a way that was far more powerful and intimate than attending a service in the parish church. Being a member of a Presbyterian worshipping community was far more of a commitment than the nominal membership of an Anglican congregation. Noting that the household was 'the basic building block' of the Nonconformist community and that daily prayers and Bible readings were expected, Spurr goes on to list all the other activities which

¹¹³ There is little focus within the scholarship on the impact of informers under the Clarendon Code, although Greaves highlights the fact that John Hodgson was imprisoned in 1660 after being reported for uttering 'treasonable words', and Fletcher points to the fabric of social relations being threatened by those who were 'spying, backbiting and telling tales on their neighbours'. Richard Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 31. Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (Yale University Press, 1986), p. 281.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, *Creating Communities*, p. 126, p. 125.

demanded participation and provided fellowship: debates over sermons, conventicles, fasts, catechising of the young, days of thanksgiving and communal reading.¹¹⁵ While Heywood had demonstrated his adherence to the Presbyterian principles in the selection of communicants, he also followed these by involving the laity in religious discussion. Sermons were delivered by the preacher, but would often be repeated by the laity and discussed in subsequent meetings in a way that would have been unfamiliar to an Anglican congregation.¹¹⁶ Whether the views or the advice proffered in a sermon were respected or queried, either way the informal discussions between a Nonconformist minister and his flock were far more interactive than the prescribed weekly address by an Anglican vicar from the pulpit. Heywood's regular preaching was supplemented by discussions with his lay hearers in what Rosamund Oates describes as the process of the sermon becoming 'the tool of spiritual growth', to be absorbed and applied, rather than simply listened to only once.¹¹⁷

What is also of interest is the role of women in Heywood's society as part of these concentric groups which met and prayed outside the formal services. While young women did not participate fully and did not lead prayer as part of any group activity, there is more evidence from his diaries that women were present as part of the core worshipping community than in the records of other Nonconformist clerics. In 1691, after he was recovering from a serious illness, a day of fasting and thankfulness was held 'with twenty young men and women'.¹¹⁸ In 1701, he wrote, 'I went to the young men's conference in the chappel...Martha Bins stayed discoursed'.¹¹⁹ We do not know of the extent of Martha's contribution to the discussions, but the fact that she remained to debate with Heywood alone suggests she was more comfortable

¹¹⁵ John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (Macmillan, 1998), p. 192.

¹¹⁶ Patrick Collinson traces the history of the conventicle and its place in Puritan piety in 'The English Conventicle', *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), pp. 223-59.

¹¹⁷ Rosamund Oates, 'Sermons and Sermon-going in Early Modern England', *Reformation*, 17.1 (2012), pp. 199-212 (p. 205).

¹¹⁸ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 125; HT IV, p. 141.

¹¹⁹ WYAS, MISC 509/5, p. 60.9; HT IV, p. 264.

doing so once the young men had departed. Keith Wrightson has commented on the role of women within the early modern community and on their 'ingenuity' in operating within such 'a massively restrictive system'.¹²⁰ In the sphere of pastoral work, Heywood's diaries suggest that he treated men and women equally as far as their spiritual needs were concerned, visiting women nearing childbirth (often accompanied by his wife) or on their deathbeds as often as he did their menfolk.¹²¹

Membership of one or another group does not appear to have been mutually exclusive. Heywood's accommodating stance towards the whole community also had an influence. That some Nonconformist members of the wider Coley community were less committed to the inner society (or were not admitted to it) is perhaps not surprising. However, what emerges in Coley is evidence of a national development which Hill labelled 'partial' or 'occasional Conformity' (which could equally well be called 'partial' or 'occasional Nonconformity'), whereby individuals worshipped at both the Anglican Church and the Nonconformist meeting house on the same day.¹²² Services were often deliberately scheduled at differing times to allow for this practice. Membership of both congregations, while not typical behaviour, was obviously not so rare as to be regarded as unacceptable, although many Anglicans seemed to have tried to discourage it.¹²³ Hooke could not accept the fact that in 1673, Joshua Horton (1616-1676) of Sowerby was attending Presbyterian conventicles and simultaneously contributing to the parish tithes. Hooke wrote to him claiming his behaviour was 'a sin, a scandal, a schisme, a danger' and asked him to explain his actions.¹²⁴ He

¹²⁰ Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Macmillan, 1996), pp. 10-46 (p. 17).

¹²¹ Not transcribed by Hunter; HT II, pp. 62-63, p. 52.

¹²² Christopher Hill, 'Occasional Conformity', in *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in honour of Geoffrey Nuttall*, ed. by R. Buick Knox (Epworth Press, 1977), pp. 199-220 (p. 199).

¹²³ Thoresby attended both Nonconformist meetings and services in the parish church in Leeds and, fearing for the future of the Church from the threats of Catholicism and atheism eventually conformed. See Laura Sangha, 'Ralph Thoresby and Individual Devotion in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century England', *Historical Research*, 92.255 (2019), pp. 139-59 (p. 141).

¹²⁴ Add. MS 45966, fol. 71^r; HT I, p. 347.

suggested that if Horton wished to use his wealth to good effect he could ‘doe it more piously in making an addition to the chappel at Sowerby’.¹²⁵ Horton, a man of high status in the community at Sowerby, met with Heywood and showed him his intended reply to Hooke, which pointed out that he attended the Anglican chapel regularly and gave the minister there eight pounds a year. What Hooke could not tolerate was the fact that Horton also paid ten shillings each to the ministers who preached in the new Presbyterian meeting house and, in Horton’s words, wanted to ‘redeem a little time for gods service and the good of soules according to liberty graunted’.¹²⁶ At this period, after Charles II’s Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, Horton was acting completely within the scope of the law, but there is also evidence of ‘partial Conformity’ throughout the 1660s when it was illegal.¹²⁷ Communities overlapped in a way that the legislators simply did not wish to recognise.

It is probable that Heywood’s secure position within the community in Coley and Northowram also resulted from his commitment to pastoral care of his hearers and the wider neighbourhood. Pastoral care in the seventeenth-century context was seen as the provision of a holistic care, addressing both physical and spiritual concerns. Alison Searle defines it as ‘the intersection between structures of religious authority, or cure, and a responsibility to provide care for the souls, and sometimes the bodies, of parishioners or congregants’.¹²⁸ Heywood’s repeated visits to the homes of those in need at times of illness or bereavement were likely to have embedded his position in the community to a degree which legislative distinctions could not remove. Evidence of a broad-based engagement is regularly demonstrated throughout his writings, which show that he never tired of trying to save the souls of the unregenerate or

¹²⁵ Add. MS 45966, fol. 71^r; HT I, p. 347.

¹²⁶ Ibid., fol. 71^v; p. 348.

¹²⁷ Heywood himself attended services at Coley Chapel and other churches, for example, recording [I]‘heard honest Mr Jackson at Sowerby, who for aught he knew preacht his last sermon there, being sadly opposed by Dr Hook’ in August 1666. Add. MS 45965, fol. 12^v; HT I, p. 229.

¹²⁸ Alison Searle, *Pastoral Care Through Letters in the British Atlantic* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), p. 5.

ungodly.¹²⁹ The only exception to this degree of community-based ministry overcoming denominational or moral scruples was in Heywood's attitude towards Catholics, as he regarded them as irredeemable and as his enemies.¹³⁰

Heywood's focus throughout his professional life was on the chapelry of Coley, but he was a member of other religious communities at the same time. His repeated visits to places such as Penistone to assist his friend, Swift, or to Little Lever, where his extended family remained based, secured him a position of influence in their affairs. Closer to Coley, Heywood was instrumental in establishing a meeting house in Warley on the far side of the parish of Halifax, and he preached there and at Sowerby on a rota basis for many years when licences had been procured. While the passing of the Five Mile Act of 1665 caused the most severe rupture of Heywood's position in the Coley community, it also cemented his position within a wider community of Dissenting clergy across the region. This temporarily drove Heywood from his Coley godly society in March 1666, rather than just out of his physical chapel building as in 1662.¹³¹ However, the more the authorities supplemented the penal legislation, the more he became embedded in a wider set of overlapping communities. Wallace Notestein was right in his assertion that the unintended consequences of the Clarendon Code were an increased sense of determination and an expansion of the Dissenting message. John Miller has suggested that the passage of the Five Mile Act was itself an admission that the mechanisms of religious oppression were not working effectively.¹³² While the Act of Uniformity had been directed at controlling the behaviours of the clergy, the First Conventicle Act had taken aim at the

¹²⁹ For example, see Add. MS 45967, fol. 3r; HT II, p. 240, where Heywood attended the sickbed of Mr. Sale, whose family could not be persuaded to have a minister of the church at his funeral fast or Add MS, 45966, fol. 42^r; HT III, p. 116, where he preached in Keighley, 'a barren place for religion' and his hearers included 'one West, who was a great professor in the Antinomian way, then a quaker...but is now fallen off to drunkenness and horrible debauchery'. See Add. MS 45966, fol. 38^v; HT III, p. 111 for a detailed description of his attempt to save Thomas Appleyard, who 'had grown deboist [debased] in drunkenness and grosse enormitys'.

¹³⁰ Heywood wrote of the Pope as 'the grand enemy of the church' and surrounded by 'Antichristian hierarchy'. 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, p. 220.

¹³¹ Although the Act was passed by Parliament in October 1665, it did not come into force until March 1666.

¹³² John Miller, *Cities Divided: Politics and Religion in English Provincial Towns, 1660-1772* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 154.

Dissenting laity who were constituting the Dissenting communities, because it was felt that the policy of coercion needed further strengthening. The clergy were again the chief target of the Five Mile Act as they were forbidden from preaching where they had established groups of followers. Heywood recognised that the Act was intended to be destructive of the Nonconformist communities which had sustained the barrage of legislation to date and wrote in March 1666, ‘O the teares that have been shed for breaking familys, and separating husbands, wives, parents and children, pastors and people!’¹³³ The Act also showed that while the Dissenting congregations in Coley and elsewhere were robust in their defiance of the law, there were other individuals who were happy to be rewarded for breaking up communities, not only out of religious conviction, but for monetary gain. The penalty for a minister found to be caught preaching within five miles of his former abode was forty pounds, with a third of the fine to be paid to the informer.¹³⁴ Any sense of a cohesive local rebellion against the penal acts needs to be refined to recognise that a network of informers existed who were prepared to act as agents of persecution, and to damage local relationships, for a reward of thirteen pounds.¹³⁵

It was this Act of Parliament which (for several weeks at least) forced Heywood out of his home and away from the community which had long sustained him. Leaving his two young sons in the care of a servant (their mother, Elizabeth, had died in 1661), Heywood left Coley on 24th March 1666 to visit his father-in-law in Denton and ‘to live in exile.’¹³⁶ It was at this point that Heywood started his daily diary, registering what he himself saw as a memorable landmark that provoked experiences worthy of regular commentary.¹³⁷ At the same time, he was given notice to quit his home in Norwood Green and, it seemed, on the day that he left, he did not know to where he would return. On the ‘day of great scattering’, after he departed from

¹³³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 58^v; HT I, p. 201.

¹³⁴ This equates to around £8,000 in today’s value.

¹³⁵ Equal to circa £2,650 today.

¹³⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 58^v; HT I, p. 201.

¹³⁷ He later wrote of ‘the banishing act against the poor Nonconformists’ as the stimulus for recording his ‘wanderings’ in the manner of St. Paul. ‘Vellum Notebook’; HT II, p. 225.

his godly companions in Coley, he went first to Halifax to take leave of his friends and former hearers, where 'it melted our hearts, having been above fifteen years together, and many endearments betwixt me and my people'.¹³⁸ In the end, the possible rupture with the community proved to be less fundamental than might have been supposed at the time. After a six-week journey through Cheshire and Lancashire in the company of Angier, Heywood returned to Coley on 3rd May 1666 to be reunited with his family in their new home in Coley Hall, in lodgings neighbouring his long-time supporter, Hodgson. What the detailed accounts contained in the first diary tell us is that the strength of Heywood's personal crusade, allied to the enduring community bonds he had established, resulted in even the strictures of the Five Mile Act being regularly flouted. In practice, the tightening of restrictions on religious freedom proved to have only a limited effect on someone as determined and practiced as Heywood was in evading the law. On arrival at Coley Hall, he wrote that 'many of my friends came to see me and I spent too lords days at home with a considerable number of Christians to my abundant comfort'.¹³⁹ In a pattern which was to be repeated for the rest of his life, both at periods when an indulgence was in place and at times when such actions were illegal, he then preached to his neighbours several times in the following week and observed a fast with more than twenty participants in his home, blithely disregarding both the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act. (In a 'Returne of Prayer' written in 1684, after he had appeared in court in Wakefield, he stated that 'they never took notice of the 5 Mile Act, which I am dayly, hourly transgressing, when at home'.)¹⁴⁰ A diary entry in 1666 revealed that he had considered leaving Coley and establishing himself somewhere where he might have felt safer, but his followers persuaded him to stay. He wrote,

I determined to have removed into Lancs that I might be quietly at home

¹³⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^r; HT I, p. 223.

¹³⁹ Ibid., fol. 9^v, p. 225.

¹⁴⁰ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 77; HT IV p. 111.

and for the benefit of a good schoolmaster for my sons, but my kind neighbours and hearers will not suffer it, have prevailed with me to stay, prevented my removal.¹⁴¹

The picture which emerges is of the community's determination to retain a minister whom they regarded highly and would have found hard to replace, together with, perhaps, a note of disingenuousness on Heywood's part. In summary, the legislation singularly failed to split Heywood from his Coley community or to constrain his activities and it unwittingly stimulated his travels to other Nonconformist worshipping communities across Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Hence the importance of a microhistorical analysis of Dissenters such as Heywood, which brings differentiation and a richer perspective to earlier accepted trends described on a national plane, whether in the 'Great Persecution' tradition or one proclaiming amicable co-existence. Some Dissenters abandoned their flocks and sought their livelihoods as tutors or private chaplains, still refusing to conform but outside the judicial limelight.¹⁴² Others did, subsequently conform (at least outwardly) and hid their resistance until the climate became more tolerant after Charles II's death.¹⁴³ Some sects, mainly the Quakers, were openly antagonistic and suffered most for their stance.¹⁴⁴ Others trod the more hazardous path of being openly resistant and relying on the support of their sympathetic followers. There are records of ejected ministers after 1662 still attending parish churches (such as Henry Newcome at the Collegiate Church in Manchester, who repeated the sermons he had heard to his family circle later in the day 'out of a duty of public worship') and, like Heywood, still acted as pastors to member of their former congregations.¹⁴⁵ Strategies to frustrate the penal acts included those employed by Adam Martindale in Cheshire, who divided his auditors into small groups and

¹⁴¹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 28^v; HT I, p. 232.

¹⁴² Appleby, 'From Ejection to Toleration', p. 89.

¹⁴³ For example, Richard Kidder (1633-1703) was ejected in Huntingdonshire, but conformed in 1664, eventually becoming the Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1691. Gatiss, *Tragedy of 1662*, p. 33.

¹⁴⁴ Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 233.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Heywood, ed., *The Diary of Henry Newcome*, (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1849), p. xxxiii.

repeated his sermon four or five times a day.¹⁴⁶ Conventicles were deliberately held at different times from the parish services or on different days of the week from other denominations, so that they did not clash with those of the Independents and allowed for mutual support against a common enemy. Scouts were used to keep watch over meetings and to give those attending notice of any approaching officers. When meetings were invaded by bailiffs with warrants, there were occasions where the minister was spirited out through a back door, where congregations refused to give their names or where they simply all fled and avoided questioning and being identified. It is fair to conclude that the ingenuity of those resisting was, at least in some locations, more than a match for the authorities.¹⁴⁷ (For example, Jollie had a pulpit at the bottom of a staircase which could be folded back to form a doorway and allow him to escape upstairs if he was in danger of being apprehended whilst preaching illegally.)¹⁴⁸

The time which Heywood spent travelling inevitably had an impact on his ministry in Coley itself, as measured by the number of Sabbaths when he was absent that are recorded in his journals. (When he was there, he generally held two services every Sunday at his own house or, later, in the meeting house). Despite this, Heywood sustained his congregation and his position of influence in Coley throughout his itinerant ministry. He did not seek to appoint a permanent successor or an assistant to minister to his society whenever he was travelling and, while this could be interpreted as a sign of egotism, it also shows his commitment to Coley and his energy in pursuing the two agendas of local and regional ministry. He did, however, arrange for a preacher temporarily to take his place when he was away from Coley from amongst his fellow ejected clerics or, later, his sons, as for example in 1671 when Jollie fulfilled this role.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Richard Parkinson, *The Life of Alan Martindale* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1845), p. 173.

¹⁴⁷ For examples of evasion from arrest by Heywood and his followers, see Add. MS 45965, fol. 45^r, fol. 58^v; HT I, p. 255, p. 275.

¹⁴⁸ Henry Fishwick, ed., *The Notebook and Diaries of Rev. Thomas Jollie*, (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1894), Introduction, p. xxi.

¹⁴⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 58^v; HT I, p.276.

In an early passage of his autobiographical work, Heywood commented on his enduring links to Coley and stated that ‘I looke upon my first coming to Coley as a considerable epoch and juncture in my life, about which much of gods hand was seen’.¹⁵⁰ He was later to be offered a living in Preston by the Houghton family and posts in Manchester and London, but he remained in the chapelry for over fifty years, first as a Church of England curate, then as an ejected minister preaching illegally and finally as a licensed Presbyterian minister preaching in his own meeting house.¹⁵¹ He wrote that ‘I have been abundantly satisfied in this corner of the lords harvest allotted to me, tho there are many richer, and larger, and holier...and I looke on it as my joy and my crowne.’¹⁵² He showed loyalty to the place and people where he had begun his ministry and where he felt increasingly secure.¹⁵³ He seems to have had no ambition for higher office or for a more prestigious congregation, but to take pleasure in recording the anniversaries of his arrival and the length of his relationships with certain families, such as the Bests or the Priestleys. The Nonconformist congregation at Coley thus benefitted from a stability of leader which the Anglicans lacked, as successive curates came and went.

Conclusion

The community at Coley survived the storms of the Clarendon Code in the 1660s and 1670s and the resurgence of persecution in the 1680s, when government fears of a resurgence of Catholicism resulted in a policy of repression against all non-Anglicans.¹⁵⁴ Throughout these decades, the divisions in worshipping practice were known by the authorities, but the community continued to function. Indeed, the threat and presence of persecution seemed to

¹⁵⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 27^v; HT I, p. 163.

¹⁵¹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 28^v; HT I, p. 232.

¹⁵² Add. MS 45964, fol. 28^r; HT I, p. 164.

¹⁵³ Although his established position in Coley did not prevent his imprisonment in 1685.

¹⁵⁴ Mercer has analysed the role of the ecclesiastical courts in the 1680s in the prosecution of Dissenters in the backlash after the Exclusion Crisis. Kit Mercer, ‘Ecclesiastical Discipline and the Crisis of the 1680s: Prosecuting Protestant Dissent in the English Church Courts’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 72 (2021), pp. 352-371.

stimulate communal resistance. However, while the original Anglican community at Coley was split apart by the Act of Uniformity, Heywood had initiated a rupture prior to this by his introduction of discipline. Heywood destroyed community cohesion and yet retained a position of influence even when he had been removed from office. His enemies continued to persecute him and made his religious practice a dangerous undertaking, but they failed to silence him. The Nonconformist community seemed to have been strengthened by its resistance to the legislation. The connections between the Dissenting preacher and his people were more frequent and intimate, even without the formal structure of a parish, than those between an Anglican vicar and his congregation. Heywood remained loyal to his followers in Coley for fifty-two years, despite invitations to serve elsewhere. He also established Presbyterian congregations across the parish of Halifax (in Warley, Sowerby and Ovenden), and, through an endless round of travel and preaching, he established himself as a key player in other Nonconformist communities across the region.

The nuances of community relations in a chapelry such as Coley were just as complicated as in a larger centre and, while the strains of religious division cannot be underestimated (given the existence of informers and public examples of direct opposition), it is true to say that Coley continued to function as a community on both the religious and secular fronts after 1662.¹⁵⁵ The different denominations, Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational, continued to exist side by side, even attending each other's services. In a defiant display of support for the welfare of all church-goers, Heywood at times stood in the pulpit of the chapel from which he had been ejected and preached to a predominantly Anglican audience. On the secular front, the two groups continued to interact in the areas of commerce, agriculture and the law, as ties of kinship or neighbourliness proved immune to demands for segregation. As Heywood's journals show, officers of the law were not prepared to disrupt the social structures

¹⁵⁵ Thomas, *Creating Communities*, p. 62.

of the community in the name of religious differentiation. It is apparent that economic and social necessities meant that most neighbours helped each other out and protected communal interests. Although there were informers who transgressed the conventions of neighbourliness, a larger number refused to pursue sectarian divisions. Thus, society was characterised by unpredictable and inconsistent behaviour, but was not defined solely by religious intolerance.¹⁵⁶ As Spurr has noted, across the country there were some examples of social integration and others of entrenched division, and in Heywood's community, while co-operation predominated, both attitudes existed.¹⁵⁷

Heywood was appointed to a position of leadership at Coley and he did not desert his post or renege on his responsibilities, even when deprived of his formal role by and when opposed by his former superior in the Anglican hierarchy and by a faction of his former flock. Heywood defined himself as a member of the Presbyterian Church and as an enforcedly-lapsed member of the Church of England. In the final analysis, as he often referred to in his writings and considered of supreme importance, he was a member of God's chosen community on earth in the belief that he would carry that membership into the community of heaven.

¹⁵⁶ Add. MS 45968, fol. 3^{r-v}; HT III, pp. 214-15.

¹⁵⁷ John Spurr, 'Later Stuart Puritanism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 89-106 (p. 102).

CHAPTER FOUR: PATRONAGE

I was apprehended by constables, carried to the mayor, who sent me to the common prison, called cappon hall ... by the mediation of friends was released on thuesday ...¹

Introduction

Oliver Heywood stated in his journal that on Monday 14th March 1670, before he had finished preaching at George Horsman's house at Little Woodhouse in Leeds, he was imprisoned for defying the recent Second Conventicle Act. He went on to record that he was released the following day owing to the intervention of local supporters. He did not specify who these were, but in John Fawcett's account they are described as 'some persons of respectability' and must have been influential enough to over-rule the Mayor and secure Heywood's freedom.² Heywood's reputation, and his own willingness to preach wherever he could, was actively supported by those with status and power to frustrate the actions of the law enforcement officers in the most blatant of ways.

This is one example in his journals of interactions with well-connected patrons and an indication of the practical help they provided in exchange for his spiritual service. A significant amount of his time was spent in the company of the gentry away from his core followers in Coley, not from motives of social preferment, but, as he confirmed in his written work, as part of his dedication to promoting Presbyterianism after the Restoration. This chapter looks at the extent of the gentry and aristocratic patronage for Nonconformity as a whole and contextualises Heywood's particular relationships within the broader development. It also investigates how

¹ Heywood Papers, BL, Add. MS 45965, fol. 53^r; J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1882), Volume 1, p. 267.

² John Fawcett, *The Life of Oliver Heywood*, (Halifax: Ewood Hall, 1809), p. 62.

Heywood sustained the patron-client associations through reciprocal support in the form of spiritual care.³ Finally, it assesses the importance of these relationships to Heywood's ministry and his influence across the county.⁴

Gentry Patronage of the Puritans

While writers such as Robert Beddard and Ian Green characterise the nobility and squirearchy as Anglican Tory supporters, it is apparent that there was a small, but determined sub-group of aristocratic and gentry families whose patronage was invaluable to the survival of the dispossessed ministers during periods of persecution.⁵ J.T. Cliffe traces the path of 'the great Puritan families' from the Civil War to the end of the seventeenth century and makes the salient point that, as a result of clergy ejections in the 1660s, many of the children of the Puritan gentry were educated by Nonconformist clergymen at home or in small, private schools, thus perpetuating their adherence to Puritanism.⁶ Richard Davis comments on the active opposition to the penal acts from a minority in the House of Lords and highlights 'the central importance of Presbyterians and the Presbyterian tradition', while Paul Seaward states that, in the House of Commons, opposition to Presbyterianism was 'not the preoccupation of the house as a whole, nor even of the country gentry within it'.⁷ Support may have been limited, but it came from some senior and influential figures at Court, including the Duke of Albemarle (the former

³ Heal highlights the importance of reciprocity in her study of hospitality, referring to Heywood's and Angier's households as centres of hospitality for the godly, and contrasts this with the patron: client relationship between a minister and a social superior. Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 286, p. 289.

⁴ Appendix Two tabulates Heywood's gentry connections.

⁵ Robert Beddard, 'The Restoration Church', in *The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688*, ed. by J.R. Jones (Macmillan Press, 1979), pp. 155-75 (p. 163). Ian Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663* (Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 200-01.

⁶ J. T. Cliffe traced the attitudes and experiences of Puritan county families from the accession of James I to the end of the seventeenth century: *The Puritan Gentry* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), *Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry During and After the Civil War* (Routledge, 1988) and *The Puritan Gentry Besieged, 1650-1700* (Routledge, 1993). Cliffe, *Puritans in Conflict*, p. 196.

⁷ Richard Davis, 'The Presbyterian Opposition and the Emergence of Party in the House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II', in *Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784*, ed. by Clyve Jones (Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 1-24 (p. 20). Paul Seward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 193.

General Monck – 1608-1670) and the Earl of Manchester (1602-1671). One outstanding figure is that of the parliamentarian Lord Wharton (1613-1696), who was active in promoting and sustaining the Presbyterian Church nationally and who supported a number of ministers, including Heywood, financially, as Kenneth Wadsworth has identified.⁸ David Appleby makes the point that, in addition to sympathetic local gentry in pockets across the country, Nonconformists also received support from some government and military officials. These included the MP John Birch (1615-1691) and the army chief Sir Thomas Morgan (1604-1679). In 1663, the Earl of Manchester took advantage of the residual Presbyterian influence at Court to secure the release from prison of the leading Presbyterian, Edmund Calamy Senior, who had preached a sermon in London criticising the Act of Uniformity and had been arrested on the orders of Gilbert Sheldon.⁹ In parallel to the determination of some of the ejected clergy to remain faithful to their calling, there was a group of aristocratic and gentry families who braved opposition, social embarrassment and, potentially, exclusion from power through continued support for their outlawed spiritual advisers. (In taking up this position, they reflected the uncompromising aristocratic Catholic recusants, although they would not have identified themselves with that group.)¹⁰ In the historiography on this theme concerning Heywood's immediate circle is the nineteenth-century edition of the memoirs of Captain John Hodgson.¹¹ Hodgson was a co-tenant of Coley Hall with Heywood for six years, after Heywood had been hounded out of his rented house at Norwood Green in 1666, and he became a close friend.

⁸ Kenneth Wadsworth, 'Philip, Lord Wharton – Revolutionary Aristocrat?', *The Journal of United Reformed Church History Society*, 4.8 (1991), pp. 465-76 (p. 473).

⁹ Calamy is quoted as saying, 'I hope that what a Popish priest may do without check, a Protestant minister may do without imprisonment'. David Appleby, 'From Ejection to Toleration', in *The Great Ejection of 1662*, ed. by Alan Sell (Pickwick Publications, 2012), pp. 67-124 (p. 83).

¹⁰ See Alexander Lock, *Catholicism, Identity and Politics in the Age of Enlightenment* (The Boydell Press, 2016) and Michael Questier, 'Epilogue: the Civil War and After', in *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 499-511.

¹¹ J. Horsfall Turner, ed., *Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson of Coley Hall, near Halifax*, (Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1882).

What becomes very clear from analysis of the primary sources is the high degree of patronage which Heywood enjoyed from members of the gentry. Barbara Donagan comments on the strains behind the 'reciprocal obligations' involved in patron-client relationships, particularly where the patron was an individual rather than a group, such as a congregation, but such tensions do not appear to have characterised Heywood's wide network of support.¹² Heywood's experience of patronage reflects the national picture of alliances dating from the Civil War and sympathies established during the Puritan ascendancy in the Interregnum.¹³ As with the theme of community, Heywood's behaviour in relation to his network of patrons reveal relationships and interactions which confound any simplistic views about attitudes to Nonconformity across society. The earlier strand of the historiography of the Church which suggests that, in 1660, England's gentry was unanimous in its support for Anglican orthodoxy and its comprehensive re-establishment following the Cromwellian experiment with plurality, needs revising. Beddard makes the point that the landowning class recognised the need for a return to Laudian-style church structures in order to preserve its own social status and power through 'an alliance of squire and parson'.¹⁴ George Abernathy talks of the 'vindictive squires' for whom Presbyterianism had come to represent all the dangers of rebellion, while Ian Green states that the driving force for the intolerant Religious Settlement was 'the zeal of the gentry for the episcopal Church of England'.¹⁵ They argue that, for the nobility and squirearchy, there was a political, as well as a religious, imperative to restore the pre-Interregnum orthodoxy. They suggest that, for the land-owning class, both the rigorous self-discipline of the

¹² Barbara Donagan, 'Puritan Ministers and Laymen: Professional Claims and Social Constraints in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 47.2 (1984), pp. 81-111 (p. 96).

¹³ As Hodgson and Heywood's patron-client relationship illustrates, alliances did not always align on both political and religious fields. (Hodgson had been a Parliamentarian in the Civil War and Heywood was a Royalist.) Goldie highlights Wharton's alliances with Catholic peers in opposition to High Church Anglicans within the House of Lords as an example of shifting relationships at a national level. Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 191.

¹⁴ Robert Beddard, 'The Restoration Church', p. 156.

¹⁵ George Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-1663', in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 4 (1965), pp.1-101 (p. 78). Green, *Re-establishment of Church of England*, pp. 200-01.

Presbyterians and the ill-defined governance of the Independents were, at best, distractions from, or at worst threats to, the re-imposition of legitimate authority and order under the King. While it is true that the strength of this party within the ‘Cavalier Parliament’ succeeded in frustrating Church reform and instead established the penal acts, this picture of gentry unanimity needs qualification. In the first instance, there were prominent Catholic families within the aristocracy and the gentry who had remained loyal to their faith since the Reformation.¹⁶ There was also an active minority of the gentry, and some members of the aristocracy, who sympathised with Nonconformity and, in some cases, had retained their loyalties from before the Civil War as they were practising Presbyterians or Independents themselves. Within the bewildering shifting of allegiances after Cromwell’s death in 1658, it was difficult to predict who would emerge in the ascendant and what form the governance of both state and church would take. Some members of the Nonconformist gentry minority regarded the Clarendon Code with scorn and worked hard at resisting its imposition and helping the persecuted Dissenting ministers to continue their mission and retain their livelihoods.¹⁷

In Heywood’s case, patronage adds a further dimension to his experience of persecution under the successive acts of parliament of the 1660s and 1670s designed to stamp out Nonconformity. The challenges were very real and could have been overwhelming: suspension and excommunication from the Church, sustained opposition from the Vicar of Halifax, threats of arrest and imprisonment for unlawful activity and persistent harassment from his enemies. However, simultaneously, Heywood benefitted from support from across differing strata of society, including the gentry and professional classes. This supports Cliffe’s contention that a notable phenomenon of the post-Restoration religious landscape was ‘the continuing

¹⁶ Roebuck states that there were fourteen families in the baronetage in Yorkshire in the mid-seventeenth century who were Catholics, including the Saviles of Copley in Halifax. Peter Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets, 1640-1760* (University of Hull Publications, 1980), p. 57.

¹⁷ Although focused on the pre-Restoration era, Richardson states that the gentry was of great importance as patrons of Nonconformists in Cheshire. R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England* (Manchester University Press, 2022), p. 121.

attachment of many wealthy families to the cause of godliness in spite of the constraints imposed by the ecclesiastical legislation'.¹⁸ While there were no gentry families in Heywood's immediate vicinity, he established relationships with the provincial gentry elsewhere, including the Dyneley, Rodes and Hoghton families, through being invited to preach at their houses and private chapels, as his reputation in Nonconformist circles grew. This chapter analyses individual examples of how support was manifested as well as commenting on the typicality of Heywood's experience. It seeks to reflect the complexity of response amongst the gentry towards religious developments after 1660, which Beddard and others have minimised, and to prove the existence of examples of vigorous Nonconformity at the upper levels of society.

As Nicholas Tyacke and George Southcombe make plain, Parliament and the gentry not only contained a wide spectrum of views, but the position was a changing one. Between 1667 and 1681, eight bills for a comprehensive settlement were tabled but failed to pass and this can be interpreted in two ways: while they failed because of the inflexibility of the Anglican party, the strength of feeling behind accommodating Dissent can be gauged by the very fact that there were so many attempts, including proposals for toleration in 1673.¹⁹ It supports the view that officially-sanctioned persecution was matched in some quarters of the ruling class by steadfast resistance and that successive attempts to impose religious uniformity were thwarted by a strand of independence in this stratum of society, which was particularly strong in parts of the North of England.

¹⁸ Cliffe, *Puritans in Conflict*, p. 193.

¹⁹ Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Rise of Puritanism and The Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719', in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 17-49 (p. 33) and George Southcombe, 'The Presbyterians in the Restoration', in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Restoration Era, 1559-1689*, ed. by John Coffey (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 73-87 (p. 83).

Forms of Gentry Patronage: Financial and Practical

One unintended consequence of the Act of Uniformity was a strengthening of links between some Puritan patrons of benefices and their clergy, as a number of ejected ministers were absorbed into gentry households as domestic chaplains. (This development mirrored the position of Royalist patrons and clergy during the Cromwellian regime, where Anglican orthodoxy was preserved and instilled into the next generation by virtue of the ejected ministers of that time being employed as chaplains or tutors in Royalist households.)²⁰ Kenneth Fincham asserts that the importance of chaplaincies has been overlooked, as they provided ‘a crucial berth’ for Nonconformists after 1662.²¹ Cliffe argues that one of the most important reasons for the continuing patronage towards godly ministers at this level of society was the piety of many of the female gentry. This is reflected in Heywood’s own orbit, where Lady Margaret Hoghton (d. 1657), of Hoghton Tower in Lancashire, offered consistent support for Nonconformist clerics, including Heywood. (Her son, Sir Richard Hoghton (1616-1678), had offered Heywood the living of Preston in 1652, which he refused, having only been installed in Coley for two years). Heywood also ministered to, and was supported by, a group of high-born women in York, known as ‘the elect ladies’, whose steadfastness and independence of action further illustrated the extent of female influence within the patronage of Nonconformity.

Looking at the pattern across other parts of Yorkshire, we can see that Heywood’s experience of gentry support was far from unique but that this support was manifested in differing ways. At Hickleton in the West Riding, on his ejection, Hugh Everard (d. 1665) became personal chaplain to Sir John Jackson (1631-1670), while Everard’s wife was

²⁰ For comments on the Interregnum patronage of ejected Royalist clergy, see Fiona McCall, ‘Children of Baal: Clergy Families and their Memories of Sequestration during the English Civil War’, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 76.4 (2013), pp. 617-38 (p. 628).

²¹ Kenneth Fincham, ‘The Roles and Influence of Household Chaplains, 1600-1660’, in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood, Gillian Wright (Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 11-35 (p. 27).

employed as housekeeper.²² Elsewhere in the county, Thomas Hardcastle was employed by Lady Ursula Barwick (1607-1682) at Toulston, Matthew Sylvester (1636-1708) was chaplain to Sir John Bright (1619-1688) of Badsworth, while both Presbyterian and Independent clergymen were employed by Sir Edward Rodes (1600-1666) at Great Houghton, a household which Heywood visited frequently.²³ Throughout the country as a whole, Cliffe calculates that some eighty Nonconformist ministers who had been deprived of their livings under the Clarendon Code were employed within the houses of the Puritan nobility in the mid-seventeenth century.²⁴ For the Dissenting community, such an outcome had benefits on both sides of the relationship. Firstly, it allowed the minister to continue to preach in a private capacity to large households, avoiding the restrictions of the Act of Uniformity against public preaching and those of the Conventicle Act, which set a maximum of five hearers, even if it breached the Five Mile Act when the household was situated near the minister's former benefice. Secondly, an appointment as chaplain provided the Nonconformist cleric with financial support and reduced the risk of physical harassment, as he was preaching in a protected space. Thirdly, the patron continued in his preferred form of worship and, in most cases, was left undisturbed by the authorities to pursue an otherwise illegal religious affiliation. Finally, as the services would often have been open to those outside the gentry household, the patron was able to provide access to services to the wider Nonconformist community in the locality which were otherwise forbidden or much riskier to attend.

Although Heywood never needed recourse to this option, an alternative avenue of employment for the ejected clergy was as a teacher (although Nonconformists were barred from taking up posts at the universities). Again, what supporters of the penal acts had not anticipated was that the removal of Dissenters from parish benefices failed to remove their

²² Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 45.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-09, p. 223.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

influence and, in some cases, served instead to bolster it, as the ejected clergy assumed roles educating the next generation of Puritan gentry. Some dispossessed ministers were retained as private tutors in gentry households or, alternatively, they established schools of their own under the patronage of local landowners. For example, Adam Martindale was employed in Lancashire in the households of the Hoghtons and the Asshetons of Middleton between 1664 and 1671, tutoring the heirs to the family estates. As well as working within the homes of some of the Puritan gentry, several of the displaced ministers established what came to be known as ‘the Dissenting Academies’, relying in part on gentry support.²⁵ The most well-known included those of John Woodhouse (1627-1700) in Staffordshire, Charles Morton (1627-1698) in Middlesex and Richard Frankland in Yorkshire. Although they were challenged by their Anglican opponents and operated on the edges of legality for most of the second half of the seventeenth century, these institutions succeeded in educating both the sons of the Puritan gentry and future Nonconformist ministers on an impressive scale.²⁶ While not directly financed by the gentry, Frankland received their encouragement in his endeavours and his first pupil was George Liddell, son of Sir James Liddell of Ravensworth Castle in Durham. Other well-to-do families whose offspring attended the academy included the Duckenfields of Dukinfield in Cheshire and the Priestleys of Halifax. Heywood sent his two sons, John and Eliezer, to Frankland’s Academy in 1674, while other connections who attended the school included Samuel Angier (the cousin of Heywood’s wife Elizabeth), Nathaniel Heywood, (Heywood’s nephew), both in 1677, and Timothy Jollie (the son of Thomas) in 1673. Either through employing them as chaplains or encouraging their educational endeavours, the Puritan establishment evolved strategies for supporting the ejected ministers which, despite the difficulties faced, were sustained throughout the years of persecution.

²⁵ Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England: their Rise and Progress and their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1914), p. 49.

²⁶ The Dissenting Academies were blocked from gaining episcopal licences, but nevertheless gained a reputation for excellence. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Having been ejected from an established position within the Church and lost the income attached to the post, one immediate challenge for Dissenting clergy was financial and there is ample evidence of practical, rather than just notional, assistance. Given their status and wealth, it is not surprising that sympathetic gentry and noble patrons supported Nonconformist ministers financially. What is noteworthy is the range and consistency of the support, very often at times when persecution was being directed at the laity just as vigorously as at the clergy. In August 1662, Heywood lost his annual stipend of £30 at a stroke; indeed, the timing of the implementation of the Act of Uniformity was possibly designed to deprive the Nonconformists of their next receipt of tithes.²⁷ While he received some financial contributions from his non-gentry hearers at conventicles and services, the gentry was of great importance in sustaining his livelihood through practical support. Hunter asserts that Heywood ‘cannot have lived all these years, conducting these frequent religious services, without gratuities from those benefitting by them’.²⁸ In addition to the Fairfaxes, Rodeses, Rawdens and Dyneleys, Hunter lists such gentry, ‘or the better kind of yeomanry’, as the Sotwells, Cottons, Wordsworths and Riches, who were likely to have made contributions to maintaining Heywood in his ministry.²⁹ Such families were negotiating a fine balance between using their resources to sustain their religious adherence and acting illegally, bolstered by the security which their social status provided. Of the families mentioned above, the Fairfaxes of Denton Hall near Otley were notable Parliamentarians who had eventually supported the Restoration.³⁰ Possibly through introductions through his York connections, Heywood met Thomas, 2nd Lord Fairfax

²⁷ There is some ambiguity around whether the imposition was deliberately designed to withhold tithe income, but the point has been suggested by, among others, Bate and Brady. Frank Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence: A Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent* (Liverpool University Press, 1908), p. 28. Gary Brady, *The Great Ejection* (EP Books, 2012), p. 62.

²⁸ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 217.

²⁹ While there is only limited evidence in Heywood’s life-writing of monies he received, the fact that he frequently stayed in the gentry’s country houses or in their town houses in York testifies to indirect financial support.

³⁰ Ferdinando, 2nd Lord Fairfax (1584-1648) had commanded the Parliamentary forces at the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and his son, Thomas, commanded the New Model Army, but later supported General Monck in his campaign for the restoration of the monarchy.

(1612-1672) and his uncle Colonel Charles Fairfax (1596-1673) on several occasions.³¹ He also received encouragement from Dorothy Hutton (1617-1687), the sister of Thomas Fairfax, at her house, Poppleton Hall, near York, where the ejected minister Thomas Birdsall (1635-1687) was domestic chaplain.³² The connectedness between gentry families of Nonconformist persuasion and, at times, with members of the clergy is illustrated by the fact that one of the Hutton sons married a daughter of Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton and another married the daughter of James Sale, the ejected minister of Pudsey, both of whom were well known to Heywood. A third member of the Hutton family married the daughter of Richard Thorp (1638-1713) of Hopton Hall near Mirfield, often visited by Heywood.³³ (Appendix Two shows the key gentry houses Heywood frequented.)

Of the other families mentioned by Hunter, the Rawdens and the Sotwells are the least well-documented, but Heywood's diaries show that he visited their homes in his roving ministry.³⁴ The Cottons of Denby, the Wordsworths of Swath Hall and the Riches of Bullhouse were all patrons of Henry Swift at Penistone, Heywood's longstanding friend. William Cotton applied for a licence for his home to be a meeting house under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, as did Sylvanus Rich (b. 1628).³⁵ That gentry patronage was a feature of the country as a whole is shown by Cliffe's appendix of domestic chaplains in Puritan households between 1650 and 1700: of the seventy-three families listed, fifteen had their seats in the North of England (Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire).³⁶ Robert Faithorn identifies twenty-five

³¹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 176.

³² Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, pp. 33-34. Hunter states that Heywood visited Poppleton in December 1685 after his release from gaol and preached with Birdsall. Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 334.

³³ Add. MS 45965, fol. 28^v, 30^r; HT I, p. 232, p. 234.

³⁴ Add. MS 45965, fols. 10^r, 30^r; HT I, p. 226, p. 234.

³⁵ David Hey, 'The Riches of Bullhouse: A Family of Northern Dissenters', *Northern History*, 31.1 (1995), pp. 178-93 (p. 186).

³⁶ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp. 206-28.

families in Yorkshire which accommodated Dissenting ministers between 1660 and 1689.³⁷ He cites York as a particular centre of gentry support, from which Heywood benefitted.³⁸

One gentry house with which Heywood was familiar was Hopton Hall, in Mirfield, which had been inherited by Richard Thorp, who himself was training for the ministry at the time of the Act of Uniformity.³⁹ Heywood recorded several visits to Hopton in his diary. For example, on 29th May 1666: 'I turned to visit my good friend Mr. Thorp at Hopton Hall' and again on 9th August 1667, 'I took a journey with my wife, we lodged that night with Mr Thorp at Hopton Hall'.⁴⁰ These visits appear to have been a mixture of pleasure and duty, as Thorp was a friend and yet the calls were part of longer journeys involving preaching and pastoral work. Thorp was also an example of an individual holding the two roles of ejected minister and a member of the gentry. That this relationship can be termed as one of patronage, rather than just hospitality and friendship, derives from the fact that Thorp was a gentleman and a figure of local status, but the distinction can become blurred. Dale contends that Thorp was 'pressed to conform and accept a parish living', but he refused such pressure and 'cast in his lot with the Nonconformists'.⁴¹ Perhaps his fellow gentry were 'pressing' him, as they felt that not merely supporting the Dissenters, but being ordained as a Dissenting clergyman himself, was a step too far. However, Thorp persisted and he held prayer meetings at Hopton, both with a licence and when such conventicles were unlawful. His own ordination eventually took place in July 1676, fourteen years after the Act of Uniformity and was carried out by Heywood, Frankland and Joseph Dawson, at the first Nonconformist ordination to be held in Yorkshire, underlining the closeness of the relationship.⁴²

³⁷ Rober Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire' (MPhil thesis, University of Leeds, 1982), p. 123.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.142.

³⁹ This Hopton Hall is not to be confused with Hopton Hall in Wirksworth in Derbyshire, the seat of Sir John and Lady Katherine Gell, which offered a haven for ejected clergy in that district.

⁴⁰ Add. MS 45965, fols 10^v, 37^r; HT I, p. 226, p. 243.

⁴¹ Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, p. 152.D

⁴² Thorp's daughter, Martha, married Elkanah Rich (1659-1724) of Bullhouse, the son of Sylvanus Rich.

Heywood's Gentry Patrons' Support for his Ministry

The Crews of Utkinton, the Rodeses of Great Houghton and the Dyneleys of Bramhope feature prominently amongst his gentry patrons of long standing.⁴³ The First Conventicle Act of 1664, forbidding any religious gathering of five or more people outside a single household, may have deterred some of the gentry from hosting Nonconformist prayer meetings for those outside their own establishment, but Heywood and others simply flouted the law. For example, in March 1666, during the journey which he took immediately after the implementation of the Five Mile Act, Heywood recorded that he visited Sir Thomas Stanley (1597-1672) in Alderley in Cheshire, 'where I was called to goe to prayer in that large family' and thus to respond to a specific request to hold a conventicle for the family and, very probably, for some non-family members of the household too.⁴⁴ He followed this with a stay at the home of another Cheshire gentleman, John Crew (1641-1711), in Utkinton, where he was not explicit about numbers, but in a large household it would be reasonable to assume there were more than five people present to hear him preach. This pattern of support reflected long-established connections between these gentry families and Heywood's own circle, something which the recently-introduced legislation could not efface. In his biography of John Angier, Heywood wrote that Crew was his (Angier's) 'dear and intimate friend' and who, when looking at a portrait of Dr. Wilkins, who was about to become Bishop of Chester, reportedly declared that 'Mr Angier is my Bishop.'⁴⁵ (The extent of the connection can be seen by the fact that Crew was present at Heywood's marriage to Elizabeth Angier at Denton in April 1655.)⁴⁶ Heywood's own reference to Crew stated that 'upon thuesday after we went (upon a call to keep a private fast)

⁴³ Figure One shows the location of some of Heywood's key gentry connections.

⁴⁴ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^r; HT I, p. 223.

⁴⁵ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 548.

⁴⁶ Add. MS 45963, fol. 78^v; HT I, p. 90.

to Mr Crew's of Utkinton, Lord Crew's son, where we had a very sweet day'.⁴⁷ From this entry, it can be deduced that Crew had invited Heywood explicitly to hold a fast in the privacy of his own home, knowing full well that legislation prevented him from preaching within five miles of any incorporated town or where he had lived and preached previously and it prohibited him, Crew, from holding such a meeting for more than five people from different households. As a patron of Angier and a champion of Presbyterianism, Crew is likely to have weighed up the benefits of hosting a conventicle against the risks of being discovered and laying himself open to attack for disregard of the penal acts. The holding of a 'private fast' suggests that Crew had calculated how far he was prepared to go down the road of Dissent: hosting a Presbyterian prayer meeting, but probably restricting it to his family and household in a private location.

John Spurr and others have explained the inconsistent implementation of the penal acts in large part to the differing levels of support for the legislation by the magistracy, which predominantly consisted of the gentry.⁴⁸ While Spurr states that some JPs failed to enforce the law on their neighbours, Joseph Hunter goes further and asserts that the unwillingness came from senior holders of public office. He claims that the Lords Lieutenant of Derbyshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire (the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Buckingham respectively) were 'not men who were disposed to lend their aid to the strengthening of the Church by the persecution of either Nonconformists or Papists'.⁴⁹ Hunter ascribes Buckingham's political rivalry with and personal animosity towards Clarendon as reasons for his reluctance to pursue the legislation's aims, and as a contributory factor in the fall from power of Clarendon in 1667.⁵⁰ The authorities were aware of the extent of the

⁴⁷ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^v; HT I, p. 224. Heywood appears to have confused the parentage of Sir John Crew of Utkinton with that of Lord Crew of Steane in Northamptonshire. Sir John Crew's father was also called John and died in 1670, while Lord Crew died in 1679.

⁴⁸ John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Longman Education Ltd., 2006), p. 152. Anthony Fletcher, 'The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts', *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 235-46 (p. 241).

⁴⁹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 196.

⁵⁰ Heywood recorded a visit of Buckingham to Leeds in 1674, where he had 'rebuked' a JP for 'troubling his neighbours' over prosecuting Nonconformists. Add. MS 45966, fol. 92^v: HT III, p.185.

disregard for the Clarendon Code since they conducted a survey of conventicles in 1669, administered by diocesan officials. Amongst the gentry names in the returns for Yorkshire was Lady Mary Rodes (1608-1681), the widow of Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton, whom Heywood called 'a great upholder of meetings'.⁵¹ The conventicles at Great Houghton were alleged to have been attended by some sixty Nonconformist laity, as the chaplain to the Rodes family was effectively resident minister at the chapel attached to the house. Heywood recorded several visits around this time, including the diary entries for 5th November 1668; 'my lady prevailed with us to stay and spend some time in thankfulness, Mr Graunt begun and I preacht and prayed and Mr Kerby concluded, they were two precious days' and for 29th August 1669; 'I preacht at Little Horton in Widow Rodes house – there was a great assembly'.⁵² What is noticeable is Heywood's co-operation with other Presbyterian preachers, in this instance, Jonathan Grant (1619-1681), who was ejected from Flixborough in Lincolnshire, and Joshua Kirby (1617-1676), who was ejected from Wakefield, and also the reference to Lady Rodes' 'insistence' that Heywood prolong his visit, even though he had already been there two days. Sir Edward had employed both Presbyterian and Independent churchmen as chaplains and by 1669, it was reported that services in the chapel were being attended by both denominations.⁵³ Lady Rodes, who was widowed in 1666, continued to employ an Independent minister, Jeremiah Milner (1627-1681), as her chaplain after the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 until her own death in 1681, in a clear demonstration of the unobtrusive but consistent support for Nonconformist clergy on the part of certain gentry families in defiance of the changing legal environment. In fact, it may have been a challenge for local JPs to instigate proceedings against such eminent figures with any expectation of success, as the magistracy itself consisted of the

⁵¹ Add. MS 45795, fol. 3^r; HT II, p. 143.

⁵² Add. MS 45965, fol. 48^v, fol. 51^v; HT I, p. 259, p. 265.

⁵³ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 113.

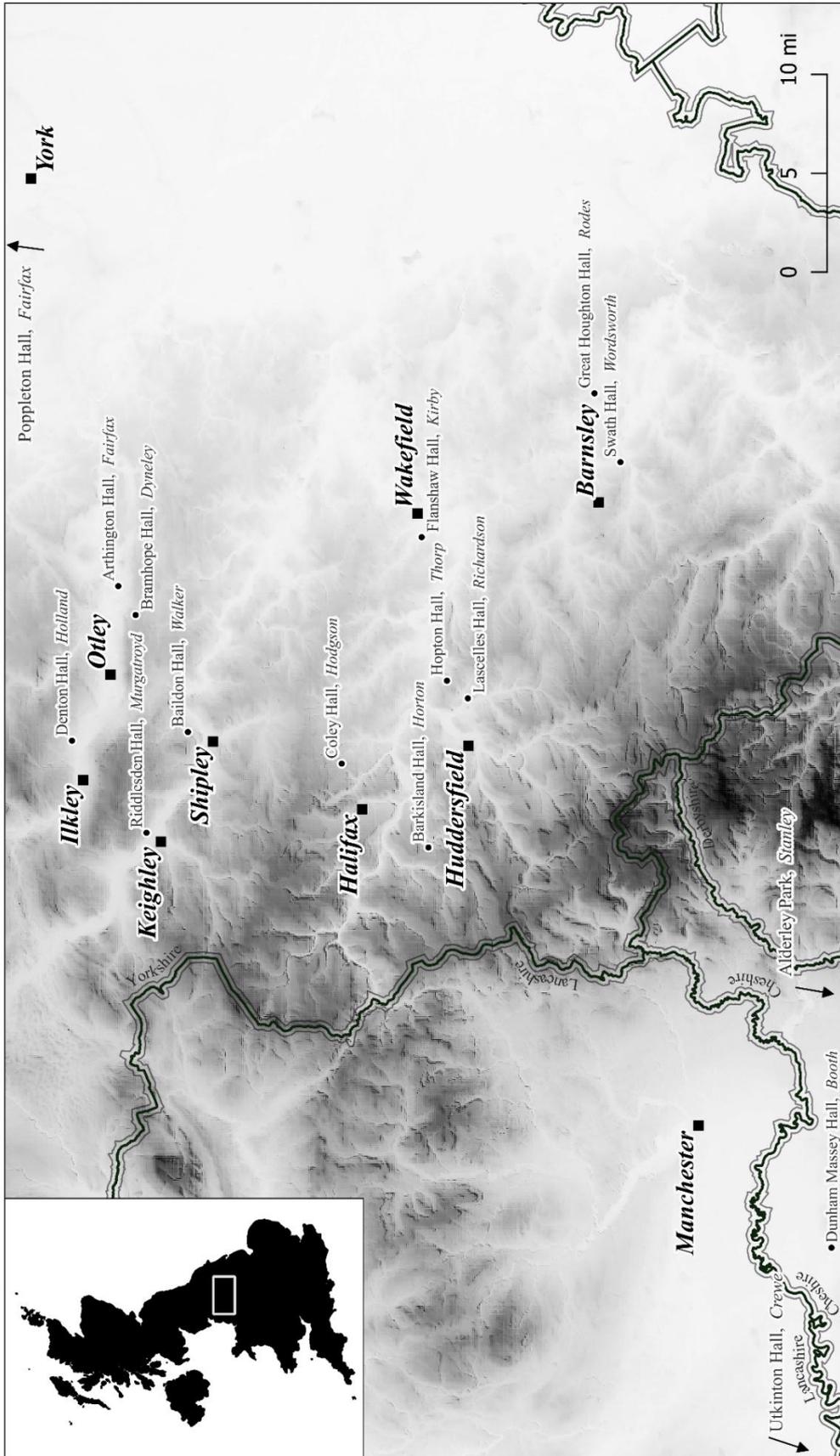


Figure 1: Gentry Houses Visited by Heywood

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gentry, social peers and friends of those such as the Rodes Family and, on rarer occasions, there were Nonconformist sympathisers on the bench.⁵⁴ At Great Houghton, the cancellation of the Declaration in 1673 made little impact; Milner continued as chaplain and preached twice every Sabbath to the Rodes' household. Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Edward, was described by Heywood as a kind friend and he referred to the Rodeses as 'that sweet ingenious family', in whose house in July 1679, he noted, 'I prayed and preached 4 or 5 houres, a full assembly'.⁵⁵

The enduring relationships between Heywood and the Dyneley family in Bramhope, near Otley, illustrates how the gentry and clergy combined their resources to sustain Nonconformity. The first Bramhope entry in Heywood's diary was in November 1664:

Because I could not peaceably go to my owne chappel to hear him I went on Nov 5th to hear Mr Crosley the day after at Bramhap (who by the good providence of god yet holds up his work of preaching without conforming).⁵⁶

Having heard the resident Nonconformist cleric, Jeremiah Crossley (d. 1665), preach in the morning, Heywood was invited to preach himself by Robert Dyneley (1602-1688) in the afternoon, where he appeared to have been particularly well received. Heywood recorded that he hesitated, checked that Crossley did not object to a rival and reminded the Dyneleys of the inherent danger. He went on to state that 'they al unanimously desired it, and referred the consequences thereof to gods providence', thus reiterating their solidarity with the Nonconformist cause and with Heywood's defiant stance. The diary entry concluded with the observation that he had 'unwonted liberty of speech and spirit, both in prayer and preaching, and affected the hearts of his people' and with the explicit acknowledgement of the risks he was taking after the Act of Uniformity; 'blessed be god: such a season is worth a prison: let me

⁵⁴ Example of JPs with Nonconformist sympathies include William Hulton (1625-1694) of Hulton in Lancashire who is mentioned in Henry Newcome's diary and Sir Ralph Knight (1619-1691), a friend of Eliezer Heywood's patrons the Taylor family of Wallingwells.

⁵⁵ Add. MS 24486, fol. 204^r; HT II, p. 98.

⁵⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 51^r; HT I, p. 192.

obey gods call, and doe his wil'.⁵⁷ Evidence that his reception had been positive and that his own sense of usefulness had been reinforced by encouragement from the Dyneleys can be seen by the fact that Heywood made a return visit in January 1665. It seems that Bramhope Hall was operating as a meeting place for the local ejected ministers and the Dyneleys were happy for that fact to be known amongst this group of vulnerable clerics. Heywood recorded on this second visit that 'with Mr Crosley [I] heard Mr Ord, a north country minister who was lately in prison at York for preaching in a publick church in the city'.⁵⁸ In a display of united gentry patronage and clergy defiance, Crossley and Heywood then preached jointly on the following day, a public fast day to 'a great congregation [which] came from all parts'. Heywood spoke after Crossley 'from 11 o'clock til halfe an houre past three'.⁵⁹ The experience reveals a number of important points: firstly, that the Dyneleys were hosting repeated Nonconformist acts of worship; secondly, that the consecrated premises of Bramhope Chapel were being used as the place of worship, as the Dyneleys and other godly inhabitants of the chapelry had jurisdiction over the appointment of the preacher (as in Coley); and thirdly, that the services were drawing large crowds in defiance of the Conventicle Act. Heywood's links with the family were maintained for many years and he became an important member of the network of Dissenting ministers whom the Dyneleys drew upon and for whom Bramhope offered both practical and spiritual succour. A further entry illustrates this point: in January 1667, Heywood stated, 'that day [I] travelled to Bramhup, where first I prayed with Mr Will Dineley who was near to death of a consumption, afterwards I preacht to the family and to some others who came to hear me, and preacht again in the morning'.⁶⁰ It can be seen from this extract that Heywood was a valued visitor administering to a dying member of the family. He was invited to preach,

⁵⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 51^v; HT I, p. 193.

⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 52^v; p. 194. Edward Ord (d. 1687) was ejected from Cowesby in North Yorkshire and had been Vicar of Norham in Northumberland. Calamy, *Account of Ejected Ministers*, p. 374

⁵⁹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 53^r; HT I, p. 194.

⁶⁰ Add. MS 45965, fol. 31^v; HT I, p. 236.

both to the wider household and to other local godly worshippers who were likely to have been notified of his presence. His ministry was thus not exclusively directed at the gentry, and it identifies Bramhope Hall as an active centre of protection and practice for a wide range of Nonconformist ministers and hearers.

An example of the strength of Heywood's patronage by the gentry, and an example of Heywood's regional influence, can be seen in an incident involving Heywood's brother Nathaniel and the Stanley family. Confirming the inter-familial connections amongst the gentry, this episode also illustrates Heywood's long association with the Hoghton family. In late 1674, in the chapel at Bickerstaffe Hall in Lancashire, Nathaniel Heywood was interrupted in the middle of a service by a group of soldiers who were intent on his arrest. According to the account by Sir Henry Ashurst, Lady Stanley (d. 1695), the owner of Bickerstaffe, intervened and 'placed herself near the Pulpit-door, hoping to over-aw their spirits and obstruct their designs'.⁶¹ However, her action failed, and Nathaniel was seized and imprisoned. Nathaniel died in 1677 and shortly afterwards, Oliver published some of his brother's later sermons and dedicated the work to Lady Stanley and her second husband, Henry, the younger brother of Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton Tower. In his dedicatory epistle Heywood wrote, 'God Almighty, maintain you as choice instruments of his glory in the land of the living'.⁶²

It is apparent that, since some of Heywood's relationships with members of the gentry endured for several decades, they evolved into friendships which appeared to transcend the conventional relations between pastor and squire.⁶³ Part of Heywood's particular achievement is that the pursuit of patronage was only one element of his strategy for resistance and not

⁶¹ Sir Henry Ashurst (1645-1711), *Some Remarks Upon the Life of that Painful Servant of God, Mr Nathaniel Heywood, Minister of the Gospel of Christ in Ormskirk in Lancashire who died in the 44th year of his age* (Thomas Cockerill, 1695), p. 30.

⁶² Oliver Heywood, 'Epistle Dedicatory' to *Christ displayed as the choicest gift, and best master* by Nathaniel Heywood (Thomas Parkhurst, 1679), p. 4.

⁶³ Seaver concurs with this point and says that the patron-client relationship within Puritanism throughout the seventeenth century 'created a web of friendships that transcended obvious social divisions'. Paul Seaver, 'Puritan Preachers and their Patrons', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 128-42 (p. 141).

something he actively cultivated at the expense of his core mission. He balanced his duties towards his local neighbours with offering services to his gentry patrons in a way which complemented each other. What is difficult to discern is the nature of Heywood's relationship with others in the gentry households where he became a familiar presence, such as junior members of the family or servants. Judging from the close relationship he had with his own maid, Martha Bristow, Heywood seemed not to discriminate in the way he approached his ministry based on social standing.⁶⁴ He certainly made no distinction between male and female heads of gentry households and his written records show that he had no hesitation on commenting on their foibles or misdemeanours, just as he did about the rest of society.⁶⁵

Heywood's Engagement with Aristocratic Patrons

Heywood had less frequent and intimate dealings with the upper echelons of the nobility, but the figures of Lords Wharton and Delamere feature in Heywood's experience of patronage, albeit briefly in Delamere's case. Philip Wharton, 4th Baron Wharton, was one of the most prominent supporters of the Nonconformist cause amongst the nobility.⁶⁶ His public espousal of Dissent on the parliamentary stage was matched by overt support for Heywood and other ministers across the country, financially and practically. It is not clear how he met Heywood, but Wharton was a frequent correspondent and he supported six poor scholars at the village school Heywood opened in Northowram in 1693. Heywood recorded several meetings with Wharton and evidently held him in high regard, as shown by his dedication of his treatise *The Best Entail* to Wharton in 1693. This contained the following eulogy: 'his morning story

⁶⁴ On Martha leaving Heywood's employment at the time of her marriage, he stated that he 'loved her as a child'. Add MS 45966, fol. 54^v; HT III, p. 138.

⁶⁵ For example, he described Mistress Anne Harris (the daughter of Sir John Savile) as leading 'a most debauched, vicious and voluptuous life'. Add. MS 45967, fol. 39^r; HT II, p. 285.

⁶⁶ Wharton's experience exemplified the risks that overt support of Dissent could involve. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1676 for arguing that the Cavalier Parliament was operating unconstitutionally. He campaigned for a comprehensive settlement, opposed the penal acts in debates in the House of Lords and was arrested in 1663 for alleged involvement in the failed Farnley Wood Plot. Sean Kelsey, 'Wharton, Philip, fourth Baron Wharton', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29170.

of dearly piety continued shining bright in good old age and hath cast many resplendent beams of favour upon indigent persons to spread the savour of divine knowledge amongst ignorant souls'.⁶⁷ In addition to providing monetary gifts, Wharton employed several ejected ministers as agents on his estates in Swaledale in the North Riding of Yorkshire and even as managers of his lead mines. Six years before his death in 1696, he began distributing bibles to children and in his will, he endowed a charity to continue this work, which it does to this day. Heywood acknowledged the pecuniary help he received from Wharton when he was writing his 'Solemne Covenant' for 1697: 'my Lady Hewley hath usually given me £5 a year and my Lord Wharton £3 a year and sometime I have something given me when I travelled abroad'.⁶⁸ He recorded in one of his 'Returnes of Prayer' that in August 1693, he had travelled to York despite feeling unwell and had been rewarded with a successful outcome 'beyond expectation': 'I met my Lord Wharton at Healaaih [Healaugh] satisfied him about Bibles, Catechisms ... procured 50 Bibles for friends, got £5 for Joseph Heywood, £3 for our school, £10 which I gave Mr Baxter for Bramham and prayd 4 times with my Lord'.⁶⁹ In his 'Solemne Covenant' for 1698, Heywood recorded Wharton's continuing munificence after his death: '[I] distributed £38 to ministers schollers, which I received from the Executors of my Lord Wharton'.⁷⁰ Somewhat disingenuously, Heywood posed the rhetorical question when listing his income and monetary gifts for the year 1697; 'Youll say how is it possible all this should be done out of such small incomes?' and he answered his own question by listing his rental income and donations received from Lady Hewley and Wharton.⁷¹ Wharton not only spent parliamentary time promoting the interest of Dissenting clergy and attempting to mitigate the worst effects of the Clarendon Code, but he also displayed continuing generosity in sustaining their mission and,

⁶⁷ Oliver Heywood, *The Best Entail* (Thomas Parkhurst, 1693), Dedication, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Add. MS 45968, fol. 62^v; HT III, p. 277.

⁶⁹ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 135; HT IV, p. 148.

⁷⁰ Add. MS 45968, fol. 63^v; HT III, p. 278.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 62^v; pp. 276-77.

in effect, their livelihood, even if this activity threatened his own comfort and security. His support was not only financial; Wadsworth asserts that he advised sympathetic magistrates on how they could circumvent the demands of the penal laws and thus avoid having to persecute Dissenting ministers by ignoring the information presented to them. Wharton used his parliamentary and legal knowledge, together with his social position, to frustrate the implementation of the law to the best of his ability. In his case, Wharton's aristocratic patronage was far from being formal or distant, but was an active and practical means of evading the religious legislation which he opposed.⁷²

Through his introduction to some of the Cheshire gentry by Angier, Heywood established a more distant relationship with another aristocrat who was of central importance to the Puritan cause. In Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, later Lord Delamere, the Presbyterian Royalists had an individual whose leadership of a potential uprising in favour of restoring the King in 1659 had signalled a moment of rebellion, rather than patronage, on the part of members of the Puritan gentry.⁷³ Clarendon commented that Booth 'was a person of the best fortune and interest in Cheshire ... and of absolute power with the Presbyterians'.⁷⁴ The rebellion failed and Booth was imprisoned in the Tower of London, but Heywood and others were caught up in the aftermath in different ways. As Heywood refused to hold prayers of thanksgiving in Coley Chapel for the rebellion's suppression, he was suspected of sympathy with the rebellion's aims. Booth himself was rehabilitated and served in Parliament, employed Martindale as domestic chaplain at Dunham until his death in 1684 and, according to the eulogy delivered at his funeral, 'visited his Closet every day for his private devotions, and withdrew for that good work even in the greatest throng of business'.⁷⁵ Heywood met him on several

⁷² Wadsworth, 'Philp, Lord Wharton', p. 473.

⁷³ M.W. Helms, Gillian Hampson, B. D. Henning, 'Booth, Sir George, 2nd Bt. (1622-1684), of Dunham Massey, Cheshire', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, ed. by B. D. Henning (Boydell and Brewer, 1983), pp. 678-79.

⁷⁴ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 17.

⁷⁵ Zachary Cawdrey, *The Certainty of Salvation* (Peter Gillworth and James Thurston, 1684), p. 27.

occasions, which he recorded. For example, in June 1666: ‘on munday night we lodged at Dunham with my lord Delamer, where we were nobly treated’.⁷⁶ While not on as regular or close terms as with Wharton, Heywood’s association with Booth illustrates his cultivation of influential figures within the aristocracy, bringing him financial support and recognition and providing his patrons with an opportunity to promote Presbyterianism in practical ways.

The City of York: a Refuge for Heywood

Where there was a sufficient level of concentrated support for Nonconformity amongst the higher levels of society, it was able to operate more freely despite the penal acts and the city of York provided this environment for Heywood. Although it is some thirty-five miles from Coley, York was the ecclesiastical centre of the North of England and Heywood seems to have established patronage links there in the early 1660s. He wrote that a month after his first wife’s death in May 1661, he spent time in York with Angier, who may well have introduced him to the circle of gentry sympathisers in the city.⁷⁷ Subsequently, Heywood was encouraged by a circle of well-connected county families, whose support remained in place throughout the upheavals and changes in legislation and who displayed a robust disregard for polite society’s conventional religious persuasion. David Scott has chronicled the post-Restoration espousal of Nonconformity, where it came to be the ‘religion of the better sort’ in the city.⁷⁸ Referred to by Hunter as the ‘elect ladies’, the group consisted of Lady Hewley, Lady Hewet, Lady Hoyle and Lady Watson and demonstrated the strong streak of feminine activism within the ranks of the Puritan gentry.⁷⁹ Anna, Lady Watson was the widow of Stephen Watson, who had been Lord Mayor of the city twice (in 1646 and 1656) and at whose

⁷⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 11^v; HT I, p. 228.

⁷⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 38^r; HT I, p. 178.

⁷⁸ David Scott, ‘Politics, Quakerism and Dissent in York, 1640-1700’ (DPhil thesis, University of York, 1990), pp. 166-68.

⁷⁹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 130.

house Heywood later preached, having received her support at the time of the Prayer Book dispute in 1661. Katherine, Lady Hewet, is described by Hunter as ‘a friend of the Puritan ministry’, while Lady Hoyle (d. 1668) was the widow of Alderman Thomas Hoyle (1587-1650).⁸⁰ Heywood recorded that in March 1668, he visited Lady Hoyle, who was then living at Thwaites, near Leeds, and again in July of that year, in which month she died.⁸¹ More is known about Sarah, Lady Hewley (1627-1710), who was the wife of Sir John Hewley (1619-1697), the MP for Selby and York. Amongst her activities, she built almshouses in York, befriended many Dissenting ministers and made provision in her will for financial support for Dissenting clergy through the Lady Hewley Charity Trust.⁸² Lady Hewley was a prominent figure in Yorkshire Nonconformist circles and was at the centre of a network of religious and legal friends, including Heywood, which she termed her ‘society’.⁸³

Heywood was thus operating in a far more congenial environment in York than in Halifax and seems to have taken full opportunity of the relative freedom and gentry protection there as a means of furthering his mission. Under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, several houses in the city were granted licences to hold Nonconformist conventicles, including Lady Watson’s in St. Saviourgate, while after the Act of Toleration, Lady Hewley contributed to the building of a new meeting house in St. Saviourgate (sometimes referred to as Lady Hewley’s Chapel). It is apparent that Heywood was on familiar terms with these key actors within the city’s gentry and aristocratic circles, as the following diary entry from September 1679 illustrates:

I waited on Lord Clifford and Lord Fairfax, lodging at night with

⁸⁰ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 130.

⁸¹ The intimacy which Heywood enjoyed through longstanding pastoral care can be gauged from the following diary entry: ‘I preached and prayed in my Lady Hoiles chamber who hath been under sore afflictions of spirit ... and melancholy several years’. Add. MS 45965, fols 42^v, 46^v; HT I, p. 251, p. 256.

⁸² Richard Potts, *Dame Sarah’s Legacy* (Lady Hewley Trust, 2005).

⁸³ James Raine, ed., *A Brief Memoir of Mr Justice Rokeby, Comprising his Religious Journal and Correspondence* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1861), p. 11.

Sir John Hewley. Preached at Lady Watson's and spent the next evening with Lady Hewet. Next day, dined at Sir John Hewley's with Lord Clifford, Sir Gilbert Gerhard, Sir John Brook and others.

The morning after, called upon to preach in Lady Hewley's chamber.⁸⁴

Heywood's integration into their social activities is reflected in the fact that he not only dined with such company, but was also invited to lodge with them, just as he was accustomed to with members of his own family or with his fellow clergy. In addition, he preached in both the public meeting house and, it would seem, in the domestic environment of Lady Hewley's 'chamber'. Based on the activities recorded in Heywood's journals, we can conclude that the primary purpose of such visits appears to have been religious instruction, but from other passing references, it seems to have been accompanied by general socialising. Heywood's attitude is equivocal; he did not seem to seek gratification from the social standing of his York benefactors, while the repeated nature of the visits suggests a degree of familiarity, but this would have been tempered by his consciousness of their higher social standing and he would not have regarded them in exactly the same light as his other hearers. He never failed to record their titles and, unlike the case with some of other gentry contacts or his less elevated followers, he did not comment on their personal traits or failings. That York contained a solid centre of Nonconformist practice is reflected by Heywood's frequent trips there and by the network of other ejected clergy who preached under the protection of the 'elect ladies' and their families. As James Raine in his edition of the memoir of Thomas Rokeby (1631-1699) states, 'there were few places in England in which the national church was, at that time, at a greater disadvantage than in the city of York', while Scott claims that, owing to its population of pious merchants, it was the 'natural place for dispossessed clergy to seek employment with wealthy

⁸⁴ John Fawcett, *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Oliver Heywood* (Leeds: Davies and Booth, 1814), pp. 118-19.

patrons'.⁸⁵ There were, therefore, few places which could offer a greater source of succour to Heywood and his fellow ejected clergy, thanks to the support of the city's Puritan gentry.

Heywood's Local Patrons: Examples of Friendship

Catherine Patterson defines patronage in early modern England as the reciprocal and free exchange of goodwill between superiors and their clients, with mutual benefits to both parties.⁸⁶ This definition needs to be widened here to encompass sustained support from senior figures in the community, in addition to superiors of the highest rank, but who still used their relative status and wealth to advance Heywood's mission and to sustain him materially. While this point overlaps with the previous chapter's examination of community, it is important to recognise that Heywood received patronage from a wide variety of sources, reflecting his reputation within the broader Halifax parish and beyond. His patrons came from not only the gentry families of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, but also from the well-to-do members of the immediate community.

These notables, whilst they were not members of the aristocracy or even gentry, certainly used their societal status and range of contacts to help sustain Heywood's livelihood and ministry. The themes of patronage and community are closely linked, since the distinction between the provision of financial and moral support from those with means and the more general, local acts of monetary help and loyalty can become blurred. Nevertheless, there was a group of families of good standing in Coley and Northowram who can be regarded as patrons, as well as being friends and recipients of Heywood's pastoral care. One of the most prominent within this category was John Hodgson, a Parliamentary soldier and military surgeon, who took out a fifteen-year lease on Coley Hall from the Horton family of Barkisland in April 1657.

⁸⁵ Raine, *Brief Memoir of Rokeby*, p. 4. Scott, 'Politics, Quakerism and Dissent,' p. 155.

⁸⁶ Catherine Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite and the Crown, 1580-1640* (Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 2.

As a former officer in the Cromwellian army, he was inevitably under suspicion after the Restoration. He was subsequently harassed and imprisoned in Bradford in 1660, accused of treason and, in 1662, of participation in the Farnley Wood Plot.⁸⁷ In his published memoirs, written in 1683, Hodgson also revealed that Stephen Ellis (Heywood's longstanding opponent in Coley) was his enemy too, as Ellis is recorded as trying to convince the authorities of Hodgson's guilt.⁸⁸ Heywood and Jollie were frequent guests at Coley Hall during Hodgson's tenancy, and when Heywood lost his own home in 1666, he became a co-tenant of Coley Hall, 'a sweet habitation'.⁸⁹ Heywood wrote that this good fortune was experienced 'through the good hand of god' and made no reference to Hodgson.⁹⁰ However, it seems reasonable to assume that Hodgson would have facilitated such a move for Heywood's household of two small sons and his maid, as it took place in Heywood's enforced absence in the immediate aftermath of the Five Mile Act's passage. Although out of favour with the post-Restoration authorities, it seems that, as a former magistrate, Hodgson still retained some limited influence in legal matters: Heywood recorded that in July 1670, 'the churchwarden (possibly Ellis, but he is not named) and overseer came to this house, told Captain Hodgson they had a warrant ... to make distresse upon my goods for £10'.⁹¹ He went on to state that these men needed Hodgson's help 'as an overseer' himself. The details of the exchange were not recorded and, while the men left Coley Hall empty-handed (without having secured Hodgson's agreement to act), Hodgson could not countermand the warrant and was unable to prevent Heywood's goods being removed several days later, as Heywood refused to pay the £10 fine due.

For clergymen such as Heywood, patronage at such times equalled protection, rather than preferment. Through the pages of Heywood's journal, it becomes apparent that Hodgson

⁸⁷ Hodgson, *Autobiography*, p. 56.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁸⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 9^v; HT I, p. 225.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 9^v; p. 225.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 55^r; p. 270.

displayed his readiness to support Heywood and others in practical ways, utilising what remained of his legal standing under the new regime. In August, 1670, one of the JPs involved in the removal of Heywood's effects, Edward Copley of Batley, imprisoned Timothy Roote (1635-1689) in York Castle in August 1670 for having preached in public and Hodgson made protestations to Copley and secured Roote's release. The bond between Heywood and Hodgson is illustrated by the fact that, several months later, they went to Slaithwaite together to celebrate Roote's liberty.⁹² In November 1670, Heywood recalled that Hodgson and he 'were sent for in haste to Rippon', where Hodgson's son Kitchin 'lay a dying'.⁹³ Heywood appeared to be acting as Hodgson's domestic chaplain in this case, as he prayed and comforted him and his son, before the latter's death.

Heywood's integration within these gentry and quasi-gentry circles and the ways in which they were linked are well illustrated by the fact that, in June of the following year, Heywood celebrated a private fast at Hodgson's house when Hodgson's other son, Timothy, was leaving home to become chaplain to Sir John and Lady Hewley in York. Whilst the most common pattern was that patrons employed Nonconformist clergy within their own households, here we see evidence of a member of a patron's family being ordained and taking up a post in another patron's establishment, albeit within a slightly higher social class.⁹⁴ Another example of mutual support between Heywood and Hodgson in the face of their common enemy, Ellis, can be found in the following account in Heywood's journal of 14th January 1672 (only months before Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence):

On Lords day I preacht at home ... there was a great assembly bec [because] none was at chappell, about one o'clock tidings came to me from an officer that Steph Ellis had got a warrant and was resolved to come to

⁹² Add. MS 45965, fol. 56^v; HT I, p. 273.

⁹³ Ibid., fol. 57^r; p. 274.

⁹⁴ There is a lengthy description in Heywood's *Memoranda* of Timothy Hodgson's ordination by himself, Frankland, Jollie and others held in Craven in August 1680 in the lost 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, pp. 197-99.

break us up, which occasioned me to break off and dismiss them –

the rest of the day Captain Hodgson and I spent in prayer.⁹⁵

There are many references to keeping fasts and thanksgiving services with Hodgson, either individually or in the company of others at his house.⁹⁶ The relationship, clearly a mixture of patronage and friendship, continued after Hodgson moved from Coley Hall to Cromwell Bottom, near Elland, and the journal references continue, but they disappear after Hodgson moved to Ripon in 1680. Heywood demonstrated his gratitude to Hodgson by giving him a copy of his treatises *Life in God's Favour* (1679) and *Lamentation After the Lord* (1683).⁹⁷ The support of ejected ministers could jeopardise the safety of even those of a high social standing and this can be seen when, in the renewed bout of persecution in the early 1680s, Hodgson was arrested and imprisoned in Ripon. He died in Ripon Gaol in 1684, recorded in a purely factual entry in Heywood's journal, without reflections on a relationship of patronage that had developed into a close friendship. This diary section is missing but is quoted by Horsfall Turner in his introduction to Hodgson's *Autobiography*; 'Mr. John Hodgson of Rippon (my old friend) dyed a prisoner there, January 24th 1684, aged 66'.⁹⁸

Other local families whose support may be regarded as patronage include the Priestleys of Winteredge and Westercroft, the Hortons of Sowerby and the Clays of Northowram. Jonathan Priestley was a local landowner and farmer who became a member of Heywood's society and, eventually, his executor. Joshua Horton was a notable resident of the parish of Sowerby, who clashed with Hooke over his espousal of 'partial Conformity', but who remained undaunted in his support for Heywood. He procured a licence for Nonconformist preaching in his property in Sowerby and contributed financially to the Presbyterian church at the same time

⁹⁵ Add. MS, 45965, fol. 80^v; HT I, p. 286.

⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. 10^v, fol. 38^v; p. 227, p. 245.

⁹⁷ Hodgson, *Autobiography*, p. 16.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

as paying his tithes to the Church of England.⁹⁹ William Clay (d. 1704) donated the land in Northwram on which Heywood built his chapel in 1668, thus saving him a great deal of expense.¹⁰⁰ All three men (and their wider families) exhibited their adherence to Nonconformity, and to Heywood in particular, during the fractious religious divisions they experienced. On occasion, they risked their own social standing, if not their physical safety, as illustrated by Horton being publicly challenged by Hooke for his tolerant stance. Given the fact that Coley did not possess gentry families of the first rank, such support from leading members of the community, in the face of opposition from Hooke and Ellis, was of paramount importance to Heywood. His position would have been far less secure, and his ministry far less tenable, had he simply had to rely on distant and sporadic support from the gentry houses of York or the Aire Valley. What men like Hodgson and Horton provided was a firm, local foundation of support, influencing the attitude of their social inferiors in the township, which helped Heywood to resist the equally persistent opposition which he faced.

Other Yorkshire Patrons: Heywood's Regional Network

One of the defining characteristics of Heywood's patronage was the extent and depth of its coverage; he did not restrict himself to, or become defined by, a single relationship with any one family. He demonstrated an ability to sustain multiple relationships, apparently without causing any concern or jealousy on the part of individual patrons. A little further afield from Halifax, Heywood established relations with other families of note, including the Brooksbanks of Elland, the Rawdens of Rawden and the Arthingtons of Arthington. Of these, the Brooksbank family was one of the most intimate of his connections, where patronage and friendship were intertwined. John Brooksbank (d. 1715) was a member of Heywood's society

⁹⁹ Add. MS 45966, fol. 11^v; HT I, p. 348.

¹⁰⁰ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 104; HT IV, p. 128.

and meetings were held at his home, both before and after the Act of Toleration. As local notables, the Brooksbanks were an important family of Dissenters and Joseph Brooksbank (1655-1726) established the Brooksbank charities and endowed a school in Elland.¹⁰¹ In March 1668, Heywood wrote that 'I spent the sabbath at James Brooksbank's being persuaded to it because of a proclamation the day before at Halifax against conventicles'.¹⁰² It seems that the family were offering protection at a time when local prohibitions against Nonconformist worship were being strengthened. In February 1670, Heywood baptised Joseph Brooksbank (1670-1740) and kept a day of thanksgiving with his father, James (1632-1708), while in May 1676, he was at supper with John discussing the merits of a university education.¹⁰³ The fact that James chose Heywood to perform his son's baptism is evidence of the closeness of their bond and a public demonstration of Brooksbank's support for Heywood's ministry. In another example of Nonconformist sympathisers of social standing endangering themselves and their position in society, James Brooksbank (together with another member of Heywood's society, Robert Ramsden) was served with a writ of excommunication in November 1673, for failing to take the churchwarden's oath, although Heywood wrote that 'they faithfully served the office'. Brooksbank and Ramsden had to travel to York to pay a fine, despite the opposition of Hooke in Halifax to their being let off so lightly. Hooke, according to Heywood's account, seemed to want them to be imprisoned for their actions.¹⁰⁴ It appears that their consciences precluded them from swearing the oath, but their sense of public duty led them to fulfil the role of Anglican churchwarden while attending Heywood's meetings and being members of his society. This was another instance of 'partial Conformity', particularly prevalent at times of heightened persecution.

¹⁰¹ Malcolm Bull's *Calderdale Companion*, *Brooksbank*. <http://www.calderdalecompanion.co.uk/mmb205.html>.

¹⁰² Add. MS 45965, fol. 43^r; HT I, p. 251.

¹⁰³ Add. MS 45966, fol. 29^v; HT I, p. 338.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 76^v; p. 356.

Of the other families listed above, Heywood wrote that, after a visit to the Dyneleys, he went 'to old Mr Rawden of Rawden at night, where I had also a large auditory, there I stayed all night and met with very much refreshment'.¹⁰⁵ At another visit, in December 1667, Heywood stated that, while preaching at Rawden's house, 'a considerable number of neighbours came in', thus clearly demonstrating that the patronage of such local notables had a public focus, in addition to it securing private worship. Quasi-gentry like the Rawdens were providing a refuge for ejected ministers, an opportunity for practising their own form of worship and a refuge for the harassed local Nonconformist laity. For the final family listed, Heywood seems to have acted almost as a private chaplain to Mary Arthington (1616-1678), Lord Fairfax's sister, at Arthington Hall, visiting her several times in 1668 and 1670 and praying with her at the time of her husband's death in June 1671.

Heywood recorded innumerable instances of holding services in other sympathetic gentry houses, illustrating how extensive his activities were within we can define as his 'super-parish', an area which encompassed many formal parish boundaries across the West Riding. For example, in February 1673, he wrote that he 'went to Mr Langleys of Dalton, preacht at Lassel-hall' and stayed the night.¹⁰⁶ In January 1680, he recorded that he 'rode to Bingley, preached at Joshua Walker's at Rushworth Hall' where there was 'a full assembly'.¹⁰⁷ On one occasion, Heywood recorded that he was given the opportunity of calling on Lord Rutherford and he wrote that 'we spent most of the afternoon together, I hope, to mutual satisfaction'.¹⁰⁸ His diaries contain records of innumerable calls on the houses of his social superiors and, underlining the fact that these were generally not social calls, he specified the reason for the visit. For example, he held a fast at Denton Hall, the seat of Colonel Richard Holland, in 1664 and he rode to Captain Hodgson's in 1680, 'where we had a day of fasting and prayer', which

¹⁰⁵ Add. MS 45965, fol. 10^r; HT I, p. 226.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., fol. 91^v; p. 294.

¹⁰⁷ Fawcett, *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 121.

provide ample evidence that, while he maintained a focus on Coley, he also developed his ministry across a wide geographical sphere, characterised in part by this widespread connection with sympathetic gentry.

In assessing Heywood's significance, it is important to comment on how typical he was. Many of the ejected ministers received support and employment from gentry patrons after 1662. As one of those in need of such support, Heywood created a broad network and he did so assiduously. The difference between Heywood and other examples is that, since there was no gentry family in Coley with local patronage of the living, Heywood was reliant on local well-to-do families as well as the support of those farther afield. His was an unusual environment in this respect, as many other Nonconformist ministers benefitted from gentry support in their own vicinity. A comparison which offers a direct contrast is that of Henry Swift in Penistone, in South Yorkshire. As a result of the staunch support of the local gentry, principally the Riches of Bullhouse and the Wordsworths of Water Hall, Swift was able to retain his position in Penistone for twenty-seven years following the Act of Uniformity and to enjoy the rare status of being a Nonconformist in a Church of England benefice. Although this was an unusual situation, it was not unique; indeed, Angier, although he refused to conform, retained the living of Denton with the full support of the local congregation. David Hey states that in Penistone and elsewhere gentry support 'by prosperous and long-established families was crucial to the continuing strength of Dissent'.¹⁰⁹ Penistone provides an example of where the reversals in religious policy at a national level 'did little to change the way in which parishioners conducted their church services', partly because of the stability afforded by ongoing local gentry support.

Although not enjoying a patron-client relationship with them, Heywood, through Swift, had links with both the Rich and the Wordsworth families (who were, in turn connected by the

¹⁰⁹ Hey, *Riches of Bullhouse*, p. 181.

marriage of Sylvanus Rich and Mary Wordsworth in 1652).¹¹⁰ Rather than ‘partial Conformity’, the Riches adopted a policy which could be described as ‘double Nonconformity’, in that, while they sustained Swift in his Nonconformist worship at the church at Penistone, they also secured a licence for their own home (Bullhouse) under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence and employed a fellow Dissenter, Nathan Denton (1633-1720), to lead worship and to preach under their own roof.¹¹¹ Heywood also regularly visited Swaithe Hall, the nearby seat of the Micklethwaites, and he preached at the funeral of Mary Wordsworth’s mother (Elizabeth, née Micklethwaite) in 1696.¹¹² Swift mirrored Heywood’s career and experience of persecution to a certain degree: he was ordained in 1649 and suffered three months’ imprisonment in York Castle in 1663 under the sanctions of the Clarendon Code. Swift was also persuaded to take the Oxford Oath by his parishioners at the time of the Five Mile Act, a public declaration to which Heywood never subscribed, as he could not forswear his desire for Church reform, even if he was politically conservative.¹¹³

A Close Family Connection: the Taylors of Wallingwells

Heywood’s experience of patronage also included an enduring link to a member of his own family, which illustrates the multi-generational reach of such relationships. In 1678, his second son, Eliezer, was employed as chaplain to Major Richard Taylor of Wallingwells (1649-1699), later the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and MP for East Retford, and this led to a long-lasting connection.¹¹⁴ Taylor was married to Bridget, the daughter of Sir Ralph Knight MP (1619-1691), who had served in the Parliamentary army in the Civil War and yet secured

¹¹⁰ For example, he wrote in August 1678, ‘Mr Hancock and I preacht at Mr Riches house at Bulloughs [Bullhouse], had a full assembly some assistance lodged there’. Add. MS 24486, fol. 200^v; HT II, p. 71. In September, he recorded that he lodged at William Wadsworth’s house. Add MS 24486, fol. 201^r; HT II, p. 72.

¹¹¹ Hey, *Riches of Bullhouse*, p. 186.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹¹³ The Oxford Oath was implemented under the Five Mile Act and required those swearing it ‘not at any time to endeavour any Alteration of Government in either Church or State’. Hey, *Riches of Bullhouse*, p. 184.

¹¹⁴ Eliezer (1657-1730) was educated at Frankland’s Academy and Edinburgh University. After his time with the Taylor family, he became Minister at Dronfield in Derbyshire.

a knighthood at the Restoration.¹¹⁵ Heywood had first become acquainted with the Taylor family earlier in 1678, when he had preached at Firbeck in Nottinghamshire to a small congregation that had included Knight and Taylor. Heywood must have created a favourable impression for, only six months later, Eliezer was accepted into the Taylor household. He was to stay in that position for twenty years and Heywood visited often, developing a relationship with the Taylors as patrons to his own son. The original manuscript of Heywood's diary for this period has not survived, but it is cited by Hunter and states that on a visit to Nottinghamshire in April, Heywood called on Sir Ralph and stayed for a lengthy visit, after the recent death of Major Taylor's father. Heywood preached in Wallingwells Hall where, according to Hunter, 'a considerable company was assembled'.¹¹⁶ Although forbidden under the Clarendon Code, such preaching was an important service to a gentry family at a time of need (in this case bereavement) and to a congregation which would very likely have included the Taylor family, their extended household and selected neighbours. From Heywood's point of view, the Taylor family offered not simply a place of employment for his son, but also lessened the worry about his son's care, as he reflected in one of his 'Returnes of Prayer'; commenting on his own deliverance from prison in 1685; he wrote that 'god provided for my two sons all this time in religious families ... Eliezer in Mr Taylors family at Wallinwells so that much of my care for them was taken off my hands'.¹¹⁷ Heywood himself seems to have become intimate with the Taylors and their circle, visiting on many occasions and expressing his appreciation of their support for his son, both in correspondence and in person. He recorded in a 'Returne of Prayer' in 1682 that he spent eight weeks in the company of Taylor and Knight in London, having been unexpectedly pressed to do so whilst staying at Wallingwells. Although unable to advise his wife in advance, he accompanied the Taylor household in their

¹¹⁵ Stuart Handley, 'Knight, Sir Ralph', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66325.

¹¹⁶ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 293.

¹¹⁷ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 32; HT IV, pp. 118-19.

coach on the journey and, for a time, stayed in their lodgings, and on this trip he seems to have temporarily usurped the role of domestic chaplain for the Taylor household in place of Eliezer: ‘god made me of some use to them, praying with them morning and evening on our journeys’.¹¹⁸ (He sent Eliezer home with a letter to his wife explaining his absence and ascribing it to God’s will in order to ‘pacify’ her.) Heywood explicitly commented on the sense of security he felt on this visit in the company of ‘gentlefolks ... and Christian friends’ at a time of heightened persecution:

God found me out work in his wise providence, both praying and preaching-work, both publick and private with safety though it was a time of great hazzard, and many ministers were disturbed even while I was there [in London], and some carried to prison¹¹⁹

Heywood’s account also reveals that both patrons and clergy were aware of the risks they were running and of the possible pressures to conform. Heywood recorded that ‘Sir Ralph Knight asked me what he should do if he were called to prosecute dissenters’.¹²⁰ Knight pressed Heywood to advise whether he, Knight, should resign as a JP. Heywood replied that ‘if he were born down and could doe no good’, then he should resign; a clear example of how delicate the position was of a Nonconformist sympathiser holding public office and an indication of the respect Heywood enjoyed amongst the gentry who, in this instance, were acting as his patrons and at the same time seeking guidance on their conduct. Towards the end of his life, Heywood wrote to his son at Wallingwells and revealed his concern that the Taylor patronage should endure:

Bless God for [the Taylors’] exceeding usefulness and tenderness towards you. Do not doubt their future care of you, which will be

¹¹⁸ WYAS, SPC 73 p. 32; HT IV, p. 84.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 33; p. 84.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 35; p. 85.

recompensed into their own bosoms and their lovely daughter's,
whom I hope God will bless and well dispose of.¹²¹

The Taylors' daughter, Bridget, was the sole heiress of the estate and Heywood was mindful of the need for her to continue patronage of his son, after both his own death and that of her parents. (In fact, Eliezer left Wallingwells in 1703 and became minister at Dronfield in Derbyshire until his death in 1730.) On Eliezer's marriage in 1700, according to Slate's account, the Taylor family 'as a token for their esteem for him, and his long services, made him a very handsome present'.¹²² It is evident that the Taylors exercised patronage to the Heywood family over a period of twenty-five years contributed to Heywood's peace of mind concerning his son's future in following him into the ministry.

Heywood's Judgement of the Gentry's Failings: 'Wickednes and Sloth'

In assessing how Heywood himself regarded his patrons, the primary sources suggest that, while he was aware of the usefulness of their support and their social station, he treated them largely in the same way as he did his other followers: as souls to be saved and individuals to be given spiritual guidance. In the opening entries to his diary, in 1666, he offered an insight into his thinking about the gentry when he visited the Stanleys at Alderley:

I had the temptation to study and speak handsome words with respect to the company, but reflecting, to whom I prayed, and that it was no trifling matter I set myself in serious earnest to the work and god helped me to speak to him seriously with respect to the state of their soules and the good of the family.¹²³

Heywood was confessing that the exalted nature of his audience at Alderley momentarily tempted him to employ a more high-flown form of oratory ('handsome words'), but that he

¹²¹ Add. MS 45974, fol. 6^r; HT IV, p. 173.

¹²² Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 605.

¹²³ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^r; HT I, p. 223.

reconsidered and, instead, focused on his prime tasks of examining their own lives ('the state of their souls') and guiding them to salvation, as he would with any other congregation.¹²⁴

The importance of the gentry in Heywood's continuing ministry and in securing him employment and, at times, his freedom, did not prevent Heywood applying a stern puritanical judgement on their conduct when he felt it appropriate. Heywood's view of the hierarchical structure of society was a traditional one and he felt that the aristocracy and gentry should, by virtue of their prominence, demonstrate to the rest of society exemplary lives of sobriety and righteousness. John Smail underlines this point when he states that Heywood's respect for the gentry was 'contingent on their beliefs and behaviour' and says that he was critical of Thomas Thornhill, James Oates and Edmund Deane, amongst other 'ranting gentlemen' who were present at a cockfight in Halifax in 1682.¹²⁵ When not only the licentiousness of the court of Charles II but also the failings of some of the local gentry came to his notice, Heywood could not resist commenting in his journal. In August 1672, he was in Bingley discussing 'the decay of persons of quality' with the Anglican minister, Jonathan Fairbank (who had been Curate of Luddenden in the parish of Halifax until 1662). Heywood wrote that he agreed with Fairbank that 'there was a rot among the gentry ... some are in debt, some imprisond - some rooted out, title, name - some dead, posterity beggars, oh what unthriftines, wickednes, sloth and gods curse for the same'.¹²⁶ In the 'Remarkable Providences Relating to Others' contained in his 'Event Book', Heywood elaborated on the regrettable behaviour of those who should have known better and on the resulting punishments which befell them. The eldest son of the Binns family of Rushworth Hall (a house where Heywood had previously been forbidden) 'hath been exceedingly dissolute, spent excessively ... and hath nothing to live on, he is besotted, his brain

¹²⁴ Heywood makes a similar reflection after a visit to Lord Delamere in June 1666. Acknowledging that he had been 'nobly treated', he wrote 'I had affecting considerations of the excellency of grace beyond all the worldly pomp and splendour'. Add. MS 45965 fol. 11^v; HT I, p. 228.

¹²⁵ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax 1660-1780* (Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 33.

¹²⁶ Add. MS 45966, fol. 102^v; HT III, p. 194.

crackt with drinking and in no capacity for any employment'.¹²⁷ In June 1673, Heywood seemed to take pleasure in avenging the opposition to Nonconformity which the Binns family had displayed: 'Mr Holdsworth and I preacht in Rushworth Hall, for which I procured a licence, providences are strange in so disposing, old Mr Bins that owned it being a justice of the peace and a great enemy to such men and meetings'.¹²⁸ Although the Cavalier Parliament had forced Charles II to repeal the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence around this time, Heywood seems to have gloried in holding a Presbyterian meeting for the Binns' tenant, Joshua Walker and he continued to visit Rushworth Hall regularly thereafter. The Bingley gentry seem to have been particularly ungodly, as Heywood went on to lament the fate of Thomas Murgatroyd of Riddlesden Hall, who was in prison in York Castle, and to whose family Heywood had preached on several occasions, but whose degeneracy he described as 'the most dreadful instance in the country'.¹²⁹ The gentry were to be appreciated for their patronage and practical support when they provided it, but Heywood did not fail to express his displeasure at their shortcomings, all the more critically because he felt that they had dishonoured their elevated station in life.

Conclusion

There is ample evidence to suggest the central importance of the Puritan gentry's support for Heywood and how the patron: client relationship was sustained by providing spiritual care on his part at a time of marginalisation. His influence across the county was undoubtedly increased by his being accepted by the network of local gentry and the well-to-do, who were likely to have recommended his services to each other. Patronage offered an element of protection in dangerous times, as many sympathetic gentry families continued their

¹²⁷ Add. MS 45966, fol. 105^v; HT III, pp. 198-99.

¹²⁸ Ibid., fol. 106^r; p. 200.

¹²⁹ Ibid., fol. 105^v; p. 199.

Nonconformist worship as unobtrusively as possible. Appleby states that the majority of the gentry with Nonconformist sympathies did not relish a 'protracted political conflict', as too overt a challenge to the authorities over religious matters would undoubtedly have spilled over into the political and civic spheres and could well have threatened their own social and economic standing.¹³⁰ In Heywood's own experience, he was offered practical and moral support by the Dyneleys at Bramhope for over twenty years and Wharton provided ongoing monetary support, supplemented by bequests in his will. Patronage did not simply amount to a theoretical or distant approval of the struggles which Heywood and others suffered; in many instances, it manifested itself in practical and direct action

What is also of interest is the issue of Heywood's motivation in creating and building so many relationships with members of the gentry, not just in Yorkshire, but in Cheshire, Lancashire and Nottinghamshire too. It is impossible to state definitively whether Heywood cultivated these relationships with an eye to self-preservation, but the available evidence suggests that it was a combination of reasons: an awareness of his need for patronage and of his patrons' desire for a godly preacher, a tactic of resistance to persecution and as part of his general ministry, but that he was not influenced by a desire for social advancement. As the following chapter on itinerancy will explore, Heywood travelled extensively in order to spread the Word of God along Presbyterian lines, whether to the gentry, yeoman farmers, merchants and tradesmen 'of the middling sort' or to more lowly agricultural workers or, indeed, to the needy and destitute. He showed that he was prepared to travel far to centres of Presbyterianism and, as some of these were established in gentry households as safe havens, this included, but was not restricted to, some of the leading county families.

Without a degree of speculation, it can be said that Heywood's situation would undoubtedly have been worse after his ejection from the pulpit in 1662, and from Coley itself

¹³⁰ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p. 41.

in 1666, if he had not received support from members of the gentry. The burden of helping him with his finances would have fallen solely on the poorer members of his Dissenting flock and his family and would have constrained his activities. Heywood's own determination, as demonstrated by the relentless schedule of travelling and preaching which he recorded, would probably have resulted in his continuing to follow his vocation, but it would have been a harder path and he would have needed to have been more clandestine. The fact that within the community at Coley he was known to enjoy the support of Hodgson and the Priestley family, that in Halifax he was invited to dinner at Shibden Hall by the Listers and that in York he dined with titled patrons, was a stimulus to his endeavours and would probably have encouraged support from others lower down the social scale. It is reasonable to assume that the lenient treatment of Heywood in York Castle in 1685 was, in part at least, owing to his connections in the city. Heywood was allowed to preach regularly whilst in prison, was permitted to socialise with Thomas Whitaker (d. 1710), a fellow minister from Leeds, and his wife was granted permission for frequent visits. While they were unable to secure his early release, his gentry supporters did so eventually, and he preached and held prayer meetings with them within the prison. Hunter quotes from Heywood's lost diary for this year where he recorded visits from Lady Hewley, Frankland and Sir William Ayscough (1614-1695).¹³¹ Similarly, Wharton's sponsorship of pupils at Heywood's school helped it to prosper and his financial legacy ensured continuation of the Presbyterian message long after his death in 1696.

To return to the earlier view of an overwhelming alliance between the gentry and Anglicanism, it can be seen from Heywood's experience, and those of other Nonconformist ministers in Yorkshire and elsewhere, that the situation was not a uniform one. Just as the implementation of the Clarendon Code was patchy, as it was dependent on the strength of local magistrates' zeal for prosecution, so the gentry's support for Conformity and espousal of the

¹³¹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, pp. 331-33.

penal acts was far from unanimous. Tacit, and sometimes surprisingly overt, support was shown for the Nonconformist clergy by some county families and the gentry, built on local relationships and sustained in the face of the vicissitudes of official policy. For Heywood, such support was crucial in delivering his mission and was nurtured through dedicated relationships with a significant number of gentry families. Compared to those Dissenting clergy who lived within an individual gentry household or enjoyed the support of a local patron of their living, Heywood stands out for the closeness, longevity and breadth of his network of patrons under the most difficult of circumstances.

CHAPTER FIVE: ITINERANCY

After six weekes wandering abroad to visit friends I am once at last arrived at mine owne house.¹

Introduction

At the imposition of the Five Mile Act in March 1666, on what Oliver Heywood called ‘a day of great scattering’, he initially obeyed the Act’s demands and removed himself from those in Coley who had remained his followers, just as he had initially done when he was suspended from preaching in June 1662 ahead of the Act of Uniformity. This time, however, he did not simply abandon the church pulpit for his own home; he embarked on an extended journey across Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. As in June 1662, the exile was only temporary and he went on to ignore the legislation, but a pattern of itinerancy had been set which characterised Heywood’s ministry for the next thirty years. The extract above, from the final pages of his autobiographical work, was written at the end of April 1666 as he returned to Coley to a new home within Coley Hall. It captured the two abiding characteristics of his ministry: the ‘wandering abroad’ to scattered Dissenting congregations and the devotion to his local followers who met for worship within his ‘owne house’.

This chapter examines Heywood’s contribution to the success of Presbyterianism across Yorkshire and Lancashire post-1662 as a result of his decision to minister to the larger constituency. It looks at where he went and the frequency of his trips and at how this peripatetic life was organised in a practical sense. It aims to demonstrate how Heywood achieved a balance between sustaining local groups of his followers in Coley and other locations within

¹ Heywood Papers, BL, Add. MS 45964, fol. 58^v; Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Brighouse: A. B. Bayes, 1882, 1885) Volume I, p. 201.

the parish of Halifax and the increasing connections he made and responsibilities he assumed at other Nonconformist centres across a large part of the North of the country. Finally, it assesses how important this wider mission was to his overall achievement. Using evidence from his written output, it explores whether his mobility was a strategy which he deliberately deployed to maximise his impact across as wide an area as possible for as long as he could, despite the challenges he faced.

The historiography on religious itinerancy in early modern England focuses on accounts of early Quakerism or the Dissenting ministers after 1662. Of the former, Hilary Hinds states that George Fox's 'restlessness is an aspect of his godliness' and his travel across the country is a fundamental element of his mission, which closely reflects Heywood's own stance once the penal acts came into force.² Timothy Hall briefly reviews the history of itinerancy in a chapter mainly focused on North America, but he does make the point that it was 'a highly charged activity ... as an agent of religious transformation' and an important strategy of some Dissenting clergy in England.³ The key work on the Nonconformists in their post-ejection existence is the younger Edmund Calamy's *Account of the Ejected Ministers* published in 1727, which is a catalogue of names with brief biographical details, but which records the extent of their influence, either through listing the various congregations they presided over or through detailing their professional inter-connections.⁴ At a regional level, Bryan Dale uses the same format to record those who were ejected in Yorkshire and lists the locations where they were licensed to preach and others where they were active.⁵ What is less well-covered in the scholarship is the link between the legislation's prohibition of a fixed

² Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and early Quaker Culture* (Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 102.

³ Timothy Hall, 'Itinerancy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Evangelicalism*, ed. by Jonatham Yeager (Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 330-88 (p. 381).

⁴ Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers who were ejected and Silenced after the Restoration of King Charles II* (R. Ford, R. Hett and J. Chandler, 1727). This was revised and re-issued by A.G. Matthews in 1934 and remains the seminal reference work on the 'Great Ejection'.

⁵ Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity: Illustrated by the Lives of the Ejected Ministers, 1660 and 1662* (Mr Dales' literary executors, J. Gregory et al., 1909).

preaching place (at least in theory) and the resulting itineracy of the dispossessed ministers. This effectively superseded the parish structure and allowed for a more flexible pattern of worship, resulting in a greater spread of Nonconformist ideology. Although Samuel Thomas touches on Heywood's reach across the wider Halifax parish and mentions that some of his followers came from places such as Birstall and Bradford, his focus is very much on the godly community at Coley Chapelry.⁶ Wallace Notestein touches on the idea that banishment from their original places of worship widened the itinerant ministers' field of influence and may have allowed the preachers to reach new audiences. He states that 'the more the Nonconformists were legislated against, the more their ministers smuggled their services to the people'.⁷ Heywood himself was aware of this advantage, observing that the Five Mile Act 'caused doors to be opened in many places far more than was the case before'.⁸ However, the broader question as to whether the influence of Nonconformity actually increased through the enforced displacement of its ministers has not been addressed by recent studies. Perhaps this is owing to the challenges around calculating the relative sizes of Nonconformist congregations pre- and post-Clarendon Code, but there is sufficient material to allow commentary on Heywood's impact over a broader sphere. What is more difficult to estimate is the possible growth of the worshipping groups without his intervention.

The theme of travel, and the corresponding widening of the dissemination of the Puritan message, is also linked to that of the financial status of the ejected ministers; if Church stipends and fees were not forthcoming, then itinerant preaching was one of the few means of generating income. J. S. Fletcher highlights the degrading spectacle of visiting ministers begging after they had delivered their sermons. In one example, he quotes the parish records of Whitkirk in

⁶ Samuel S. Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England: parish and congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax*, (Brill, 2013), p. 124.

⁷ Wallace Notestein, *Four Worthies* (Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 223.

⁸ F. E. Millson, *The Story of the Life of Rev. Oliver Heywood: A Service of Song* (Halifax: Womersley, 1902), p. 11.

Leeds, where in 1670, 'Mr Walker preached and after his sermon stood in the middle aisle to receive the people's charity'.⁹

Heywood's regular pattern of travel shown by a close reading of the first two of his extant journals (1666 to 1673 and 1677 to 1680) can be seen to continue the impetus from March 1666. He undertook local journeys within the West Riding of Yorkshire to preach to other Nonconformist congregations, others further afield to the North Riding and Lancashire to preach and visit relatives or patrons and occasional long-distance trips for specific reasons. Even when all the various components of the Clarendon Code had been enacted, the legislative climate made no difference to the extent or frequency of his travels. From 1662, he began preaching in private houses or in sympathetic Conformist churches; then, when licences were granted in 1672, he preached in legitimate places of Nonconformist worship, only to face further persecution in the mid-1680s after the licences had been withdrawn, until finally, following the Toleration Act of 1689, he was again able to hold legal services in Presbyterian meeting houses. The 'last diary' (1699-1702) shows that, while his travelling declined after 1690, he did not abandon his itinerancy until old age precluded it for the two or three years before his death in 1702.

Historians of Nonconformity in Yorkshire have ascribed its resilience in the face of post-Restoration persecution in part to an informal network of Dissenting preachers who supported each other and their followers in retaining their freedoms to worship. Robert Faithorn describes Heywood as 'the self-appointed Apostle of the West Riding' and as the key player at the centre of this informal alliance amongst the Nonconformist clergy.¹⁰ Angela Anderson stresses the point that there was no central, or even regional, organisation for them and that this would have been difficult to construct at the time of the Clarendon Code. Angela

⁹ J.S. Fletcher, *Yorkshiremen and the Restoration* (George Allen and Unwin, 1921), p. 173.

¹⁰ Robert Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire' (MPhil thesis, University of Leeds, 1982), p. 443.

Anderson states that this informal clerical community was based on friendship and personal support, together with a vigorous demand from the Nonconformist laity.¹¹ What this system of support required was the clergy's ability to appreciate and respond to the needs of the wider region and to extend their focus from their own immediate congregations.

Quantative Analysis: Heywood's Reach post-1666

The extent of Heywood's itinerant ministry can be gauged from a quantative analysis of the number of journeys taken and the activities they included in the period following the implementation of the Five Mile Act in 1666. Heywood himself compiled the numbers contained in Table One below, detailing the sermons he preached on weekdays (in addition to those delivered on the Sabbath, sometimes twice on one 'Lord's Day'), and his other pastoral activities, together with the resultant distances he travelled annually between 1665 and 1700.

This quantative summary provides an excellent starting point:

Table 1: Weekday Sermons at Home and Abroad.¹²

Anno Dom.	Sermons	Fasts	Days of Thanksgiving	Miles Travelled	Baptized	Writ Treatises	Writ Letters
1665	26	18	3	600			
1666	60	20	3	700			
1667	89	20	7	900			
1668	69	18	3	700			
1669	48	16	4	600			
1671	55	29	5	870			
1670	53	20	8	530			
1672	62	28	8	728			
1673	69	30	3	1070			
1674	72	33	5	910			
1675	48			1097			
1676	67	56	12	1052			
1677	60	40	8	1198			
1678	64	50	4	1034			
1679	77	52	7	1386			
1680	91	53	8	1250			
1681	105	50	9	1400			

¹¹ Angela Anderson, 'From Puritanism to Nonconformity, 1660-1689: A Study in the Development of Protestant Dissent, with special reference to Yorkshire' (PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1980), p. 24.

¹² The table, produced by Heywood, has not survived, but has been transcribed by Hunter. Add. MS 24486, fol. 187r; HT II, pp. 227-28. The Sabbath sermons would have added an estimated 75 each year.

1682	100	41	12	1100			
1683	109	49	7	900			
1684	126	51	7	746			
1685	74	8		70			
1686	132	37	15	1004			
1687	124	44	15	1400			
1688	132	42	14	1300			
1689	131	34	8	1358			
1690	135	40	17	1100			
1691	103	37	11	833			
1692	97	49	14	966	25		
1693	109	35	12	841	22		
1694	90	38	17	735	23		
1695	70	38	5	700	12		
1696	85	34	15	700	17	6	
1697	82	40	15	700	12	4	100
1698	78	34	9	300	13	4	120
1699	67	36	9	300	13	4	120
1700	45	22	3	157	8	7	147

Table One shows that the peak decades of travel were from the mid-1670s to 1690, with a brief hiatus in 1683-4 and a dramatic reduction in 1685, as a result of his imprisonment in York Castle for almost the whole of that year. The annual recorded mileage exceeded one thousand for the first time in 1673, as Heywood ignored the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence of the previous year and undertook more visits to his network of fellow clergy and sympathetic gentry patrons. That this level of annual mileage was maintained until 1690 is evidence of Heywood's energy and commitment to his cause throughout the vicissitudes which he experienced in the face of changes in legislation. There is, broadly, a positive correlation between the distances travelled and the intensity of persecution. After the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn, Heywood increased his annual mileage, following a meeting at Henry Newcome's house in Manchester with fellow clergy to discuss their response.¹³ The period of increased persecution in the early 1680s also stimulated a greater amount of travel.

¹³ Add. MS 45965, fol. 92^r; HT I, p. 295. Newcome was ejected from his post at the Collegiate Church in Manchester in 1662, but continued to preach privately in the city. In the 1690s, he worked with Jollie for a union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Lancashire, but without success. For commentary on the 'Happy Union', see Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Rejection: A Review (1660-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester University Press, 1917).

Thereafter, once the 1689 Act of Toleration had been passed and the stimulus to support beleaguered fellow clergy and laity elsewhere had disappeared, the annual total dropped by a hundred miles or so, before the infirmity of old age made such a regime impossible to maintain. However, this was not, until 1698, when Heywood was sixty-eight years old and only four years before he died. As his mileage decreased with age, he recognised the importance of correspondence to the fulfilment of his ministry and started to record an annual total from 1697. The delivery of more than a hundred weekday sermons each year from 1681 to 1693 also provides documented evidence of Heywood's industry: in addition to the estimated seventy-five Sunday sermons preached either at Coley or wherever he was staying, these figures show a further two or three sermons preached every week for this period. The numbers understate the level of activity because time would also have been spent in preparing sermons and prayers for the fasts and days of thanksgiving. What is clear, however, is that he sustained a high annual mileage and associated work rate well into his sixties, despite the dangers and fatigue involved.

Early Patterns of Travel: Local and Family-Orientated

In his first decade as curate in Coley between 1650 and 1660, Heywood focused most of his energy and attention on establishing Presbyterian forms of worship within his home congregation. At this period, under the Protectorate, the country was experiencing a rare period of religious toleration, with Puritanism in the ascendancy. Heywood was operating within a largely unrestricted environment, with no legal constraints, and therefore there was no need for subterfuge or covert activity, nor for ministering to other persecuted congregations. However, once the 1662 Religious Settlement had been implemented, this freedom was severely curtailed. As the Clarendon Code increasingly restricted his ability to administer to his flock, there were two direct consequences (both unintended by the legislators): Heywood brazenly found ways to continue his ministry to his followers in Coley and he also took his message to

other beleaguered centres of Nonconformity, some of which were struggling to survive as their ministers had been arrested or imprisoned. The attempts by Parliament and the Church hierarchy to eliminate Nonconformist practice backfired; in Heywood's case, and across the country, the legislation simply pushed outlawed activity underground and stimulated greater determination by the persecuted to support each other in their resistance and in preserving their worshipping practice. John Spurr points out how successful the Dissenters were at combatting persecution through disguising their meetings, evading the letter of the law and utilising networks of sympathisers which involved a much broader focus than just their own locality.¹⁴ Heywood did not himself use the term itinerant, instead referring to his being 'resolved on a journey' or 'solemn in my undertaking a journey'.¹⁵ Whatever the vocabulary he employed, he regarded his later itinerancy as a central element of his mission and therefore important to record, while the earlier travels were not part of a conscious strategy as they were not a response to persecution.¹⁶ This is consistent with his regarding the Five Mile Act as the catalyst for both increased travel and for keeping a daily account in his diary. It thus becomes apparent that Heywood deployed itinerancy as a conscious strategy to preserve the Presbyterian tradition in the hope that it could eventually be accommodated within a reformed Church through a comprehensive settlement.

Heywood had, in fact, undertaken a limited amount of travel before his ejection from Coley, because of his suspension from his post for contumacy and his refusal to conform. This travel was not recorded by Heywood with the same amount of detail as that in the years that followed. In fact, some key events in his life took place in this early period away from Coley: he was ordained by the Presbyterian Classis in Bury in Lancashire in 1652 (two years after he had become curate), he was married to Elizabeth Angier by her father, John, in Denton in 1655

¹⁴ John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Macmillan, 1998), p. 142.

¹⁵ Add. MS 45965, fol. 53^v, fol. 62^r; HT I, p. 268, p. 282.

¹⁶ In his 'Solemn Covenant' for 1686, Heywood thanks God for such a 'great liberty in travelling abroad' to undertake his work. Add. MS 45968, fol. 13^r; HT III, p. 224.

and his wife died in Denton in 1661. It would be reasonable to assume that the brief references to these events in his autobiographical narrative involved related activity away from home. It is likely he would have prepared for his ordination by studying with other Presbyterian ordinands outside the confines of Coley, and he would presumably have visited Denton to woo Elizabeth and to ask Angier's permission to marry his daughter. In the notebook containing 'The Life and Death of My Dearly Beloved Wife', written in 1664, 'but collected immediately after her death', he made it clear that he was at her deathbed in Lancashire in May 1661.¹⁷ He wrote in his autobiographical work that, after his wife's death, a newly-adopted resolution of going from house to house personally instructing his congregation was interrupted by being 'taken off by accompanying my Reverend father Angier to York and abroad' in June of that year.¹⁸ He also recorded that, as a result of 'being called away into Lancashire', he missed his second summons to the Consistory Court in York in September 1661.¹⁹ Aside from these specific occasions, it is difficult to be precise about the amount of time he spent away from Coley in the period between 1650 and 1662, or to know how much of this travelling was as a result of invitations to preach or to minister to distant laity. There was undoubtedly less demand for such activity at that time, prior to the convulsions introduced by the legislation. From the few references in his narrative, it seems that he was largely visiting his family and existing connections.

As a result of his being suspended in June 1662, Heywood ceased to act as curate in Coley, two months before the Act of Uniformity came into force. He wrote:

Thus am I at present laid aside in this diocese, and accordingly I tooke my leave for present of my dear congregation at Coley ... upon which occasion I saw more strong workings of affection and teares of sorrow than I have ever before seen

¹⁷ Add. MS 45963, fol. 58^v; HT I, p. 69.

¹⁸ Add. MS 45964, fol. 38^r; HT I, p. 178.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 40^r; p. 180.

in publick.²⁰

It was at this point that the formal bonds of his Church of England status within the chapelry were severed. This is the first of the two seminal moments which precipitated Heywood's professional itinerancy (the other being his reaction to the Five Mile Act four years later). Prior to this, there would have been little impetus to widen his ministry in any significant way. He would have been expected to nurture his local congregation and to fulfil his formal duties, maybe allowing himself time to correspond with like-minded Presbyterians across the region. However, it seems that, psychologically, this enforced rupture with his flock in June 1662 marked a moment of change in how he viewed his vocation, as it permanently widened his geographical remit. Heywood never deserted his flock in Coley, but the expansion of his horizon to the wider needs of Nonconformity across the county and beyond can be dated from this time. The references in his writings to pastoral and spiritual work elsewhere become more numerous after the Act had been passed and after his own position in Coley had, at least in a legal sense, become less secure. His removal from office was compounded by a series of legal moves by the diocesan authorities: he stated that 'a citation was procured in Chester and set upon the church doore' at Bolton Parish Church in December 1662 and that he was excommunicated in January 1663 in the Diocese of Chester 'for preaching a sermon at Bolton a little before'.²¹ Both formal legal steps suggest that he had already been active in Bolton since his expulsion in Yorkshire in June 1662 to such an extent that his activity warranted restrictions. Again, in March 1663, although he was under sentence of excommunication, he recorded that 'my dear father Angier' admitted him to Holy Communion and let him hear a sermon in the former's chapel in Denton within the Diocese of Chester.²² Thus, it was in Lancashire, as well as in Yorkshire, where Heywood was formally punished by the Church

²⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 41^r; HT I, p. 182.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 41^v; p. 182.

²² *Ibid.*, fol. 42^r; p. 183.

hierarchy. It was also in Lancashire where he first seems to have been given spiritual sustenance after his ejection. He acknowledged the power of a network of supporters as a stimulus to continue his mission wherever it was needed:

tho men forsake me, yet my god takes me up, and the worse men deal with me
the more sweetly doth god communicate himself to me, and raiseth up friends
to entertain with more endeared affections ... to fit me for further services and
sufferings in the remainder of my life.²³

Impact of the Act of Uniformity: Support through Travel

In the first months after the Act of Uniformity, Heywood (and other ejected clergy) began to establish a network of mutual support which would become central to their strategy of resistance against persecution. If this development seemed tentative at first, it may have reflected a hesitation by the dispossessed clergy to disobey the Act openly or even to be seen meeting together. Either way, this was followed by a growing sense of confidence and an increase in such endeavours, which become evident in Heywood's accounts of the period: he wrote that in June 1663, 'there was a great meeting at Coley Hal[1] where Mr Jolly was to preach, but as it pleased god I was in Lanc'.²⁴ Thomas Jollie had been ejected from his post in Altham in Lancashire and this reference demonstrates that he, too, was already active across a wider area, in this case preaching in Heywood's home in an act of fellowship. The strength of a university friendship was demonstrated by active support in the face of the new challenges. It also reveals that Heywood was travelling at the time and was able to escape capture by the authorities; even though he went on to say, 'yet hitherto I have lived quietly at home'.²⁵

²³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 41^v; HT I, p. 183.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 42^r, p. 183.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 42^r; p. 183.

After Heywood had taken leave of his pulpit, if not his home and flock, he felt the need to receive spiritual sustenance, as well as to provide it, but his ability to attend Nonconformist services was severely constrained. As an excommunicant, he was legally barred from organised worship and he may have judged that to attend elsewhere was marginally less provocative and dangerous than in Coley.²⁶ In the Autumn of 1663, he wrote that he ‘resolved to goe to Peniston to hear a friend of mine who I heard was to preach there that day’.²⁷ Apparently disinclined to worship on his own, unable to find a style of worship to his liking at Halifax Parish Church, under the High-Church Anglicanism of Richard Hooke, and fully aware of the risk had he attended in Halifax, Heywood sought his own spiritual nourishment further afield. The chaotic situation within the Church of England across the country after the loss of hundreds of incumbents as a result of the ‘Great Ejection’ was epitomised by the scenes which Heywood encountered on this trip. Travelling alone on horseback, he seems to have become lost on his journey and decided to forgo Penistone and instead to travel to Honley ‘to hear Mr Dury’. The latter however was not preaching on that day and Heywood reported that the congregation asked him to preach in his place, ‘but in vain’, as he had not set out to preach but rather to listen to a sermon.²⁸ Persisting in his desire to participate in worship, Heywood then decided to travel on to Holmfirth, where he met the same exhortation to lead a service.²⁹ He decided to take up the invitation: ‘unexpectedly at noone both the preacher and several of the people gave me a cal to preach that afternoon, which I did’.³⁰ At both Honley and Holmfirth, it might be assumed that Heywood was seeking out Nonconformist meetings, rather than attending a service at the Parish Church, which had been his intention at Penistone, where he knew that the Nonconformist minister Henry Swift was still in post, although this is not

²⁶ He soon disregarded this ban in both Coley and Denton.

²⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 42^v; HT I, p. 184.

²⁸ Ibid., fol. 42^v; p. 184.

²⁹ The distances from Coley range from twelve miles to Honley, fourteen to Holmfirth and twenty to Penistone. Heywood was building up geographical knowledge of a wider vicinity, as he enlarged the scope of his preaching.

³⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^r; HT I, p. 184.

explicitly stated.³¹ After preaching at Holmfirth, he wrote, ‘tho my adversarys have heard of it, yet [they] have not assayed to molest me for it’.³² His opponents could have attacked him either for preaching in the church or for holding a separate conventicle, but, while it might seem probable that he was preaching to a gathering of Nonconformist laity, Hunter suggests otherwise.³³ He states that David Dury (d. 1692) of Honley was another Nonconformist minister still in possession of his post, so the congregation would presumably have been comfortable with Heywood’s style of worship. Likewise, the Conformist Vicar of Holmfirth invited Heywood to preach the afternoon service in his church, possibly as a contrast to that of the morning, but certainly pushing at the boundaries of expected behaviour under the Act of Uniformity.³⁴ It is evident that attitudes towards the ejected ministers varied markedly across different parishes, reflecting different degrees of toleration shown by the Conformist clergy.

Heywood did not find it an easy decision to stand in Conformists’ shoes, at least in the early months after the passage of the Act. Writing about an occurrence later in 1663, he stated that it was only ‘after long debate’ that he felt able to enter his own former place of worship at Coley Chapel to hear a Conformist. Furthermore, he recorded that he was immediately challenged by the churchwarden, but he held his ground.³⁵ Before a second excommunication in the Diocese of York, published in Halifax in December 1663, Heywood gave a further example of his early itinerant preaching: ‘I had again another cal to preach at a place called Shaw Chappel in Lanc: which I willingly embraced’.³⁶ This time, he seemed to have had no misgivings; perhaps his reception, and the personal fulfilment derived from preaching,

³¹ Swift was the preacher at the Parish Church in Penistone despite his Nonconformity thanks to local gentry patronage. Heywood would thus have known what sort of service was being held at Penistone.

³² Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^r; HT I p. 184.

³³ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 157.

³⁴ Another instance of a Conformist vicar inviting a Nonconformist minister to preach in his church can be found in Tredington in Worcestershire, where the new incumbent allowed his ejected predecessor to continue to preach. David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 173.

³⁵ Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^v; HT I, p. 185.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 43^r; p. 184. The distance is some 25 miles. It is not specified if the invitation was from the cleric or the congregation.

overcame his doubts and, as his later behaviour would suggest, he chose to ignore the inherent risks. In any event, it seems apparent that, even in these first months after the Act of Uniformity, Heywood was sufficiently well-known, and his ejected status sufficiently well-understood as depriving him of a regular formal opportunity to preach, that he was being invited to hold services elsewhere, including, at times, in Conformist parish churches. He does not appear to have been deterred by the fact that leading these services was at the expense of holding an informal meeting with his own flock in Coley. This highlights the dilemma he faced in balancing the demands of his hearers in Coley with a wider calling. It was at this point that he recorded a hope that others would follow his example and fill the gaps left by the mass ejection of ministers, when he wrote: ‘the strong desires and great paines people take to hear the word may quicken ministers to adventure themselves ... as they have an invitation and opportunity’.³⁷ David Wykes makes the point that there was a shortage of Nonconformist ministers to preach to the godly faithful at this time, as a result of their conforming, retiring or working in gentry households and that there was no organisation in place to supply the needs of the people.³⁸ Heywood’s experience shows, however, a concerted attempt on his part and those of his informal network, including Jollie, Joseph Dawson and Jeremiah Crossley, to respond to the laity’s calls.³⁹ Wykes also states that ‘there is little evidence for any direct or personal link between a minister’s former parishioners and his subsequent Nonconformist congregations’, which seems to be suggesting that either the bulk of the ejected clergy was itinerant or that the laity travelled to hear the godly preachers.⁴⁰ This was not the case in Coley, where the Nonconformist hearers were a sub-set of the former chapelry worshipping

³⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^r; HT I, p. 184.

³⁸ David Wykes, ‘After 1662: ejected ministers and the support for Nonconformity, the first decade’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 38.6 (2023), pp. 989-1006 (p. 996).

³⁹ For details on Jollie, see Chapter Three, footnote 86 on p. 132. Dawson was ejected from Thornton and then lived at Landimer in Northowram (where Heywood had lodged from 1650 to 1654). He was granted a licence to preach in Northowram and subsequently, became minister at Morley. Crossley held the post of chaplain to the Dyneleys at Bramhope until his death.

⁴⁰ Wykes, *After 1662*, p. 994.

community. Nor was it true of the situation in places such as Shadwell, Bramhope or Pudsey, where the ejected ministers remained active in their original locality. Nor does the statement concur with the many examples of ‘partial Conformity’, whereby former parishioners and Nonconformists intermingled in their religious activities, just as on the secular front.⁴¹

Increased Itinerancy: Heywood’s ‘Super-Parish’

As the various penal acts came into force between 1662 and 1666 and the hands of his persecutors were strengthened, there was a notable increase in the amount of travel which Heywood undertook and, therefore, an increase in his influence over a wider area. At the same time, he succeeded in establishing a pattern of worship and provision of pastoral support for his followers in Coley which he sustained and which, in turn, provided him with a strong support mechanism for the rest of his life. The confusing status of the ejected clergy and the fluid nature of what was acceptable or not under the Clarendon Code, or what Heywood regarded as acceptable or worth risking, can be divined from the passage in his autobiographical narrative cited earlier, when he ventured to enter his own former church. The position of curate at Coley Chapel had still not been permanently filled by this time, some eighteen months after Heywood’s removal, but when he heard that there was to be a visiting preacher whose theology intrigued him, he decided to take a public stance against his excommunicated position. He wrote that ‘after long debate what I should doe, at last I resolved to go to the chappel to hear what doctrine was delivered to my beloved people’.⁴² His sense of identification with his ‘people’ in Coley is clear, even though he is referring to those of his former congregation who were still attending the sporadic Church of England services being held in the chapel (and, perhaps, demonstrating ‘partial Conformity’ by attending his

⁴¹ See John D. Ramsbottom, ‘Presbyterians and ‘Partial Conformity’ in the Restoration Church of England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43.2 (1992), pp. 249-70.

⁴² Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^v; HT I, p. 184.

conventicles too). Heywood wrote that he was confronted by the churchwarden 'in fury' and told he must leave, which he refused to do. The warden then 'charged the visiting minister, Mr Moore of Baildon, to forbear preaching to an excommunicate person', whereupon Heywood recorded that he 'replied, if he would not preach, I would'. Heywood's obstinacy prevailed and he stayed to hear Moore preach, 'tho so far as I could judge not much to edification'.⁴³ Heywood remained at home in the afternoon, avoiding another confrontation, and, in a state of heightened spiritual fulfilment (it is not clear whether alone or in company), he was overcome 'in affectionate prayer for the church'.⁴⁴

Several observations can be made about this episode; firstly, that the situation in Coley was one of ongoing public conflict amongst the religious community, demonstrated here by the attitude of the churchwarden, and because of Heywood's attempted participation in the life of the chapel even after his ejection. Secondly, this atmosphere of hostility could be seen as a stimulant for him to seek out more welcoming congregations elsewhere and to respond to invitations to preach, rather than to try and impose himself on a local service where he was unwelcome (at least by the churchwarden, if not the whole congregation). Thirdly, the general state of flux within parishes after the Act of Uniformity is apparent in the absence of a regular curate and in the apparent policy of itinerancy being deployed by the Church of England as it struggled to supply preachers and was forced to send ministers to different locations each Sunday.⁴⁵ Finally, it shows that, although Heywood was beginning his wider ministry and had preached several times in Lancashire by this date, he was still very much concerning himself with the spiritual welfare of his flock in Coley, not just his followers who heard him preach at his own home, but also those who still sought guidance in the Chapel whenever the pulpit was

⁴³ Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^v; HT I, p. 185. Edmund Moore (d. 1684) was ejected from Baildon in the parish of Otley, but subsequently conformed. He became Curate of Howarth in 1675 and died there in 1684. Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (Bradford Congregational Historical Society, 1909), p. 110.

⁴⁴ Add. MS 45964, fol. 43^v; HT I, p. 185.

⁴⁵ David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day* (Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 176.

occupied (between whom there was likely to have been an overlap.) While he was embracing itinerancy as a strategy to strengthen Nonconformity across the county, those in Coley were still important to him.

It also becomes apparent that in the mid-1660s, the fledgling network of Nonconformist clergy was working out a *modus operandi* under the constraints of the new legislation and pushing at its boundaries as far as they could. Swift invited Heywood to Penistone to preach there again in May 1664. Heywood wrote that Swift ‘importunately urged me to preach, wch [which] I was over-intreated to doe’ and he led two services. There is a sense of reluctance implied here, which could either reflect Heywood’s concern not to destabilise the delicate situation in Penistone or a simple preference to hear his friend preach. Nevertheless, the situation arose in which Heywood, a recently-ejected Presbyterian and excommunicate, was openly preaching in a Church of England building twice on the same day, with the evident support of the incumbent and of the parish patrons, and, according to Heywood’s own account, to the great satisfaction of his hearers: ‘it was a great assembly, and many came very far’.⁴⁶ While there is no contemporary reaction to his presence, it can be assumed that repeated invitations to preach were based on a favourable response by his hearers in Penistone. What Heywood was doing was establishing his reputation outside Halifax, as both a powerful speaker and a Nonconformist activist who was prepared to bring his message to wherever it was called. While Swift’s retention of his Church of England living was unusual, he was a key member of what became Heywood’s network, judging by the number of visits Heywood made to Penistone. Owing to Swift’s unusual status, the danger for Heywood of preaching in public there was alleviated by the patronage of the local gentry, probably making his visits a welcome contrast to the ‘cat and mouse’ existence in Coley and elsewhere.

⁴⁶ Add. MS 45964, fol. 47^r; HT I, p. 188.

Turning to the question of how Heywood secured these visits, it becomes apparent that his growing reputation as a willing itinerant preacher, and the evidently positive receptions whenever he led services, were leading to invitations. In June of 1664, he wrote that:

I preacht at Mottram church upon the invitation of the churchwarden, and with the consent of the vicar (tho a Conformist) who was there and heard me both ends of the day and was very desirous to have me come again.⁴⁷

By this stage, only a year after the journey to Honley and Holmfirth described above, Heywood seems to be more confident about occupying a Church of England pulpit in response to an invitation. That the Vicar of Mottram-in-Longdendale in Cheshire (some forty miles away from Coley) should offer Heywood the opportunity to preach in his own presence, and be keen to repeat the exercise, demonstrates both Heywood's popularity and the variations of compliance with the Act of Uniformity, even among Conformists. Unlike in Penistone, the vicar and a sufficient number of the members of Mottram Church agreed that Heywood should be given a platform. He was not simply unchallenged but positively encouraged to preach according to his style of worship in an Established Church setting. This can be seen as a type of 'partial Conformity' on the part of the Conformists, who were embracing a Nonconformist guest preacher, not to replace their vicar, but it would seem, to provide a different perspective. It is evidence of Spurr's 'Puritan penumbra' around the parish churches and supports Alexandra Walsham's statement that 'conformity was a highly ambiguous phenomenon'.⁴⁸

In the ensuing eighteen months (mid-1664 to early 1666), Heywood continued to consolidate his wider remit, which would be extended even further in the future, so that a pattern was established of regular services and prayer meetings at his house, punctuated by

⁴⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 48^r; HT I, p. 189.

⁴⁸ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 45-46. Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 207.

repeated visits to Penistone, Mottram and Denton.⁴⁹ His relationship with Swift meant that he received repeated invitations to preach at Penistone and he must have established the same sort of understanding with the Vicar of Mottram, Francis Shelmerdine (1615-1674), while the family connection and Heywood's respect for his father-in-law resulted in regular visits to Denton. It was also at this time (late 1664) that he started his connection with the Dyneleys of Bramhope and held a private fast at Denton Hall, the seat of Colonel Richard Holland, a friend of John Angier. His diary recorded a week's visit to Lancashire, where he 'preacht 8 several times and for the most part in several places'. Although he did not specify the locations, he referred to preaching to groups which included his relations, so it would likely have been in Bolton and the surrounding area. According to his account of this trip, and without evidence of corroboration or otherwise, he wrote that 'I never knew such an active and unwearied spirit in people in al my observation, they were importunate for my poore pains, constant in their attendance and very numerous in their assembling'.⁵⁰ As a precursor to what became more common in later years, in June 1665 he undertook a six-week journey to the South of England, visiting friends in Cambridge, Dedham in Essex, London and Coventry and returning via Lancashire.⁵¹ This trip was different in nature to his more local visits; rather than strengthening his reputation as a regular preacher in the service of particular congregations and their ministers or patrons, here he was calling on friends (possibly from university days in Cambridge and London) and on Angier family relations in Dedham. In one of his occasional references to the dangers and hardship such a trip entailed, he stated that a day of thanksgiving was kept on 12th July 1665 for his safe return.⁵² A trip such as this would have been a greater challenge, both

⁴⁹ From the recorded evidence in his autobiographical narrative, it seems Heywood was making two or three trips each month and, when at home, he was preaching every Sunday and once or twice on weekdays.

⁵⁰ Add. MS 45964, fol. 53^v; HT I, p. 195. In 'referring to 'people' in his congregations, it would seem he had been preaching to groups which contained both some of his relations and other local inhabitants.

⁵¹ Add. MS 45964, fol. 54^v, HT I, pp. 196-97,

⁵² *Ibid.*, fol. 54^v; p. 197.

because of the distances involved and because it was outside his familiar territory; he wrote that he only undertook it 'after long consultations and intentions'.⁵³

While some Conformist clergy offered support, others were opposed to Heywood's activities on their doorstep. Around this time, he was accused by Charles Beswick (1633-1698), the Vicar of Radcliffe in Lancashire, of disobeying the newly-introduced Conventicle Act, although he escaped prosecution because of a sympathetic magistrate at a court hearing.⁵⁴ According to Heywood's record, the magistrate, 'Mr Hulton of Park', dismissed Beswick's accusations, saying they had been discussed without foundation many times before and actually rebuked him for bringing the information to the notice of the court sessions. It seems that, as with the resident Nonconformist ministers, any itinerant ministry was being noted by informers as in Coley, but preventing it and arresting the Dissenters very much depended on the attitude of the local magistracy. Some locations were safer than others; Penistone and Bramhope offered some security owing to the protection of the local gentry and patronage was an important determinant of where Heywood travelled, as recounted in the previous chapter, while Leeds and Bolton seemed to be riskier, with frequent records of disturbances of meetings in Heywood's journals. The invitations from other congregations where he knew he would be welcome meant that, at times, Heywood's services were in demand in two places simultaneously. For example, on the day appointed for thanksgiving for deliverance from the Plague in London, in August 1665, Heywood was in Little Lever, rather than Coley, and he preached and held a fast there over a two-day period, thus being unable to fulfil such a duty with his own flock in Yorkshire.⁵⁵ The difficulty of the terrain was also a factor in his destinations, although he regularly rode over the hills in unfavourable weather.⁵⁶

⁵³ Letters were the primary means of arranging these trips and communicating across the national network of Nonconformists, but none specifically on Heywood's itinerancy have survived.

⁵⁴ Add. MS 45964, fol. 55^v; HT I, p. 197.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 55^v; p. 197.

⁵⁶ 'Vellum Notebook'; HT II, p. 234.

Further evidence of his activity across the rest of Yorkshire in the course of 1665 includes Heywood's response to a request from the Dissenting congregation of Hardcastle at Shadwell in Leeds, as their minister had been arrested under the penal acts. In his autobiographical narrative, Heywood wrote that he preached there both in a public place of worship and in private; he accompanied Elkanah Wales at a private fast in Wakefield and 'upon a call', he kept the sabbath at Flansil [Flanshaw] Hall nearby.⁵⁷ Such excursions carried danger of arrest, in addition to the hardships of travel, as can be seen when bailiffs searched for him at Shadwell (where they failed, instead discovering a meeting of Quakers, whom they imprisoned) and that he received threats of arrest even at Penistone.⁵⁸ These came from a bailiff working under orders from Sir Thomas Wentworth (1615-1675) of Bretton, a local magistrate and a noted opponent of Nonconformity and of the patronage it was receiving from his fellow gentry. It seems that, in some locations, Heywood's itinerant ministry was being monitored by informers and reported to the more zealous law officers and magistrates, just as his meetings at home were being watched by Nathan Whitley and others.

Impact of the Five Mile Act: Constant Travel

Although Heywood had been travelling before the passage of the Five Mile Act, its imposition in March 1666 marked a change in his ministry through a deliberate increase in the time he spent away from Coley. This was the second of the two key stimuli for travel which he experienced and it represented such a momentous landmark that it prompted him to begin his journal.⁵⁹ The diary started with a suggestion that he would be recording a time of leave-taking and an interruption to the normal pattern of his existence:

⁵⁷ Add. MS 45964, fol. 56^r, fol. 56^v; HT I, p. 198, p. 199.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 56^v, p. 199.

⁵⁹ In the wider tradition of Nonconformity, the Five Mile Act was a seminal moment as it forced an element of itinerancy on the clergy and laity alike. 'Sermon gadding', which had been practised since Elizabethan times by those wishing to hear well-renowned preachers outside their own parish, was given a boost by the restrictions placed on where Nonconformist clergy could operate.

I confess the day of our parting from our dear flocks and familys is a sad day, March 24, '65 66, but I hope it may be for some good. I hear of mighty workings of affections upon account of the separation.⁶⁰

Initially, this parting was to comply with the Act's stipulation that no minister should preach, or even reside, within five miles of where he had held a post or of an incorporated town or city.⁶¹ Heywood's six weeks' journey with Angier at this date may have indicated apparent obedience to the Act's requirements. Yet, in reality, it was simply a short-term gesture and Heywood returned to Coley on 1st May 1666, evidently still determined to divide his time and efforts between his home flock and those of the wider Nonconformist community across the county and beyond. At the end of the journey, he wrote:

... my too brothers came straight to my house, but I went to Bradford with Mr Starkey to see Mr Waterhouse where I met with old Mr Wales, Mr Johnson, Mr Sharp etc., and was much refreshed with their company ...⁶²

Although there is no reference to the topic, in meeting with his fellow clergy in Bradford, he may well have discussed his intention, formulated over the previous six weeks of travel, to support the dispossessed Nonconformist congregations across the region and to work with them in supplying regular preachers for their meetings. Of the men he met on that occasion, Heywood subsequently joined forces with Wales several times before the latter's death in 1669 and he likewise preached jointly with Thomas Sharp and visited him at Little Horton, in Bradford, on many occasions.⁶³ Other ejected ministers also ignored the Five Mile Act, such as Dawson and Jollie, the latter being arrested for breach of the Act in 1669, in a demonstration of unity against the legislation.

⁶⁰ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^r; HT I, p. 223.

⁶¹ A town or city with a charter of incorporation establishing a local council and officials.

⁶² Add. MS 45965, fol. 9^v; HT I, p. 225.

⁶³ For more details on Wales, see Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, pp. 158-64.

The six-week peregrination which began in March 1666, the first to be recorded in Heywood's journal, is worthy of closer examination. The first stop was Halifax, where he seemed to be marking his banishment by a ceremony of farewells: 'it was a considerable days work, it melted our hearts having been above fifteen years together'.⁶⁴ Whether he knew, at this point, that the separation was only to be temporary is not clear, but, from the way he had maintained his interest in the spiritual life of his flock in Coley, the importance he attached to his local supporters and the fact that he had left behind his young sons, it seems reasonable to conclude that he was not planning a permanent exile.

The next stop was Denton, the home of Angier, where he heard 'an honest man' preach, protected by virtue of the incumbent's security of tenure, despite his being Nonconformist (as in Penistone). It seems that a plan had already been made for a joint trip, rather than this being a spontaneous show of support by Angier. It is difficult to say whether every stop had been pre-arranged, but, as Angier had waited for Heywood's arrival, and as the idea of a trip had already been formulated, this was not a spontaneous flight from danger. As with most of his subsequent journeys, his written account reveals that Heywood (and Angier, in this instance) was responding to invitations, usually by letter or, more urgently, by messenger, rather than arriving unannounced and expecting overnight hospitality.⁶⁵ The element of risk was also a factor: planned trips would have ensured a welcome but would have been easier to discover by informers and result on arrest.

Together, the two ministers travelled to Norbury in Cheshire, where they stayed with Edward Hide (1611-1669) and his sister for two nights. From there, they went on to Alderley to lodge with Sir Thomas Stanley and his family. Stanley apparently pressed them to stay longer, but they departed for Mobberley, some four miles away, to visit a relation of Angier's.

⁶⁴ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^r; HT I, p. 223.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 8^v; p. 224.

The itinerary seems to have been constructed around the homes of members of the Cheshire gentry who were known by, and sympathetic to, Angier. They then stayed with Mr Lea of Darnel [Darnhall], described by Heywood as ‘a gentleman of good rank ... where indeed we were very nobly treated and entertained’ and with John Crew of Utkinton Hall, ‘where god gave us a token for good in our exile’, before returning to Denton.⁶⁶ This early part of the trip was therefore defined by responding to the hospitality of gentry patrons in their own homes, probably preaching to the households, but not to wider groups. Having parted from Angier, Heywood then embarked on a stay of several weeks amongst relations in Lancashire, including preaching at his brother’s house in Ormskirk, meeting several ‘of our banished brethren’ in Manchester and holding prayer meetings at his father’s house at Waterside in Little Lever. All this activity testifies to motivations which characterised his travelling for the rest of his life: a personal energy and commitment to a wider set of followers than his flock in Coley, a determination to maintain the bonds with his family and a desire to support other dispossessed Nonconformist clergy. At some personal cost in terms of fatigue and separation from his young sons, as well as at some professional cost in terms of balancing the needs of his followers in Coley against those of a broader, dispersed flock, Heywood started to establish the pattern of his itinerant ministry, which he would pursue for the next thirty years.⁶⁷ It was apparent that his travelling involved emotional and physical effort, reflected in his diary by such phrases as [I] ‘returned home with safety’, but any concerns were outweighed by the satisfaction he gained in pursuing his ministry.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 8^v; HT I, pp. 223-24. Mr Lea was probably Thomas (b. 1637).

⁶⁷ As Table One (pp. 196-97) shows, he estimated that the total mileage he travelled in 1666 was 700 miles. This six-week trip on its own would have involved over a hundred miles.

⁶⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 11^r; HT I, p. 227.

Patterns of Later Travel: Longer Trips and a Wider Presence Consolidated

Domestic duties and challenges did not impede Heywood from pursuing this itinerant existence. Neither his second marriage to Abigail Crompton in 1667 nor his responsibilities as a father deflected him from a life of constant and fatiguing travel. As Patrick Collinson has observed, Heywood moved around within ‘a separate, dispersed, yet interconnected world of cousins and godly friends’, consolidating the Nonconformist network in a parallel existence to that of the formal parish and diocese.⁶⁹ In examining the pattern of travel, the frequency and duration of trips will now be considered, starting with the more local and then tracing the longer journeys, with evidence from his writings of their purpose and their success or failure.

Working outwards geographically from Coley, Heywood often rode into Halifax, most frequently to attend funerals at the Parish Church, occasionally on personal business and at other times, simply as a stop-over on a longer trip. From a quantitative analysis of the first diary, these trips became more frequent as the initial impact of the Five Mile Act lessened. There is no explicit mention of visiting Halifax in 1666 except right at the end of the year, when Heywood embarked on a journey into Lancashire on New Year’s Eve and ‘baptized a child at Halifax as I went’.⁷⁰ By the following year, there is a reference to visiting friends in Halifax, but not until September, and that seemed to have been a passing visit, en route to lodging with the Horton family in Barkisland, rather than as a destination in itself. In January 1668, he recorded that he ‘went with my wife to Halifax, where we visited several friends, and at night we went to Norland where I preacht at Martha Towns house’, so again Halifax was simply a staging post as part of a longer journey.⁷¹ There are no further entries for Halifax until March 1672, when Heywood was in the town on business, paying Benjamin Boys £67 13s 4d for the

⁶⁹ Patrick Collinson, ‘The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful’, in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 51-76 (p. 73).

⁷⁰ Add. MS 45965, fol. 30^v; HT I, p. 235.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 41^r; p. 249. Heywood mostly travelled alone, but was accompanied by his wife on several journeys, including those to relations in Lancashire and to Leeds and, at other times, by fellow clergy.

house on Towngate in Northowram which he had rented from 1655 to 1660 and where he was to settle in May 1672, remaining there for the rest of his life. Later that month, he attended a funeral at Halifax Parish Church, where the deceased was buried in the Holdsworth Chapel ‘near my mother, it brought her affectingly to my mind – buried 15 yeares ago – Mr Moore preacht unprofitably’.⁷² In March 1673, he went again to Halifax to hear his friend, Eli Bentley, preach, presumably at a licensed premises, rather than a church, although it is not specified.⁷³

By the time of the second diary in the late 1670s, there are upwards of ten entries a year for trips into Halifax, where he must have believed himself to be relatively safe. One example occurred in November 1677, when he wrote in his diary that ‘on Tuesday I went to Halifax to the funeral of a child of John Jacksons, the vicar expounded on Psalms 119, 75, 76, 77’, followed only two days later by a second trip: ‘Thursday morning I visited Rachel Hodgson at Cromwel-bottom, prayed with her, then attended the funeral of Richard Blackett at Halifax, Dr Hook[e] preacht on Matthew 5.20’.⁷⁴ By this time, licences had been granted and then withdrawn, but it appears that Hooke was unwilling, or unable, to prevent Heywood attending funeral services in his church on a regular basis. In March 1679, Heywood visited Edmund Hough (1632-1691) and his new wife in Halifax. Hough had been a Nonconformist, but then conformed, and would go on to succeed Hooke at Halifax Parish Church in 1689, thus instituting a far more amenable presence for Heywood and other Dissenters at the centre of the Parish of Halifax, in line with the general leniency introduced under the Toleration Act. Heywood’s visit to him in 1679 was probably a rare example of a social call, rather than one undertaken for spiritual or pastoral care, as Hough had recently married the widow of Heywood’s friend Bentley, who had died in 1675.

⁷² Add. MS 45965, fol. 81^v; HT I, p. 288.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, fol. 92^r; p. 294.

⁷⁴ This is taken from a missing section of the MS and was not transcribed by Hunter. HT II, p. 47.

In parallel with increasing visits to the town of Halifax, Heywood made ever more frequent visits to other villages, most often within a day's ride, within the wider parish. In the 1660s, there are references to the nearby villages of Barkisland, Norland and Ovenden, which are continued in the late 1670s, alongside visits to Hodgson at Cromwell Bottom. However, the three other centres within Halifax Parish where Heywood spent an increasing amount of his time and ministry, not as a casual visitor but as the Dissenting preacher and, latterly, as licensed minister, were Warley, Sowerby Bridge and Sowerby. It is at these locations that we can see him invigorating the Presbyterian congregations through repeated visits, preaching and pastoral work. Heywood procured a licence in Warley at John Butterworth's house in 1672 and recorded visits there on nine occasions in that year, holding a regular monthly service.⁷⁵ This pattern continued until the detailed records disappear in April 1680. At Sowerby Bridge in June 1673, Heywood was preaching 'at Mr Horton's meeting place', a recently-constructed chapel, and repeat visits are recorded at least five more times in that year. His focus then switched to the meeting house in Sowerby, where he preached at Sam Hopkinson's house in the late 1670s and early 1680s, holding regular monthly lectures. He would thus have become familiar to the congregations at these meetings and acted almost as their minister, albeit non-resident, in a way that showed him enlarging his own sphere of influence and creating his 'super-parish', crossing the formal chapelry boundaries within the parish of Halifax. Of the men who facilitated his 'super-ministry' by providing premises in which to preach, Joshua Horton was a local JP who practised 'partial Conformity' in Sowerby Bridge, while John Butterworth and Samuel Hopkinson were longstanding followers who appear in the list of Heywood's society produced around 1686.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ This licence was in addition to the one for his own home in Northowram under the 1672 grants.

⁷⁶ Add. MS 24486, fol. 212^r, fol. 211^r; HT II, p. 31, p. 29.

Heywood influence can be appreciated by the fact that he travelled extensively across other parts of the West Riding, preaching in Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, Rotherham, Honley, Bingley, Heckmondwike and Morley. Such visits were often to sustain the network of Dissenting clergy at times of trouble or, more precisely, to sustain their congregations whose ministers were being persecuted. A particularly close connection, which resulted in frequent visits to Little Horton in Bradford, was that with Thomas Sharp. Sharp was both a member of the gentry, inheriting Horton Hall in 1672, and also an ordained minister, who had been ejected from the living at Adel in 1660 when the previous incumbent reclaimed it under the Act for the Resettling of Ministers. Sharp obtained a licence to preach at Horton Hall in 1672 and at the Free School in Leeds, and he later became minister at Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds.⁷⁷ Heywood recorded that in August 1667, he took his new wife to Sharp's and lodged there, while on 10th May 1672, he visited Sharp and 'preacht, kept a fast as we were five Ministers, it was a good day'.⁷⁸ The last comment suggests a sense of optimism amongst the circle of Nonconformist clergy, of which Heywood was a leading member, at the Declaration of Indulgence that year and the occasion reveals a shared celebration of their sudden freedom to worship in public.

Elsewhere in Yorkshire, Heywood was a regular visitor to parts of Craven, York, Arthington and Poppleton. Expeditions to Craven seem to have begun in the late 1670s and one entry in July 1678 reveals that he travelled with Dawson and Richard Thorp, 'lodged at Richard Mitchell's ... preacht at John Heys to a considerable company.'⁷⁹ Looking at the degree of mobility by other Dissenting clergy, it is apparent that the confines of the parish structure were being eroded by others alongside Heywood. Faithorn notes that Dawson was regularly travelling to preach around Leeds and Cleckheaton, while Sharp extended his reach to Leeds from Horton Hall.⁸⁰ Several trips to Craven were made specifically for the purpose

⁷⁷ Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, pp. 139-41.

⁷⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 82^v; HT I, p. 289.

⁷⁹ Add. MS 24486, fol. 200^f; HT II, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Faithorn, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire', p. 139.

of the ordination of new Nonconformist preachers under the auspices of informal Presbyterian *classes*. During the trip of July 1678, the diary entry stated ‘we had a solemn business in setting apart three ministers to their work, it was a good day, much presence of god with us’, while a note attached to the list of Northowram members in the Heywood Papers makes it clear that the three ordinands were John Issot, John Darnton and Richard Thorp, ‘sponsored’ in turn by prayers from Frankland, Heywood and Dawson respectively.⁸¹ Further ordinations were held at Richard Mitchell’s house in Craven in August 1680 and in April 1681, the former that of Timothy Hodgson, the son of Heywood’s friend and patron, Captain Hodgson.⁸² The meetings held at Craven were of significance in consolidating the practice of non-Episcopal ordinations as a key statement of Presbyterian ecclesiology and its independence from the ceremonies of the Established Church. The ordinands went on to serve Nonconformist congregations throughout the North of England.⁸³ The visits to York provide evidence of Heywood’s established position within the Nonconformist society there, as has been mentioned earlier, while the motive for trips to Arthington was to minister to Lord Fairfax’s sister, Lady Arthington, and for those to Poppleton, to offer his services to another of Lord Fairfax’s sisters, Dorothy Hutton, and to the wider Hutton family.

In addition to day trips around the Parish of Halifax or overnight stays in other parts of Yorkshire, Heywood also embarked on repeated excursions of around a week. This was part of a sustained policy of consolidating his influence over as wide a geographical area as possible. The key drivers for this more distant travel were family links and his close relationships with certain gentry families. While visits to his own relations, or those of his first wife, attest to the importance of kinship ties, they also demonstrate his effort to support

⁸¹ Add. MS 24486, fol. 200^r, fol. 108^r; HT II, p. 67, p. 25.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fols 109^v-110^v; pp. 197-99.

⁸³ Issot (1629-1687) became Frankland’s deputy at his academy, Darnton (1630-1680) was minister of West Tanfield and Thorp was minister at Hopton. Although the latter two had been preaching for many years and had been ejected in 1662, they had not been ordained. Add. MS 24486, fols 108^v-109^v; HT II, pp. 195-97

Nonconformist communities across the North of England, in parallel to his efforts to minister to sympathetic gentry families. These lengthy trips necessitated advance planning for accommodation and, at times, for replacements to serve the congregation in Coley in his absence. The family trips centred around Lancashire, encompassing Bolton and Little Lever, Rochdale (where other family members lived), Ormskirk (where his brother Nathaniel was preacher), Manchester or Denton.⁸⁴ The most frequent gentry trips were centred around the Dyneley family at Bramhope, the Taylors at Wallingwells, the Houghtons at Great Houghton and the Rawdens at Rawden.⁸⁵

A regular pattern of trips into Lancashire throughout the 1660s and 1670s is evident from the available records. After the initial six-week trip in March 1666, Heywood recorded at least six other visits to Lancashire that year, including one in June, where he attended the funeral of an aunt in Bury and where he ‘preacht in private and on the lords day kept the Sabbath with a considerable number in the house wherein I was born.’⁸⁶ This reference is of interest for two reasons; it demonstrates his oft-repeated depth of feeling towards his kinship ties and it also shows that the links between the Heywood and Angier families were broader than just through the marriage of Heywood and Elizabeth Angier. He stated that ‘my brother Angier preacht a Rhetorical sermon’ at his aunt’s funeral service.⁸⁷ There is a sense of pride at the fact that Angier, whom Heywood revered, was conducting the funeral service for his relative. In the following four years of records from the first diary, there are around six visits to Bolton recorded each year, including the following in 1672, when Heywood took advantage of the Declaration of Indulgence to preach in newly-licensed public spaces:

Wednesday morning September 18 1672 I went towards Lanc: preacht

in Warley that day, lodged at Mr Hortons, the next day went to Manchester

⁸⁴ See p. 225 for a map of towns which Heywood visited frequently.

⁸⁵ See p. 165 for a map of key gentry houses visited by Heywood.

⁸⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 12^v; HT I, p. 229.

⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 11^v; p. 229.

visited friends, Saturday went to Bolton, preacht there on lords day, kept a fast at Brother Hultons on Monday, Tuesday went to Little Lever, Wednesday we preacht at Cockey, my brother and I, my mothers sermon, it being licensed, Thursday I preacht with Mr Pike at Bolton, in brother goodwin's pulpit, lodged with my brother Heywood at Mr Leavers.⁸⁸

The passage is representative of many entries of a similar vein and reveals a great deal about the nature of such trips. Firstly, Heywood filled each day with strenuous activity, including preaching on weekdays as well as on the Sabbath. Secondly, he interacted with many different members of his own family, both socially, as he lodged in their homes, and professionally, jointly leading services and holding religious fasts, in this case 'with my brother'. This could have been his brother Nathaniel or another member of the family, as the term 'brother' was widely applied to close relatives. ('Brother Goodwin' referred to above could well have been Richard Goodwin, a Presbyterian minister at Bolton, who married Sarah Crompton, the elder sister of Heywood's second wife.) Finally, the passage reveals the peripatetic nature of such trips: each day involved Heywood in travelling to a different place, the itinerary included an apparently social meeting ('visiting friends') amongst the pastoral work and encompassed a stop-over in Warley (on the western side of Halifax) en route to Lancashire, where once again, Heywood took the opportunity to preach. There was almost an equal number of trips in this period to Rochdale and Manchester; he took his two young sons and his maid, Martha Bristow, to Rochdale in May 1667 on a trip which also took in Manchester and Bolton. The other significant family-related destination at this time was that of Denton, where Angier still occupied the living. Heywood often preached in Denton Chapel, on some occasions with Angier's nephew, Samuel, and once, in September 1670, he wrote that he heard two

⁸⁸ Add. MS 45965, fol. 90^r; HT I, p. 291. It is not clear what is meant by 'my mother's sermon'; it may refer to the one preached after her funeral in 1657.

Conformists preach, presumably as part of Angier's policy of ecumenism. The familial and professional bonds between Heywood and his father-in-law can also be clearly discerned from the following account of a trip in October 1671:

I went at Denton again at the Lords Supper, it was the sweetest day that ever I had in publick in all my life that I remember, oh how was my heart affected in that sweet ordinance, my father preacht in the forenoon and I in the afternoone, I was loath to have come down from that day into the world again, how sweet were gods appointments ...⁸⁹

Even accounting for a degree of self-congratulation, the satisfaction of a common mission with Angier is palpable. Looking at the period covered in the second diary (1677-1680), repeated entries still appear for Denton, Rochdale and Bolton, but the overall balance shifts far more in favour of trips within Yorkshire. Heywood regularly preached in such locations as Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield and Flockton, officiated at baptisms in Heckmondwike, Bingley, Craven and in Halifax itself (at a private house, rather than a chapel or licensed meeting house) and attended funerals in Bradford, Halifax and Sowerby.

At times of intensified strife because of changes in the legislation governing religious freedom, Heywood used his trips as a means of consulting and supporting like-minded Dissenting clergy. The expedition of March and April 1666 had been undertaken partly in the company of Angier to seek solace as the Five Mile Act attempted to split the Nonconformist ministers from their followers. Similarly, when the Declaration of Indulgence was rescinded in March 1673, Heywood went to Manchester to confer with his colleagues. He wrote: 'went on Wednesday to Manchester, visited friends, met on Friday at Mr Newcomes about ministers continuance to preach, Saturday went to Denton, preacht twice on lords day'.⁹⁰ Heywood only

⁸⁹ Add. MS 45965, fol. 62^v; HT I, p. 283.

⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. 92^r; p. 295.

named Newcome in this extract, but what can be inferred is that a group of Nonconformist clergy who had taken out licences to preach utilised their informal network to disregard the cancellation of the licences and to support each other's endeavours in continuing to preach publicly.⁹¹ Characteristically, Heywood put his resolution into practice almost immediately after the conference of clergy and was preaching in Denton two days later.

Looking at the longer trips, two categories can be identified: the occasional forays to places where his sons were being educated or extended visits to London. In the first category, there are records of trips to the boys' academies in Worcestershire and Westmorland, although there is no evidence that Heywood visited them while they were at university in Edinburgh. For example, in May 1673, Heywood took both his sons (then aged seventeen and sixteen) and their friend Jeremiah Baxter to Henry Hickman's Academy in Bromsgrove. The three-day journey, via Manchester (where they were joined by three more prospective pupils), Stafford, Wolverhampton and Stourbridge, appears to have been less well-planned than usual, as Heywood recorded:

At last came to Mr Hickmans, found him not at home, but left the boys there,
in convenient chambers, returned on Thursday morning about ten o'clock ...⁹²

Apparently unconcerned by the absence of the schoolmaster, Heywood was back preaching in Denton three days later. There were several trips to Frankland's Academy in Westmorland, to where his sons were removed in September 1676 because of concerns over their academic progress and behaviour in Bromsgrove.⁹³ By April 1679, Heywood was visiting his second

⁹¹ It seems there was a considerable elapsed time between the Declaration being annulled in March 1673 and the effective cancellation of the licences in 1675, which gave rise to a period of uncertainty and confusion amongst Dissenting communities.

⁹² Add. MS 45965, 93^r; HT I, p. 296.

⁹³ For more detail on Frankland, see Mark Burden, *A Biographical Dictionary of Tutors at the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-1729* (Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, 2013), pp. 295-312.

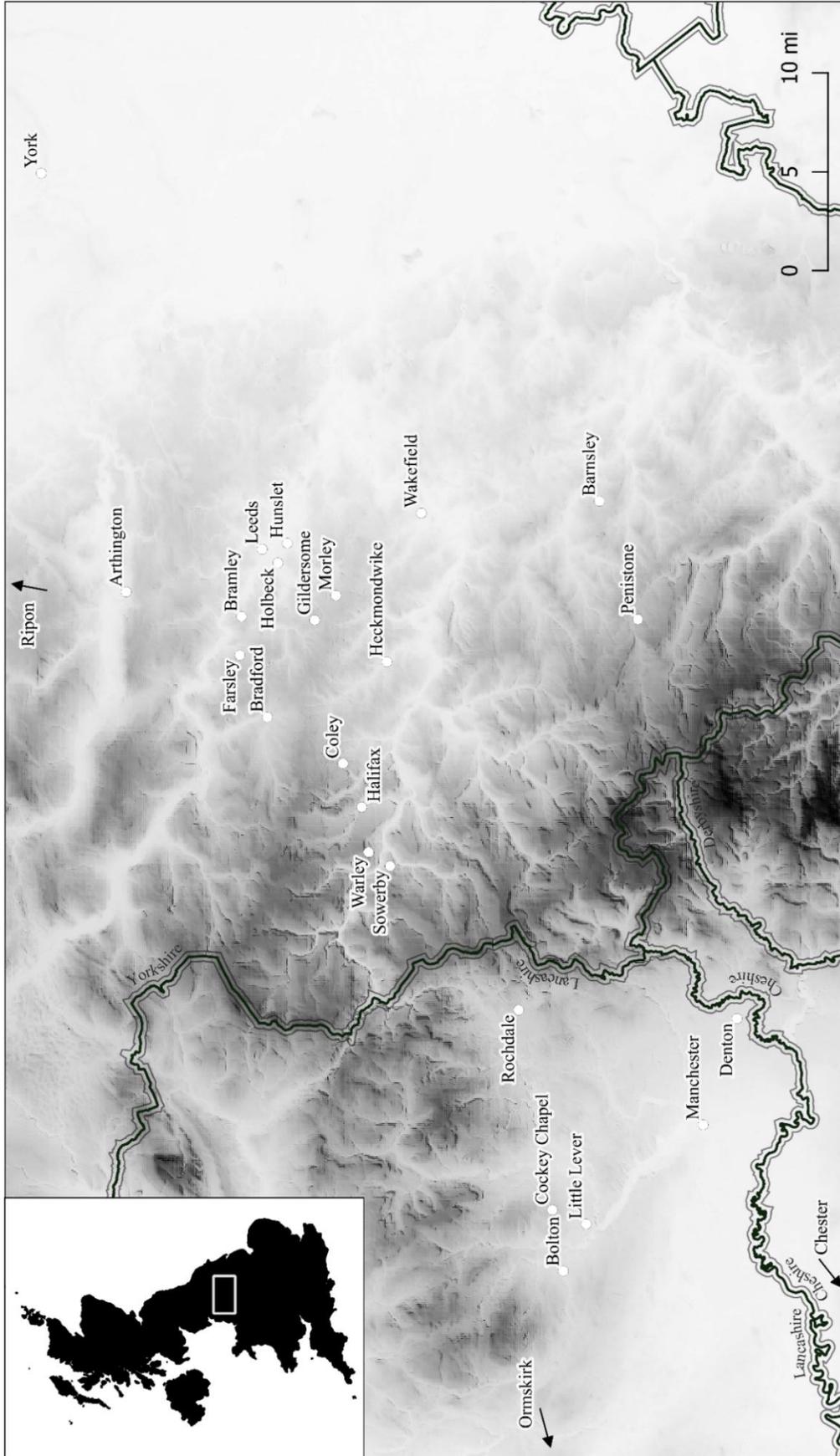


Figure 2: Towns Visited by Heywood

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son, Eliezer, in his first place of work, as he had recently been employed as domestic chaplain to the Taylor family of Wallingwells in Nottinghamshire. In the company of his wife, his elder son, John, and a friend, Timothy Holt, Heywood set off on what he labelled as ‘a great journey towards Nottinghamshire’. The itinerary is illuminating in providing further evidence of the nature of such trips: the use made of existing friends as staging posts (rather than paying for board and lodging at commercial premises), the provision of pastoral care to those with whom he stayed and the practical arrangement of sending John back to Coley to fill the gap left by Heywood’s extended absence from his duties there:

... called and dined at Mr Thorps at Hopton, thence rode to Denbigh [Denby] lodged at Mr Cottons. In the morning we rode (parting with my son John who turned back to supply my place two days at home) we cald at Nat Bottomly’s, W Roebucks, Mr Benton at Barnsley, lodged at Mr Wadsworths [Wordsworth’s] at Swath Hall, had mercy. Day morning we rode on, dined at Mr Gels [Gill’s] at Carhouse, rode on, called at Mr Hatfelds. Lodged at Mr Stannifords at Furbeck, came opportunely.⁹⁴

Heywood then undertook the final leg of the journey in the Taylor family coach and called on their neighbour, Sir Ralph Knight, before whom he had previously preached at Furbeck, and who had been instrumental in securing his son’s employment in the Taylor household. What this extract reveals is that Heywood’s contacts, maintained by a relentless travelling schedule, spread as far as today’s South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, in an informal ‘super parish’ far greater than in the records of any of his contemporaries.

⁹⁴ Add. MS 24486, fol. 200^r, fol. 200^v; HT II, pp. 91-92.

Comparison of First and Second Diary Periods: the Developing Ministry

Table 2: Location and Frequency of Visits in First Diary Period (1666-1673)

Place	1666	1667	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	Total	Comment
Leeds	2	12	19	13	16	12	21	5	90	inc. Hunslet,
Denton	6	13	3	2	3	3	2	3	35	Bramley
Manchester	2	13	7	4	5	5	3	5	44	inc. Prestwich
Bolton	10	11	5	5	4	7	2	4	48	funerals, preaching
Wakefield	5	4	2	3	3	4	7	1	29	preaching
Rochdale	3	4	2	5	1	5	5	2	27	inc. Cockey
Elsewhere	45	30	33	15	19	24	36	45	247	inc. Cheshire,
Total	73	87	71	47	51	60	76	65	530	Bradford, Penistone

For the eight years following the start of Heywood's daily journal in 1666, an analysis of his regular travel can be constructed from the primary sources and is summarised in Table Two above. The number of trips to different locations in any one year ranged between 47 and 87 over this period. His most frequent destination was Leeds (including the outlying districts of Morley, Bramley, Farsley, Holbeck and Hunslet), which reflected his close links with the Nonconformist clergy in these areas and the fact that the journeys were relatively easy. Given his family connections in Bolton and Denton, it is not surprising that these destinations also feature highly in terms of the number of annual visits. He was repeatedly asked to deliver eulogies and hold baptisms in both towns as if he were their resident minister. Manchester was also a frequent destination, as it was a strong centre of Nonconformity and comprised a large number of discrete Dissenting congregations, not just in the city itself, but in outlying areas such as Prestwich, Droylsden and Eccles.⁹⁵ Of those places categorised as 'elsewhere' in the table, there were occasional visits to Ormskirk to stay with his brother, Nathaniel, and to Hopton Hall to visit Thorp. Towards the end of the period, once licences could be procured, a pattern emerged of repeated visits to Warley, outside Halifax, where he preached at the meeting house

⁹⁵ See Richard Wade, *The Rise of Nonconformity in Manchester* (Manchester: Unitarian Herald, 1880). More recent work, with a focus on Chorlton's Dissenting Academy, is covered by Heather Ellis in 'Not in the College but City: Networks of Higher Learning in Manchester before 1824', *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, 100.2 (2024), pp. 11-31 (pp. 14-15).

in John Butterworth's home, to Lassell [Lascelles] Hall at Kirkheaton, where he preached jointly with the owner, Christopher Richardson (1618-1698), and to Little Horton, in Bradford, where he supported Sharp, both the latter fellow Nonconformist ministers. The one outlier in this period was the extended trip to Bromsgrove in May 1673 to deliver his sons to Hickman's Academy, but did not include any recorded instances of public or private worship.

Table 3: Location and Frequency of Visits in Second Diary Period (1677-1680), supplemented by the 'Rawson Volume' (1681) and 'Returnes of Prayer' (1682)

Place	1677	1678	1679	1680	1681	1682	Comment
Bradford	2	13	13	4	1	0	inc. Heaton, Idle, Wyke
Sowerby	6	14	11	3	1	2	at Samuel Hopkinson's, lectures
Halifax	5	16	14	7	2	3	inc. Warley
Bolton	3	3	5	1	0	3	inc. Little Lever
Wakefield	2	10	8	4	0	1	inc. Alverthorpe
Rochdale	2	3	4	1	0	0	inc. family funeral
Elsewhere	20	38	52	13	3	6	inc. Denton, Craven, Manchester, Leeds,
Total	40	98	107	33	7	15	Wigan, Birstall, Bingley, Keighley, London

Table Three is chiefly sourced from the extant second portion of Heywood's diary from July 1677 to May 1680, supplemented by references from the 'Rawson Volume', which covers activity in 1681, and a notebook entitled 'Some Remarkable Returnes of Prayer', which details some travel in 1682, but with far less rigour. These latter manuscripts are not daily journals, but rather records of incidents which Heywood thought worthy of recording as illustrations of sinfulness and divine punishment, but they nevertheless refer to a selection of his travels. The data for 1677 to 1680 show a growing focus on monthly lectures at Sowerby and Warley, the latter in the meeting house at the home of John Butterworth, which Heywood continued to use for many years after the Declaration of Indulgence had been revoked and the licences withdrawn. At these two locations, it is likely that Heywood would have been regarded as the leader of the congregations, even if he were not the resident minister.

In addition, the number of other places he visited and preached in increased markedly in the two years to 1680, and this eventually led to repercussions in his relationship with his

followers in Coley. In July 1687, there is evidence of some challenge from his hearers in Coley, who, in July 1687, appeared to resent the regularity of Heywood's commitments elsewhere. In a rare (or rarely-documented) illustration of their dislike at having to share him with others, he wrote that 'my people at Coley were much discontented' and he heard 'some peevish word uttered by some of them', before a compromise was reached whereby he limited his time away from Coley.⁹⁶ It is not to be inferred from the reduced figures in Table Three for 1681 and 1682 that Heywood's itinerancy was waning; it is simply because the diaries have been lost and the records are therefore sparser. As his summary in Table One shows, these years saw some of the highest recorded mileages of his ministry. 1682 was notable, too, for his eight-week extended stay in London with the Taylor family.

The diary entries for this trip over the turn of the year from 1682 to 1683 have not survived, but he referred to it in a section of his 'Returnes of Prayer', where he recorded examples of God's beneficence. This offers a record of the trip itself and reflections upon his experiences. Heywood wrote:

We set out Dec 25 82 and returned to Wallin-wels Feb 9 1683, but [I] was absent from mine own house 8 weeks and a day, in all which time I experienced many remarkable and signal returns of prayer ...⁹⁷

His account, framed in the Puritan tradition of expressing gratitude to God for his good fortune, also revealed three other points: the sense of danger inherent in such long journeys, the fact that he had to explain his absence to his wife for an unplanned trip, a feeling of satisfaction that he had been of use and his efforts had been worthwhile. On the first point, he wrote: 'god did mercifully bring me to London, there was no sad accident or evil occurrent in the way by Robbers, unruly persons, or overturning the Coach, our way was plain and prosperous, god was

⁹⁶ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 102; HT IV, pp. 126-27.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32; p. 83.

our guide and guard'.⁹⁸ On the second point, he 'pacified' his wife 'in some measure' by sending Eliezer back with a letter to account for his decision to be away for so long, providing an insight into the tension he experienced between the desire to travel to further his religious mission and the responsibilities he felt to his family and home. On the third point, perhaps justifying the lengthy absence in his own mind, he wrote that 'god found me out work in his wise providence, both praying and preaching-work, both publick and private with safety though it was a time of great hazzard'.⁹⁹ In his time in London, he lodged with friends of the Taylors and at the homes of Nonconformist sympathisers, one of whom he names as Mr Denham and all of whom he said 'were very courteous to me and very carefull of me'.¹⁰⁰ Heywood was able to take the opportunity to meet with other like-minded clerics, 'many worthy holy ministers', share acts of worship, and discuss the stance they were taking against the restrictions of the penal acts and the provision of mutual support.¹⁰¹ He recorded that, after preaching with Nathaniel Vincent (1637-1697), the latter was arrested and imprisoned in early January 1683 and Heywood revealed how aware he was of the ever-present threat of being exposed and brought before the local justices ('a time of great hazzard'). Vincent was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, at the end of which he was to be either exiled or hanged, and Heywood visited him in Marshalsea Prison in Southwark during his captivity, in a display of practical support.¹⁰² Heywood also visited his son, John, who, at this point, was an ordained minister

⁹⁸ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 33; HT IV, p. 84.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 33; p. 84. After the Exclusion Crisis of 1679, there was a heightened period of persecution of both Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. See Michael Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 253-54.

¹⁰⁰ WYAS, SPC 73, p. 33. HT IV, p. 84.

¹⁰¹ Although focused on the mid-1660s and the Nonconformist clergy during the Plague, Dunan-Page states that Dissenting ministers were regarded as 'plague heroes' by comparison to their Anglican counterparts (who had largely abandoned their London parishes), even though they were concerned about the impact of the Five Mile Act. By the 1680s, Nonconformity in the city had become more dangerous and Vincent's meeting house was repeatedly raided. Ann Dunan-Page, 'The Nonconformist Clergy and the London Plague of 1665', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 25 (2023), pp. 101-16 (p. 113). Stephen Wright, 'Vincent, Nathaniel', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28312.

¹⁰² Heywood wrote that Vincent was later released in May 1683 and the charges were dropped on a legal technicality. WYAS, SPC 73, p. 42; HT IV, p. 89.

and had recently experienced a narrow escape from capture by the local law-enforcement officers after preaching at a meeting in St. Albans.¹⁰³ There was no mention of it in the ‘Returne of Prayer’, but in one of the notebooks headed ‘Experiments with Reflections’, Heywood wrote that he went ‘immediately ... to Mr Parkhurst, my bookseller to whom I had sent a Manuscript several months before’, and with whom he wanted to discuss progress.¹⁰⁴ There was no commentary on the sights of London itself, but rather on the value and relevance of his trip through the opportunities it provided of interaction with fellow Nonconformists and of preaching to new congregations. It reinforces the point that the purpose of all this travel was to further Heywood’s aim to deliver the Word of God, via preaching, publishing and prayer, to an even wider audience, and to meet with other ministers who were experiencing religious persecution and choosing to resist it openly. Presumably, Heywood weighed up the risks involved in such activities as visiting Vincent in gaol against their value in demonstrating practical fellowship with other Dissenters and obedience to what he believed to be the duties he owed to his calling and to God. The visit to London secured several positive outcomes: it strengthened his position within the circle of gentry sympathisers, widened his network of contacts with the ejected clergy and allowed him to meet his publisher, Thomas Parkhurst.

Mechanics of a Visit: the Nonconformist Network in Action

On the evidence of Heywood’s written works, it was likely that most visits were pre-arranged. However, not all visits went smoothly. In July 1668, Heywood preached in a private house in Farsley and ‘was to have preacht at Pudsey or Idle but the places being supplied I returned home again’.¹⁰⁵ We can build up a picture of a few ejected ministers in Yorkshire being constantly on the move, deprived as they were of a permanent pulpit, and making

¹⁰³ John was living with the Marsh family in Garston, Hertfordshire. WYAS, SPC 73, p. 17; HT IV, p. 85.

¹⁰⁴ Add. MS 45969, fol. 39^v; HT III, p. 335.

¹⁰⁵ Add. MS 45965, fol. 46^v; HT I, p. 257.

themselves available to congregations which were meeting in defiance of the Five Mile Act. On this occasion, it would seem that invitations had gone out to more than one preacher and Heywood found his services were not required, 'and so [he] preacht in mine owne house.'¹⁰⁶ His diary records show that invitations were either sent by letter, by messenger or made in person. The network of Nonconformist supporters who monitored the movements of the constables and bailiffs and who warned their preachers of impending danger was presumably also employed in carrying invitations to preach or to minister to the sick and dying.

Not all trips involved lodging overnight. At the end of August 1668, Heywood preached 'all day at Idle chappell, whither god brought a mighty congregation...I went from home in the morning and came home at night'.¹⁰⁷ Some of the longer trips, for example into Lancashire or Craven, involved stop-overs en route: Sowerby was a favoured resting place on the way to Rochdale, although it was only some six miles from Coley. A day's ride on horseback would have covered around twenty miles (although the hilly Pennine terrain would have been difficult going), yet Heywood seems quite regularly to have covered longer distances. In September 1668, he and his wife travelled some fifty miles, on horseback as usual, from Denton to Buxton and back in a couple of days, as part of a longer trip to different locations in Lancashire and Cheshire. For the regular destinations which Heywood visited, there must have been familiar processes in place to offer him hospitality, and to notify the local Nonconformist congregation of his coming and of the opportunity to hear him preach.

¹⁰⁶ Add. MS 45965, fol. 46^v; HT I, p. 257.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. 47^r; p. 258.

Conclusion

In an entirely unpredicted way, the imposition of the Clarendon Code and, above all, the restrictions under the Five Mile Act, opened up a vast, flexible ‘super-parish’ to those Nonconformist clergy who were prepared to travel to their hearers. Heywood, and a small group of six or so like-minded clergymen in Yorkshire, took the opportunity to expand their field of operation, having been removed from the stability of a permanent living. Together with his university friends, Jollie and Bentley, and with others such as Wales, Dawson, Sharp and Joshua Kirby, Heywood led a group large enough to maintain Nonconformity, despite its illegality, across what could be considered a new Nonconformist ‘diocese’ (although they would not have used such a term). The evidence from Heywood’s records and comparisons with the information concerning some of his contemporaries, such as Jollie in Lancashire or Martindale in Cheshire, suggest that Heywood was unusual in adopting itinerancy on such a scale.¹⁰⁸ While it was a common practice amongst the Quakers, most other Presbyterian ministers focused their activities on their former parish, or a local neighbourhood, to take up posts as tutors or chaplains or even, after some prevarication, to conform. Within the West Riding, however, Heywood was the leading member of a group of Dissenting clergymen who regularly travelled to preach to beleaguered congregations, or, as we have seen, to gentry households. The frequency of Heywood’s travels, the distances he covered and the longevity of this strategy all mark him out as exceptional and attest both to his personal commitment and to a sustained demand from his hearers.¹⁰⁹

As with the tradition of itinerancy amongst the Quakers, there was a willingness amongst these ejected ministers to redefine their area of activity, adapting to the needs of the

¹⁰⁸ Jonathan H. Westaway, ‘Jollie, Thomas’, *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14976. Richard Parkinson, ed., *The Life of Adam Martindale* (Chetham Society, 1845).

¹⁰⁹ Angier’s extended journey with Heywood in 1666 to gentry houses in Cheshire where he was already known suggests previous visits by Angier. Others who accompanied Heywood on individual trips included Dawson, Bentley and Jollie. On the other hand, Hardcastle remained active in Shadwell in Leeds, despite repeated imprisonment, while Swift focused on his congregation in Penistone.

congregation and not confined by traditional parish boundaries.¹¹⁰ Heywood stands out from this group on two accounts: the sheer amount of the travel he undertook each year across such an extended area and the extent to which he simultaneously retained a focus on his original community in Coley. From the available evidence, his peripatetic existence caused a complaint from his Coley followers on only one occasion, but over the period from 1662 to the mid-1690s, Heywood succeeded in juggling the demands of a dispossessed local community of both saints and Conformists (at times, literally stepping into the empty pulpit of his old chapel to preach to the latter) with a calling to serve the needs of other such fractured communities across a large part of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Some locations he visited were because of family ties (such as in Little Lever, Bolton and Denton), others were a result of the size and importance of the Dissenting congregations (such as in Manchester, Leeds and York) and yet others were where Heywood had established his own network through supporting fellow clergy or because of gentry patronage (such as at Penistone, Bramhope and Wakefield).

Heywood's travels are fundamental to his achievement and significance. For a period of thirty years, he sustained a mission across a large part of the North of England with an energy which the Victorian hagiography has no hesitation in praising. For the modern historian, such a reputation seems ripe for revisionism, yet the more the evidence is accumulated and analysed, the stronger the claims made for him by earlier authors appear. Heywood was unequivocally a significant force in sustaining Nonconformity in Yorkshire after the Restoration. Hunter writes that Heywood is to be remembered 'as a man of eminent piety, great exertion and uncommon usefulness', while John Fawcett states that Heywood 'was a burning and shining light in the sphere in which he moved'.¹¹¹ The sphere had its centre in Coley, but it extended into the wider Parish of Halifax, to the Nonconformist congregations of York and Leeds in

¹¹⁰ George Fox's practice was to travel extensively and establish 'meetings' or worshipping groups which were independent of central authority and self-governing.

¹¹¹ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 409. John Fawcett, *The Life of Rev. Oliver Heywood* (Halifax: Ewood Hall, 1796), p. 7.

Yorkshire and Bolton, Denton and Manchester in Lancashire, while his influence encompassed gentry households in Cheshire, Nottinghamshire and the North Riding. The evidence of his prodigious energy and commitment to the Presbyterian Church in the North of England is beyond doubt. His itinerancy also illuminates how flexible the Nonconformist structures were in response to the Clarendon Code and how far the Restoration Settlement failed in its aims to establish uniformity, not least because of the willingness of Dissenters to ignore the restrictions of the parochial system and to take their message to their hearers wherever they were.

CHAPTER SIX: HEYWOOD'S PUBLIC VOICE - TREATISES AND SERMONS

What I had writ was in the uprightnes of my heart to doe good...¹

Introduction

In his 'Experiment with Reflections' written in May 1683, Oliver Heywood recorded his motivation in producing the treatise *Israel's Lamentation after the Lord* (1683) after it had caused him considerable trouble. He had made some earlier excisions on the advice of his publisher, Thomas Parkhurst, who had sought advice on its suitability for publication from other Nonconformist clerics in London. Despite this precaution and having had his book criticised once printed by Hooke and magistrates in Yorkshire for being 'a seditious piece' of work, Heywood began to doubt his own abilities and his calling, admitting to feeling that his enemies had 'got the advantage agt [against] me they had long been seeking'.² A fellow godly minister to whom Heywood had shown his book agreed that what Heywood had written was true but, unfortunately, could be interpreted as critical of the penal acts, and this made Heywood feel even more 'troubled [and] dejected'.³ Then, in an illustration of the link between his private self-analysis in his life-writing and the 'public voice' of his ministry and his printed work, Heywood recorded a dialogue with God, which re-assured him of his honourable aims. His sermons and religious tracts were, by his own conviction, designed 'to doe good' and not in any way to spread disharmony or conflict. The fact that Richard Hooke and others could accuse him of such motivations was inescapable, but ill-merited, and he was able to convince himself of his own righteousness when he ultimately escaped censure and 'heard nothing further' of the matter. The private reflection illustrates both the hostile climate under which

¹ Heywood Papers, BL, Add. MS 45969, fol. 39^v; Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Bingley: T. Harrison, 1883), Volume III, p. 336.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

Heywood was operating and the identical motivation behind his itinerant preaching, his pastoral care and his published teachings. The last is of equal significance in Heywood's mind as the former two elements and, while not as much published material exists as with the private life-writing, it is worthy of consideration. This chapter considers this element of his ministry and its contribution to his overall achievement.

Heywood's Published Works: Ministry of the Written Word

Aside from preaching, Heywood also published religious tracts and the texts of several sermons. This was despite the censorship regime operated by Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), who was appointed as Surveyor and Licenser of the Press in 1663 to ban such works by Nonconformists until the Act lapsed in 1679.⁴ There have been several studies of the literature of the post-Restoration period with a focus on the Puritan tradition. Neil Keeble has produced an edition of Baxter's letters and another study of the wider literary culture, where he concludes that 'Nonconformist writers sought and cultivated a public patronage'⁵ He suggests that Puritan writers consciously sought to build a wide supportive readership and to extend their message via the printed word in a way that even constant travel could not achieve. Alexandra Walsham asserts that it is important to appreciate how far Puritanism 'succeeded in penetrating the market for cheap print'.⁶ Heywood and his fellow Nonconformists were constantly writing and, as Keeble suggests, not merely for private or family consumption: the regular dissemination of Puritan teaching via tracts, treatises and published sermons was a deliberate strategy. As Harold Love makes clear, Heywood's primary relationship in this field was with

⁴ For more detail, see Randy Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: the Subtle Art of Division* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

⁵ Neil Keeble, *Loving and Free Converse: Richard Baxter in his Letters* (Dr. Williams's Trust, 1991). Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in later Seventeenth-Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 2011), p. 142.

⁶ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 277-93 (p. 288).

the printer and publisher, Parkhurst, who certainly contributed to Heywood's influence via the promotion and distribution of his written works.⁷ Parkhurst became a Freeman of the Stationers' Company and, with their support, resisted L'Estrange's censorship with some success.⁸ The communication of the Nonconformist message via surreptitious theological publications or what amounted to manuals for worship, prayer and godly living was another tactic of resistance to Established Church doctrine and the 1662 Settlement. Arnold Hunt traces the relationship between the oral tradition and the printed word, particularly around the 'cross-over' of heard sermons later written up by their auditors for private circulation or, at other times, professionally printed. He concludes that the oral, written and published forms of communication were complementary, not competitive, and were seen as mutually-reinforcing components of successful evangelism.⁹

Therefore, an additional strand in the argument for Heywood to be considered of greater interest is the quantity of his published work.¹⁰ The genres which should be regarded as key elements of his evangelism are his printed treatises and printed sermons. Copies of all the former exist, either as first editions in the British Library or contained in Vint's five-volume collection in 1825-27. Fewer sermons remain, although having preached on average three times a week for fifty years, there would originally have been a far higher number of these.¹¹ Heywood published sixteen treatises and a biography of his father-in-law, the majority of

⁷ Harold Love, 'Preacher and Publisher: Oliver Heywood and Thomas Parkhurst', *Studies in Bibliography*, 31 (1978), pp. 227-35 (p. 232).

⁸ Smith concludes that there was 'a kind of self-censorship' practised by many writers to avoid trouble. Nigel Smith, 'Nonconformist Voices and Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4, 1557-1695*, ed. by John Bernard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 410-30 (p. 429).

⁹ Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 118.

¹⁰ Other prolific authors were Baxter and John Flavel (?1630-1691), a Puritan minister ejected from Dartmouth in 1662, who published thirty-five treatises and sermons between 1664 and (posthumously) 1699, which were reprinted many times. Brian Cosby, *John Flavel: Puritan Life and Thought in Stuart England* (Lexington Books, 2014), p. 23.

¹¹ Based on an average of three sermons a week for fifty years, this would total over seven thousand. Heywood himself recorded over three thousand weekday sermons between 1666 and 1700. See Table One, pp 196-97.

which were printed and circulated by Parkhurst from his premises on London Bridge and, later, at the Bible and Three Crowns on Cheapside in the City of London.¹²

Notebooks in the Heywood Papers contain both lists of recipients of his works, which show a broad readership, and a catalogue of his own reading matter. For example, when he received a hundred copies of *The Sure Mercies of David* (1672) from Parkhurst, he recorded that fourteen with a gilded binding were given to patrons such as Lady Hewley, Lady Watson and Robert Dyneley or close family members such as his wife and ‘Mother Angier’, possibly John Angier’s second wife, Margaret. Recipients of the remainder, with a simpler binding, included members of his society, such as Jonathan Priestley, Mary Walker and Michael Broadley, together with other gentry supporters, members of the Coton and Sotwell families, Thomas Jollie and Heywood’s own sons.¹³ There is another list for a batch of two dozen more recipients in Lancashire, who were mainly members of his extended family. A list from 1690 for *Meetness of Heaven* (1679) is noteworthy for two reasons: it shows that he was still sending out copies of a book which was published eleven years earlier and a subset of twelve names is labelled ‘distributed in London’, which shows a readership in the capital, (including Sir Thomas Rokby [Rokeby] of Kirk Sandall), probably supplied directly by Parkhurst.¹⁴

Heywood’s voice is loud and persistent in print and, while the spoken word was always deemed by the Nonconformists to be of primary importance in spreading the Word of God, the printed word also played its part. Brian Cosby stresses the role of the written word at times of persecution and makes the point that, for some clergy at least, the Five Mile Act freed up time to write.¹⁵ The significance for Heywood of the additional medium for spreading his message

¹² See Appendix Six for details of Heywood’s publications. Harold Love, ‘Parkhurst, Thomas’, *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2136.

¹³ If a comparison is made between this list of recipients of *The Sure Mercies of David* in 1672 and the list of the members of Coley Chapelry who signed a covenant with Heywood at the time of the Declaration of Indulgence in the same year, there are ten matches and another dozen entries with the same family name. Add. MS 45965, fols 97^v-98^r; HT III, pp. 51-53 and not in BL; HT II, pp. 22-24.

¹⁴ Add. MS 45965 fols 100^r-100^v; HT III, pp. 55-57.

¹⁵ Cosby, *John Flavel*, p. 10.

was in line with a long tradition within Puritanism; writing about the early Stuart period and the persecution of Puritanism under Archbishop Laud, Walsham quotes two clerics in 1606 as saying, ‘We are now willing to make some worke for the Presse because we have no employment in the Pulpit’.¹⁶ The challenge to freedom of expression posed under the Clarendon Code meant, as William Vint wrote in his preface to the second volume of his and Richard Slate’s edition of Heywood’s works, ‘there have indeed been times when the auxiliary means have taken the place of the principal, and books have become almost the sole dispensers of religious knowledge’.¹⁷ Discounting Vint’s nineteenth-century hyperbole, it is a matter of fact that Heywood supplemented his preaching and praying with a considerable written output, which provided a valuable source of income. Between 1667, when his first work, *Heart Treasure*, was published, and 1701, with the appearance of *A Treatise of Christ’s Intercession*, Heywood was active in writing, distributing and acting as a librarian, circulating both his own works and those of other scholars and clerics from his personal collection. With an equal emphasis as Vint, Keeble stresses the centrality of print to Nonconformity, ‘upon which its ultimate survival depended’ and quotes Baxter as saying, ‘the press hath a louder voice than mine’.¹⁸ Although focused on the pre-Civil War period, Tessa Watt has traced the development of print culture at the cheaper end of the market and identified its reliance on a combination of London publishers and informal networks of distribution in the second half of the seventeenth century, both trends which Heywood exemplified.¹⁹ There have been several studies on the growth of literacy rates at this period, while Margaret Spufford concludes that seventeenth century autobiographies provide clear evidence of the spread of literacy and the means of teaching it. She quotes the example of Heywood’s first wife, Elizabeth Angier, who ‘could

¹⁶ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in early modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 56.

¹⁷ William Vint, *The Whole Works of Oliver Heywood, (Idle: John Vint, 1827)*, Volume II, Preface, p. ii.

¹⁸ Keeble, *Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, pp. 82-83. Andrew Cambers has also written about the role of the printed word in godly culture in *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 323.

read the hardest chapter in the Bible when she was but four years of age'.²⁰ Walsham concludes that literacy 'penetrated to the lowest seam of lay society' and she also quotes Baxter, with his assertion that while vocal preaching was pre-eminent 'for moving the affections', books had the practical advantages of always being to hand, were cheaper than orators and avoided the shortcomings of dull or ungodly preachers.²¹ Heywood embraced the opportunities which the world of print provided, but alongside, not at the expense of, personal contact and preaching until old age made the latter more challenging. William Sheils makes the assertion that 'Heywood's published works were the result of his reputation and not the source of it', which may be too definitive a claim; he pursued both his active and written ministries as complementary strands of his mission and they reinforced each other.²²

Heart Treasure (1667) offers an interesting case study, as it provides a link between the written and oral media of Presbyterian mission in the public space. The title page states that it is 'an essay comprising the substance of a course of sermons, preached at Coley in Yorkshire on Mat 12.35'.²³ Heywood dedicated the work 'to my very loving and dearly beloved friends and neighbours, the inhabitants of Coley, and the places adjacent', not restricting it to his godly hearers or the members of his society, but to all those in the chapelry for whom he had been responsible before 1662.²⁴ In his 'commendatory address', John Chester (who may have been a literary agent), gave clear advice as to how readers were to receive and use the book, 'Buy it, read it oft, meditate on it seriously and lift up thine heart to God for his blessing'.²⁵ Chester's recommendation to regard the book as a reference source and stimulus for meditation was in line with the Puritan drive for serious study and self-

²⁰ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Methuen, 1981), p. 25.

²¹ Walsham, *Providence*, p. 56.

²² William Sheils, 'The Act of Toleration, household worship and voicing dissent: Oliver Heywood's *A Family Altar* (1693)', in *People and Piety: Protestant Devotional Identities in Early Modern England*, ed. by Elizabeth Clarke and Robert Daniel (Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 79-94 (p. 81).

²³ Oliver Heywood, *Heart Treasure* (Thomas Parkhurst, 1667), title page.

²⁴ Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, p. A².

²⁵ Chester called himself 'the meanest of Christs servants and thy soulFriend'. *Ibid.*, p. A².

improvement. Heywood himself wrote of the primacy of the Bible amongst all written works as ‘the greatest treasure of heavenly wisdom and science’ and of ‘the best men’ whose ‘breasts became the libraries of Jesus Christ’.²⁶ However, having first apologised to his readers that he was ‘not worthy to preach, much less to print anything on these glorious mysteries’ [of faith], he justified his work by explaining that he was grieved ‘to think of leaving any of your souls without a saving treasure’.²⁷ The work was, therefore, motivated by a desire to leave a more permanent guidance for his flock on how to ‘reach and teach the spirit’ than that provided by attendance at a service or listening to a sermon. Alec Ryrie stresses the point that for Puritans, prayer in a church building had no special value and quotes Heywood recommending a private space, as ‘the noise of Cains hammers in building Cities drowns the voice of conscience’.²⁸

Heywood was specific about the genesis of the book, writing that, having himself heard a sermon from ‘a godly minister’ concerning the text from Matthew’s Gospel:

I was much affected with it, and resolved, when I came home, to search into it; I studied and preached three sermons, as I remember upon it, with which some were so affected, that several entreated me to give them copies thereof, which I set myself to; but as I wrote, it swelled in my hands to this magnitude and when some had perused it, they entreated me to let it be printed.²⁹

The explanation that he was something of a reluctant author may seem disingenuous, but the request from his hearers for a printed version of his spoken addresses testifies to the value they must have set upon the original orations and encapsulates the complex relationship between the oral and written media: the demand for the spoken text to be made permanent in print. The text itself is written almost in the form of a practical instruction manual; having defined his

²⁶ Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, p. A³.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. A³.

²⁸ Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 155.

²⁹ Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, p. A⁴. The dedication is dated ‘from my study, at Coley Hall, June 14, 1666’, the year prior to its publication in London.

terms from the core Biblical verse, ‘A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth good things’, Heywood provided spiritual guidance under the following headings:

1. By what means shall a soul be furnished with a treasure of good thoughts?
2. In what way shall a Christian lay up truths, graces, comforts and experiences?
3. How may a Christian preserve and increase this treasure?
4. How must he draw out, and make use of this treasure?

The tone is forthright and the register declamatory, with rhetorical questions and direct address, as would presumably have been delivered to the hearers of the original sermon. Catherine Evans comments on the popularity of printed sermon-books and concludes that, far from deadening the impact of the spoken word, printed sermons were used to recreate the original delivery in both public and private spaces and allowed for continuing private reflection or public debate.³⁰ Heywood was nothing if not thorough and he described thirty separate occasions when a godly man would have ‘sufficient treasure for heavenly meditations’ in the course of his daily round.³¹ He then voiced seven imagined objections to the concept of praising God for the fact that ‘every gracious soul hath a good treasure’ and provided a detailed response to each one.³² In an illustration of the extent of his literary framework, after providing another list of twenty stimuli ‘to employ our thoughts on profitable subjects’, he concluded by quoting George Herbert’s poem ‘The Temper’.³³ Although Herbert was an Anglican, Heywood was evidently attracted to his celebration of the universality of God’s presence and the shared impetus to seek opportunities to recognise His munificence. *Heart Treasure* ends with the last verse of Herbert’s poem:

Whether I fly with angels, fall with dust,

³⁰ Catherine Evans, ‘Locating Devotion: Sermon Title Pages and the Early Modern Book Market, 1620–1642’, *The Library*, 24.1 (2023), pp. 3-24 (p. 24).

³¹ Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, pp. 268-75.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 228-36.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.

Thy hands made both, and I am there,
Thy power and love, my love and trust,
Make one place everywhere.³⁴

In his diary, Heywood wrote that ‘My book of Heart Treasure being printed, I had and paid for 10lis worth of them, and they are all dispersed and disposed of and I hear they doe some good, blessed be god’.³⁵ Books were seen by him as a practical element of pastoral care and he was as assiduous in distributing them as he was in his preaching and visiting.

Of Heywood’s other publications, *Closet Prayer* (1671) and *A Family Altar* (1693) both provide Biblical justifications and practical advice for the practice of prayer within the domestic setting, *Baptismal Bonds Renewed* (1687) explains the centrality for a true believer of making and sustaining a covenant with God, while *Job’s Appeal* (1695) is the text of a funeral sermon preached in Northowram on the death of Jonathan Denton of Halifax in 1695 and dedicated to Denton’s brother, John, in Southwark. Hunter says that the sermon was delivered ‘at the particular request of the deceased, on his deathbed’.³⁶ In *Closet Prayer*, Heywood set forth the directions for the place, the object of worship and the arguments to ‘enforce the duty’ [of prayer], insisting on its Biblical routes and proclaiming as the most suitable state for an emotional dialogue with God, writing ‘the poor soul can more freely open his soul to God in a closet’.³⁷ Elspeth Findlay asserts that closet or private prayer has similarities with diary-writing, suggesting that both are ‘solitary but not confidential’ and that both appear ‘to have emerged as a duty’ for the pious Puritan in the mid seventeenth-century. She states that Ralph Thoresby recorded reading *Closet Prayer* in the 1680s in his own diary,

³⁴ Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, p. 282.

³⁵ Add. MS 45965, fol. 39^v; HT I, p. 246.

³⁶ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 386. In the ‘Returnes of Prayer’, Heywood wrote in September 1682 that ‘a young man one Jonathan Denton, living at John Ramsdens, stayd late ... to discourse with me, and I was very much incouraged with his understanding’. Ramsden was a member of Heywood’s society and it appears that Denton was lodging with him at his house. This may well have been the same Jonathan Denton who died in 1695, although there is no documentary proof. WYAS, SPC 73, p. 22; HT IV, p. 77.

³⁷ Heywood, *Closet Prayer* (Thomas Parkhurst, 1687), p. 23.

thus illustrating with a direct example the influence of one of Heywood's treatises (in this instance a prayer manual) on the life-writing of his contemporaries.³⁸

In *A Family Altar*, which had a 'Recommendatory Epistle' from John Howe (1630-1705), the eminent London Presbyterian and colleague of Richard Baxter, Heywood further explored the boundary between public and private worship. He distinguished family worship from both public prayer and the personal dialogue with God which he had encouraged in *Closet Prayer*. Two fundamental elements of Heywood's ministry can be identified within *A Family Altar*: his admonition to the godly not to hide away from the rest of society and his belief that family prayer was the bulwark which had sustained Nonconformity throughout the years of persecution.³⁹ Patrick Collinson summarises these two Nonconformist stimuli when he writes that 'Puritan zeal was not a private passion, but a highly collective emotion' and that the household formed 'the essential unit' of Puritan piety.⁴⁰ Naomi Tadmor stresses the importance of family and kinship to the sometimes beleaguered Puritans, which Heywood personified in fulfilling his obligations to this wider family in Lancashire.⁴¹

Written in 1693, by which time Heywood had built a public meeting house in Northowram for his society, *A Family Altar* recalled the experience of harassment and risk from covert conventicles and Heywood concluded that 'when public persecution breaks up church assemblies, house worship will maintain religion in the world'.⁴² He went on to provide specific advice to heads of households on where, when and how to conduct family worship, making no distinction between males or females in this role.⁴³ While the domestic setting had

³⁸ Elspeth Findlay, 'Ralph Thoresby the Diarist: The Late Seventeenth-Century Pious Diary and its Demise', *Seventeenth Century*, 17.1 (2002), pp. 108-30 (p. 115).

³⁹ For an examination of the role of family religion in Nonconformist devotion, see Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2004), pp. 875-896. The authors quote Heywood's biography of Angier, in which he recorded the centrality of family worship in the Angier household of sixteen people in Denton, p. 887.

⁴⁰ Patrick Collinson, *The Dissenting Tradition* (Ohio University Press, 1975), p.p. 24-25.

⁴¹ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 115.

⁴² Vint, *Whole Works*, IV, p. 362.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-05

always been of central importance to the dispossessed Nonconformist congregations after 1662, the Act of Toleration re-defined the relationship between public and private worship spaces. Sheils suggests that Heywood recognised this change and that *A Family Altar* was an attempt to re-emphasise the importance of domestic worship at a time when it could have become less relevant and subservient to the legalised public services in Dissenting chapels.⁴⁴ As references in his later journal show, Heywood remained, in fact, conscientious in individual, family and public worship, taking services within weeks before his death and using the printed word to encourage and sustain such practice in others. The act of writing was designed to teach God's message, but also to instruct his readers in how to behave.

The Relationship with Parkhurst

Parkhurst was active between 1685 and 1711, and it is estimated that he published over a thousand books. He enjoyed a reputation as the foremost publisher of Nonconformist material and this is demonstrated by the quantity and breadth of his output.⁴⁵ John Dunton (1659-1733), a fellow publisher who had been apprenticed to him, described Parkhurst as 'the most eminent Presbyterian bookseller in the Three Kingdoms'.⁴⁶ The reach of his output is exemplified by the fact that in 1691 he published *Two Sticks Made One* by Matthew Mead (1630-1699), a sermon to celebrate the 'happy union' of Congregational and Presbyterian ministers, and a series of lectures by the Conformist Samuel Bradford (1652-1731) in 1699. He also published, posthumously, two of Nathaniel Heywood's sermons in 1679 under the title *Christ Displayed*. Heywood's relationship with Parkhurst, although conducted at long distance, was seminal in the dissemination of Heywood's works, and therefore his missionary

⁴⁴ Sheils, 'Act of Toleration', p. 91.

⁴⁵ For background on the post-Restoration religious book trade, see Ian Green and Kate Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England, 1640-1695', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Volume 4, 1557-1695, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 78-80.

⁴⁶ John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, late citizen of London* (S. Malthus, 1705), p. 281.

message, for over thirty years. Journal entries reveal a regular correspondence and the receipt by Heywood of published works to be given to family and friends as gifts or loaned out from his own collection. Parkhurst also commented on drafts and, as we have seen, helped Heywood avoid falling foul of the censorship laws.

There are many references within the pages of Heywood's diary to time spent writing the treatises and to correspondence with Parkhurst about the process of publishing and of receiving consignments of his books to distribute. In general, he seems to have been paid by Parkhurst in copies of his books rather than in cash and, in addition, he appears to have purchased additional copies to pass on. In 1667, he listed sixty copies of *Heart Treasure* which he received and handed out to his hearers, followed by a further sixty which he gave largely to members of his extended family in Lancashire and other copies, the recipients of which are all listed, brought the total to over two hundred and sixty.⁴⁷ Further lists exist for *Closet Prayer*, *Two Worlds* (1701) and *The General Assembly* (1700).⁴⁸ With regard to *Baptismal Bonds Renewed*, it is apparent that Heywood put the dissemination of his text ahead of concerns over profit, when he wrote that, having received sixty-two copies from Parkhurst, 'all these I distributed gratis to my hearers about home, my relations and friends abroad in Lanc – at York - etc.'⁴⁹ As Love observes, a pattern of donations of his works to his followers adds weight to the conclusion that he regarded his treatises 'as an integral part of his pastoral care'.⁵⁰

Being such a prolific author was not without its risks, in the same way as holding conventicles or preaching was, at times of persecution and literary censorship. The reaction to *Israel's Lamentation to the Lord* noted in his 1683 'Experiment with Reflections', referred to above, is of interest for two reasons: aside from the emotional reaction it produced in Heywood,

⁴⁷ Add. MS 45965, fols 115^r-116^r; HT III, pp. 66-69.

⁴⁸ Ibid., fols 116^v-118^r, fols 97^v-98^r; p. 69-73, pp. 51-52. WYAS, MISC 509/5, pp. 61. 63; HT IV, p. 259-62. See Appendix Four for an illustration of the list for *Two Worlds* of July 1701.

⁴⁹ Add. MS 45968, fol. 18^r; HT III, p. 229.

⁵⁰ Love, 'Preacher and Publisher', p. 231.

it shows the extent to which his output was seen as provocative or even seditious. It provides evidence of Heywood's resistance via the literary sphere and of the level of support he received to pursue his authorship, in this case from Parkhurst, acting at some risk to himself, and mirroring the protection afforded Heywood by gentry patrons elsewhere.⁵¹ Referring to the earlier draft of *Israel's Lamentation to the Lord*, Heywood emphasised that Parkhurst saved him from further persecution on account of this text:

He found some smart reflections wch[which] ... he communicated to me, thinking it was not safe to print them, being then a very hazardous time, upon reading them I thought so too, so expunged them.⁵²

Although the Licensing Act had lapsed, the intensification of persecution after the Exclusion Crisis of 1682 had evidently alerted Parkhurst to the risks.⁵³ Even the remaining reference in Heywood's preface to 'not three shepherds cut off in a month, but two thousand in a day' was seen as a critical comment on the Act of Uniformity twenty years after its imposition. Heywood recorded that Hooke and local magistrates read his book, condemned it and summoned him to court, although there were no further consequences.⁵⁴ Heywood would also circulate unpublished manuscripts to his network of supporters to gain their opinion and, perhaps, identify any passages which could cause trouble with the censor. In a letter to Ralph Thoresby, dated November 1695, he mentioned that 'the London ministers had expunged' some of the contents within his biography of Angier, but gave no details.⁵⁵ In another letter to Thoresby, he stated that he had recently completed a treatise entitled 'A Scriptural Fast' and that 'if I have

⁵¹ There is no evidence of Parkhurst being arrested or fined, but it is known that as liveryman of the Company of Stationers, he was involved in resisting L'Estrange's suppression of material. Harold Love, 'Parkhurst, Thomas', *ODNB*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21366.

⁵² Add. MS 45969, fol. 39^v; HT III, p. 335.

⁵³ The Exclusion Crisis was precipitated by the Whigs' attempt to exclude the Catholic James, Duke of York, from the line of succession. This was defeated and resulted in a backlash by the victorious Tory party, including increased persecution of Dissenters.

⁵⁴ Add. MS 45969, fol. 39^v; HT III, pp. 335-36.

⁵⁵ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p. 435.

any encouragement shall send it to the press'.⁵⁶ Although this is reprinted by J. Horsfall Turner, it is not listed in any of the catalogues of Heywood's published works, so it may be that he did not receive sufficient encouragement from Parkhurst to proceed.

Heywood's Library

Heywood's impact through his Presbyterian teaching and his publications can, in part, be traced back to the influences on him through his own reading matter. Unsurprisingly, in the list of books in his own library, the vast majority of the titles are those of religious or philosophical content (including Aristotle's *Ethics*). He also owned copies of Bede's *History of England*, [The] *History of Charles the Second*, George Herbert's poems and an entry entitled *Geography* by Peter Heylyn (1599-1662), the anti-Puritan polemicist, which may have been an edition of his *Cosmographie* of 1652, in which Heylyn attempted to describe in detail every feature of the known world. Out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four books listed, there are fifteen publications by Baxter, twelve by Joseph Hall (1574-1656) the Bishop of Norwich, several by the Puritan theologian William Perkins and two by the member of the Westminster Assembly, Henry Hammond (1605-1660). Two books in his library stand out as likely to have been of key influence. Much of the content of Heywood's theological writing is likely to have been derived from John Calvin's (1509-1564) *Institutes* (listed as *Institutions*), which expounded the basis of Protestant ecclesiology and practice and was of enormous influence across Europe after its publication in Basel in 1536, and *The Doctrine of Repentance* (1668) by Thomas Watson (1620-1686), which stressed the importance of repentance in every aspect of life. In the *Institutes*, Calvin stipulated that the duties of a pastor were 'to preach the word,

⁵⁶ Vint, *Whole Works*, I, p, 434.

administer the sacraments and admonish and console the laity', duties which formed the bedrock of Heywood's missionary life.⁵⁷

Looking at two of the books by Baxter in Heywood's collection, we can see that both *Practical Divinity* (1673) and *A Call to the Unconverted* (1663) are likely to have had a direct influence on Heywood's practice and preaching. *Practical Divinity* ran to four volumes and Heywood's catalogue does not specify whether he owned them all, but the work contains specific instructions on how Christians should conduct their lives, stipulates the duties of husbands, wives, parents and children and sets out directions 'against the great sins most contrary to godliness'.⁵⁸ In *A Call to the Unconverted*, Baxter wrote that he thought 'a wakening persuasive was a more necessary means than mere directions' and exhorted sinners to find mercy 'while mercy may be had'.⁵⁹ Using Baxter as a guide, we can see how Heywood was driven to offer practical advice to his hearers and to concern himself with the fate of all those whom he encountered, whether sober Presbyterians or degenerate sinners who showed a desire for salvation.

Heywood also possessed a copy of Edward Gee's *A Treatise Of Prayer and Of Divine Providence as relating to it*, published in 1653. This is noteworthy on two accounts: Heywood's brother, Nathaniel, had studied under Gee at the latter's parish in Ecclestone in Lancashire before becoming curate at Illingworth, near Halifax, and the book may have been an influence on Heywood's own work, *Closet Prayer*, written thirty-five years later. Gee declared that his book was 'written for the instruction, admonition, and comfort of those that give themselves unto prayer, and stand in need of it' and it sets out to explain the centrality of

⁵⁷ John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, III, 4 cited by Ronald K. Rittgers and Megan Armstrong, 'Pastoral Theology and Preaching', in *The Cambridge History of Reformation-Era Theology* (Cambridge University Press, 2024), pp. 532-56 (p. 538).

⁵⁸ Richard Baxter, *A Body of Practical Divinity or a Christian Directory* (printed by Robert White for Nevill Simmons, 1673).

⁵⁹ Richard Baxter, *A Call to the Unconverted* (printed by Robert White for Nevill Simmons, 1663), Title Sheet and fol. B².

prayer in a godly man's life and to dispel misunderstandings around 'discord' and 'disappointment'.⁶⁰ In addition to his many recorded 'Returnes of Prayer', Heywood may have been influenced by Gee when he wrote an essay 'On Prayer' in 1684 in which he listed twelve reasons why 'a child of god's' prayers may not be answered.⁶¹

There is a note at the end of the library catalogue, listing seven titles which 'were taken from me for preaching the gospel', possibly at the time that his goods were seized in 1670, although, as the catalogue is dated 1664, this postscript must have been added at a later date.⁶² It is not clear why these particular texts were removed (including Quintilian's *Orationes* and Cicero's *Works*, both dealing with rhetoric); perhaps they were of higher value than others or simply a random selection which was easier to remove. There are references in the last diary to lending books to friends and neighbours and to some twenty works, including lives of fellow Nonconformist ministers, which were to be included in Sampson's proposed directory (and were later incorporated into Calamy's work), and some titles which Love thinks may well have only ever been intended for private circulation in manuscript form.⁶³

Sermons: Heywood's Public Articulation of Godliness

The theme of how the Presbyterian message was delivered, including the quintessentially Puritan tradition of extempore preaching, has received a greater focus from past historians than such areas as itinerancy or pastoral care and has been approached in an interdisciplinary manner by several writers. Margaret Bullett links the experience of preaching, both from the orator's and the auditors' points of view, to the sense of identity in seventeenth-

⁶⁰ Edward Gee, *A Treatise of Prayer and Of Divine Providence as relating to it* (printed by J.M. for Luke Fawn, 1653).

⁶¹ Not in BL; HT, III, pp. 350-60.

⁶² Add. MS 45965, fol. 115^r; HT II, p. 128.

⁶³ Love, 'Preacher and Publisher', p. 233.

century England.⁶⁴ She traces historians' analysis of the conflict between admonitory preaching and pastoral concerns, citing the works of Collinson and Eric Carlson, who independently conclude that the tradition deftly balanced both stimuli.⁶⁵ Hunt tackles the difficult challenge of trying to analyse the hearers' reactions to the regular and lengthy sermonizing to which they were subjected week after week.⁶⁶ The highly-charged tone of Puritan preaching, paradoxically encouraging the sort of emotional excesses which they criticised in other areas of life, is acknowledged by Hunt and can be interpreted as bringing the preacher and his audience closer together in shared experience, in contrast to the prescribed responses of the *BCP*. This aspect of the oral tradition was often accompanied by the practice of repeating and debating sermons in smaller groups, based on notes taken at the original service.⁶⁷ What both elements have in common is the importance of oracy and of a spontaneity of discussion, rather than adherence to a set formula as in the Anglican (or Catholic) tradition.

The obvious gap in any analysis of Heywood's 'voice' in the public arena is that we have no record of his oral presentation and very few references to how his sermons were received by his hearers. Judging by the repeated invitations to preach in places like Penistone or the Dyneley Family chapel in Bramhope, Heywood appears to have been regarded as an effective orator. We do not know, however, how his performance was delivered or how charismatic he was as a speaker. One enlightening comment can be found in his 'Memoranda', when he was listing what he had learnt from his years as a preacher. He wrote:

I am usually most helped even therein when I least seek for such notions as

⁶⁴ Margaret Bullett, *Post-Reformation Preaching in the Pennines: Space, Identity and Affectivity* (PhD thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2016), p. 8.

⁶⁵ Patrick Collinson, 'Shepherds, sheepdogs and hirelings: the pastoral ministry in post-Reformation England', in William Sheils and Diane Wood, (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay, Studies in Church History*, 26 (1989), pp. 185-220 (p. 189). Eric Carlson, 'Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds? Parish Ministers and the English Reformation', *History*, 88 (2003), pp. 423-436 (p. 436).

⁶⁶ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 20.

⁶⁷ Heywood often refers to this practice, for example when commenting that Jonathan Priestley's son 'could not read his notes for weeping', WYAS, SPC 73, p. 100; HT IV, p. 125.

rhetorical flourishes, scripture allusions, natural or moral resemblances
historical passages, philosophical problemes, human adages – and they come
off best when not so much regarding them, I learn by degrees to omit them.⁶⁸

He seemed to be saying that he had used all the oratorical features he listed but had learnt not to overload his sermons with such devices and to deploy them sparingly, with greater effect.⁶⁹

Here we see Heywood reflecting on his own style of preaching from a distinctly literary perspective and we can appreciate that he was conscious of the choices he was making in a two-stage process of composition and delivery. There are several references to his being proud of his preaching (and acknowledging pride as a sin) and to the satisfaction it gave him.⁷⁰ Tessa Watt makes the point that ‘in a partially literate society, the most influential media were those which combined print with non-literate forms’ and the delivery, and subsequent printing, of sermons by Heywood and other preachers, is a prime example of how such works reached the largest audience.⁷¹

From Heywood’s written sermons which survive, we can see more examples of practical instruction as to how the righteous should conduct themselves. In a sermon preached at Pontefract in 1693 and published in Vint’s *Whole Works* under the title ‘Holiness the Way of Safety’, Heywood offered guidance on both how women should behave within a marriage and the duties of husbands, making clear his view that wives ‘stand upon a level with their husbands, there being neither male nor female in Christ’.⁷² Around this time, Heywood had been active in promoting the ‘Happy Union’ between Presbyterians and Congregationalists,

⁶⁸ Add. MS 45964, fol. 63^r; HT I, p. 208.

⁶⁹ For a comparative comment on preaching styles, see James Clegg, *The Life and Character of Rev. Mr. John Ashe* (J. Noon at White-Hart in Cheapside, 1736), pp. 62-64. Ashe (1671-1735) was Nonconformist chaplain to the Hoghton family and minister at Ashford in Derbyshire.

⁷⁰ For example, Add. MS 45964, fol. 63^v; HT I, p. 208. WYAS, SPC 73, p. 15; HT IV, p.73.

⁷¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, Introduction, p. 7. For more background on the publishing of Nonconformists’ sermons, see Rosemary Dixon, ‘Sermons in Print, 1660-1700’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford University Press 2011), pp. 471-73.

⁷² Vint, *Whole Works*, V, p. 440.

leading a meeting of clergy at Wakefield in September 1691 at which he preached ‘well and suitably to the convention’, as Thoresby recorded in his diary.⁷³ In the Pontefract sermon, Heywood made the case for a greater degree of toleration, even if amalgamation seemed impossible to achieve. He stated his belief that churchgoers needed ‘to be of one mind, as to essentials at least, in the great and fundamental articles of faith, and, as much as can be, in accidentals and circumstantials too’.⁷⁴ While Heywood’s profession of irenicism can be seen as limited to mainstream Protestantism and excluded not only Catholics but also the more extreme sects and secessionists, he nevertheless voiced a simple plea in the sermon for mutual understanding and toleration:

Let us endeavour to avoid every thing that might hinder an amiable accommodation amongst Christian brethren.⁷⁵

The surviving sermons reflect the structure and style of the published treatises in dissecting a particular passage of scripture in terms of its practical application.⁷⁶ Heywood prescribed how to live the godly life through exhorting a code of behaviour, addressing potential objections and citing Biblical references. Foreshadowing the theme of his treatise *Advice to an only Child* (1693), Heywood delivered a sermon at Little Lever in April 1686, which was published by Vint under the title ‘Nature of Conversion’. In it, Heywood drew a parallel between the innocence and unsullied clarity of faith on the part of children and such qualities in true believers, inspired by a passage in Matthew’s Gospel, ‘except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven’.⁷⁷ Heywood repeatedly referred to his belief in salvation only for the chosen few (‘these people are a chosen

⁷³ Hunter, *Old Dissent*, p. 377. The union foundered on doctrinal differences and was dissolved in 1694.

⁷⁴ Vint, *Whole Works*, V, p. 440.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

⁷⁶ In an earlier publication than his collaboration with Vint, Slate published a collection of sermons by Heywood (re-printed in Volume V of the *Whole Works*) and his contemporaries. Richard Slate, *Select Nonconformist Remains: Being Original Sermons of Oliver Heywood, Thomas Jollie, Henry Newcome and Henry Pendlebury* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814).

⁷⁷ Vint, *Whole Works*, V, p. 491.

generation') and set himself the task of explaining the duties incumbent on the righteous to ensure their place amongst the elect.⁷⁸ While the focus of this thesis is not on the theology of Presbyterianism, the surviving sermons highlight the essential tension such theology contained. This spiritual anxiety, which Oxenham and others have commented upon, centred around the belief that, while the elect had already been chosen by God, it was imperative to live as godly and righteous a life as possible, at all times and in every action, in order to be numbered amongst those who were saved.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Any assessment of Heywood's overall achievement and legacy needs to take account of his public output, that is his published works and the sermons which are extant. While not a theologian of the highest rank like Perkins nor a polemicist on the national stage like Baxter, Heywood's published works are of significance as a contributory factor to his ministry. With regards to the sermons, we have just a sample from a lifetime of regular preaching, which was a key means of disseminating his godly message. Heywood left a legacy of varied literary forms and communicated in differing personas. Yet, with his published works, he occupied a firm place within the mainstream Puritan literary tradition of self-scrutiny, intense examination of the workings of Grace and teaching on practical theology. His public 'voice' was that of a steadfast Puritan, determined to sustain his faith for himself and for others, despite years of state-sponsored persecution. The world-view he expressed was naturally a product of his time and his education at Cambridge. It was also shaped by Presbyterianism being forced into Nonconformity. A rounded, multi-faceted personality emerges from his written output, one whom he would have been the first to acknowledge was far from perfect in religious observance

⁷⁸ Vint, *Whole Works*, V, 'Deliverance from the World', p. 497, 'A Stimulus to Duty', pp. 501-09.

⁷⁹ Oxenham, *Touchstone*, p. 53.

or personal behaviour, yet who strove to live up to the ideal, demonstrated a lifelong empathy with the suffering of others and personified resistance to what he regarded as misconceived, man-made laws, despite the inherent risks. His writing conveys to the modern reader all the differing facets of his personality and in the public space we see the self-disciplined Puritan preacher communicating through the Biblical rhetoric of his sermons and the spiritual guide through his treatises. (In the private space of unpublished material, we can see the severe self-critic, the ever-grateful pilgrim and the tireless, pastoral worker, resignedly judging humanity at times too.) However, it must be remembered that the public-private distinction is not clear-cut, as Heywood may have hoped that his journals would be published, with some editorial licence, after his death and that his ‘private voice’ would have been shared.

The written word, whether in manuscript or print, was undoubtedly regarded by Heywood as an important means of delivering his vocation. The primacy of the spoken word was well-established in Nonconformist culture, but the role of printed matter was also significant and Heywood deployed both means effectively, using Parkhurst’s professionalism in the published space. Nigel Smith highlights the ‘paradox’ of the Nonconformists’ stress on the importance of the spoken word while their theology was rooted in the Bible as the record of divine truth.⁸⁰ Yet they need not be mutually exclusive; Adam Fox concludes that the written and oral traditions were regarded as complimentary, rather than in competition. While Cambers stresses how reading religious texts was often a communal activity, whereby oral presentations of the printed word were shared.⁸¹ Putting the written word firmly alongside oral delivery, Heywood himself wrote, in his Dedication to *Heart Treasure*,

Blessed be God for good books ... there is an advantage in writing;
when preachers are dead or cannot speak, books may remain and

⁸⁰ Nigel Smith, ‘Nonconformist Voices and Books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557-1695* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), Volume 4, pp. 954-64 (p. 413).

⁸¹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 5. Cambers, *Print, Manuscript and Godly Culture*, p. 12.

instruct their surviving people, and what is wanted to the ear may
be compensated to the eye, (which some have called the learned senses).⁸²

⁸² Heywood, *Heart Treasure*, A³-A⁴.

CONCLUSION: A LIFE OF ACTION AND REFLECTION

O that this may quicken and rouze up my spirit to be the more active for god ... ¹

In January 1700, Oliver Heywood recorded that ‘it was confidently reported’ that he had died, apparently of apoplexy, at the house of his friend, Thomas Sharp, in Leeds. Reflecting on this rumour in his ‘Self-Reflections’, he thanked God for his survival and then, in the words above, re-dedicated himself to a missionary life in his seventieth year. From the evidence within the primary sources, it is apparent that this degree of commitment to his ministry is only one of the defining facets of his overall significance. The elements of his legacy will be summarised and evaluated here to substantiate the claim that his achievement was unmatched amongst his fellow Nonconformist clerics in the North of England and his position is of greater significance than has been previously acknowledged within the scholarship of post-Restoration Dissent.

Heywood was not in a unique position either as an ejected minister in 1662 or as an itinerant preacher in the 1670s and 80s. A.G. Matthews calculated that nine hundred and thirty-six ministers were ejected across England as a result of the Act of Uniformity and that eight hundred and twenty-four had been dispossessed over the preceding two years.² Bryan Dale lists one hundred and fifty-five clerics in Yorkshire alone who lost their livings between 1660 and 1662.³ Within this number, the figures of Eli Bentley, Thomas Jollie, Joseph Dawson and, to a lesser degree, Elkanah Wales, Richard Thorp and Thomas Sharp need to be recognised.

¹ Heywood Papers, British Library, Add. MS 45968, fol. 69^v; J. Horsfall Turner, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood. B.A., 1630-1702, His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books* (Bingley: T. Harrison, 1883), Volume III, p. 302.

² A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: being a revision of Calamy's account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-1662* (Clarendon Press, 1934), Introduction, p. xiii. His figures for Yorkshire are 52 ejected in August 1662 and 58 in 1660 or of an unknown date.

³ Bryan Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism and early Nonconformity: illustrated by the lives of the ejected ministers, 1660 and 1662* (J. Gregory et al, 1909), pp. 6-8.

They all collaborated with Heywood in his roving ministry to preserve Nonconformity in the West Riding and Lancashire in the face of the challenges of the post-Restoration Settlement. However, it is the central premise of this thesis that Heywood stands out from his contemporaries. This results from several factors: the success of his strategies of resistance to persecution, the longevity of his ministry, the geographical extent of his influence, the congregations which he established and, not least, the extensive records he kept of his physical and spiritual journeys, together with his published oeuvre. Claims for his importance need to be proportionate, in contrast to the hagiography of his Victorian biographers. Heywood was not a revolutionary nor an original thinker and nor was he a saint in the wider sense of the word, rather than in his Puritan definition. By his own admission, he was troubled by religious doubts and displayed common human weaknesses. His significance, therefore, lies in his contribution to the survival of Presbyterianism in the North of England through his unrivalled dedication to preaching and in his literary output, both printed and in manuscript form. By the time of his death, Heywood had become a leading figure in Presbyterianism in the North and had been instrumental in the establishment of several congregations across the Anglican parish of Halifax, in the light of freedoms granted after 1689. Through dedication to a specific community, allied to an inclusive approach to preaching salvation through grace, together with his cultivation of gentry support and the wider networks built up from his itinerant ministry, Heywood had achieved a position of influence and respect.

The research questions which stimulated this thesis can now be answered with the benefit of a detailed analysis of primary and secondary sources and with a considered judgement of what they reveal. Reviewing the first question around the effectiveness of religious persecution, with a focus on Yorkshire and the North of England, it is undoubtedly the case that attempts by political and religious authorities to impose uniformity in worship through the Clarendon Code essentially failed. Persecution of Nonconformists certainly took

place, both via the legal sanctions of physical imprisonment, heavy fines and loss of goods, and alongside the more informal means of threats, harassment and acts of intimidation. However, persecution wavered and was, at times, replaced by ambiguous periods of indulgence before being neutered by the Act of Toleration in 1689. Even when promoted as official policy, the degree and duration of persecution differed from place to place, depending on the attitudes of local magistrates and on the level of sympathy for Dissent amongst the local gentry. Heywood received crucial support from his followers and patrons, as did Wales in Leeds and Jollie in Clitheroe, and, like them, retained an influential position within his community.⁴ The key differences in his case were that his area of influence was much wider and that his ‘community’ covered multiple Nonconformist congregations and gentry households across the region.⁵ The concept of community encompassed the religious sphere, but was not confined by it. Its other dimensions meant that the intentions of religious oppression were often frustrated. In Coley and beyond, ties of kinship, social and commercial relations and an element of personal sympathy meant that Heywood was protected and regularly spared the full force of the persecuting legislation.

In short, state control over religious practice was undoubtedly patchy after the Restoration and allowed Nonconformity to survive and, in some locations such as Coley, to flourish, in the face of incompetent implementation or deliberate obfuscation. The narrative of a regime of state repression under the Earl of Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, promulgated by Robert Beddard and others, must now be refined to depict an increasingly desperate attempt to re-shape the Church of England along the lines of a High Church Anglican orthodoxy in the

⁴ He did not enjoy the security of tenure afforded to John Angier in Denton or Henry Swift in Penistone, who retained their posts despite their Nonconformity thanks to the support of, amongst others, the Mosley and Rich families respectively, because Coley had no gentry patrons.

⁵ Dale claims that ‘the formation of numerous Nonconformist churches, and the maintenance of an efficient Ministry were largely due to his exertions’. Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, p. 75. Hunter states that Heywood was involved in forty congregations across the West Riding and established seven within the parish of Halifax alone. Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent*, (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842), p. 413.

thirty years after the Restoration.⁶ As Anthony Milton has shown, the fact that the Restoration Settlement ended up excluding the Puritan wing of the Church, and other reformist groups, was not a foregone conclusion at the time.⁷ While the restoration of the monarchy received widespread support, the re-establishment of Episcopalian Anglicanism was the subject of intense opposition and debate, as exemplified by Heywood's attitude to the two developments. Even when legislated for, after the collapse of any serious attempts at comprehension at the Savoy Conference in 1661, religious uniformity proved to be an unattainable goal in Heywood's orbit, as elsewhere. The promulgation of restrictive laws against Dissenters can be seen to have backfired, in that it stimulated resistance to the new settlement and provided opportunities for more a widespread, if challenging, dissemination of the message of Dissent. Ultimately, the limit of the state's effectiveness in achieving its objectives was exposed, not via parliamentary opposition nor a national uprising, but by a mixture of determined local defiance amongst a group of clergy supported by a proportion of the laity and either apathy or downright disregard on the part of some of the law-enforcers themselves. Archbishop Sheldon could ensure acts were passed in Westminster, Charles II could issue (and be forced to repeal) declarations of indulgence amidst the political jostling at Whitehall and Richard Hooke could reflect these initiatives with edicts and actions of his own in the parish of Halifax, but the reality was that Heywood, Jollie, Dawson and others continued to practise their Presbyterian or Congregational ministry with sustained defiance. The strength of support which Heywood and his contemporaries received from both godly societies and wider parish communities meant that official means of enforcement were severely limited. What this tells us is that the power of informal, localised networks was capable of frustrating the formal legislation, despite its accompanying sanctions.

⁶ Robert Beddard, 'The Restoration Church', in *The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688*, ed. by J. R. Jones (Macmillan Press, 1974), pp. 155-75, (p. 164). John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (Yale University Press, 1991), p. 52.

⁷ Anthony Milton, *England's Second Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 444.

The second cluster of research questions revolved around Heywood's reactions to the climate of persecution and led onto further micro-analysis and contextualisation around the means of resistance. The stratagems to avoid arrest when preaching and the need to travel illustrate the insecurity of Heywood's existence and it is only with the benefit of hindsight that historians can appreciate the degree of success which the Dissenters had in evading the agents of the state. At the time, instances of ejected clergy preaching in an atmosphere of fear, having been informed that the constable was on his way, or of prayer meetings in private houses being interrupted by a raid, or of Dissenters being tried and imprisoned, could have felt as if the struggle to resist were over. What the longer lens of history can identify is that resistance in the North of England was both widespread and prolonged, even if it did not feel so at the time. The incidence of Heywood's dramatic pursuits and escapes needs to be seen alongside other evidence of how resistance was organised by the Dissenting clergy and how it was supported by their lay followers. The resilience of the network of itinerant ministers, the fact that regular conventicles were held in contravention of the penal acts and the encouragement of the next generation through catechising and support for the Dissenting Academies all attest to the Nonconformists' multi-layered approach to resistance. In addition to these actions, we can add the written output which underpinned the clergy's physical activities and which lends weight to the claim of a concerted strategy of resistance, in person and in print. A final, less obvious, area of resistance can be found in the pastoral dimension. The clerics' resistance took the form of an unequivocal defence of liberty of conscience in the theological sphere, of adherence to Presbyterian or Congregational principles in the realm of church governance and, perhaps just as importantly, of a reliable source of comfort for their fellow men at in times of need.

There is evidence that resistance by the clergy was matched, in many locations, by resistance by the laity.⁸ Alexandra Walsham argues that the binary oppositions enshrined in

⁸ Samuel Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England* (Brill, 2013), pp. 158-59.

legislation were simply not reflected in the reality on the ground, where relationships and behaviour were more blurred.⁹ The pragmatic reality of 'partial Conformity' becomes clear; individuals of nominally opposing religious persuasions attended each other's services within both the Established and Nonconformist Churches. Neighbours co-operated and supported local structures and relationships for mutual benefit, despite the rigid demarcations of parliament or the courts. Legislated toleration in 1689 meant that, in the closing decade of the seventeenth century, resistance was unnecessary and was replaced with a struggle against complacency, even if not all barriers to participation in public life had been removed.

The third area of research questions was focused on Heywood's specific experience and how his written work shows us not only his personal statements of faith but also how he responded to the instability and divisions around him. Through the microhistorical perspective, we can see his individual reactions to witnessed events and appreciate his emotional and spiritual journey. It becomes increasingly clear that a distinction needs to be made between the stated aims of his writings, produced in the tradition of Puritan self-examination and based on Ambrose's model of regular scrutiny, and the insights afforded by a more objective analysis. The minutiae of his local relationships and the way he developed his mission within the inter-related realms of family, godly society, chapelry and regional networks of support all help us to understand how he was able to operate so effectively and how he overcame the challenges he faced. The patronage which he enjoyed from the Puritan gentry and the repeated invitations to preach in their households or to other congregations testify to his wide influence and popularity. The mutual and enduring support identified between Heywood and other clergy, although not based on institutional structures, is part of the evidence of his leading role within this informal network. The argument for Heywood's centrality here is based on the number of

⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006) p. 270.

contacts he cultivated and on accounts of the role he assumed in guiding his fellow clergy at times of uncertainty, for example at the cancellation of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1673.¹⁰ The chronicling of his achievements and his self-doubts leaves us with a narrative of both spiritual and practical developments against a background oscillating between persecution and toleration. All these elements allow us to use Heywood as a 'key' to unlock the reality of religious life in post-Restoration England, to bring new insights into our understanding of the religious conflicts of the time and to make a claim for recognition of his life and works as being worthy of study.

The value of Heywood's written opus lies in its quantity and its variety. For his public and professional teaching, he used different media to disseminate his message; the central practice of extempore preaching in the Puritan tradition, which drew large crowds of hearers and where sermons could last for four or five hours, was supplemented by more informal prayer meetings, by catechisms for younger members of the Church, by debates and repetitions of sermons and by household conventicles. His published treatises offered as much practical advice to his readers on methods of worship and standards of behaviour as they did on the underlying Puritan theology. These can be seen as part-manuals and part-intellectual justifications for the requirement to live as godly and circumspect a life as possible, despite the surrounding temptations and examples to the contrary. For the more 'private' works of self-examination, he wrote in different genres: autobiographical narrative, daily diary entries and reflective pieces elaborating on his personal faith and spiritual struggles. He was not an exemplar and he never claimed to be one. However, he was no hypocrite and never failed to acknowledge his weaknesses. He lectured others, but from a position of shared guilt, rather than lofty omniscience and, perhaps because of these traits, he was all the more successful.¹¹

¹⁰ Add. MS 45965, fol. 92^r; HT I, p. 295.

¹¹ Although part of his own self-evaluation, Heywood regularly recorded instances of hearers being profoundly impressed by his preaching and inspired to repent and live a godly life. WYAS, SPC 73, p. 18; HT IV, pp. 74-75.

What is impossible truly to ascertain is the nature of the contemporary reaction to sermons or prayers and more research could usefully be done here. However, the evidence of repeated calls for Heywood to visit numerous churches and households, together with the financial support he received and the actions of his congregation in Coley in retaining him for fifty years, suggest a personal popularity. It is reasonable to assume that this derived from an ability to engage with his flock and to understand their dilemmas, whether religious or practical, to a degree that cannot now be confirmed from written sources. At the national level, the later penal acts can be interpreted as proof of the failure of earlier legislation and the need to tighten the law. Similarly, for Heywood, the continued attacks on him by his opponents (not least Hooke) can be interpreted as a sign of Heywood's success and impact. The survival of so much of his writings, incomplete but curated by his descendants, contributes to his significance in two ways: via insights it provides to social and religious history and by revealing Heywood's own energetic and enduring contribution to the Nonconformist cause.

In summary, it is the assertion of this thesis that Heywood deserves to be included in any list of noteworthy seventeenth-century Protestant Dissenters and that he changes our view of the nature of Dissent at this period through illuminating the daily realities of persecution and his practical and spiritual responses. His significance is derived from a combination of factors: his consistent stance of active Nonconformist opposition over a thirty-year period, his influence over many Dissenting congregations in the North of England and the survival of an extensive and varied corpus of writing. Beyond this, his significance for scholars is that he extends our understanding of how religious toleration survived even during periods of sustained persecution and how informal social structures withstood the pressures of legislation. Future research would be profitable to examine whether such figures as James Alleine (1634-1668) in Somerset or Thomas Dolittle (1632-1707) in London deserve a similar status and how their strategies of resistance compare to those of Heywood. While Heywood's experience was not

unique, this, in some ways, adds to the strength of his legacy: he was not an exception, but rather the leading proponent of a strand of Dissent whereby a small group of clergymen resolutely persisted in peaching and ministering to their flocks in defiance of the penal acts. Heywood was not operating at a national level; he did not participate in the various assemblies called to define a religious settlement either during the Interregnum or after the Restoration. His importance, therefore, derives in part from his impact and legacy across the Northern counties; by preaching repeatedly across the West Riding and parts of Lancashire and by ministering to gentry households in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Cheshire, it is fair to say that he influenced a great many followers in the ranks of Northern Nonconformists. He was far more than a Dissident parish priest or an academic theologian. Heywood was the leading figure in a small band of Nonconformist clergy who saw their role as bringing the Word of God to an extended geographical area. From the available evidence, we can see that Heywood was the one who travelled the most frequently and who covered the most ground in the years 1666 to 1689. Heywood was not alone in publishing his thoughts in treatises and written sermons, but his surviving oeuvre of sixteen publications is one of the largest extant (behind those of Baxter and Flavel).¹² Heywood was not the only clerical diarist of the era, but the twenty-four years' worth of entries about his health, wealth and struggles and the reflections on his contemporaries, together with a vast range of other life-writing, offer us an unparalleled archive. In turn, it invites further assessment of the typicality of the circumstances described. It is fair to conclude that Heywood's experience of persecution and resistance were shared by other Nonconformist clergy in the North of England. The historical and the literary planes coincide: Heywood was a leader in the survival of Presbyterianism in the North after 1662 and he left a chronicle of that achievement and of his own personality. Heywood's life and written

¹² A. G. Matthews lists 141 books by Baxter in a series of articles entitled 'The Works of Richard Baxter: an Annotated List', *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, XI. 2-5 (1932), pp. 102-12, pp. 125-39, pp. 189-205, pp. 228-36.

record of it reveal both the intentional autobiography of a devout Presbyterian and the unintentional picture of the foibles and prejudices of a recognisably human character. Through the intensity of the microhistorical prism focused on a first-person account, the lived experience of mid-seventeenth century rural England is brought into sharp focus in such a way that earlier conclusions about the isolationist attitudes of Nonconformists need to be revised, in the light of our appreciation of Heywood's spiritual inclusiveness, tolerance and pastoral endeavours.

The microhistorical lens allows us to recreate a picture of a man who combined Puritan ideals with the humane warmth of a fellow traveller. Whether Heywood can be labelled a 'pragmatic zealot', at the risk of an oxymoron, or a champion of civil disobedience, at the risk of an anachronism, is a matter of interpretation, but his life and his writings both attest to such labels. He provides a highly personal perspective, with a unique level of detail, on surviving the vicissitudes of an irrational and often cruel environment. In conclusion, it is no exaggeration to say that Heywood, in his dedication to his cause and the dissemination of his message, was one of the reasons why the promotion of uniformity failed in Northern England and why Presbyterianism survived to evolve and prosper in the centuries which followed.

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Bullett, Margaret, 'Post-Reformation Preaching in the Pennines: space, identity and affectivity, 1580-1660' (PhD, University of Huddersfield, 2016)

Faithorn, Robert, 'Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire' (MPhil, University of Leeds, 1982)

Oxenham, Sophie, 'A Touchstone the Written Word: Experimental Calvinist Life-Writing and the Anxiety of Reading Salvation, 1650-1689' (PhD, King's College, London, 2000)

Scott, David, 'Politics, Dissent and Quakerism in York, 1640-1700' (DPhil, University of York, 1990)

Thomas, Samuel S., 'Individuals and Communities: Religious Life in Restoration England' (PhD, Washington University in St. Louis, 2003)

Van Hyning, Victoria, 'Cloistered Voices: English Nuns in Exile, 1550-1800', (PhD, University of Sheffield, 2014)

Vivian, Claire L. 'Puritan Spiritual Diaries and Autobiographies in Seventeenth-Century England' (PhD, University of Swansea, 2008)

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Key Dates in the Life of Oliver Heywood and Key National Events

Date	Event in Oliver Heywood's Life	Date	National Event
1630	Born at Little Lever, near Bolton, Lancashire	1642-1651	Civil Wars
1647-1650	Attended Trinity College, Cambridge	1649	Execution of Charles I
1650	Appointed curate at Coley Chapel, Parish of Halifax Lived at Landsmere, Shelf	1649-1660	Interregnum and Protectorate under Oliver and Richard Cromwell
1652	Ordained minister by Presbyterian classis in Bury		
1654	Moved to Godley House, Old Godley, with brother Nathaniel		
1655	Married Elizabeth Angier in Denton, Lancashire Moved to Ebenezer Cottage, Towngate, Northowram		
1656	Birth of son, John		
1657	Birth of son, Eliezer Introduced 'discipline' for Holy Communion at Coley		
1660	Moved to Lower Ox Heys, Norwood Green	1660	Restoration of Charles II Act for Confirming and Settling of Ministers – restoration of incumbents to pre-Interregnum posts
1661	Death of first wife Excommunicated from Dioceses of York and of Chester	1661	Corporation Act – exclusion of Nonconformists from public life
1662	Suspended from post at Coley	1662	Act of Uniformity – ejection of Nonconformist ministers from Church of England benefices
		1664	First Conventicle Act – Nonconformist prayer meetings of more than five people from different households made illegal
1666	Began writing daily journal Moved to Coley Hall	1666	Five Mile Act – Nonconformist ministers banned from residing in or preaching within five miles of previous benefices or of incorporated towns
1667	Married Abigail Crompton in Salford, Lancashire		
1670	Goods seized for failure to pay fine	1670	Second Conventicle Act – strengthened existing sanctions

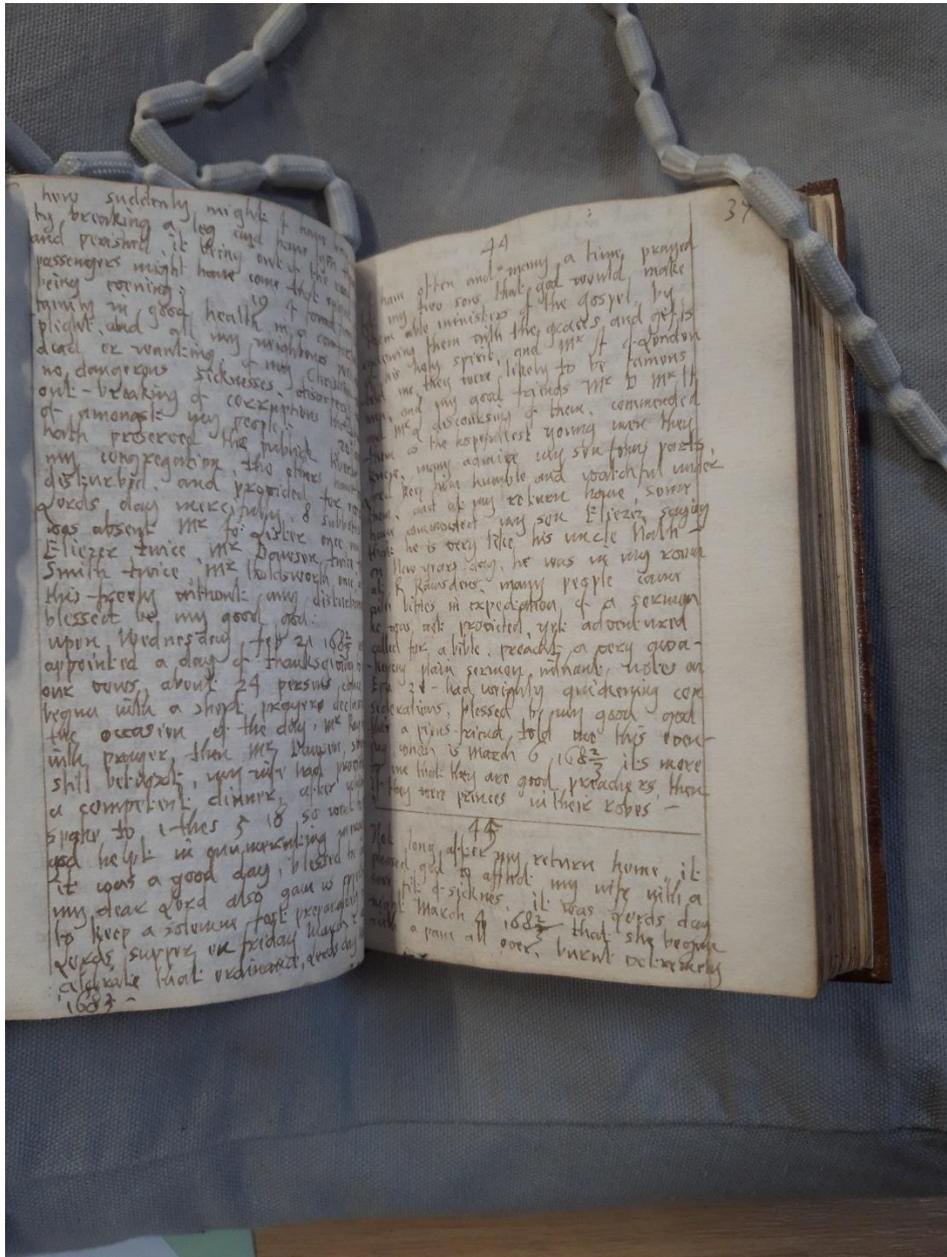
1672	Bought Ebenezer Cottage, Northowram Received licences to preach at Northowram and Warley	1672	Declaration of Indulgence issued by Charles II – licences granted to Nonconformist ministers
		1673	Declaration revoked
		1675	Licences withdrawn
1685	Imprisoned in York Castle	1685	Death of Charles II Accession of James II
1687	Received new licence to preach	1687	Declaration of Indulgence – granted religious freedom and suspended penal acts
1688	Founded and built meeting house in Northowram	1688	Glorious Revolution Accession of Mary II and William III
		1689	Act of Toleration
1693	Built school in Northowram	1694	Death of Mary II
1702	Died at Ebenezer Cottage, Northowram Buried at Halifax Parish Church	1702	Death of William III Accession of Queen Anne
1707	Death of second wife		

APPENDIX 2: Gentry Families at whose Houses Heywood Preached or with whom he had Contact

Family	Seat	County
Binns	Rushworth Hall, Bingley	Yorkshire
Booth	Dunham Massey, Altrincham	Cheshire
Cotton	Moorend, near Pensitone	Yorkshire
Crew(e)	Utkinton Hall, near Tarporley	Cheshire
Dyneley	Bramhope Hall, Otley	Yorkshire
Dyneley	Flanshaw Hall, Alverthorpe	Yorkshire
Fairfax	York	Yorkshire
Hewet	York	Yorkshire
Hewley	Bell Hall and York	Yorkshire
Hodgson	Coley Hall, Northowram	Yorkshire
Holland	Denton Hall, Denton	Lancashire
Hoghton	Hoghton Tower, near Preston	Lancashire
Hoyle	York	Yorkshire
Hutton	Poppleton, near York	Yorkshire
Knight	Warsop, near Mansfield	Nottinghamshire
Murgatroyd	Riddlesden, near Bingley	Yorkshire
Rich	Bullhouse, near Penistone	Yorkshire
*Richardson	Lassel Hall, Kirkheaton	Yorkshire
Rodes	Great Houghton, near Barnsley	Yorkshire
*Sharp	Horton Hall, Bradford	Yorkshire
Sotwell	Cat Hill, near Silkstone	Yorkshire
Stanley	Alderley Hall, Nether Alderley	Cheshire
Taylor	Wallingwells	Nottinghamshire
*Thorp(e)	Hopton Hall, Mirfield	Yorkshire
Wadsworth	Swath Hall	Yorkshire
Walker	Marley Hall, Bingley	Yorkshire
Watson	York	Yorkshire
Wharton	Kirkby Stephen	Yorkshire

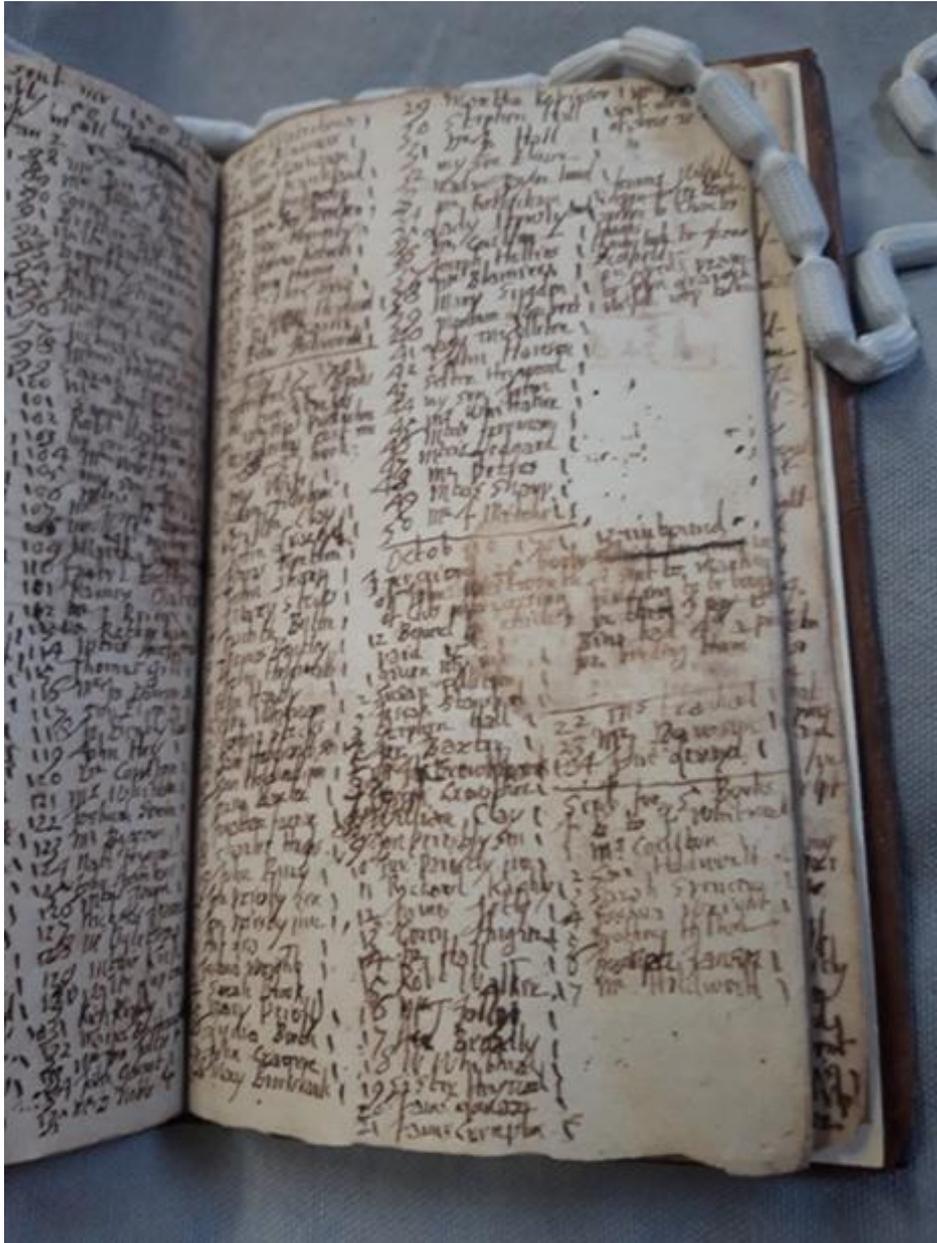
*Christopher Richardson, John Sharp and Richard Thorp were owners of landed estates and licensed Nonconformist ministers.

APPENDIX 3: Extract from 'Some Remarkable Returnes of Prayer'



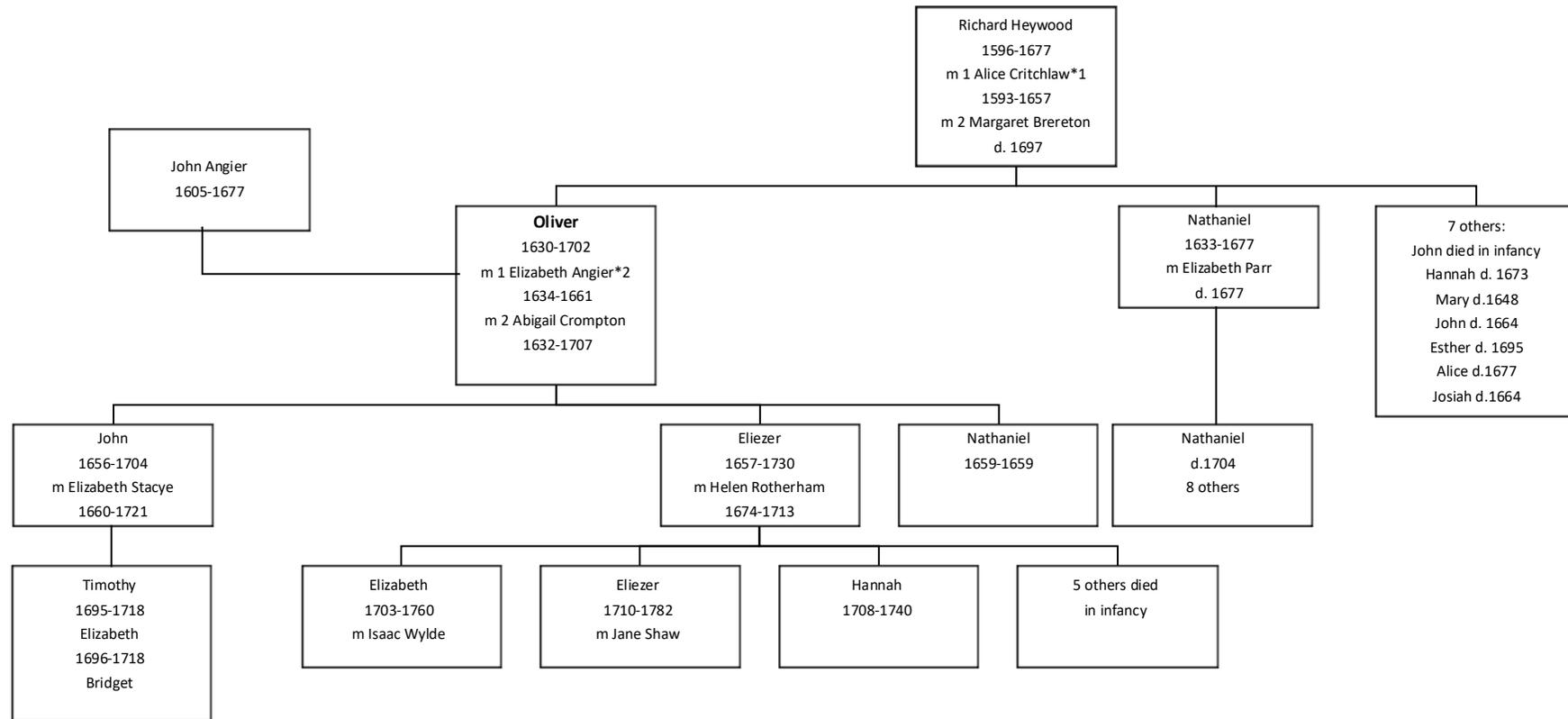
WYAS (Calderdale), SPC 73, pp. 36-37; HT IV, pp. 85-87.

APPENDIX 4: List of Copies of *Two Worlds*



WYAS (Calderdale), MISC 509/5, p. 63; HT IV, pp. 261-62.

Appendix 5: Heywood Family Tree



*1 - Oliver Heywood's mother
*2 - mother of Oliver's children

APPENDIX 6: Heywood's Published Works

Title	Publisher	Date
Heart Treasure , or An essay tending to fill and furnish the head and heart of every Christian...being the substance of some sermons preached at Coley in Yorkshire on Mat. 12.35 ...	Printed by A. Ibbotson for Thomas Parkhurst at the Golden Bible on London Bridge	1667
Closet Prayer a Christian Duty, or a treatise upon Matthew VI, VI: tending to prove that worship of God in secret is the indispensable duty of all Christians ... together with a severe rebuke of Christians for their neglect of, or negligence in, the duty of closet-prayer and many directions for the managing thereof.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns at the lower end of Cheapside Second edition	1671 1687
	Printed by J. Chalmers. Sold also by M. Trapp and J. Parsons	1794
The Sure Mercies of David , or the second part of Heart Treasure: wherein is contained the summ and substance of Gospel-mercies purchased by Christ and promised in the covenant of Grace: together with the several ways how they are made sure to all the heirs of promise and how they are to be improved for the saints fort and defence, settlement and incouragement in shaking and back-sliding times: being the fruit of some meditations on Isa. 55.3 ...	Printed by R.W. for Thomas Parkhurst and to be sold at his shop at the bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside near Mercers Chappel	1672
Life in God's Favour : A seasonable discourse in death-threatening times being the substance of some sermons on Psalm 30.5.	Printed for Dorman Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry	1679
	New edition printed at Brearley Hall, near Halifax by John Fawcett	1796
Meetness for Heaven : promoted in some brief meditations upon Colos. I,12 discovering the nature and necessity of habitual and actual meetness for heaven here, in all that hope for heaven hereafter. Designed for a funeral legacy.	Printed by J.R. for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside	1679
Isreal's Lamentation after the Lord , or A discourse wherein every well-wisher to Zion is excited, and directed after the Lord with prayers and tears, to maintain the ordinances of God, or Gods presence with his ordinances amongst us: being some meditations upon 1 Sam. 7.2.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside	1683
A Narrative of the holy life and happy death of that very reverend, faithful and zealous man of God, and minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Angier : wherein are related many passages that concern his birth, education, his entrance into the ministry, discharge of his trust therein, and his death. Likewise a collection of his experiences for many years application of scriptures, answers to cases of conscience, his dying speeches, grave sayings etc. Published for the good of the Church.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns at the lower end of Cheapside, near Mercers Chapel	1683
Baptismal Bonds Renewed : being some meditations upon Psalm 50.5.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside near Mercers Chapel	1687

A Family Altar erected to the honour of the eternal God, or, A solemn essay to promote the worship of God in private houses: being some mediations on Genesis 35. 2.3.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside	1693
Advice to an Only Child or an Excellent counsel to all young persons containing the summn and substance of experimental and practical divinity.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns at the lower end of Cheapside Second edition	1693 1700
The Best Entail , or Dying parents living hopes for their surviving children: grounded upon the covenant of Gods grace, with believers and their seed, being a short discourse upon on 2 Sam. 23.5: wherein is a collection of several covenant-promises to support the faith, and some pleas to direct and quicken the prayers of Gods covenanted people for their surviving prosperity.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside	1693
Job's Appeal: being a funeral discourse, delivered at Northowram in Yorkshire upon the occasion of the death of Mr. Jonanthan Denton, wherein a Christian's state is stated before God, and his sufferings from the hand of God cleared. Grounded upon Job, X.7.	Printed by Brabazon Aymer, at the Three Pigeons over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill	1695
A New Creature: or, a short discourse opening the nature, properties and necessity of the great work of the new creation upon the souls of men: Being some plain discourses upon Galatians vi.15.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns, the lower end of Cheapside	1695
Heavenly Converse , or A discourse concerning the heavenly Communion between the saints on earth and the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven.	Printed for John Back, at the Black Boy on London Bridge	1697
The General Assembly or a Gathering of all saints to Christ: wherein it appears that all saints in all places and ages, shall be at last gathered together to Christ their head. Together with the time, manner, ends and reasons of this last great congregation of all saints and what use may be made thereof. Being some mediations upon 2 Thess. II.1.	Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside	1700
A Treatise of Christ's Intercession: grounded upon Isa LIII.12. Wherein is contained an account what Christ's intercession is.	Printed for John Whitworth, Leeds and sold by Thomas Parkhurst	1701
The Two Worlds; Present and Future, Visible and Invisible; wherein is represented briefly the uncomfortable state of God's children in this world, and their earnest expectation of future happiness with God.	Printed for John Parkhurst	1701