

Clerical politics in
Lancashire and Cheshire
during the reign of
Charles I, 1625-1649

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy from the University of Sheffield

by

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July 2014

(revised after examination, November 2014)

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Abstract

This thesis explores the nature of clerical politics in Lancashire and Cheshire during the reign of King Charles I (1625-1649). Beginning with an overview first chapter of the religious situation in the county since the Elizabethan church settlement in 1559, the second chapter moves on to consider clerical reactions to the 'Laudian' innovations implemented in the Church of England during the 1630s. It demonstrates that contrary to a frequently assumed 'puritan' versus 'Laudian' dichotomy, puritan nonconformist clergy often complied with the innovations, and even held high position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy at the time. The third chapter identifies 1637 as being a particularly defining year in the development of a negative perception of Laudianism in the region, linked innately to the visit of the religious controversialist William Prynne to Chester (as a prisoner) in the summer of 1637. After the collapse of Laudianism in 1640, there was intense provincial interaction with the various proposals for religious reform then being debated in London after the assembling in November 1640 of what would become the Long Parliament, and the fourth chapter examines clerical interactions with these debates, most notably through petitioning, but also through the contacts which some clergymen (most notably the Cheshire cleric John Ley) had with prominent London-based politicians and clergy. The fifth chapter moves on to examine clerical roles in the civil wars fought after 1642, challenging assertions which have been made about both rival royalist and parliamentarian allegiances, but also about intra-parliamentarian politics. These analyses lead to a close focus upon the attempts to formulate an acceptable religious settlement after Parliament's military victory in the region in 1646, showing that support for presbyterianism in the region was not so much the product of promptings from the London press as the result of local religio-political dynamics.

Acknowledgements

Many people have been kind enough to share references and to discuss ideas with me regarding this thesis, and I hope that where particular thanks are due, that this has been noted within the relevant footnotes. I apologise to anyone if such thanks has been omitted. Primary thanks should be given to my supervisor, Prof. Anthony Milton, who has patiently read drafts of the various parts of this thesis and its associated journal articles and conference papers, and has seen it through to submission. My second supervisor, Prof. Michael Braddick, has also made some very helpful observations at particular moments in the writing of this thesis. Additionally, Dr. Joel Halcomb has discussed many aspects of this thesis with me, and my account of congregationalism in Lancashire and Cheshire would have been much weaker without his valuable input, and Prof. John Walter has been a constant source of useful references and insights on Lancashire and Cheshire gained from his own research on the Protestation oath, and I am grateful to him for sharing these with me. I am also very grateful to Dr. Andrew Foster for guiding my early research into the surviving archival materials of the province of York, and latterly, for kindly reading drafts of the chapters about Laudianism. Any mistakes and errors which remain in this thesis are my own.

I would like to take this opportunity thank: the organisers of conferences and seminars who have allowed me to share my ideas at their forums, and those who have asked the questions which have prompted me to shape and re-shape my findings; the archivists and librarians who have provided access to, and have answered queries about, what are often some of their more obscure holdings, and who have (when condition has allowed) frequently taken pity on me and produced original manuscripts so that I can take photographs and not have to traipse through reams of microfilm; and to James Pearson, to Hannah Probert, and to my girlfriend Samantha for some late help with the formatting of the spreadsheets included as appendices to this thesis.

For funding this research, grateful thanks are owed to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to the Department of History Research Fund at the University of Sheffield, and to the Friends of Cumbria Archives.

Finally, special thanks should go to my parents, to Alicia and Samantha, and to my other family members and friends for their love and support whilst I have pursued this enterprise.

Abbreviations

Clerical titles (in footnotes):

- C.: Curate.
- F.: Fellow.
- L.: Lecturer.
- P. C.: Perpetual curate.
- R.: Rector.
- V.: Vicar.

Sources:

Acts and Ordinances:

Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, eds. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: H. M. S. O., 1911), accessed via *British History Online*, URL: www.british-history.ac.uk

CCEd:

The Clergy of the Church of England Database, URL: www.theclergydatabase.org.uk

Due to its continuously changing nature, entries from *CCEd* have been cited individually, together with the date accessed.

Commons Journal:

The Journal of the House of Commons, accessed via *British History Online*, URL: www.british-history.ac.uk

Lords Journal:

The Journal of the House of Lords, accessed via *British History Online*, URL: www.british-history.ac.uk

ODNB:

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, eds. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed via the online edition: www.oxforddnb.com

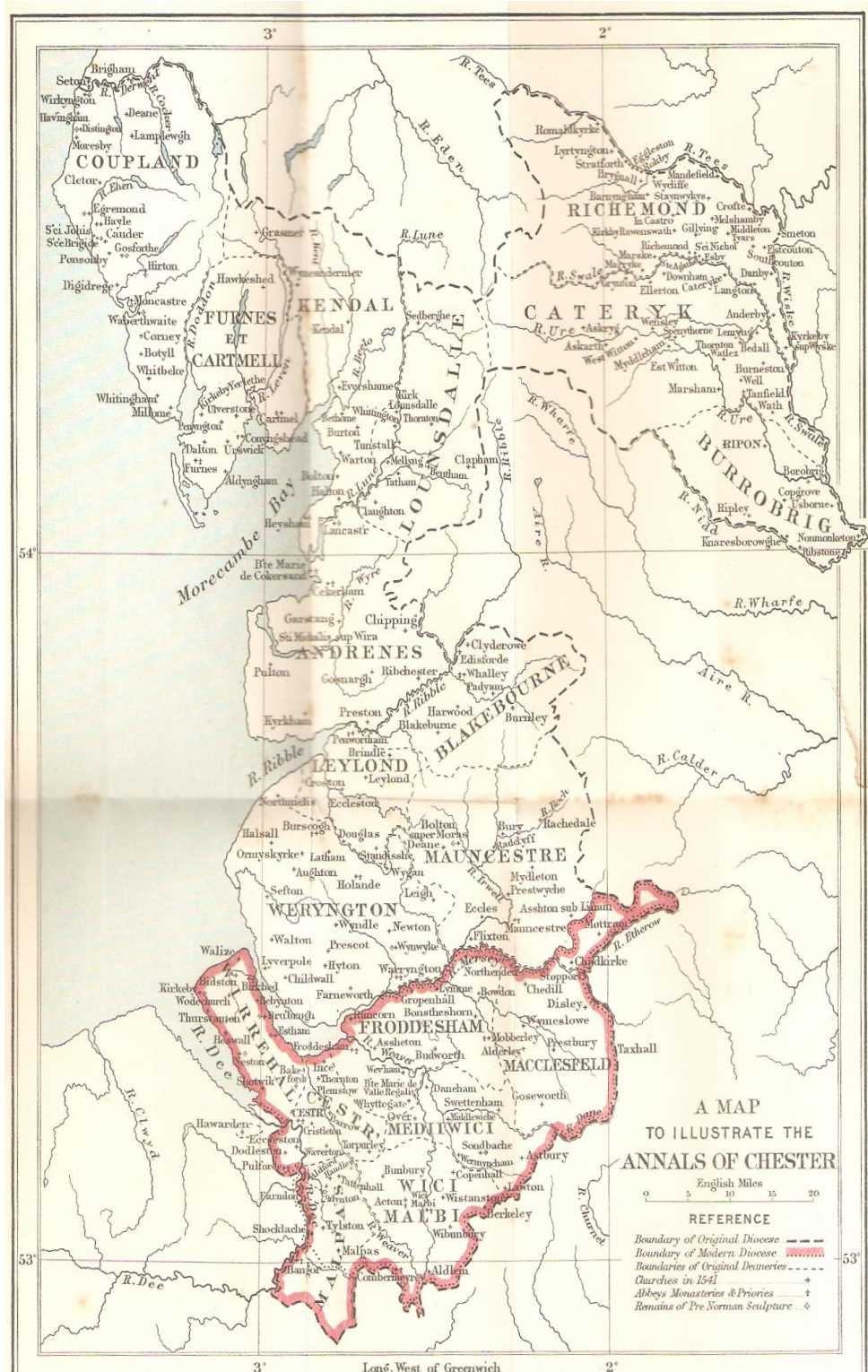
Note on dates

Dates are given in the old style, though the year has been assumed to have begun on 1 January rather than on 25 March i.e. the old style date '1 February 1637' is rendered in this thesis as 1 February 1638.

Note on publication

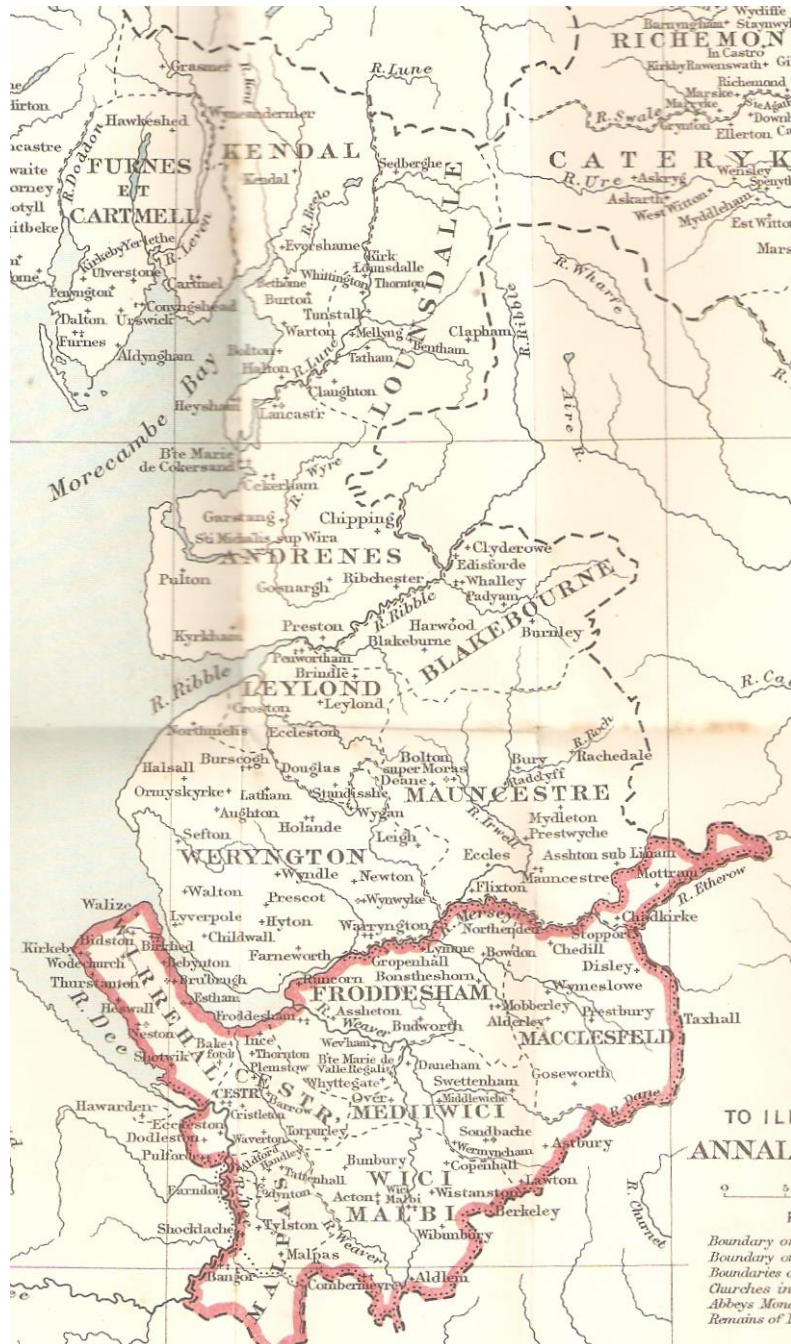
It should be noted that there are some small overlaps between this thesis and my article, 'The harassment of Isaac Allen, Puritanism, parochial politics and Prestwich's troubles during the first English civil war', *Historical Research*, published in online early view format on 12 March 2014, DOI: 10.1111/1468-2281.12056.

Map of the early modern Diocese of Chester, created 1541



Map copied from Rupert H. Morris, *Diocesan Histories: Chester* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895).

**Map of the early modern Diocese of Chester, created 1541
(focused upon Lancashire and Cheshire)**



Map copied from Rupert H. Morris, *Diocesan Histories: Chester* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895).

Introduction

This thesis will seek to investigate some of the major issues regarding the English clergy during the reign of King Charles I (1625-1649). Previous works have tended to chronologically divide the reign based upon the particular issues of that period, for example, by focusing upon the imposition of 'Laudian' policies in the Church of England during the 1630s under the archiepiscopates of William Laud at Canterbury and of Richard Neile at York, or on the politics of religious practice and settlement during the 1640s, a decade which witnessed two civil wars. This thesis will seek to transcend this division by examining the ways in which the clergy in the two north-western counties of Lancashire and Cheshire interacted with the broader religious and political developments of Charles' reign, particularly during the 1630s and the 1640s.

By taking this broader view, a more thorough picture can be gained of the earlier careers of clergymen who were politically active during the 1640s, allowing an assessment of the long-term significance of their interactions with the religious authorities during the 1630s. Such a chronological span will allow the thesis to answer some important questions: for example, there is a long and distinguished historiography which emphasises the linearity between puritanism and parliamentarianism, but we need to ask what the nature of this puritanism was, and indeed, to what extent did 'puritan' clergymen comply with the Laudian innovations, which were attacked as 'popish' from some quarters during the 1630s, and increasingly so after 1640?¹ However, by the late 1640s, a new generation of clergymen had emerged who had, in some cases, not even entered university before 1640, so this thesis will be mindful of generational gaps, particularly in distinguishing between royalists and parliamentarians who held their livings at the outbreak of civil war in 1642, and particularly for parliamentarians, the emergence of a new generation of clerics ostensibly loyal to Parliament after 1642.

It might be thought that historians have already adequately covered the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire in terms of their religious history between the Elizabethan church settlement of 1559, and the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Keith Wark's study of Elizabethan recusancy in Cheshire is a model of such an enterprise, though it perhaps revealed more about the state of the Church of England in Cheshire at this time than it did

¹ A recent restatement of the linkage between puritanism and parliamentarianism is Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Puritan Paradigm of English Politics, 1558-1642', *Historical Journal*, liii (2010), 527-550.

about the internal workings of the Catholic recusant community.² Consciously broader in scope was Christopher Haigh's analysis of the successive sixteenth century religious reformations in Lancashire, which has come to be regarded as something of a model study of such reforming processes within a largely reluctant local populace.³ However, both of these works largely draw to a close by the death of Elizabeth I and the accession of James I in 1603, meaning that the Stuart mantle is borne by Roger Richardson's study of puritanism in the diocese of Chester up to 1642.⁴ Some relevant aspects of Richardson's study will be noted in a moment, but due recognition should also be given to Daniel Lambert's University of Liverpool M. A. thesis about the clergy of the Church of England in Lancashire between 1558 and 1642, a project which perhaps does not get the praise which it deserves as aspects of Lambert's conclusions were incorporated, and formed the bases for, the slightly later (and published) research of Richardson and Haigh.⁵

In many ways, Richardson's work, alongside Patrick Collinson's famous *Elizabethan Puritan Movement* and William Sheils' study of puritanism in the diocese of Peterborough, was a pioneering study.⁶ In particular, Richardson uncovered (in the diocese of Chester, but in practice, his research was mainly focused upon Lancashire and Cheshire) a puritanism much more focused upon local deficiencies in the Church of England, and upon developing collective evangelical piety, than the puritanism uncovered by Collinson and Sheils' studies where collective evangelical pieties combined with a more politicised outlook than was seen in the diocese of Chester, for example, in their involvement with the presbyterian campaigns in Parliament during the 1570s and the 1580s. For various reasons which will be explored in the next chapter of this thesis, this more politically-charged puritanism was perhaps more typical of puritanism in the province of Canterbury (the main focus of both Collinson and Sheils' studies) than in the province of York. Collinson's book covered the reign of Elizabeth I, and Sheils' study concluded at 1610, and there is a sense that Richardson's study rather runs out of momentum as it moves forward from the Elizabethan period, something which is a shame as this thesis will suggest that the 1630s forged Lancastrian and Cestrian puritanism as the

² K. R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, Chetham Society, third series, xix (1971), passim.

³ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), passim.

⁴ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), passim.

⁵ Daniel Lambert, 'The Lower Clergy of the Anglican Church in Lancashire, 1558-1642' (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1964), passim.

⁶ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), passim; W. J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough 1558-1610*, Northamptonshire Record Society, xxx (1979), passim.

politically active force which its earlier manifestations arguably avoided. The controversial ecclesiastical policies of the 1630s are barely touched upon in Richardson's monograph, and instead, are covered somewhat superficially in a chapter published afterwards in a collection edited by his doctoral supervisor, Brian Manning.⁷ There is also very little in Richardson's work about the dynamics of puritanism within the city of Chester, with the contentious visit of the polemicist William Prynne in 1637 and its aftermath being barely covered, and furthermore, there is no awareness of either the petitioning campaigns of 1640-1642, or of puritanism as a basis for civil war allegiance.⁸ Looking beyond to the aftermath of the first civil war, John Morrill and Ann Hughes have both examined aspects of the attempts to secure a presbyterian church settlement in the two counties, and the work of both scholars raise some interesting questions which deserve further investigation.⁹

Historiographical issues

(i). *Puritanism:*

The work of, for example, Patrick Collinson, established how the 'godly', or 'puritans', formed a distinctive group within the Church of England (and therefore not separated), but noticeably different from their neighbours in terms of their standards of behaviour and the intensity with which they pursued their religious practice.¹⁰ Such difference could even

⁷ R. C. Richardson, 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities: The Case of the Diocese of Chester', in *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, ed. Brian Manning (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 1-33.

⁸ I owe the observation about Richardson and the city of Chester to Prof. John Walter. A useful review of Richardson's book, including some rather cutting (but fair) criticisms, is J. S. Morrill, 'Puritanism and the Church in the Diocese of Chester', *Northern History*, viii (1973), 145-155. More detailed interactions with aspects of Richardson's arguments will be found throughout this thesis. With regards to Prynne's visit to Chester, Richardson is not alone in neglecting the importance of this visit both at the time and in Prynne's own early 1640s propaganda, with there being no mention of these events in William M. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne 1600-1669* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), passim. Richardson does provide some coverage of Prynne's visit in his doctoral thesis, but it is hardly comprehensive, see R. C. Richardson, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of Chester to 1642' (Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1969), pp. 16-18. Perhaps the fullest narrative of Prynne's visit is provided in Rev. Canon Blomfield, 'On Puritanism in Chester, in 1637', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, iii (1885), 273-288.

⁹ John Morrill, 'The Church in England 1642-1649', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 148-175; Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp. 231-235; Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), ch. 5.

¹⁰ Patrick Collinson, 'Towards a Better Understanding of the Early Dissenting Tradition', in *The Dissenting Tradition: Essays for Leland H. Carlson*, eds. C. Robert Cole and Michael E. Moody (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), pp. 3-38; Patrick Collinson, 'The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful', in *From Persecution to Toleration: The*

manifest itself in the choice of baptismal names for their children.¹¹ Some historians, such as Tom Webster, prefer to use the label ‘godly’ rather than ‘puritan’ in their work, but in my opinion, making ‘godliness’ synonymous with ‘puritanism’ can downplay non-puritan forms of godliness, not least the ‘godliness’ exhibited by Catholic recusants.¹² Peter Lake’s understanding of puritanism is perhaps the most appropriate for this thesis, in that ‘puritanism’ consisted of subsets of behaviour which could often otherwise be found within broader protestant culture, and though nonconformity could form a part of such puritanism, puritanism is more appropriately defined in terms of such zealous protestantism, recognisable amongst their neighbours, rather than by simply box ticking nonconformists who refused to wear the surplice or sign the cross at baptism (though the historian, including myself, often has to turn to such an exercise in the absence of other evidence for judging the strength of protestant zeal).¹³ Indeed, Anthony Milton has usefully defined ‘puritans’ as being ‘those Protestants who were distinctive in their enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of true religion in a way which both themselves... and their hostile opponents... could and did recognise’.¹⁴ Meetings of the godly played an important role in developing such a distinctive sociability.¹⁵ In 1641, Thomas Paget, the suspended curate of Blackley in Lancashire, described the Cheshire ministers’ ‘monethly Exercises’ as being ‘spiritually

Glorious Revolution and Religion in England, eds. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 51-76.

¹¹ Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England’, in *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society presented to Joel Hurstfield*, eds. Peter Clark, Alan G. R. Smith and Nicholas Tyacke (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp. 77-92; Patrick Collinson, ‘What’s in a Name? Dudley Fenner and the Politics of Puritan Nomenclature’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, eds. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 113-127.

¹² For Tom Webster’s preference for the term ‘godly’ rather than ‘puritan’, see his *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 3-4.

¹³ Peter Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – again?’, in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), pp. 3-29; see also Peter Lake, ‘Puritan Identities’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxv (1984), 112-123. Further explorations into the nature of puritanism will take place within the first and second chapters of this thesis.

¹⁴ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 8.

¹⁵ Patrick Collinson, ‘Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in 17th-Century England’, reproduced in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 467-498; Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 134-140. For the Lancashire and Cheshire example in 1640, see John Ley, *Defensive Doubts, Hopes, and Reasons, For refusall of the Oath, imposed by the sixth Canon of the late Synod* (London: R. Young for G. Latham, 1641), ‘A Letter, declaring the occasion of beginning a manner of proceeding for the penning and publishing of the Discourse ensuing’.

glorious'.¹⁶ Samuel Torshell described fast days as 'dayes of pitch Battell', as the godly gathered together to pray and fast in the hope of prompting God to stem his judgements, such as plague visitations.¹⁷ Nonetheless, despite gatherings of the godly often having a distinct air of their separation from the reprobate,¹⁸ 'moderate' puritans remained committed to the Church of England as a national church, and rejected keener forms of puritanism which tended towards formal separatism. Instead, any nonconformist practices which they adopted were often moulded and negotiated around this broad commitment to the Church.¹⁹ As Patrick Collinson has usefully summarised, puritans were protestants whose puritanism became apparent at particular moments, such as during attempts to impose sabbatarian initiatives upon their communities, with their aim being to draw broader English society towards the ideals which they as a godly minority wanted to achieve.²⁰

As has already been noted, there is a long and distinguished historiography tracing the links between pre-civil war puritanism and civil war parliamentarianism.²¹ Recently, though, work by (for example) Isaac Stephens has pointed towards more complex relationships between puritanism and the appointed rites of the Church of England.²² Even as famous a puritan as the early seventeenth century Cheshire gentleman John Bruen had a page in his commonplace book entitled 'Out of the booke of common prayer', with selected lines from the Prayer Book being noted beneath.²³ This thesis will particularly interact with these debates, and it is fair to ask that if (as Stephens has shown) relations between puritans and the Church of England were not necessarily typified by determined and outright

¹⁶ Thomas Paget, 'An Humble Advertisment to the High Court of Parliament', in John Paget, *A Defence of Church-Government, exercised in Presbyteriall, Classical, & Synodall Assemblies* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), unpaginated.

¹⁷ Samuel Torshell, *The Saints Hvmiliation* (London: John Dawson for Henry Overton, 1633), p. 1; see also Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 251.

¹⁸ Peter Lake, 'William Bradshaw, Antichrist and the Community of the Godly', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvi (1985), 570-589.

¹⁹ 'Moderate' puritanism is usefully and succinctly defined in Peter Lake, *The boxmaker's revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 12-13. For some more expansive thoughts, see Peter Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), ch. 7.

²⁰ Patrick Collinson, 'The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth Century English Culture', reproduced in *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 121-122.

²¹ John Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 45-68.

²² Isaac Stephens, 'Confessional Identity in Early Stuart England: The "Prayer Book Puritanism" of Elizabeth Isham', *Journal of British Studies*, 1 (2011), 24-47.

²³ British Library, London, Harley MS, 6607, fo. 17r.; see also Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 234.

opposition, then perhaps equally complex relationships between puritanism and Laudianism, and puritanism and civil war allegiance, can be uncovered.

(ii). *Laudianism*:

As the previous section suggests, much of the thesis will be spent attempting to reassess the dynamics of Laudianism (including its relations with puritanism) within Lancashire and Cheshire. Until quite recently, the controversial nature of Laudianism was sometimes played down, with historians such as Ronald Marchant, Julian Davies, George Bernard and Kevin Sharpe all presenting arguments which were all variants upon the general point that Laudian policies were not so much innovatory as a pursuit of a renewed emphasis for full ceremonial conformity in the Church of England, with Bernard in particular taking a long term view in arguing that Laudianism tended towards the upholding of order, a longstanding concern of English monarchs.²⁴ Peter White's mainly theological arguments also played down the contentious nature of what may be seen as a Laudian ecclesiology, seeing it as essentially another manifestation of a longstanding trend within the Church of England towards the *via media*, and instead presented the road to civil war as having been the product of stirrings by puritan malcontents such as John Pym and William Prynne.²⁵

Reacting particularly against White and Bernard, Peter Lake demonstrated that behind such pillars of Laudian policy such as the railing of communion tables, the reordering of church buildings, and a certain anti-sabbatarianism lay a coherent ideology which saw puritanism as subversive, and that the best way of tackling puritanism was the promotion and enforcement of a people united in prayer in a national church, which, crucially, was the prerogative of the monarch and his bishops to order as they best saw fit.²⁶ Lake's model has proven to be very influential, and it is one which has borne heavily on my own thinking. Perhaps the most systematic expansion of Lake's model is by Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, with Tyacke himself having played an important earlier role in this historiography in his demonstration that the 'Arminianism' which provided

²⁴ Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960), chs. 4-6, 10; Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), passim; G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c. 1529-c. 1642', *History*, lxxv (1990), 183-206; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), ch. 6.

²⁵ Peter White published a monograph and several articles about this theme, but his ideas are summarised in his 'The *via media* in the early Stuart Church', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 211-230.

²⁶ Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the 'Beauty of Holiness' in the 1630s', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 161-185.

at least some of the theological bases for Laudianism had little precedent in the Church of England before the early seventeenth century (and which was the view that White and Bernard attempted to challenge).²⁷ Fincham and Tyacke demonstrated that with the notable exception of the diocese of Lincoln under John Williams, Laudian enforcement broadly saw the introduction of innovatory railed communion tables placed at the east ends of churches on an ‘altarwise’ (north-south) axis.²⁸ This interpretation also extended to John Bridgeman, the bishop of Chester, whose attitude towards Laudianism had been rather badly misinterpreted by Julian Davies due to some unfortunate gaps in his archival research.²⁹

However, whilst it provides valuable pointers for future research, and is impressive in its scope, there are gaps in Fincham and Tyacke’s *Altars Restored* where the north-west offers potential for development. The most obvious is that though all of England is covered, there is a bias towards the province of Canterbury, which was mainly the focus of Fincham and Tyacke’s earlier works. Andrew Foster has done much good work on Richard Neile’s archiepiscopate at York between 1632 and 1640, but many of his interpretations, whilst standing up to critical scrutiny, are based primarily on the provincial records available at the Borthwick Institute in York, rather than (for the diocese of Chester) upon the diocesan and parochial records available at the Cheshire Record Office in Chester. Indeed, not one item held at the Cheshire Record Office was cited in Foster’s doctoral thesis about Neile’s career.³⁰ A further criticism which may be made of Fincham and Tyacke’s *Altars Restored* is that little consideration is given towards puritan responses to Laudianism at the

²⁷ Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution’, in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 119-143; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), passim.

²⁸ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 5.

²⁹ Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, ch. 6. Davies’ views about the positioning of railed communion tables receive a particularly focused attack in Kenneth Fincham, ‘The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s’, *Historical Journal*, xlv (2001), 919-940. Unfortunately, Davies did not consult the records about the diocese of Chester held at the British Library, which are more explicit about the placing of the communion table than the often more vaguely worded manuscripts preserved in the church records held at Chester and York.

³⁰ Andrew Foster, ‘The function of a bishop: the career of Richard Neile, 1562-1640’, in *Continuity and change: Personnel and administration of the Church in England 1500-1642*, eds. Rosemary O’Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 33-54; Andrew Foster, ‘A biography of Archbishop Richard Neile (1562-1640)’ (unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978); Andrew Foster, ‘Church Policies of the 1630s’, in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 193-223; Andrew Foster, ‘Archbishop Richard Neile revisited’, in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, eds. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 159-178.

parochial level (though printed responses are well covered), and their focus upon the two famous cases of resistance to the innovations at Beckington in Somerset and at All Saints' parish, Northampton, followed by a briefer discussion of some cases elsewhere, may offer a tacit acknowledgement that puritan compliance with the innovations may have been more widespread than is sometimes assumed.³¹ This situation regarding Laudian compliance requires particular consideration for Lancashire and Cheshire, as the region contained areas of Catholic strength (which Alexandra Walsham has suggested provided constituencies of support for Laudianism), contrasting with other areas where both clerical and lay puritanism had become firmly embedded.³²

(iii). *Petitioning:*

Whilst this thesis will provide a thorough assessment of clerical politics in Lancashire and Cheshire between the first significant outbursts of discontent against Laudianism in 1637, and the outbreak of civil war in 1642, arguably the dominant historiographical debate which I will be interacting with regards to the various petitions submitted calling in various forms either for the reform of the Church of England, or for its broad preservation with only minimal reforms. These were followed in 1642 by petitions calling for accommodation between the King and his Parliament. Anthony Fletcher was the first historian to make significant use of these petitions in a national sense, using them to demonstrate the close interactions between Westminster and the localities in the formation of opinions regarding the future of the Church.³³ In examining petitioning in Lancashire and Cheshire, two very different challenges are presented. On the one hand, the Lancashire petitions, though apparently impressive in the terms of the numbers of subscriptions, have been largely ignored by historians, perhaps put off by the lack of any surviving manuscript petitions. Fletcher's own research on the Derbyshire petitions, though, has shown what can be achieved through the piecing together of local sources, such as gentry papers, and whilst Lancashire offers an even smaller body of sources than Fletcher possessed for Derbyshire, I will here look beyond the clergy to

³¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 222-224.

³² Alexandra Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Catholics and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlix (1998), 620-651.

³³ Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: Edward Arnold, paperback edition, 1985), passim, but especially chs. 3, 6. Perhaps the classic statement of the depth of the links between the centre and the localities in early Stuart England is Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *Journal of British Studies*, xix (1980), 54-73.

present the first systematic account of religious politics in Lancashire in the months leading up to the outbreak of civil war.³⁴

In contrast, one might suppose that the Cheshire petitions in defence of the Church, submitted to the House of Lords in 1641, have been covered exhaustively in the various writings about them by John Morrill, Judith Maltby and Peter Lake. Morrill's political account of the county formed the basis for Maltby's study, though as Malcolm Wanklyn demonstrated, some of Morrill's conclusions about the petitions are undermined by his apparent failure to consult the petitions themselves in what was then the House of Lords Record Office.³⁵ Whilst Maltby undoubtedly undertook a great deal of research on the petitions, and particularly about their subscribers, the fact that she uses the petitions as evidence of a coherent, committed, and indeed permanent, body of support for the Church of England, and in particular of its liturgy, the *Book of Common Prayer*, rather plays down the local contexts of the petitions, and instead, absorbs them into a national picture of affection for the Prayer Book.³⁶ Peter Lake consciously reacted against Maltby's interpretation, instead presenting the petitions as the product of particular political manoeuvrings in the months leading up to their creation, with their instigator, Sir Thomas Aston, being particularly responsive to promptings from the royal court in London.³⁷ Whilst Lake's account of the internal dynamics of the Cheshire petitions in defence of the Church is much preferable to Maltby's, his account does share one of the main flaws of Maltby's work in being very closely focused upon the internal dynamics of the pro-Church campaign, without paying any real attention to local politics beyond the petitions. The account of the Cheshire petitions in this thesis will examine all of the known campaigns, and will demonstrate the extent to which the petitions worked against each other, and also, responded to developments nationally.

(iv). *Clerical allegiances and personnel, 1642-1649:*

Anthony Fletcher and John Morrill have both argued, and David Underdown and Mark Stoye have both demonstrated within particular local

³⁴ A. J. Fletcher, 'Petitioning and the Outbreak of the Civil War in Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, xciii (1973), 33-44.

³⁵ J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), ch. 2; M. D. G. Wanklyn, 'Landed society and allegiance in Cheshire and Shropshire in the First Civil War' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1976), pp. 501-502.

³⁶ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim.

³⁷ Peter Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions: local politics in national context, Cheshire, 1641', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 259-289.

contexts, that religion was the main point of division as England headed towards civil war in 1642.³⁸ Morrill has suggested that it was an individual's attitudes towards religion, more so than their responses towards the various constitutional and fiscal abuses of Charles I's personal rule between 1629 and 1640, which offers the best explanation as to why individuals supported the side which they did. He has argued that it is no coincidence that the fundamental division between the royalist and parliamentary parties in 1642 was over religion, with the royalist party having emerged from amongst those who sought to defend the Church in its broadly Elizabethan and Jacobean forms, purged of the innovations in worship introduced during the 1630s, but with the integrity of its episcopal structure preserved, with the rival parliamentary party being formed in the spring of 1642 from amongst those who realised that military force might be necessary to defend the settlement of 1641.³⁹ This model received some support from Judith Maltby, who asserted that there was a link between the petitions in defence of the Church and royalist allegiance after 1642.⁴⁰

The existing region-specific historiography does not necessarily help in tackling the issue of clerical allegiance, particularly in tracing the religious backgrounds of those clergy who supported either King or Parliament. Within Lancashire, Gordon Blackwood's pioneering work on the county's gentry showed civil war allegiances emerging along religious lines, with those Catholic gentry who did not remain neutral supporting the royalist cause, whilst nearly three-quarters of those gentle families whom Blackwood labelled as 'Puritan' supported Parliament in their armed opposition to Charles I. In contrast, only seven 'Puritan' families (four per cent of the total) supported the King.⁴¹ However, John Morrill rightly raised problems with Blackwood's definition of 'Puritanism', with even the slightest evidence of criticism of the ceremonies or liturgy of the Church of England being enough to label a gentleman as a 'Puritan' in Blackwood's analysis.⁴² Indeed, in his own study of Cheshire, Morrill noticeably avoided any statistical analysis of the allegiances of the gentry in that county, beyond pointing out that 'most of the known Puritans were Parliamentarians and the handful of Laudians were Royalists; the Roman Catholics, with the

³⁸ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 407-419; John Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 45-68; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, paperback edition, 1987), ch. 7; Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), chs. 2-5, 10-12.

³⁹ Morrill, 'Religious Context', pp. 66-68.

⁴⁰ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 129.

⁴¹ B. G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-60*, Chetham Society, third series, xxv (1978), pp. 63-65.

⁴² John Morrill, 'The Northern Gentry and the Great Rebellion', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow, Longman, 1993), pp. 202-203.

notable exception of the Savages, were remarkably inactive'.⁴³ Morrill's broad brush analysis will later be shown to be problematic, given that in both Lancashire and Cheshire, the surviving records make it very difficult to identify more than a couple of keen Laudian ceremonialist clergy along the lines of those identified in large numbers in some southern counties, with Suffolk being one notable example.⁴⁴ Equally, from a clerical perspective, such analyses often have the effect of downplaying the involvement of puritans (including nonconformists) within the royalist cause, something which, in a region with a tradition of puritanism, is a not inconsiderable phenomenon. My work will also offer some comments on Ian Green's forceful dismissal of Mark Curtis' interpretation of civil war parliamentarianism as being the party of early Stuart England's 'alienated intellectuals', with Curtis pointing towards the support for Parliament amongst unbeneficed curates and lecturers.⁴⁵ In a region with high numbers of unbeneficed clergy, there is much scope for investigating the linkages between such clergymen and both puritan nonconformity and civil war parliamentarianism, to see to what extent Green's criticisms of Curtis remain valid when applied within such a region.

(v). *Post-war religious settlement, 1646-1649:*

In late 1646, a presbyterian church settlement was implemented in Lancashire, and though a similar scheme was never formally enforced in Cheshire, it is clear that by the late 1640s, a *de facto* presbyterian system of church government was operational there too. This thesis will examine the roles which clergymen played in campaigning for particular forms of religious settlement, both via print, and also through clerical networks which, whilst active locally, often had connections to London. The two historians whose arguments I want to particularly engage with are John Morrill and Ann Hughes. Morrill's work on religion during the 1640s often has a Cheshire dimension, being his native county and the focus for his early research, and he suggests that there was a lively constituency of support for the Church of England after the banning of use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1645 and the abolition of episcopacy in 1646.⁴⁶ For Hughes, the campaigns in Lancashire and Cheshire for the presbyterian church settlements in those two counties were intrinsically linked to

⁴³ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ *The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers, 1644-1646*, ed. Clive Holmes, Suffolk Records Society, xiii (1970), *passim*. For a national picture, see Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 67-84.

⁴⁵ Mark H. Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, xxiii (1962), 25-43; Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', *Past and Present*, xc (1981), 71-115, especially 93-109.

⁴⁶ Morrill, 'Church in England', pp. 171-173.

developments in London, but I do wonder if she perhaps goes too far in attributing local presbyterian agitation in Lancashire and Cheshire to promptings from London. In particular, she is keen to depict anti-Independent fears in the region as being the product of the impact of London-produced literature such as Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena*, but again, there are questions to be asked about the possibility that Edwards' influence, at least on the national stage, might have been overstated.⁴⁷ My own research will explore again the adoption of presbyterian positions amongst the clergy of Lancashire and Cheshire during the 1640s, and will aim to move the discussion away from a focus upon Thomas Edwards and his circle of likeminded clerics in London, to instead examine the political machinations in Lancashire and Cheshire, and indeed, how developments in those counties could impact on clerical presbyterian activists in London.

Evidential issues:⁴⁸

For a subject that has, in various forms, been tackled before, there is still room for further archival work, as well as for the further interpretative work which has already been outlined. Roger Richardson, for example, did not cite any evidence from churchwardens' accounts, nor, as John Morrill has pointed out, did he use any manuscript collections belonging to gentry families, something which I will particularly utilise in my reconstructions of the petitioning campaigns of 1640-1642.⁴⁹

With regards to this present thesis, the main evidential difficulties are mainly due to the uneven survival of sources relating to various parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, rather than necessarily their complete absence. Cheshire has the advantage over Lancashire in having a significantly greater survival of both churchwardens' accounts and of parliamentary administrative accounts from the 1640s, plus, within the London-based collections of the British Library and the Parliamentary Archives are major holdings which enable a far more thorough examination of pre-civil war politics in Cheshire than can be attempted for Lancashire. On the other hand, Lancashire has the valuable survival of Protestation returns from 1642 for most of the county, a contrast to Cheshire where such returns only survive for some Chester parishes. For both counties, William Shaw transcribed the relevant minutes from Parliament's Committee for Plundered Ministers between 1643 and 1660, whilst for Lancashire, his transcriptions of the surviving minutes of the Manchester and Bury presbyterian classes provide a rare resource which can be coupled with Henry Fishwick's transcription of the church survey of the county

⁴⁷ Hughes, *Gangraena*, ch. 5.

⁴⁸ All of the materials mentioned in this section are listed in the bibliography of this thesis.

⁴⁹ Morrill, 'Puritanism', 150.

conducted in 1650, in what is the fullest of the county church surveys undertaken after the regicide.

In terms of the diocesan records, good coverage of the archdeaconry of Chester (covering Lancashire south of the River Ribble and Cheshire) is available in the records held at the Cheshire Record Office at Chester, with the same collections also shedding some light on the archdeaconry of Richmond (which included Lancashire north of the River Ribble). The collections at Chester contain a very good series of consistory court case files, which shed much illuminating detail on the cases detailed, as well as visitation records. The materials held at Chester are supplemented by the collections at the Borthwick Institute at York, and in particular the court books for the metropolitan visitations of the diocese of Chester in 1630 and 1633. However, the diocese of Chester does have an advantage over most other dioceses in that the personal papers of John Bridgeman, its bishop during the 1630s and the early 1640s, survive at the Staffordshire Record Office at Stafford. These manuscripts provide a valuable insight into ecclesiastical politics during the 1630s unavailable via the diocesan records, and indeed, enable the reconstruction of the events surrounding William Prynne's visit to Chester in 1637 which would otherwise only be traceable via Prynne's own later writings. Further papers relevant to ecclesiastical politics in Cheshire during the 1630s survive amongst the Harley manuscripts held at the British Library in London, which, being largely parochial in nature, give a valuable additional dimension to studies of the diocese.

In addition, I have consulted the four surviving sets of churchwardens' accounts from the Yorkshire part of the archdeaconry of Richmond, held at the North Yorkshire Record Office at Northallerton, in order to complete the picture of that northern archdeaconry. Unfortunately, though, the archdeaconry of Richmond collection held at the West Yorkshire Archive Service office at Leeds does not contain any information relevant to clerical politics, the main subject of this thesis.

Description of the ecclesiastical administration of Lancashire and Cheshire:

The two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, separated to the west by the River Mersey, lay along the western seaboard of north-western England, straddled between the Welsh border and the Irish Sea on the western side, and the Pennines on the eastern side. This was a largely rural area, with Chester and Manchester comfortably being the two most populous settlements in Cheshire and Lancashire respectively. By way of geographical peculiarity, the northernmost part of Lancashire was physically

separated from the rest of the county by Morecambe Bay, meaning that apart from attempting a dangerous crossing of the sands, journeying between the two parts of the county via land required a passage through Westmorland. Apart from the Lancashire township of Aighton, Bailey and Chaigley which was situated within the West Yorkshire parish of Mitton in the diocese of York, the whole of the two counties lay within the diocese of Chester, carved out of the dioceses of York and of Coventry and Lichfield in 1541, and stretching from north Wales along the west coast to Workington in Cumberland, and then eastwards to Romal Kirk in the far north of Yorkshire.⁵⁰ It included large tracts of land (such as the west coast of Cumberland and northern Yorkshire) which were much more accessible from the cities of Carlisle, Durham or York than they were from Chester; indeed, the fairly complete ordination register for the diocese of Carlisle during this period reveals that significant numbers of men from the northern parts of the diocese of Chester were ordained by the bishops of Carlisle.⁵¹ There were some anomalies at the south of the diocese, along the Cheshire and Shropshire border: Marbury chapelry in Cheshire lay within Whitchurch parish, whose parish church lay within Shropshire and the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, but Marbury chapelry was nonetheless administered by the diocese of Chester. The diocese consisted of three archdeaconries, Bangor (covering the north Welsh portion of the diocese), Chester and Richmond, with the two latter archdeaconries being separated by the River Ribble which ran from east to west in the centre of Lancashire, and which until 1541 was the north-western boundary between the dioceses of York and of Coventry and Lichfield, and between the provinces of York and Canterbury. In 1541, the whole of the diocese of Chester was placed under the jurisdiction of the province of York.⁵²

⁵⁰ Additionally, Whitewell chapelry in the West Riding of Yorkshire lay within the Lancashire parish of Whalley, and thus within the diocese of Chester.

⁵¹ Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, DRC 1/3.

⁵² The scope of the diocese of Chester is neatly overviewed in Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 1.

Chapter One: The Church of England in Lancashire and Cheshire, c. 1559- 1625

This chapter will outline the progress of protestant religious reformation in the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire between the Elizabethan church settlement in 1559 and the death of James I in 1625.¹ It will examine the extent to which ‘reformed’ religious practice was successfully implemented in the region, and will examine some of the disparities within the region, between areas where protestantism quickly became established, and other areas where Catholicism remained strong. It will also highlight the impact of puritanism upon the region, and linked to this, will investigate the role which ecclesiastical patronage played in promoting this particularly evangelical form of protestantism. The aim, thus, is to provide a contextual outline of these formative years for protestantism in the two counties, providing a backdrop for studies later in the thesis about the disruptive impact of Laudian ceremonialism during the 1630s, and also of the responses of the clergy to civil war and religious reform during the 1640s.

The early years of Elizabethan protestantism

In 1559, Elizabeth I’s parliament passed legislation which attempted to make a break from her late half-sister Mary I’s efforts to restore Catholicism in England.² The progress of this reformation in Lancashire and

¹ A useful short survey of the issues outlined in this chapter can be found in S. J. Lander, ‘The Diocese of Chester, 1540-1660’, in *A History of the County of Chester*, ed. B. E. Harris (3 vols., London: Institute of Historical Research, 1979-1987), iii. 12-36. For a focus on financial matters, see Christopher Haigh, ‘Finance and administration in a new diocese: Chester, 1541-1641’, in *Continuity and change: Personnel and administration in the Church in England 1500-1642*, eds. Rosemary O’Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 145-166.

² The settlement of 1559 may be summarised as thus: England once again broke from Rome, with Elizabeth being granted the title of ‘supreme governor’ of the Church of England. A revised version of the *Book of Common Prayer* was implemented by the Act of Uniformity, representing an amalgamation of the two editions of 1549 and 1552 issued during the reign of Elizabeth’s half-brother, Edward VI. A one shilling penalty was to be enforced on individuals for each week’s absence from church services. Altars were ordered to be removed and replaced with wooden communion tables. However, in other ways, the church settlement was less decisive a break from Catholic practice than it could have been. Clergymen were still to wear full Catholic-style vestments whilst leading services, and though the full enforcement of this requirement was tacitly dropped, the wearing of the clerical surplice would be an issue of much controversy for many years to come. Also, by combining the communion rite from the 1549 Prayer Book with that from the 1552 edition, the rite was much more ambiguous about the issue of the real presence in the Lord’s Supper than the 1552 rite had been. Elizabeth would also have liked to have restored rood screens in churches (she had been aghast at acts of iconoclasm conducted in tangent with the visitations of southern dioceses conducted by royal commissioners in 1559), but only backed down after several of her newly-appointed bishops threatened to resign if crucifixes

Cheshire was slow, being hindered by the conservative attitudes of clergy and laity alike. Compliance in the cathedral city of Chester had been swift: at the 1559 visitation, it was reported that ‘Mistress Dutton kepith secreatlye a Rode, too pictures and a masse boke’ which had been removed from St. Peter’s church, and a stone altar was removed from St. Mary’s church in 1562.³ Progress in other parts of the diocese was more dilatory. In August 1564, the churchwardens of twenty of the thirty-four parishes in south Lancashire visited the previous year by William Downham, Elizabeth’s new bishop of Chester, were issued with orders, presumably about the removal of images and altars from churches.⁴ In Lancashire, the altar at Preston church still stood in 1574, and the rood loft at Stalmine chapel was only removed in 1590.⁵ Some of the clergy were equally intransigent. At the 1563 visitation, of the ninety-eight clergymen who appeared from south Lancashire, only fifty-five acknowledged the royal supremacy and the *Book of Common Prayer*, with twenty-three not taking the oath and a further six being explicitly ‘excused’ from taking the oath.⁶ In the aftermath of the church settlement, eight out of Lancashire’s fifty-seven parishes forcibly ‘lost their rector or vicar’, and ‘of the ten men definitely deprived... six became recusant priests’.⁷ Aside from forcible deprivations, Haigh has estimated that ‘no fewer than 151 clergy withdrew from service between 1554 and 1565 in south Lancashire alone’, with at least some of these clergy becoming active as Catholic recusant priests.⁸ As Haigh points out, this was just one possible response to the Elizabethan settlement, with many other clergymen continuing to incorporate Catholic rites into their continued service as parish ministers in the Church of England. In 1564, the curate of Farnworth in Prescott parish allowed candles to be lit in the chapel on Candlemas Day, the vicar of Huyton continued to use holy water, and the curate of Liverpool amended the Prayer Book to suit his own views.⁹ At Holy Trinity parish, Chester, the clergyman in 1562 was found to be reading the Prayer Book services in such a way as to sound like the Latin Mass.¹⁰ The ecclesiastical commission at Chester was often lenient towards such

were to be imposed in churches, and she herself ordered in 1561 that rood lofts be removed from churches. For further details, see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 237-245.

³ K. R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, Chetham Society, third series, xix (1971), 5; Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 245.

⁴ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 212.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁰ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 248.

conservatives, with a token submission usually being sufficient for a minister to be allowed to continue with his ministry.¹¹

William Downham's episcopate at Chester was much maligned by contemporaries (as it has also been by historians), culminating in some of Downham's powers being appropriated by the High Commission at York in October 1568, and Downham having his authority inhibited in 1571-1572 whilst Richard Barnes, the bishop of Carlisle, conducted a visitation.¹² It has already been noted that Downham excused subscription for some clerics in south Lancashire in 1563, but it is notable that the reductions of Downham's power by the authorities came after he had conducted a visitation in 1568 and reported to William Cecil that he had 'found the people very tractable and obedient', a report which obviously did not convince his superiors.¹³ Whilst some evangelical protestants came into livings in the diocese of Chester during Downham's episcopate, with Richard Midgley being appointed as vicar of Rochdale in 1561, it would be in the 1570s and beyond when protestantism would really take root in the diocese of Chester.¹⁴

Aside from the practical problems of establishing protestantism in Lancashire and Cheshire, it was during the first decade after the Elizabethan settlement that the Church of England formally adopted the 'Calvinism' which would be the dominant theological position within the Church of England until it was challenged by the promotion of 'anti-Calvinist' (sometimes labelled as 'Arminian') attitudes during the 1620s.¹⁵ In 1563, the convocation of Canterbury passed the broadly Calvinist Thirty-Nine Articles as the official doctrinal statement of the Church of England, enshrining a belief in predestination and a rejection of transubstantiation in the communion, though Christ's spiritual presence was obtainable to believers via the receipt of the sacrament.¹⁶ Calvinism would become the dominant religious culture with the educated elites, and the authorised

¹¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 217.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

¹³ C. S. Knighton, 'Downham, William (1510/11-1577)', *ODNB*. Elizabeth had already rebuked Downham earlier in 1568 for his ineffectiveness.

¹⁴ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 221-222.

¹⁵ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 119-143. It should be noted that whilst, as Patrick Collinson has argued, English Calvinists identified themselves as being part of a broader reformed tradition, English Calvinism was in practice negotiated around the peculiarities of the Church of England and of Elizabeth I's church settlement of 1559, see his 'England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640', reproduced in *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 75-100.

¹⁶ Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 458.

English Bible, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, contained Calvinist marginalia.¹⁷ Calvinism became widely acknowledged as being true doctrine.¹⁸ In this sense, as Patrick Collinson has argued, 'English Calvinism was not equivalent to puritanism'.¹⁹ Whilst puritans were perhaps those who had taken Calvinism most to heart, and some puritans exhibited their beliefs during Elizabeth I's reign in calling for the further reform of the Church, Calvinist beliefs were nonetheless held to a much broader extent within English society than a simple equation with puritanism would credit.

Converting parishes: A model for the spread of protestantism and the survival of Catholicism in Lancashire and Cheshire

The relatively slow progress of religious reformation in northern England dramatically became a telling issue for the authorities in London with the rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569-1570. Though the rebellion was ultimately unsuccessful, and Lancashire's distance from the landholdings of the protagonist earls of Northumberland and Westmorland seems to have kept the county outside of the rebellion, there were stirrings in the Carlisle area and in Durham and Yorkshire.²⁰ The failure of the rebellion may well have given the authorities new impetus for pursuing religious reform. In the diocese of York, the death in 1568 of the archbishop, Thomas Young, and his succession in 1570 by Edmund Grindal represented a change of approach, with Grindal soon after his institution conducting a metropolitanical visitation to ensure the use of the Prayer Book and the stripping of images from churches, and appointing some forty preachers from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.²¹ Meanwhile, in the diocese of Chester, Bishop Downham's inefficiency had meant that by the time of Bishop Barnes' visitation in 1572, the situation had, in Christopher Haigh's phrase, 'been allowed to get out of hand'.²² There would be no dramatic change in Downham's style before his death in November 1577, and it was

¹⁷ Tyacke, 'Puritanism', p. 120; P. G. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, cxiv (1987), 34-35; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 2.

¹⁸ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), pp. 36-37.

¹⁹ Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism', p. 91.

²⁰ Williams, *Later Tudors*, pp. 256-258; Margaret Clark, 'Best, John (d. 1570)', *ODNB*; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 252.

²¹ Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 6-17. Marchant blamed Thomas Young's conservatism for the rebellion. Similarly energetic to Grindal was Richard Barnes, who had succeeded John Best as the bishop of Carlisle in 1570. Barnes' visitation articles for the parish of Crosthwaite in Cumberland in 1571 reveal a desire to eradicate surviving Catholic festivals, and between 1571 and 1576, seven clergy in his diocese were deprived for refusing to subscribe to the new Thirty-Nine Articles. Barnes' hard work was rewarded by his translation to Durham in 1577; see David Marcombe, 'Barnes, Richard (1532?-1587)', *ODNB*.

²² Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 224.

only when the archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, conducted a visitation whilst the see was vacant in 1578 that the scale of Catholic recusancy in the county was revealed (304 recusants and forty-three non-communicants), and even those figures, Haigh speculates, were underestimates.²³ It would be left to Downham's successor, William Chadderton, consecrated in 1579, to bring a new dynamism to the promotion of protestant reformation in the diocese of Chester.²⁴ Just one brief example will illustrate the differences between Downham and Chadderton's episcopates. In seventeen years as bishop, Downham ordained an average of twenty-two men a year, of whom only four were graduates. In contrast, Chadderton ordained on average less than four men a year, and out of a total of eighty ordinands, twenty-nine were graduates.²⁵ Chadderton's emphasis was on quality, not quantity, ordaining literate men capable of spreading a faith based upon the Word.

Yet, even with Chadderton being a bishop committed to religious reform, there were significant regional and local variations between areas where protestantism took root; other areas where Catholicism was sustained by either former parish priests or by missionary priests; and areas where, despite the slow impact of protestantism, the lack of attention from Catholic priests meant that the old religion received little sustenance. This section will seek to outline these geographical variations, and to suggest the parish as a model to explain the success of reformation.

Of the two counties studied in this thesis, the work of Christopher Haigh means that Lancashire is the county most suitable for explaining the variations in the spread of reformation at the micro level. At deanery level, Manchester deanery in the south-east of the county was by far the deanery where protestantism had most firmly taken root by the time of Elizabeth I's death in 1603. In contrast, the deaneries of Amounderness, Leyland and Warrington were the deaneries where Catholicism remained strong and (crucially) sustained, whilst the deanery of Blackburn witnessed the most mixed situation, with Catholic recusants many in the north of the deanery but few in the south. At the north of the county, the deaneries of Kendal, Lonsdale and Furness were localities where neither old Catholicism nor new protestantism received sustained sustenance, though the lack of an adequate detection mechanism may serve to underestimate the strength of Catholicism in that area.²⁶ There was also a disparity in clerical quality: whilst, in 1610, forty-nine out of 114 ministers in Lancashire were

²³ Ibid., pp. 263-264.

²⁴ Christopher Haigh, 'Chaderton, William (d. 1608)', *ODNB*.

²⁵ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 239.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 316-321.

preachers, only seventeen out of sixty ministers in the northern deaneries were preachers.²⁷

The progress of reformation has not been examined in Cheshire to the same depth which Haigh examined the situation in Lancashire, but some broad suggestions can be made. In Cheshire, Roger Richardson found that 'puritanism', or more evangelical protestantism, was strongest in the eastern side of Cheshire, to the south of Manchester. In contrast, it was much weaker in Malpas deanery, alongside the Welsh border.²⁸ This coincides with the south-western part of Cheshire where Catholic recusancy was at its strongest. Of twenty-six people presented before the Chester ecclesiastical commission in 1577 for non-attendance at church, 'three were from Chester, six from the Wirral and seven from the south-west, around Bunbury and Malpas'.²⁹ In 1582, of the forty-six people indicted before the Cheshire quarter sessions for absence from church, twenty-three came from Malpas parish, with another five coming from Bunbury parish.³⁰

To explain these patterns, it is easier to examine reasons why Catholicism survived and was sustained in certain regions, before seeking to explain why protestantism flourished in some areas and was at least able to offer a challenge to Catholicism in other areas. Catholic gentry played an important role in supporting Catholic priests and recusants: there were reputedly only Catholic tenants on the Blundell family's estates at Crosby during the seventeenth century.³¹ Haigh, though, stressed that the gentry's role was not essential in sustaining Catholicism, as several Lancashire parishes, such as Poulton-le-Fylde, Chipping and Ribchester, had large numbers of recusants despite the lack of Catholic gentry in those parishes.³² Nonetheless, Haigh found that recusancy in the southern deaneries of Amounderness, Leyland and Warrington was generally found in large multi-township parishes with a number of Catholic gentry families, whilst the parishes in those deaneries which had few recusants, such as Brindle and North Meols, were consolidated parishes which were presumably easier for a clergyman to minister adequately to his flock.³³ Haigh found that the situation in Blackburn deanery, where protestant reform was 'mixed' with Catholic recusancy, 'almost defies geographical analysis'.³⁴ However, one wonders if the situation may be explained by the fact that in a survey of

²⁷ Ibid., p. 243.

²⁸ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy*, p. 31.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

³¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 283.

³² Ibid., p. 284.

³³ Ibid., pp. 318-319.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 317-318.

circa 1610, of the three parishes in Blackburn Hundred containing twenty-two chapels, thirteen chapels had a stipendiary curate, four were served by lay readers, and a further four were unserved.³⁵

In many ways, the successes and failures of protestant ministers in the Church of England and of Catholic priests in southern Lancashire were inextricably linked (the north of the county suffered from both a lack of protestant preachers and neglect by Catholic missionary priests).³⁶ Eccleston was served as rector by Gilbert Towneley, who was also the chaplain to the earl of Derby, and in 1578 it was reported that he had never performed a service there since his institution to the living in 1563. In 1619, there were 169 recusants in the parish.³⁷ Deane was the only parish in the Manchester deanery to have ‘a significant recusancy problem’, and Haigh speculates that it may have been no coincidence that the vicar there in the 1590s and 1600s, James Pendlebury, was accused at various times of not preaching sermons or catechising the children of the parish, of being a drunkard, and in 1601 it was reported that he was ‘suspected not to be of sound religion’.³⁸ In contrast, it has already been noted that small, consolidated parishes had few recusants, but some ministers seem to have made diligent efforts to police recusancy. Thomas Meade, the vicar of Prescott, led a significant effort to report recusancy in his parish, with 569 recusants being reported in the parish in 1604 compared to only six in 1592.³⁹ Meade’s success is perhaps testified by the attempt of some local Catholic gentry to wrest control of the grammar school away from him.⁴⁰ Similarly, at Weaverham in Cheshire, Edward Shawcross’ long ministry (he was vicar there between 1575 and 1614) seems to have worn down recusancy in that parish.⁴¹

If the inadequacy or the diligence of ministers in the Church of England could contribute either to the development of recusancy or to its policing, then it must also be noted that Catholic priests played an important role in sustaining the faith in particular areas. Their successes were not

³⁵ Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 186.

³⁶ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 243, 320.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 292. It is worth noting that Patrick Collinson has speculated (without providing any substantive evidence) that the anti-puritanism of Richard Bancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury between 1604 and 1610, may have developed from his upbringing at Farnworth within Prescott parish, and may explain why ‘he feared and detested the enthusiasm of deeply committed Protestants’, see Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 23-26, quotation at p. 26.

⁴¹ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 251. K. R. Wark, though, avoids explicitly crediting Shawcross with the decline of recusancy in Weaverham, see *Elizabethan Recusancy*, pp. 80-81.

geographically consistent: the far north of Lancashire was largely ignored by them, as was Manchester deanery, perhaps because the successful growth of protestantism in the south-east of Lancashire had made the area too dangerous for them to minister in safety.⁴² These priests, perhaps understandably, focused their efforts upon areas of Catholic survival.⁴³ Initially, Catholicism was sustained by ‘recusant priests’, who were priests who had either withdrawn from service from the Church of England after the 1559 settlement, or who had been deprived from their livings for their refusal to conform to the settlement.⁴⁴ During Elizabeth’s reign, at least seventy-five recusant priests worked in Lancashire, of whom thirty-three had once held Church posts in the county.⁴⁵ Additionally, in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, a number of clergy were able to retain their livings whilst holding conservative attitudes, with Haigh estimating that circa 1570, as many as twenty clergy in Lancashire’s five southern deaneries may have fallen into this category.⁴⁶ In the final twenty-five years of Elizabeth’s reign, these recusant clergy were joined in the county by priests newly trained in seminaries on the continent, and as many as sixty-six seminary trained priests worked in Lancashire at some time before 1603.⁴⁷ Whilst there was a reference to an ‘old priest’ working in the remote Chipping and Bleasdale areas in 1604, these seminary priests gradually took over the mantle of sustaining Catholic recusancy in Lancashire.⁴⁸

The parish model is an important one for explaining the relative development in protestantism and recusant Catholicism during Elizabeth I’s reign. It has been noted how the influence of individual ministers, such as those at Deane and Eccleston in Lancashire and at Weaverham in Cheshire, could influence the fortunes of recusancy in those parishes. Keith Wark observed in Cheshire that the six parishes in the county and the three parishes in the city of Chester where the churchwardens neglected to collect the one shilling a week fine for absence from church were the homes of thirty-three of the fifty-seven people charged with absence from church at Archbishop Sandys’ visitation in 1578.⁴⁹ Conversely, Christopher Haigh argued that in the three southern Lancashire deaneries of Amounderness,

⁴² Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 314-315, 320.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 314-315. Of thirty-one priests in Lancashire in the late 1570s, fourteen of them worked in Warrington deanery, and in 1590, whilst West Derby Hundred (in the south-west of Lancashire, covering roughly the area of Warrington deanery) was served by around fourteen seminary priests in 1590, Salford Hundred had none.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴⁹ Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy*, p. 16. These parishes were Alderley, Eccleston, Thurstaston, Weaverham, Wilmslow and Wistaston, and in the city of Chester, the parishes of St. Bridget’s, St. John’s and Holy Trinity.

Leyland and Warrington where Catholicism was at its strongest, in the visitations of 1590, 1594 and 1604, parishes with ‘Puritan’ incumbents were ‘on average twice as successful in finding recusants than were other incumbents, but there seems to have been nothing to distinguish ‘Puritan’ parishes from the others except the views of their incumbents’.⁵⁰ The impact of such puritan ministers on the religious situation in Lancashire and Cheshire will be examined in the next section of this chapter.

‘Puritanism’ in Lancashire and Cheshire during Elizabeth I’s reign

‘Puritanism’ has become one of the most important concepts for explaining why a particularly evangelical form of protestantism took root in parts of Lancashire and Cheshire during the second half of Elizabeth I’s reign. This section will examine the nature of puritan forms of piety, and the important impact of puritan ministers upon the spread of protestantism on particularly parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Yet, within the diocese of Chester, clerical and lay puritanism were not evenly distributed geographically.⁵¹ Though south-eastern Lancashire became famous as a centre of lay puritanism, other puritan ministers took on more challenging pastoral roles in deaneries such as Amounderness, Leyland and Warrington, where Catholicism remained strong, and they were left to plough a lonely furrow away from the reformed piety which existed in parishes in the Manchester area.⁵²

At the national level, puritanism was often associated with attempts by clergymen and supportive members of Parliament to encourage parliamentary support for the replacement of episcopacy with a presbyterian system of church government and for the reform of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but by the early 1590s, these efforts had largely failed, and puritans had retreated into their networks.⁵³ However, such puritan efforts for reform seem to have been largely centred upon puritan networks in London, the south-east and the Midlands, and it is telling that neither Lancashire or Cheshire were ever referenced by Patrick Collinson in relation to such parliamentary reform efforts.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 274.

⁵¹ It should be noted that there is a very interesting account of the parochial distribution of clerical and lay puritanism, largely omitted from the published book, in R. C. Richardson, ‘Puritanism in the Diocese of Chester to 1642’ (Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1969), ch. 2.

⁵² Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 297-298.

⁵³ An overview is provided by John Craig, ‘The Growth of English Puritanism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, eds. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 34-47.

⁵⁴ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, passim. The only incident when puritan political intrigue can be found in either of the two counties was the apprehension at Manchester in August 1589 of three printers responsible for printing some of the later

Aside from such agitations and intrigues, some puritan attitudes, such as anti-Catholicism and a concern for order within society, were no puritan monopolies, and were an important part of the construction of conformist protestantism within the Church of England. Equally, household piety, though an important part of puritan self-imagery, was by no means solely the preserve of puritans.⁵⁵ Jane Ratcliffe of Chester was praised in her funeral sermon in 1640 by John Ley (himself a minister who had been accused of puritan nonconformity) for leading a godly household, though she had satisfied herself through reading about the controversy that she could kneel to receive communion.⁵⁶ Two things, arguably, made puritans distinctive from their fellow protestants during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Firstly, puritans believed that the structures of the Church of England were flawed and compromised by the inclusion of aspects of Catholic survival, such as the wearing of the clerical surplice, the signing of the cross at baptism, and kneeling to receive communion. These beliefs prompted many puritans to engage in gestural behaviour, such as clergymen omitting to wear the clerical surplice or to sign the cross at baptism, and laity refusing to kneel to receive communion, which was *symbolic* of puritanism, and which enables them to be identified by historians in ecclesiastical records.⁵⁷ Tom Webster, though, has usefully suggested that many ‘godly’ ministers (the term which he prefers to ‘puritan’) were ‘conformable’ (rather than ‘conformist’), that is, that though they would have preferred the Church to have been shed of such survivals of Catholicism, they persuaded themselves that they could conform, either on the basis that these survivals were theologically indifferent, or because of St. Paul’s famous injunction in his epistle to the Romans of obedience to lawful authority, the Church of England of course being by law established with the monarch as its supreme governor.⁵⁸ Jane Ratcliffe, as a lay person, could feasibly fit into this category. Secondly, puritans were distinctive by the zeal

Martin Marprelate tracts, caught red-handed printing *More Worke for Cooper* by the agents of the Earl of Derby. Even then, the printers had only retreated into Lancashire as it was thought that they would be in less danger of arrest there, being the native county of one of the printers, John Hodgskin, see Leland H. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman: Master Job Throckmorton laid open in his colors* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1981), pp. 37-38. I would like to thank Prof. Glyn Parry for drawing this incident to my attention.

⁵⁵ This important qualification is made by Peter Lake, ‘Puritan Identities’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxv (1984), 115.

⁵⁶ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 82, 105. See also Peter Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The ‘Emancipation’ of Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe’, *The Seventeenth Century*, ii (1987), 143-165.

⁵⁷ A focus on the gestural dimension of puritanism can be found in Daniel C. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester 1590-1690* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 120-121.

⁵⁸ Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 160-164, 167, 224-230; see also Romans 13.

in which they pursued their ideals, by engaging in typically puritan behaviour such as participating in household acts of worship, enforcing godly behaviour in their households and communities, supporting godly ministers, and in their anti-Catholicism.⁵⁹

The years around 1580 seem to have represented a turning point for the pursuit of anti-Catholic policies in the diocese of Chester. The number of recorded recusants in Lancashire expanded considerably after 1578.⁶⁰ In 1581, a new law was passed increasing recusancy fines to £20 per lunar month, and in that year, for the first time, lay recusants were imprisoned at Chester Castle, whilst previously only priests had been imprisoned.⁶¹ There was also recognition by the authorities in London that puritan ministers, whose evangelical zeal might be troublesome elsewhere, could be usefully deployed in Lancashire. This was certainly the attitude in 1577 of John Aylmer, the bishop of London, who saw such a scheme as a way of ridding his diocese of puritan ministers.⁶² Whilst such a scheme was not officially encouraged, the consequence of John Whitgift's attempts to enforce conformity in the province of Canterbury during the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign, compared with the relative laxity in the province of York (apart from a brief aberration during the archiepiscopate of John Piers between 1589 and 1594), may well have led some puritan ministers to conclude that the northern province offered better prospects for their consciences than the southern province, and it may be significant that two-thirds of the puritan ministers discovered by Christopher Haigh in Lancashire were not native to the county.⁶³ Richard Midgley, the vicar of Rochdale, apparently never wore the surplice between 'at least 1571 and his resignation in 1595'.⁶⁴ As Haigh points out, the financial rewards for such ministers were small, with eight of the thirteen benefices in the Manchester and Blackburn deaneries (where puritanism was strongest in Lancashire) being impropriated and offering small incomes for ministers, and a further forty-three clerical posts being 'chapel curacies', and thus low paid.⁶⁵

In 1581, the earl of Huntingdon, the president of the Council of the North, described the people of Manchester as being 'generally well-affected in religion'.⁶⁶ Whilst puritan ministers had been officiating in the area since

⁵⁹ A neat outline of puritan behaviour and attitudes is provided by John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), ch. 3.

⁶⁰ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 269.

⁶¹ Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy*, pp. 24, 27.

⁶² Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 17-18.

⁶³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 297, 300; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 18; Marchant, *Puritans*, pp. 17-24.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 300.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁶⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 296.

soon after the Elizabethan church settlement (Richard Midgley had been appointed as vicar of Rochdale in 1561), it would be in the 1580s that the firm foundations of puritanism in the diocese of Chester would be established, and the movement became self-perpetuating. That leaves the question of how protestantism took root in south-eastern Lancashire before puritan activities were systematically recorded by the authorities? Though the clergy at the Manchester collegiate church were presented at Archbishop Sandys' visitation in 1578 for the puritan offence of not wearing the clerical surplice, they were also presented for neglecting to catechise the children of the parish, something which one suspects might have been a potentially useful evangelical tool.⁶⁷ Bishop Downham's visitations were as ineffective at finding puritans as they were at finding recusants, so ministers such as Midgley at Rochdale may well have been having an impact before puritan offences were systematically detected by the authorities. There is also the factor that Salford Hundred was arguably the best governed hundred in Lancashire, with a pool of gentry who were early converts to protestantism and who served in offices such as the magistracy; the periodic sitting of the Chester ecclesiastical commission at Manchester; and furthermore, several bishops of Chester during the period made Manchester their Lancashire residence, and the earls of Derby also had a residence in the town.⁶⁸ Indeed, Henry Stanley, the fourth earl of Derby, was a keen protestant who supported clergymen and prosecuted Catholic recusants.⁶⁹ As such, good governance in Salford Hundred was combined with official laxity towards puritan offences. More generally, the wool trade provided south-eastern Lancashire with trade links to other areas where protestantism had become entrenched, such as London and the 'radical' towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire such as Halifax.⁷⁰ There were also expanded opportunities for education: Rochdale grammar school was founded in the 1560s, and by the 1580s, Richard Midgley was able to hold Bible study classes for his parishioners.⁷¹ These factors all contributed towards the south-eastern part of Lancashire being a particularly attractive place for puritan clergy to minister. In 1595, Haigh identified that ten out of the thirteen benefices in Manchester deanery were held by puritan incumbents, compared to twenty-one out of the fifty-nine benefices in Lancashire as a whole.⁷²

⁶⁷ Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 25; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 245.

⁶⁸ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 313-314.

⁶⁹ Louis A. Knafla, 'Stanley, Henry, fourth earl of Derby (1531-1593)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. It was alleged, though, that Derby showed lenience towards Catholic family friends.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-310. Halifax's radicalism has been questioned in William and Sarah Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform: Halifax and its Hinterland', in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, eds. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 130-143.

⁷¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 311.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 297.

How clerical puritanism expanded in Lancashire during the 1580s and beyond has much to do with the desire to increase clerical standards. After the ineffectiveness of Bishop Downham's episcopate, Bishop Chadderton acted upon an order from Archbishop Sandys in 1578 that archdeacons arrange quarterly synods in their archdeaconries to increase clerical standards. Chadderton began his efforts in 1579 by arranging a monthly synod in Manchester deanery, but by 1581 Sandys was warning Chadderton about the radical potential of these synods. By 1582, Chadderton had organised thrice annual meetings of Lancashire's clergy at Preston, where passages from Scripture would be studied, overseen by moderators. The four moderators were 'all noted Puritan preachers', and they were given the power to fine absentees. In April 1584, the Privy Council ordered Chadderton to hold more exercises, and he ordered that exercises be held in five Lancashire towns each month during the spring and summer, and that all clergy and schoolmasters attend their deanery synods. 'Nineteen moderators were named, fourteen of whom were puritans', with the moderators being given the power in 1585 to suspend ministers from office for absenting themselves from the exercises. The exercises played an important role in helping to perpetuate puritanism within Lancashire, given that these clerical meetings were so dominated by puritan clergy.⁷³ These clerical gatherings were not restricted to Lancashire. Thomas Paget recalled in 1641 that the monthly clerical preaching exercise in Cheshire was held in places such as Bowdon, Budworth (presumably Great Budworth), Ince, Knutsford, Macclesfield, Mottram-in-Longdendale, Nantwich, Northwich, Tarporley and Tarvin: towns which coincide with the concentration of puritanism in eastern Cheshire identified by Roger Richardson.⁷⁴

Whilst puritanism undoubtedly provided an important driving force for reformation, this did not prevent it being, from time to time, a matter of concern for the authorities. As Luc Racaut has demonstrated for Lancashire, the Spanish threat in 1587-1588, and the tenure of the sympathetic Sir Francis Walsingham as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster between 1587 and 1590, had caused the central government to offer some backing for a reformation of manners in Lancashire led by puritan-inclined clerics and magistrates, but this support was no longer as forthcoming by the 1590s, after peace had returned.⁷⁵ John Piers, the archbishop of York between 1589 and 1594, is notable for attempting to enforce conformity upon his province, particularly as, as we have seen, there had been a history of lax enforcement

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 301-302, quotation at p. 302.

⁷⁴ Thomas Paget, 'An Humble Advertisement to the High Court of Parliament', in John Paget, *A Defence of Church-Government, exercised in Presbyteriall, Classical, & Synodall Assemblies* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), unpaginated; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Luc Racaut, 'The 'Book of Sports' and sabbatarian legislation in Lancashire, 1579-1616', *Northern History*, xxxiii (1997), 73-87.

in northern England which had provided encouragement to puritan ministers. In 1590, under pressure from his counterpart, John Whitgift at Canterbury, Piers ordered that ministers should wear the surplice whilst conducting services, an order which prompted Bishop Chadderton and an important Lancashire gentleman, Edmund Hopwood of Hopwood in Middleton parish, to write to Piers telling him ‘that in a county deeply divided between ‘obstinate papists’ and ‘zealous professors of religion’ the effect of his order would be to confirm the one in their recusancy and drive the other into schism’.⁷⁶

The 1590s was a decade which witnessed confrontation between the puritan ministers of Lancashire, and especially those from Manchester deanery, and the ecclesiastical authorities, particularly those from York. At the metropolitical visitation of the county in 1590, the clerical surplice was not worn in twenty-three churches.⁷⁷ In 1595, by which time Matthew Hutton had succeeded Piers as archbishop of York, the puritan clergy of Manchester deanery clashed with the metropolitical visitors over the issue of the clerical surplice.⁷⁸ Richard Midgley, the puritan vicar of Rochdale, resigned his living in 1595, though he was appointed as a King’s Preacher in 1604, tackling Catholicism in West Derby Hundred.⁷⁹ A new approach to puritanism seems to have originated in the diocese of Chester after William Chadderton’s translation to Lincoln in 1595.⁸⁰ Richard Vaughan, who had been instituted as bishop of Chester in 1597, threatened to deprive eight ministers in Lancashire who had been presented for puritan offences at his visitation in 1601. Vaughan, though, seems to have backed down after an intervention on the clergymen’s behalf by Sir Robert Cecil.⁸¹

Thus far, this account has focused upon clerical puritanism, but clerical puritanism was a perpetuating factor for lay puritanism. It is difficult to decipher the extent of lay puritanism before James I’s reign: the Elizabethan ecclesiastical authorities, when they were concerned about puritanism, focused upon clerical puritanism, and it would not be until 1605 that the laity at Oldham chapel were as a whole presented before the visitation for refusing to kneel to receive communion.⁸² Whilst the low Catholic recusancy figures in Manchester deanery, given the good administrative mechanisms in the deanery, indicate towards the development of protestantism in that locality, it is difficult to assess how much of that protestantism was puritanism, though the decision in 1578 by

⁷⁶ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 406.

⁷⁷ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 303.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁸⁰ Haigh, ‘Chaderton, William’, *ODNB*.

⁸¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 304.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 297; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 76.

the parishioners of Bolton to maintain a lecturer at their own expense suggests a certain protestant evangelicism, especially given that a noted puritan preacher, James Gosnell, held the post from the mid-1580s.⁸³ The people of Manchester followed suit in 1603, endowing a lectureship for William Bourne, who, as a fellow of Manchester collegiate church, was presented for not wearing the clerical surplice on six occasions between 1608 and 1633.⁸⁴ In Chester, Keith Wark has interpreted the large concentration of presented recusants in the city during the 1570s as being the result of the city council's desire 'to eradicate the Romanists'.⁸⁵ There was thus, in the diocese of Chester, areas where lay support of protestantism in its evangelical, anti-Catholic, forms were strongly evident, but in the Elizabethan period, the records are as yet inadequate to necessarily label those evangelical lay protestants as being involved in sustaining and supporting the ceremonial nonconformity for which many puritan clergymen found themselves in trouble. Puritanism becomes easier to trace, in both its clerical and lay forms, during the reign of James I.

Religious culture in Lancashire and Cheshire during the reign of James I

Between 1600 and 1605, Lawrence Shuttleworth, the rector of Whichford in Warwickshire, rebuilt his ancestral home of Gawthorpe Hall in Lancashire, having inherited it in 1599 from his elder brother Sir Richard. In one room, two ceiling roses were installed containing the respective inscriptions 'God save our King and Queen' and 'God defend us from Turk and Pope'. That a house newly built by a clergyman at the cusp of the Jacobean era should contain such inscriptions is rather apt, as clerical attitudes towards obedience to one's monarch, and their views of Catholicism, will be two themes which will recur throughout this thesis, particularly as, barely four decades later, English society descended into civil war.⁸⁶

When James VI of Scotland moved south in 1603 to succeed his cousin Elizabeth I as king of England, English puritans held high hopes of the new monarch, who they saw as being potentially willing to oversee the further reformation of the Church of England, purging it of its 'popish'

⁸³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 273, 300.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 24.

⁸⁵ Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy*, p. 20.

⁸⁶ Richard Dean, *Gawthorpe Hall* (London: The National Trust, 1988), pp. 43, 49. This plasterwork was removed during Sir Charles Barry's restoration of Gawthorpe Hall in the 1850s.

survivals.⁸⁷ James would ultimately not fulfil their ambitions for them, though his reign represented a time where clerical conformity became defined by subscription rather than necessarily by ceremonial conformity, meaning that ministers who would at least subscribe their conformity were often left alone by the ecclesiastical authorities.⁸⁸ At the other end of the religious spectrum, Alexandra Walsham has followed Christopher Haigh in seeing Catholics entering into conformity with the Church of England during James' reign, though with the important proviso that conformity did not necessarily mean that they had become protestant converts.⁸⁹ James' reign, thus, should be seen as witnessing attempts to bring ministers and laity alike into conformity with the Church of England, something which, as shown by the focus of the authorities upon subscription rather than upon ceremonial nonconformity, meant that 'conformity' was hardly a fixed concept but instead levitated around accommodating individuals within the Church of England rather than leaving a pool of potential troublemakers operating outside of the Church. As will be seen, efforts were even made to accommodate the minister Roger Brearley, the founder of the religious movement known as 'Grindletonianism', within the Church of England.

James' reign in England, though, almost began with a crisis. The gathering of the Hampton Court conference in 1604 had raised puritan ambitions for church reform, only for their hopes to be dashed and the Elizabethan church settlement to be effectively endorsed by the king.⁹⁰ After the puritans' failure at the conference, new ecclesiastical canons were issued, and clerical subscription was insisted upon in both of the provinces of Canterbury and York. The thirty-sixth article of the new canons incorporated Archbishop Whitgift's Three Articles, pressing subscription to the royal supremacy, the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles, which had caused much consternation amongst puritan ministers when they had first been issued in the province of Canterbury in 1583.⁹¹ In Lancashire, twenty-one ministers initially refused to subscribe to the new canons, and ultimately, two clerics, Joseph Midgley (the vicar of Rochdale) and Edward Walsh (the vicar of Blackburn), were deprived by the bishop of Chester,

⁸⁷ Tom Webster, 'Early Stuart Puritanism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, eds. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 48.

⁸⁸ Kenneth Fincham, 'Episcopal Government, 1603-1640', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 75-77.

⁸⁹ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlix (1998), 620-651; Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 290-291.

⁹⁰ Patrick Collinson, 'The Jacobean Religious Settlement: The Hampton Court Conference', in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 27-51.

⁹¹ Fincham, 'Episcopal Government', p. 75.

George Lloyd.⁹² Twelve ministers in Cheshire were warned by Bishop Vaughan to conform, and a group of ministers, led by William Hinde, the preacher at Bunbury, failed to subscribe.⁹³

The emphasis on subscription witnessed in the aftermath of the introduction of the canons of 1604 set the tone for James' reign, differing him from both his predecessor Elizabeth I and his successor Charles I. Unlike during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign and during Charles' reign, when clergymen were harried for minor acts of nonconformity, James was prepared to accept such acts as long as the clergyman had subscribed to the thirty-sixth canon and 'had no entrenched objections to the church's discipline and liturgy'.⁹⁴ James 'never abandoned' his insistence on clerical subscription, though the reign never again witnessed another spate of ejections similar to those witnessed after 1604.⁹⁵ Such a policy, based upon subscription rather than upon persecuting ceremonial nonconformity, was 'welcomed by many Calvinist bishops'.⁹⁶ Even James himself was aware of the pastoral value of puritan ministers, giving instructions at the Hampton Court conference to Richard Vaughan, the bishop of Chester, not to proceed too zealously against puritan ministers in Lancashire.⁹⁷

After the deprivations of Joseph Midgley and Edward Walsh, Bishop George Lloyd seems to have taken a fairly lenient stance towards puritans, leading to a stir being caused after Thomas Morton succeeded Lloyd in 1616.⁹⁸ Morton summoned eight nonconformist clergy, including William Hinde, to explain why they had refused to subscribe to the thirty-sixth canon, and eventually suspended Hinde, but took no further action in the face of Hinde's support amongst the Cheshire gentry.⁹⁹ Morton's general attitude towards nonconformist clergy was to confer with them in order to encourage them to conform, an attitude which James I misinterpreted as undue leniency, costing Morton translation to Lincoln in 1617 and prompting him to write a pamphlet in 1618 defending the ceremonies of the church.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere in the diocese, thanks to the influence of Archbishop George Abbot of Canterbury, Josiah Horne, who had previously been

⁹² Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 304.

⁹³ Lander, 'Diocese of Chester, 1540-1660', iii. 25; Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 219, Appendix VI. Keith Sprunger claims that the future pastor of the English Reformed church at Amsterdam, John Paget, was deprived of his living at Nantwich at this time, though Walsh and Midgley are the only clergymen in the diocese certain to have been deprived of their livings for refusing to subscribe after 1604, see Keith L. Sprunger, 'Paget, John (d. 1638)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁴ Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 227-228, quotation at p. 228.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 223.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁹⁷ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 304.

⁹⁸ Brian Quintrell, 'Lloyd, George (1560/61-1615)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁹ Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

deprived as the vicar of Orwell in Cambridgeshire, was appointed (not without controversy) by a royal presentation in 1616 as the rector of Winwick in Lancashire.¹⁰¹

Morton's position at Chester was difficult, as he was neither local to the diocese, nor the first choice candidate for the bishopric, and to cap it off, it was seemingly obvious that his successor would be John Bridgeman, the rector of Wigan in Lancashire and a favourite court preacher of James I.¹⁰² Morton was particularly concerned about enforcing clerical conformity, and his visitation articles in 1617 followed Archbishop Matthew's 1607 articles, but with the added instruction that the visitors should inquire as to whether ministers wore their surplice at least twice yearly whilst preaching.¹⁰³ Morton, though, is most famous for drafting what would become James I's *Declaration of Sports* during his visit to Lancashire in the summer of 1617. Upon receiving a petition from some Lancastrians complaining of a magistrates' order of 1616 which had forbidden all Sunday recreations, James quashed the order, only to hear about how the liberty which he had granted had been abused on the following Sunday. He then ordered Morton to draft what would become his *Declaration*, permitting certain recreations after evening prayer, and forbidding all recusants from participating.¹⁰⁴

As Kenneth Parker has argued, Morton's draft was 'far more restrictive' on Sunday recreations than most bishops' visitation articles had hitherto been.¹⁰⁵ By 1617, sabbatarian practices and bye-laws had already been established in several towns within his diocese. In 1583, the corporation of Chester had ordered that all citizens attend morning and evening prayer at their parish church on Sundays, as well as any sermons which may be preached there that day. Trading by shopkeepers on Sundays was also banned.¹⁰⁶ In 1611, an influential city lecturer, Nicholas Byfield, had come into conflict over sabbatarian issues with Edward Brerewood, a professor of astronomy at Gresham College in London. Brerewood was the guardian of his young nephew, who, on a visit to Chester, had been prompted by Byfield's preaching into adopting sabbatarian practices, something which caused consternation for the masters of the youth's

¹⁰¹ Mark H. Curtis, 'The Trials of a Puritan in Jacobean Lancashire', in *The Dissenting Tradition: Essays for Leland H. Carlson*, eds. C. Robert Cole and Michael E. Moody (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), pp. 78-99.

¹⁰² The above is based upon Brian Quintrell, 'Morton, Thomas (bap. 1564, d. 1659)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰³ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, ed. Kenneth Fincham, Church of England Record Society, i (1994), 56, 64.

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A study of doctrine and discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 149-150.

¹⁰⁵ Parker, *English Sabbath*, p. 151.

¹⁰⁶ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 145-146.

apprenticeship. Brerewood wrote to Byfield in complaint, and their correspondence would be printed in 1630, after Byfield had died in 1622.¹⁰⁷

Parker has further suggested that a desire to preserve the Sabbath was central to mainstream English protestantism, and that Morton's drafted declaration in 1617 followed this trend.¹⁰⁸ However, James subsequently added his own preface to the printed version, which explicitly associated sabbatarianism with puritanism.¹⁰⁹ In a sense, James was right. Peter Lake has suggested that one dimension of puritanism was it being 'a distinctively zealous or intense subset of a larger body of reformed or protestant doctrines and positions'.¹¹⁰ As Lake points out, such zeal does not necessarily imply that adherents were 'non-conformists or opponents of episcopacy', though 'all or nearly all Puritans' believed that the Church needed further reformation (which was what made puritans such a concern to James I).¹¹¹ Thus, this protestant, even puritan, zeal of the governors of various towns in Lancashire and Cheshire in enacting sabbatarian initiatives meant that a distinctive evangelically protestant current shaped the lives of the inhabitants of such towns who did not necessarily share the evangelical protestantism of their local governors and clergy. For those seeking to enact a reformation of manners, their 'puritanism' was often further sustained through their rounds of family religious gatherings (of which the division between such gatherings and conventicles was often in the eye of the beholder) and attendance at sermons.¹¹²

The puritan concern for the pursuit of reformation means that since the work of Patrick Collinson, puritanism is often characterised as being a conservative rather than a radical religious force. Its radical potential was more often than not something which was particularly evident to critical observers, who saw outward disobedience in church and private gatherings in the home as a dangerous concoction, than was appreciated by puritans

¹⁰⁷ Bryan W. Ball, 'Byfield, Nicholas (1578/9-1622)', *ODNB*; Thompson Cooper, rev. Anita McConnell, 'Brerewood, Edward (c. 1565-1613)', *ODNB*. Sabbatarianism was also evident in other towns in the diocese of Chester. In 1602, the Preston Guild forbade trading on Sundays, and in 1616, the Preston corporation ordered that children should not play in the streets on Sundays, see David Hunt, *A History of Preston* (Preston: Carnegie Publishing, 1992), p. 55. In 1611, Sunday trading by pedlars was forbidden in Manchester, and in 1617, Sunday recreations were banned in Warrington, see Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁸ Parker, *English Sabbath*, pp. 97-102.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-153.

¹¹⁰ Peter Lake, 'Defining Puritanism – again', in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), p. 4.

¹¹¹ Lake, 'Defining Puritanism', pp. 4-5; Parker, *English Sabbath*, p. 152.

¹¹² Richardson, *Puritanism*, ch. 3; Lake, 'Defining Puritanism', p. 4.

themselves.¹¹³ David Lamburn has argued that lay patrons were often looking to appoint clergymen who would preach a moderately puritan message of personal moral reform, and indeed, lay gentry played an important role in the appointment of puritan clergy into church livings in the diocese of Chester, something which will be examined in depth in a separate sub-section on clergy patronage in the next chapter.¹¹⁴ None of this is to say that puritanism could not develop into something more radical, as is witnessed in the teachings of Roger Brearley, the curate at Grindleton chapelry in the West Riding of Yorkshire, immediately adjacent to the boundary with Lancashire. The preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire, William Hinde, was so alarmed by the circulation of the anonymously-written manuscript which he dubbed *Antinomus Anonymus*, probably written by a disciple of Brearley's, that he had printed a response in 1622 which ran to a second edition in 1623.¹¹⁵ The paradoxes of Brearley's own career illustrate some of the tensions inherent within the early Stuart church, holding and expounding radical religious views whilst also adopting orthodox, conformist positions when required.¹¹⁶ His teachings, which survive in a handful of manuscripts and poetry collated by devoted followers, reveal a curate who encouraged believers to go beyond conventional Calvinist teachings, by allowing Christ to be born within them, and by transcending the old Mosaic law through submitting themselves entirely to God's will and to suffer alongside Christ. In Brearley's firing line were pharisaic clergy, caught up within the displays of their own religiosity and piety.¹¹⁷

As David Como has noted, what we know about Brearley's radical beliefs come from sources in circulation after his death. Brearley's own indications of his beliefs which date from during his own lifetime indicate orthodoxy, if not necessarily enthusiastic conformity.¹¹⁸ When he appeared before the High Commission at York in 1617 charged with doctrinal heterodoxy, including articles which accused Brearley of questioning episcopal ordination, and of claiming that those in receipt of grace no longer needed the ordinances of the church, the result was that Brearley testified to his future conformity, subscribing to the thirty-sixth canon in the process,

¹¹³ Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), passim, especially chs. 4-6.

¹¹⁴ D. J. Lamburn, 'The Influence of the Laity in Appointments of Clergy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century', in *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, ed. Claire Cross, Borthwick Studies in History, ii (1996), p. 115.

¹¹⁵ David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 383-384; for the first edition, see William Hinde, *The Office and Vse of the Morall Law of God in the dayes of the Gospell* (London: John Haviland for Thomas Pavier, 1622).

¹¹⁶ Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 306.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-306.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-270.

upon which Tobie Matthew, the archbishop of York, restored Brearley to the ministry.¹¹⁹ When Brearley, by then the curate of Kildwick in West Yorkshire, appeared before High Commission again in 1627, he once again submitted to the court.¹²⁰ The sermons which survive from Brearley's tenure as vicar of Burnley in Lancashire in the early 1630s point towards an order obsessed puritanism which would not be out of place in the work of Patrick Collinson, preaching at Christmas in 1631 that:

We celebrate this Feast, in remembrance of this great Saviour...
But we consecrate it to *Bacchus*, not to Christ, in Rioting, and
Drunkenesse, in Chambring and Wantonnesse... O, if Christ
should come, as he will come, and find us thus: One swilling
and drinking: another carding, and dicing: another whoring: And
all under pretence of love to him: Would he take it well? O
no!¹²¹

By this time, and having survived two investigations by High Commission, Brearley was perhaps wise to be cautious, though as Como argues, Brearley genuinely saw himself as being 'a sincere and zealous Protestant, upholding central truths of the Reformation'.¹²² To understand fully Brearley's continued ministry, it needs to be placed into context. Archbishop Matthew saw value in retaining Brearley within the clergy of his diocese of York. Como suggests that 'Brearley's appearance as a powerful preacher of protestant inclinations probably overshadowed any doubts that the crusading anti-Popish prelate might initially have felt'.¹²³ Collinson saw a bishop such as Matthew as being part of a group of bishops during the reign of James I who saw themselves in thoroughly Calvinist terms, and thus had no qualms about granting leeway to clerics who, whilst not completely conformable, shared their keen Calvinism.¹²⁴ Whilst the idea of a Calvinist consensus within the Jacobean Church of England has been challenged by historians, and indeed, it would be problematic to unquestionably label Brearley as a 'Calvinist', Brearley's accommodation within the Church of England via the means of subscription suggests that a crafted preaching style, a crucial weapon in the battle against popery in northern England, could be

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 275-280.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 280.

¹²¹ Quoted in Ibid., p. 282, italics as in the quotation. Collinson's view of the puritan concern for order can be found in his *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 149-153.

¹²² Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 283.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 280.

¹²⁴ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 79-91. Matthew seems to have allowed Alexander Cooke to be instituted to the vicarage of Leeds in Yorkshire in 1615 without subscription on account of his valuable preaching talents, see Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 221-222.

appreciated by the authorities even in the face of questions being asked of a minister's doctrinal orthodoxy.¹²⁵

The problem of Catholic recusancy remained an issue of concern to the ecclesiastical and secular authorities during the reign of James I. Like for the puritans, James' reign began as a time of optimism for English Catholics, not least as their new monarch was the son of the executed Mary, Queen of Scots, but also because 'James personally confirmed a stop on executions of priests and their supporters'.¹²⁶ In a survey of Farnworth chapelry in Prescott parish in Lancashire made in 1604, it was found that there were twenty-nine 'obstinate recusants in the late Queen's time', but a further ninety-five 'revolters since the Queen's death'. These recusants were in addition to eighty-three non-communicants.¹²⁷ If James' accession had initially provided hope and a certain confidence for English Catholics, the situation changed soon afterwards, with the failed Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and the divisions amongst English Catholicism which were exacerbated by James' offer of an oath of allegiance in 1606.¹²⁸ Between 1610 and 1622, 'persecution was fierce', with James demanding the 'rigorous implementation of the laws'.¹²⁹ In Lancashire, of the three clergymen who regularly sat as justices of the peace during James' reign, William Leigh (the rector of Standish) and Gregory Turner (the rector of Sefton) were both keenly anti-Catholic, and it is likely that Hugh Watmough (the rector of Bury) also shared their distaste.¹³⁰ With regards to the lay magistrates, the Lancashire commission had been reformed in 1587, and from therein justices from Salford Hundred sat in other parts of the county to ensure the dissemination of their protestant attitudes.¹³¹ Indeed, all twelve gentlemen who signed the petition to James I in 1604 in defence of puritan ministers served as justices in Lancashire.¹³²

During James' reign, there seems to have been shifts in the nature of English Catholicism which deserve note. The number of priests active in Lancashire increased, from sixteen in 1605 to twenty-eight in 1610.¹³³ Yet, despite the increasing number of priests, the nature of lay Catholic practice

¹²⁵ Kenneth Fincham, 'Introduction', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 4-13.

¹²⁶ Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p.23.

¹²⁷ J. A. Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire: From Reformation to Renewal 1559-1991* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1994), p. 18.

¹²⁸ Mullett, *Catholics*, p. 24.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹³⁰ D. J. Wilkinson, 'The Commission of the Peace in Lancashire, 1603-1642', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxxii (1983), 48-49.

¹³¹ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 172-173.

¹³² The signatories of the 1604 petition listed in *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125, compared with the list of Lancashire justices, 1603-1642, in Wilkinson, 'Commission of the Peace', Appendix.

¹³³ Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 25.

seems to have changed. In 1604, there were 3516 recusants and 521 non-communicants in Lancashire. By 1613, the number of recusants had declined to 2075, but the number of non-communicants had increased dramatically to 2392.¹³⁴ In Lancashire in 1605, twenty-six out of the twenty-nine lay Catholics apprehended alongside the secular priest Thomas Burscough as he prepared to say Mass subsequently conformed, as did fifty-two out of fifty-six gentlemen from the same county brought before the judges in the same year on account of their recusancy.¹³⁵

Alexandra Walsham has argued that during the early Stuart period, ‘confessional identities were still in a state of transition and flux’, and that individuals could retain ‘vestigial Catholic sympathies’ whilst conforming to the Church of England.¹³⁶ Bringing Catholics into the Church of England seems to have remained a priority of the authorities during this period, and Walsham has interpreted James’ *Declaration of Sports* in 1617 in this light, as an attempt to undermine puritan restrictions on Sunday sports which he believed were contributing to the growth of popery in Lancashire. Catholic recusants were explicitly barred by the declaration from participating in Sunday sports, the obvious implication being that if they wanted to partake in such sports with their neighbours, then they would have to attend Church of England worship.¹³⁷

It is worth concluding with Kenneth Fincham’s identification of ‘four broad groupings among educated protestants during James I’s reign: radical puritans, moderate puritans, conformist Calvinists and anti-Calvinists’.¹³⁸ All but the final group shared, to some degree, ‘a common opposition to the Church of Rome’.¹³⁹ As has become clear throughout this chapter, and particularly in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, puritanism was a particularly vibrant movement during the later Elizabethan and Jacobean periods which both overlapped with, and yet was distinct from, aspects of conformable practice. All of Fincham’s four ‘groupings’ could share points of overlap (particularly between ‘moderate’ puritanism and ‘conformist’ Calvinism), but the imposition of broadly anti-Calvinist policies in the Church of England during the 1630s stoked the tensions which this thesis will explore.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 17. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, the number of Catholic gentry families had halved by 1642, see Walsham, ‘Parochial Roots of Laudianism’, 643.

¹³⁵ Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 17.

¹³⁶ Walsham, ‘Parochial Roots of Laudianism’, 636-637.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 640.

¹³⁸ Fincham, ‘Introduction’, p. 6.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

Chapter Two: Sabbatarianism, Laudianism and puritanism: Clergymen and the Church of England, c. 1625-1637

Between Charles I's accession as king in 1625 and the collapse of his 'personal rule' in 1640, some of the assertions about clerical loyalty implicit within the ecclesiastical policies of his father James I were seriously challenged, as, particularly after 1632, the so-called 'Laudian style' of ecclesiology imposed on the Church of England by its two archbishops, William Laud at Canterbury and Richard Neile at York, with the support (or at least the compliance) of many of its bishops and the backing of the King, profoundly impacted on the ways in which clergymen performed their ministry.¹ This context has often been a major explanation for why civil war broke out in England in the summer of 1642. G. H. Tupling argued that in Lancashire, the attack on puritanism typified by aspects of Caroline policy such as the introduction of the *Book of Sports* in 1633 ultimately drove puritans into revolt.² After war did break out, the 1630s has often provided in some way an explanation of patterns of allegiance. John Morrill suggested that in Cheshire, 'Laudian' enthusiasts supported Charles, with

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Andrew Foster for providing me with guidance at an early stage of my research towards relevant archival sources which have subsequently been discussed within this chapter. For discussions of the implementation of Laudian policies, see Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 23-49; see also, in the same volume, Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the 'Beauty of Holiness' in the 1630s', pp. 161-185. A further useful introduction is Kenneth Fincham, 'The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2001), 919-940. For an interesting discussion of the polemical construction of Laudianism, see Peter Lake, 'The Laudians and the Argument from Authority', in *Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honour of Perez Zagorin*, eds. Bonnelyn Young Kunze and Dwight D. Brautigam (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1992), pp. 149-175. For the province of York (though the diocese of Chester receives relatively little attention), see the four works by Andrew Foster: 'The function of a bishop: the career of Richard Neile, 1562-1640', in *Continuity and change: Personnel and administration of the Church in England 1500-1642*, eds. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 33-54; 'A biography of Archbishop Richard Neile (1562-1640)' (unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978); 'Church Policies of the 1630s', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 193-223; 'Archbishop Richard Neile revisited', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, eds. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 159-178. A special mention should also be given to Claire Cross, *Church and People 1450-1660: The Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (London: Fontana, 1976), ch. 8, which, though showing its age in places, prefigures my own work in Cross' emphasis on a widespread (if often reluctant) compliance with Laudianism at the local level, and also in her observation that Laudianism could have its appeal to proud parishioners, particularly in urban centres. It should be noted that unless otherwise stated, dates taken from churchwardens' accounts will refer to the old style year (i.e. 25 March to 24 March).

² G. H. Tupling, 'The Causes of the Civil War in Lancashire', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxxv (1955), 1-13.

puritans (broadly those who wanted further reform of the Church and who opposed the innovations of the 1630s) forming the basis of the armed parliamentarianism formed out of distrust of the King.³ Judith Maltby developed this model further, suggesting that the ‘conformist’ middle ground, opposed towards rather than supportive of Laudianism, formed the basis of the King’s support in the first civil war.⁴

In this chapter and the following two chapters, I want to move away from such binaries of ‘puritan’ and ‘Laudian’, and instead, suggest that the relationship between the two positions is much more complex and issue-based.⁵ Such problems have been noted before. Even as noted a defender of Laudian ceremony as Giles Widdowes was reluctant to support Laudian anti-sabbatarianism.⁶ Peter Lake has argued that the Laudian promotion of ‘public prayer’ was central to ‘the Laudian vision of the beauty of holiness’, which acted ‘almost inevitably to diminish the relative significance of preaching’.⁷ Richard Parr, the rector of Eccleston in Lancashire, who in 1635 was also elevated to the episcopate as the bishop of Sodor and Man, regretted that his elevation to the episcopate meant that he could not preach as he had previously done. In a letter dated 3 August 1638 sent to his friend Thomas Legh, the pluralist rector of Sefton and Walton-on-the-Hill in Lancashire, he lamented that ‘I cannot indure to preach as formerly, whether it bee a true weaknes, or that spirit (which some say) hauntes a Bishope, or other intanglinge employmentes, I knowe not, but sure I am, I cannot away with preaching’. Tellingly, he recalled that one of his former tutors had taught that ‘the principall office of a Bishop was not preachinge, but superintending, a doctrine that goes well downe in these dayes, I wish I could defend it, as readily as I can imbrace & practise it’.⁸ Parr’s letter to Legh seems to confirm the somewhat curt annual report for 1638 which he sent to his provincial, Archbishop Neile, which reveals no enthusiasm for

³ J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 71.

⁴ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 126-129; for ‘conformists’ being distinct from ‘Laudians’, see pp. 107-113.

⁵ I am here particularly thinking of the binaries of ‘Laudian’ order versus ‘puritan’ subversion presented in G. W. Bernard, ‘The Church of England c. 1529-c. 1642’, *History*, lxxv (1990), 183-206; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), ch. 6; Peter White, ‘The *via media* in the early Stuart Church’, in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 211-230.

⁶ Anthony Milton, ‘The creation of Laudianism: a new approach’, in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 180.

⁷ Lake, ‘Laudian Style’, p. 169.

⁸ John Rylands Library, Manchester, Legh of Lyme Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 9 (Richard Parr to Thomas Legh, 3 August 1638); see also Brian Quintrell, ‘Parr, Richard (1591/2-1644)’, *ODNB*.

the ceremonial innovations which Neile so keenly imposed upon the province of York.⁹

Nonetheless, it strikes me as being too simplistic to suggest that clergymen adopted in their careers fixed positions of ‘puritan’, ‘Laudian’, or ‘conformist’, but rather, their attitudes are revealed by responses to various issues and situations which arose in the years preceding the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Compliance may not necessarily mean enthusiasm, nor does a lack of compliance with one aspect of royal and archiepiscopal policy suggest that that non-compliance may have been extended towards other aspects of royal and archiepiscopal policy. As such, a historiography typified by Nicholas Tyacke’s work which opens with a ‘Calvinist consensus’ in the Church prior to the 1620s, then an anti-Calvinist or ‘Arminian’ challenge during the 1620s, followed by the zenith of anti-Calvinism within the Church of England during the 1630s, before a sudden collapse of the power base of anti-Calvinism after 1640, can no longer be sustained, not least because anti-Calvinism did not work against an otherwise stable and coherent ‘Calvinist consensus’.¹⁰ Whilst it cannot be denied that the enforcement of ‘the Laudian style’ was an innovative and destabilising force in many parishes during the 1630s, clerical reactions to the innovations were mixed, with Tom Webster’s study of godly networks in the eastern half of the province of Canterbury revealing responses to the railing of communion tables and the reading of the *Book of Sports* ranging from compliance to nonconformity and suspension.¹¹

The enforcement of Laudian policies in the diocese of Chester may be summarised as thus. After the appointment of Richard Neile as archbishop of York in 1632, oversight of the diocese of Chester increased

⁹ ‘Annual accounts of the Church of England, 1632-1639’, ed. Kenneth Fincham, in *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A miscellany in celebration of the 400th anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library*, eds. Melanie Barber and Stephen Taylor with Gabriel Sewell, Church of England Record Society, xviii (2010), 137 (for 1638). The first report which Parr sent to Neile in 1636 was somewhat more elaborative, but again reveals no enthusiasm for the innovations, see pp. 118-119. Parr (along with Thomas Morton at Durham) did not submit a report to Neile for 1635, with Charles I urging Neile that ‘they must be checked for their slackness’, see pp. 109-110. For Neile’s ‘boldness’ in enforcing the railing of communion tables from 1632, see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 190-191. Though Parr appears to have been an unenthusiastic supporter of Laudianism, two pew ends dated 1634 and 1638 respectively survive at Eccleston church, which suggests that that church witnessed some work during Parr’s incumbency which may have been intended towards bringing the church towards conformity with ‘Laudian’ requirements.

¹⁰ Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution’, in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 119-143; Kenneth Fincham, ‘Introduction’, in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 4-6.

¹¹ Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chs. 7-12.

dramatically, in terms of visitations, courts (Neile extended the jurisdiction of the York Court of High Commission over the diocese of Chester in 1632), and of pure archiepiscopal interest in the suffragan diocese.¹² In the archdeaconry of Chester, Bishop Bridgeman did not suspend any minister solely for not reading the *Book of Sports*, though there is evidence that at least some parishes bought a copy, and that ministers who had failed to read the *Book* were admonished at the 1634 triennial visitation, though the one recorded case of excommunication was, as we will see, probably the result of a deeper nonconformity rather than solely the product of opposition towards the *Book*.¹³ Evidence from the archdeaconry of Richmond regarding the *Book of Sports* is nil, which, if an accurate reflection, would be interesting when considered within the career and puritan background of its archdeacon, Thomas Dod. Most churches in the whole of the diocese swiftly railed their communion tables after 1633, though Bridgeman himself, whilst going through the motions of enforcing the ‘altarwise’ communion table arrangement, seems to have been initially unconvinced by the policy, consecrating a ‘tablewise’ communion table at a chapel in Lancashire in December 1634, before demonstrating more conviction when he attempted to erect a stone altar in Chester Cathedral in the summer of 1635.¹⁴ As this thesis will suggest, Bridgeman himself seems to have become more convinced by Laudian ideology as the decade progressed, leading to his own deeper involvement with Laudianism, and later, to a greater fall from grace in the 1640s. This turning point in Bridgeman’s episcopate may be dated to 1635 or 1636. At least partially a response to changes in Bridgeman’s own attitudes towards Laudianism, after 1637, a number of clergymen in his diocese began to exhibit an antipathy towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which, in most cases, led to parliamentarianism after 1642.¹⁵

This chapter will firstly overview the state of church patronage, and particularly the patronage of puritan nonconformist clergy, between 1625 and 1642. It will proceed to trace the progress of Laudianism in Lancashire and Cheshire up to 1637, with reference to sabbatarianism, the railing of communion tables, and the undermining of puritanism. Prior to 1637, Laudian policies seem to have been accepted with little concerted resistance,

¹² B. W. Quintrell, ‘Lancashire Ills, the King’s Will and the Troubling of Bishop Bridgeman’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxxii (1982), 71; Foster, ‘Church Policies’, p. 211.

¹³ My interpretation thus slightly differs from that of Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 195. The 1634 visitation correction book only survives as a fragment for part of eastern Cheshire, see Cheshire Record Office, Chester, EDV 1/33.

¹⁴ Bridgeman’s attitudes towards the railing of communion tables will be explored later in this chapter.

¹⁵ See below, and also the third chapter of this thesis.

with any opposition being primarily localised and issue-based. Conditioned by the increasingly radical justifications of Laudian policies being issued via the press, the turning point seems to have been the year 1637, which coincided with the coming as prisoners to the north-west of the anti-Laudian polemicists William Prynne and Henry Burton, whose works had previously circulated in the region. Thus, the next chapter will focus on the changing situation after 1637, as in the context of developments both locally and in Scotland, the opposition of some clergymen to Laudianism hardened, deepening into opposition towards episcopacy, and then ultimately (in most cases) into parliamentarianism.

Recurring characters throughout this thesis will be the circle of clergymen surrounding the Cheshire minister, John Ley, whose careers illustrates differing ‘trajectories of response’ (to use Tom Webster’s phrase) to various aspects of Laudian policy, culminating in differing attitudes towards religious reform and in differing civil war allegiances.¹⁶ The relationships of these clergymen to Ley first comes to attention via their shared sabbatarian concern during the early 1630s, but though Laudianism (by way of the *Book of Sports*) did seem to represent an attack on sabbatarianism, there is nothing to suggest that members of Ley’s circle did not, at different times, comply with the railing of communion tables. However, if we see Laudianism (as Anthony Milton has done) as being a ‘process’ with which clergymen interacted at different points, the timings of the positive interactions of their parishes with innovations such as the railing of communion tables could influence the ways in which they as individuals were perceived by other clergymen.¹⁷ Thus, whilst a number of members of Ley’s circle were incumbents of parishes which seem to have swiftly complied with the order to rail communion tables was issued during Archbishop Neile’s metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Chester in the autumn of 1633, it was John Conny, whose parish of St. John’s in Chester only complied with the order after a triennial visitation in 1637 from Bishop Bridgeman, who was subjected to an attack in a sermon by Thomas Holford, another member of Ley’s circle, in January 1638. Yet, even after the stir which Holford’s intervention caused, culminating in a consistory court case brought against Holford, relationships between these clergymen could be retained, as shown by their mutual participation (on the same side) in different petitioning campaigns in 1641 and 1642.¹⁸ If we assume that these clergymen’s attitudes emerged out of a mutual and broadly Calvinist sociability, but nonetheless followed differing paths at moments of particular mobilisation and antagonism, then it should not be a surprise that

¹⁶ The title of Webster, *Godly Clergy*, ch. 8.

¹⁷ Milton, ‘Creation of Laudianism’, p. 183.

¹⁸ See the third chapter of this thesis. Archbishop Neile’s visitation is discussed in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 190-191.

these clergymen's responses to civil war were similarly issue-based and divergent.¹⁹

An essential context to the developments detailed in this chapter is Catholic recusancy, with the fear of popery being a recurring theme throughout this thesis. Perhaps surprisingly, little has been written about the state of recusancy in the diocese of Chester during the 1630s apart from in a thesis by Alan Dunbabin about recusancy in the Lancashire parish of Prescott. Whilst large numbers of recusants were recorded in the parish at both the 1630 and the 1633 metropolitanical visitations, Dunbabin found that individuals moved in and out of recusancy, and that many Catholics continued to seek out Church of England services for their rites of passage, meaning that the peripatetic Catholic priests ministering in the area focused upon working their ministry around these forms of conformity rather than in promoting a recusant 'hardcore'.²⁰ Whilst Dunbabin accepts that the episcopal visitors were diligent in recording accurate recusancy figures, little persecution followed such assessments, meaning that there was little incentive for Catholics to resolve themselves to either permanent conformity or to permanent recusancy, with the isolation from parochial governance which ensued from such a commitment to permanent recusancy.²¹ Though this thesis will not focus upon Catholic recusancy *per se*, and in any case, one parish should not necessarily be seen as being typical, this situation is nonetheless worth noting as all of the three main issues which will be discussed in this chapter, of sabbatarianism, the enforcement of Laudian ceremonial, and puritanism, all oscillated around ideas about the ways in which the Church of England should approach the continuing survival, and the perceived threat, of Catholicism.

Patronage and puritanism in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642

Before this chapter moves on to a more issue-based focus, it is worth first overviewing the nature of clerical patronage, and particularly the patronage of puritan nonconformists, in Lancashire and Cheshire prior to the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Whilst it will be clear in this chapter that individual parishes responded to promptings from the provincial and diocesan administrations in their compliance with Laudian policies, an understanding of patronage will provide some context as to who controlled the diocese at the local level. During the early seventeenth century, the

¹⁹ Tyacke, 'Puritanism', p. 120; P. G. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, cxiv (1987), 34-35.

²⁰ Alan Dunbabin, 'Post-Reformation Catholicism in the parish of Prescott, Lancashire, from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Civil War' (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1981), p. 125. For the recusancy figures, see pp. 26 (Table 1), 90.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100, 121-122, 129-130.

rights to appoint the incumbents of English parishes lay with a variety of sources: monarchical, ecclesiastical and lay. Nationally, the Crown was the biggest holder of advowsons, but in some parts of England, lay ownership was an important force, and in particular, lay influence could potentially operate as a bloc of patronage utilised to advance a particular religious stance, such as puritanism.²²

Tracing the pattern of the normal patrons to benefices in Lancashire and Cheshire is a difficult proposition for the reasons which are outlined in the explanation which accompanies the statistics in the first appendix of this thesis.²³ However, despite these difficulties, some broad patterns emerge. The bishops of Chester were the single biggest patron across Lancashire and Cheshire, holding nineteen rights of presentation, followed closely by the Crown with seventeen presentations, largely because of a bloc of seven Crown patronages in north Lancashire, five of which were held via the duchy of Lancaster. The dean and chapter of Chester held eight livings, all of which were in Cheshire. The archbishops of Canterbury and the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield also held advowsons in the two counties, as did the dean and chapters of Oxford, Worcester and York, the prebendaries of Lichfield, and King's College, Cambridge.

In his report to Charles I in January 1634, following his metropolitanical visitation, Richard Neile, the archbishop of York, combined together his accounts for the dioceses of Chester and Carlisle, writing that:

I must ingenuously confesse, I can neither justify, nor excuse them [the diocesan bishops, John Bridgeman at Chester and Barnaby Potter at Carlisle]: yet, this I know, they will say, That finding their Diocesses so distracted with Papists, and Puritans, they thought, by a mild way to recover the Puritan part, least that by carrying a severer hand upon the Puritans, then they had power to carry upon the Papists, the Popish party might take heart, and opinion of favour.²⁴

²² Rosemary O'Day, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage: Who Controlled the Church?', in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, eds. Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977), p. 141; Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), p. 87.

²³ Benefices are here defined as parishes. Chapelries have only been included if the patronage normally lay with a body other than the incumbent of the parish (for example, the dean and chapter of Chester normally presented the curate of Shotwick chapelry in Cheshire).

²⁴ 'Annual accounts', ed. Fincham, 92.

A comparison of the nature of ecclesiastical patronage in the dioceses of Carlisle and Chester reveals some interesting disparities (see the first appendix of this thesis).²⁵ In the diocese of Carlisle, twenty advowsons were held by the bishops of Carlisle, and seventeen advowsons were held by the dean and chapter of Carlisle, a combination which accounted for over half of the advowsons in the diocese. No other bishop or ecclesiastical corporation held advowsons in the diocese of Carlisle, though the University of Oxford and Corpus Christi and Queen's colleges at Oxford all held one advowson each.²⁶ As such, it was arguably possible for the bishops of Carlisle (being the biggest single patron in their diocese) to pursue a uniform policy for appointing clerics should they have wished.²⁷ The bishops of Chester, on the other hand, in the Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland and Westmorland parts of their diocese, held one less advowson than the bishops of Carlisle in a bigger geographical area, and their patronage was dwarfed by the eighty-seven advowsons held by lay individuals outside of the peerage.

In some parts of England, such as Essex, Norfolk, and Northamptonshire, puritan gentry and peers used their ownership of blocs of church patronage to formulate something of 'an organised patronage programme' to further reformation through the appointment of godly ministers.²⁸ A similar situation existed in parts of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, such as in the archdeaconry of Derby, where Sir Francis Leeke, Baron Deincourt, used his patronage of five advowsons to appoint puritan ministers.²⁹ In contrast, puritan patronage in the diocese of Chester was more fragmented. Whilst gentry patronage 'was much more important' than patronage by peers, Roger Richardson emphasises informal forms of

²⁵ The details of church patronages in this section have been obtained from Nicolson and Burn, *Cumberland and Westmorland*; George Ormerod, rev. Thomas Helsby, *The History of the City and County Palatine of Chester* (3 vols., London: George Routledge and Sons, second edition, 1882); *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, eds. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (8 vols., London: University of London, 1906-1914); *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk. I would like to thank Canon David Weston for providing me with access to Carlisle Cathedral Library's copies of Nicolson and Burn's volumes.

²⁶ These advowsons were Holm Cultram, Skelton and Brough respectively.

²⁷ This is perhaps witnessed by Bishop Henry Robinson's favouring of graduates from his own college of Queen's, Oxford (where he had formerly been provost) during his episcopate between 1598 and his death in 1616, though Kenneth Fincham has noted that none of Robinson's four immediate successors, lacking Robinson's Oxford connections, were as successful in pursuing such a policy as Robinson was, see Fincham's *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 195.

²⁸ In parts of western Northamptonshire and in Rutland, puritan gentry and peers held clusters of livings which they could use to appoint puritan ministers, but in eastern Northamptonshire, where puritan gentry families were interspersed with Catholic recusant families, the puritan gentry 'co-operated very informally' to appoint puritan ministers to what livings they owned, sometimes asking each other for recommendations of suitable clerics, see O'Day, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage', pp. 147-148, quotation at p. 148.

²⁹ O'Day, *English Clergy*, p. 87.

patronage such as bequests to godly ministers, rather than the ownership of advowsons, as being more typical of puritan patronage in the diocese.³⁰ There were no blocs of lay patronage in the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, with the most livings being held by one family being the three livings held by the Stanley family, earls of Derby, though they also informally patronised other clergymen by employing them to preach at Lathom House.³¹

None of this is to say that puritan clerics relied on puritan laity for their appointment to livings. The only two clerics in the diocese of Chester who were deprived in 1605 for their failure to subscribe to the new canons, Edward Walsh and Joseph Midgley, the vicars of Blackburn and Rochdale in Lancashire respectively, both held livings in the presentation of the archbishops of Canterbury.³² What lay patrons could offer puritan ministers, though, was protection and support at times of crisis. Edmund Hopwood of Hopwood in Middleton parish engaged Archbishop Piers of York in correspondence in defence of puritan nonconformist ministers when Piers attempted to enforce conformity in the diocese of Chester in 1590. Lancashire gentry also petitioned James I in support of puritan clerics during the Hampton Court conference in 1604, and a petition seems to have been drafted by puritan gentry in the diocese during Bishop Morton's attempts to enforce conformity during his brief episcopate between 1616 and 1619.³³ Puritan gentry also often worked in tandem with the clergymen whom they had appointed to further reformation in their localities. John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, Cheshire, who had previously overseen the cleansing of popish survivals from his local parish church at Tarvin, later secured (via a purchase of the reversion of the patronage) the appointment of Sabbath Clarke as vicar in 1622, causing Clarke to later recall 'that this

³⁰ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), ch. 4, quotation at p. 121.

³¹ These three livings were Bury and Ormskirk in Lancashire, and Holy Trinity, Chester; see also Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 117-120.

³² Edward Walsh was instituted at Blackburn on 10 November 1580, during Edmund Grindal's tenure as archbishop (though Grindal was then suspended as archbishop), and Joseph Midgley was instituted at Rochdale on 7 September 1595, during John Whitgift's tenure as archbishop, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy IDs 34325 and 31312 respectively (date accessed: 9 January 2013); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 304.

³³ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 124-125. The potential importance of the protection of puritan peers and gentry is illustrated by John Fielding's observation that after the line of the Lords Harrington in Rutland died out in 1614, the puritan clerics in livings in their patronage subsequently conformed (to place this into context, three Harrington clients had been deprived of their livings in 1605), see John Fielding, 'Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989), p. 27.

parish has cause for ever to acknowledge him a nursing father of religion amongst them'.³⁴

I have created a list of all of the clergymen that I can find in official records as having been presented for puritan nonconformity between 1625 and 1642, so offences such as failing to wear the clerical surplice, and of administering communion to those who refused to kneel (see the second appendix of this thesis, where I have also included a fuller explanation of my criterion and my sources). Of the 139 clergymen who I have identified, 99 held some form of curacy or lectureship (as opposed to an incumbency) during at least one of their presentations for puritanism.³⁵ In the large parishes of Lancashire and Cheshire, the appointment of curates to officiate at outlying chapels (appointments usually made by the incumbent of the parish), this represented an important web of informal and small scale patronage. To illustrate such links, at least four of the clergymen listed served at some point as a curate to John Ley (himself a puritan nonconformist) in his large parish of Great Budworth in Cheshire.³⁶

Of the thirty-six clergymen (all beneficed) for whom definite presentations to parochial livings are known (totalling thirty-nine presentations), three had been appointed to their livings by the dean and chapter of Oxford, a remarkable trend given that this corporation only held four livings between the two counties. Bishop Bridgeman appointed four puritan nonconformists between five presentations (George Snell was appointed by Bridgeman to both of his livings of Wallasey and Waverton in Cheshire, and, separately to these calculations, to the archdeaconry of Chester), and six clerics were presented by either James I or Charles I. A further two nonconformists were appointed by archbishops of Canterbury.³⁷

³⁴ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 122-123.

³⁵ An incumbency is here defined as holding a rectory or a vicarage, but the 'preacher' at Bunbury (Samuel Torshell) was effectively the vicar, and is included as such here. Fellows of the Manchester collegiate church are here classed as being unbeneficed. Forty-two incumbents are listed, but Isaac Allen and George Eccles were presented for puritan offences on separate occasions as both curates and as rectors, so they are thus here included amongst the curate statistics, and this is also why the net gap between the two figures is forty rather than forty-two. Four clergymen are not specifically named, but are simply stated to have been ministers at particular places, so I have assumed that those four clerics were curates, as rectors, vicars, etc., are generally given their titles in the ecclesiastical records.

³⁶ These curates were Walter Burfoote, John Glendole, Richard Hopwood and James Knott.

³⁷ These were John Morris, the vicar of Blackburn in Lancashire, who was appointed in 1607 by that renowned enemy of puritanism, Richard Bancroft, and Henry Tilson, appointed as vicar of Rochdale in Lancashire by George Abbot in 1615, who had accompanied Viscount Wentworth to Ireland by March 1635, where he was appointed as the dean of Christ Church, Dublin. For Tilson, see *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*, eds. William Scott, then James Bliss (7 vols., Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860), vii. 118-119. Bishop

Amongst formal presentations, though, the dominant force was (in various forms) the laity. Having been granted the advowson by the godly merchant Thomas Aldersey, the London Haberdashers' Company presented Samuel Torshell to the living of Bunbury in Cheshire, whilst John Glendole was presented by the parishioners to the rectory of St. Peter's, Chester.³⁸ Perhaps the most telling statistic, though, is that seventeen of the presentations were made by lay individuals outside of the peerage, with a further two presentations being made by the Stanley family, earls of Derby. As has been noted, though, the real strength of puritan clerical patronage lies beyond the reach of the official records, and in the informal appointments to curacies made by the lower clergymen of the Church of England. Even Edward Walsh, the vicar of Blackburn deprived in 1605 for refusing to swear to the new canons, was serving in 1628 as curate to his successor, John Morris, when they were both presented for puritan nonconformity.³⁹

The Church of England in Lancashire and Cheshire, c. 1625-1637

Following the York House conference in early 1626, which Nicholas Tyacke has interpreted as being a tipping point between the broadly Calvinist Church of England and the rising Arminian tide, in June 1626, the new monarch, Charles I, issued a proclamation for 'the peace and quiet of the Church of England'.⁴⁰ This proclamation forbade discussion of the topic of predestination by either preaching or writing, which Tyacke has argued 'as understood by Arminians... meant the banning of Calvinism from press and pulpit'.⁴¹ At the same time, Calvinism was effectively banned from being taught at Cambridge University, and although a royal declaration in 1628 banned disputations between Calvinists and Arminians in the universities, it would not be until 1631 that Calvinist teaching was stifled at Oxford University, which hitherto had been less directly under royal control than Cambridge had been.⁴² In the province of York, it was reported in January 1630 that the archbishop of York, Samuel Harsnett, had banned from sale in his province the works of William Perkins, who, though he had died in 1602, remained one of the most influential English Calvinist

Bridgeman had informed Archbishop Laud before 2 January 1636 that he had received Tilson's resignation as vicar of Rochdale, see vii. 221.

³⁸ For Aldersey and Bunbury, see R. C. D. Baldwin, 'Aldersey, Thomas (1521/2-1598)', *ODNB*.

³⁹ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/31a, fo. 8r. (this fragment of the 1625 visitation is wrongly catalogued as c. 1630); Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 304.

⁴⁰ Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), ch. 7, particularly p. 180.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49, 76-78, 81-82.

theologians.⁴³ As Tyacke perceived Harsnett's move, it 'was certainly a way of cutting Calvinism off at source'.⁴⁴ In this context should perhaps be seen the attempt of Harsnett's successor, Richard Neile, by an order of 18 June 1632 (very soon after he had been appointed as archbishop), to control the preachers of assize sermons so that they handle 'onely such pointes as are seasonable for such Assemblies', as previous appointees had included 'men of ill disposicion to the present State or gouernment'. In future, sheriffs were to seek the ordinary's consent before appointing any assize preachers.⁴⁵

In this light, the promotion of anti-Calvinist 'Arminian' beliefs represented a challenge to the Calvinist orthodoxy of the Church of England.⁴⁶ The political sands had been shifting for nearly a decade by 1626, with James I's sympathy for puritan evangelicism being eroded by puritan opposition to the proposed marriage of the then Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta.⁴⁷ Whilst Calvinists (broadly the followers of the Genevan reformer John Calvin) believed in absolute predestination, Arminians (broadly the followers of the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius) held that such an absolute position led 'either to desperation or still worse to presumption'.⁴⁸ The tendency amongst puritans to see the world in a binary opposition between 'the elect and the reprobate... was regarded by Arminians as inherently divisive', potentially leading to antinomianism and a threat to order.⁴⁹ Practical puritan divinity, centred upon sermons, was also seen as downplaying the crucial importance 'of outward ceremony, public prayer and the sacraments in the life of the Church'.⁵⁰ This desire to promote proper worship 'prompted the liturgical experiments and innovations [and] the changes in the internal arrangements and decorations of many churches to which their opponents objected so strongly in the late 1620s and 1630s'.⁵¹

Peter Lake has argued that during the 1630s, a distinctive 'Laudian style' of ecclesiology was imposed upon the Church of England. Lake prefers to use the term 'Laudian' to other labels such as 'anti-Calvinist' or

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 182-183; see also Kenneth Fincham, "So potent, crafty and violent an adversary": Samuel Harsnett, Master of Pembroke and Archbishop of York', *Pembroke College, Cambridge, Annual Gazette*, lxxx (2006), 42.

⁴⁴ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 183.

⁴⁵ Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDKe acc. 7840, HMC 135.

⁴⁶ Tyacke, 'Puritanism', pp. 119-143; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, ch. 8.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies*, xxiv (1985), 198-202.

⁴⁸ Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Politics and Society 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), p. 85.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 86.

‘Arminian’ which have been used to describe the innovations of the decade, but which implicitly focus the innovations upon debates around predestination. As Lake rightly points out, the religious trends and attitudes which came together during Charles I’s personal rule had more complex origins than simply debates over predestination. Using the term ‘Laudian’ does not need ‘to imply anything about the role of Laud in either originating or disseminating’ the attitudes which can be seen as being central to ‘Laudianism’, but rather, exists as ‘a handy shorthand term for the policies and religious temper of the Personal Rule’, which formed ‘a coherent, distinctive and polemically aggressive vision of the Church, the divine presence in the world and the appropriate ritual response to that presence’.⁵² This thesis will thus follow Lake’s usage of the terms ‘Laudian’ and ‘Laudianism’ as useful and simple labels for the innovations imposed upon the Church of England during the 1630s.

In Lake’s view, central to this ‘Laudian style’ were attitudes such as a belief in the Church’s right to order the Sabbath, the perception of puritans as being subversives, and the re-ordering of church interiors to be focused upon the communion table, where the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was consecrated, at the expense of the pulpit which Laudian polemicists believed that puritans had wrongly privileged.⁵³ These three tenets of Laudianism will now be investigated in some depth, showing how they might have impacted on clerical attitudes towards the Church of England in Lancashire and Cheshire.

(i). *Sabbatarianism*:

As has been noted in the first chapter of this thesis, the belief in the preservation of the Sabbath, in line with the fourth commandment given by God to Moses, was widely held in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England.⁵⁴ However, as Kenneth Parker has shown, there were differences about the exact nature in which the Sabbath should be observed, and as to whether or not some recreations and trading should be allowed at certain times. The general thrust of most visitation articles issued by bishops during James I’s reign were about whether or not recreations or trading were taking place during church service times, rather than making any attempt to suppress Sunday recreations or trading outright.⁵⁵

⁵² Lake, ‘Laudian Style’, pp. 161-162.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-185.

⁵⁴ Exodus 20:8.

⁵⁵ Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A study of doctrine and discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ch. 4.

Both Cheshire and Lancashire witnessed contention over the extent to which Sunday recreations and trading should be permitted.⁵⁶ During John Ratcliffe's mayoral year in Chester in 1611-1612, the brewer issued a declaration 'enforcing church attendance and shop and tavern closure on the sabbath', with fines to be imposed on offenders. The bishop, George Lloyd, 'was so incensed by the mayor's actions that he... forbade the clergy of the city to read the declaration'.⁵⁷ One of the main exponents of sabbatarian restrictions within the city was a lecturer, Nicholas Byfield, who, judging by a small burst of prosecutions at the city's quarter sessions during the early 1610s of those who had spoken ill of him, was something of a contentious figure within the city.⁵⁸ Even other clergymen within the city seem to have been wary of Byfield's motives. In his will, Hugh Burches, the rector of Thurstaston in Cheshire and a divinity lecturer at Chester Cathedral until his death in 1615, included a remarkable passage where he lamented that 'my wantes were many in the discharge of my duty & especially that I did not with more zeale beate downe the subtill proceedinges of the novelistes seekinge or privily labouring an overthrow of this reverend church... although some pretend an upright intent and cariage'.⁵⁹ If (as Martin Crossley Evans has interpreted it) Burches' comments were aimed at Byfield, he may well have shared a concern with Bishop Lloyd that the enactment of sabbatarian reforms by circumventing the appropriate authority (Ratcliffe had initially envisaged that the city's clergy would read his declaration) was being used as a vehicle by which to advance puritanism.⁶⁰

However, before the end of the 1610s, James I had made his own intervention in the sabbatarian controversy. At the beginning of his reign, on 7 May 1603, he had issued a proclamation forbidding on the Sabbath 'bear-baiting, Bull baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or other like disorders or unlawful Exercises or Pastimes', which was followed by another instructions issued to lieutenants and magistrates on 23 May 1603 ordering them to act against such abuses of the Sabbath.⁶¹ However, on 8 August 1616, magistrates in Lancashire went beyond the King's proclamation (then still in force), forbidding 'piping, dancinge (bowling, beare or bullbaitinge)

⁵⁶ For a Lancashire case study, see Luc Racaut, 'The 'Book of Sports' and sabbatarian legislation in Lancashire, 1579-1616', *Northern History*, xxxiii (1997), 73-87.

⁵⁷ M. J. Crossley Evans, 'The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 105-106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁹ Cheshire RO, WS 1615, Hugh Burgess of Thurstaston; see also Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 106.

⁶⁰ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 105-106. Bishop Lloyd obviously had concerns about Ratcliffe's motives, for he ordered him to pull down a pew which he had erected in St. Peter's church when his home parish was St. Oswald's, and such a transferral of churches was often symptomatic of a puritan desire to seek purer forms of worship.

⁶¹ Parker, *English Sabbath*, p. 117.

or any other profanacion upon any Saboth day in any parte of that day', and a similar order was issued in Warrington Hundred in March 1617. In contrast, Bishop Thomas Morton's visitation articles for the diocese of Chester issued in 1617 focused only upon those recreations which took place 'to the hindrance of Praiers, Sermons, or other godly exercises', a conventional formula following Archbishop Tobie Matthew of York's influential visitation articles of 1607.⁶²

As was noted in the first chapter of this thesis, after James had quashed the Lancashire magistrates' order and had asked Bishop Morton to write a declaration which would lay down a framework for permitted Sunday recreations, he added his own preface to the printed version of his *Declaration of Sports*, issued on 27 August 1617, which accused the magistrates who had issued the 1616 order in Lancashire of being 'puritans', and associated sabbatarian precisionism with extreme protestantism.⁶³ After the order had been issued nationally in 1618, an incident close to Cheshire's southern border highlights the contention which surrounded the order.⁶⁴ At Albrighton in Shropshire in November 1618, during evening prayer, 'a company with a drum and guns, and, striking up in the churchyard and under the church wall and windows, shot off their pieces, and cried, "Come out, ye Puritans, come out"'.⁶⁵

Albrighton was certainly close enough to Cheshire for news of this incident to reach the county, with its powerful image of those attending evening prayer (as required by law) being abused and castigated as 'Puritans'.⁶⁶ Soon afterwards, in 1619, a dispute about the nature of the Sabbath had erupted within the pulpits of Chester. In August 1619, John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth, wrote to James Ussher, then vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, asking him for advice on correct Sabbath doctrine.⁶⁷ Ley informed Ussher that there had recently been 'a great Contraversie about the Saboth' within the city, and he reported that he had received '3 manuscripts against the Moraltie of one day in 7, and of late these positions now enclosed were preached by a prebend of Chester there which occasioned mee to ayr the pulpit there with sounder doctrine'. Subsequently, they 'for peace sake were both injoynd, to forbear preaching of that matter untill the Bishoppe [the newly appointed John Bridgeman] mighte have time to peruse & Judge of what we had taught'.⁶⁸

⁶² Ibid., p. 148.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 152-153.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 153, 160.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Ibid., p. 154.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

⁶⁷ Alan Ford, 'Ussher, James (1581-1656)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson Letters 89, fos. 30r-v.

After these controversies in the late 1610s, Kenneth Parker has interpreted the 1620s as being a decade of relative calm over the issue of the Sabbath, with polemical focus being directed towards the perceived threat of Saturday sabbatarianism.⁶⁹ The parliaments of 1621, 1624 and 1625 attempted to pass bills which added further restrictions to James I's *Declaration*, but they all failed to gain royal assent, though his son Charles I granted assent to the bill in 1625 and also to a further sabbatarian bill in 1626.⁷⁰ On 21 January 1628, five individuals from Manchester parish were presented before Bishop Bridgeman accused of various breaches of the Sabbath, whereupon they were all released upon certifying.⁷¹ As state-sponsored sabbatarianism seemed to receive some backing from the new king, John Ley's own career was also in the ascendancy, being appointed as a prebendary of Chester Cathedral in 1627, and by June 1635, Ley was serving as sub-dean of the Cathedral.⁷²

In 1630, the decade-long peace in Chester over sabbatarian issues was shattered by the printing at Oxford of an epistolary clash dating back to 1611 between Edward Brerewood, a native of Chester who was then professor at Gresham College in London, and the lecturer Nicholas Byfield, both of whom had by now died.⁷³ Brerewood alleged that his young nephew had, on a visit to Chester on business, been persuaded by Byfield to no longer work on Sundays, resulting in him forsaking his apprenticeship.⁷⁴ Brerewood was incensed by Byfield, asking him 'whether this frame of your doctrine be grounded on the rocke of God's law, or on the fickle sand of your own fantasie misunderstanding the law, and whether it tend to the edification or ruine of the Church'.⁷⁵ Brerewood proceeded to argue at length that the sin of breaking the fourth commandment lay with the master for ordering his servant to work on the Sabbath, and thus not on the obedient servant.⁷⁶ He ended with a cautionary note to Byfield, warning him that:

if you finde your selfe not able to establish and iustify this doctrine wherewith I take my poore kinsman to haue been corrupted, then I challenge you as you will answere it at the judgement seat of almighty God when your accounting date

⁶⁹ Parker, *English Sabbath*, pp. 161-164.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-176.

⁷¹ Cheshire RO, EDA 3/2, fo. 27r-v.

⁷² Richard L. Greaves, 'Ley, John (1584-1662)', *ODNB*; John Ley, *A Letter (Against the Erection of an Altar), Written Iune 29. 1635. to the Reverend Father Iohn L. Bishop of Chester* (London: George Lathum, 1641), p. 4.

⁷³ Bryan W. Ball, 'Byfield, Nicholas (1578/9-1622)', *ODNB*; Thompson Cooper, rev. Anita McConnell, 'Brerewood, Edward (c. 1565-1613)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴ Edward Brerewood and Nicholas Byfield, *A Learned Treatise on the Saboath* (Oxford: John Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1630), pp. 1-4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-53.

shall come, to repaire the ruine you haue made in his conscience, and (remoouing his scandall which hindreth him in his vocation) to establish him in his former obedience to his Master.⁷⁷

Though Byfield's response to Brerewood was printed alongside Brerewood's original letter and a reply from Brerewood, the publication obviously caused some consternation amongst clergy in the Chester area. Not only did the Brerewood's letters suggest that it would not be a sin for a servant to obey commands from their master on the Sabbath, they furthermore also contained the uncomfortable spectacle of a layman lecturing an ordained minister in quite forthright terms. Also, the publication was so popular that it ran into a second edition in 1631, with *A Second Treatise on the Sabbath* by Brerewood being printed in 1632.⁷⁸ Sometime after the printing of Brerewood and Byfield's correspondence in 1630, John Ley received a letter signed by fourteen clergymen urging him to pronounce on the issue of the Sabbath, later printed in 1641 as a preface to Ley's *Sunday a Sabbath*.⁷⁹ Ley seems to have preached a series of sermons on the topic of the Sabbath shortly after receiving this letter, for, by July 1632, Bishop Bridgeman had again inhibited Ley from preaching on the topic of the Sabbath, with Charles I having instructed the Bishop to ban Ley from preaching on contentious topics.⁸⁰ Ley defended himself to the Bishop, protesting that he did not conceive that he would cause any offence by preaching about the decalogue, and that 'Out of the decalogue I had no reason to conceive that your lordship would except the 4th commandment which (as Calvin saith) containeth the totall summe of all Religion'.⁸¹ Ley's concerns about correct Sabbath observation are illustrated in the preface to his *Sunday a Sabbath*, printed in 1641 but circulating in manuscript form by 1637, when Ley left a copy with the Warwick schoolmaster, Thomas Dugard.⁸² He warned that 'so many set their wils either to worke or play, and so to pursue their profit or pleasure, as to make the *Lords* holiday every way in practice, as unholy and profane, as in position it could be'. Ley then

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 55.

⁷⁸ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 107; Edward Brerewood, *A Second Treatise on the Sabbath* (Oxford: John Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1632), passim.

⁷⁹ John Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath* (London: R. Young for George Latham, 1641), 'The Coppie of the Letter mentioned in the Preface'.

⁸⁰ Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D1287/18 /2 (P/399/67); Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 106-107; G. T. O. Bridgeman, *The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan in the County of Lancaster*, 4 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xv-xviii (1888-1890), xvi. 338. The undated order from Charles I can be found in The National Archives, Kew, SP 16/211, fo. 138r.

⁸¹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/67).

⁸² Ann Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s – a 'Parliamentary-Puritan' Connexion?', *Historical Journal*, xxix (1986), 786.

went on to explain that the printing of Brerewood's letters to Byfield were his main prompt towards writing the current work.⁸³

Given the contentious nature of his recent sermon topic, it may have been no coincidence that the visitors from York in 1633 suspended Ley from his lectureship in Chester on the grounds of pluralism, though a campaign for his reinstatement orchestrated by the Mayor and the Corporation was ultimately successful.⁸⁴ The 1633 metropolitical visitation took place before the re-issuing of the *Book of Sports*, but Marchamont Nedham later, perhaps scurrilously, claimed that at the visitation, John Cosin had 're-baptiz'd' the puritan vicar of Tarvin in Cheshire, Sabbath Clarke, as 'Saturday'.⁸⁵

Between Ley's sermons in the early 1630s and the first circulation in manuscript form of what would become *Sunday a Sabbath* by 1637, Charles I, influenced by Archbishop Laud, re-issued on 18 October 1633 his father's *Declaration of Sports* as the *Book of Sports*, but with an added amendment protecting wakes, which were not an approved recreation listed in the 1618 *Declaration*.⁸⁶ With their obvious association with pre-reformation Catholic practices, approval for wakes proved to be a particularly contentious innovation. Additionally, Charles went further than his father James in ordering that the *Book* be read in churches, placing many ministers in a position where they might have to act against their conscience.⁸⁷

Wakes were already matters of contention in Cheshire even before the *Book of Sports* gave them official approbation. William Hinde was the noted preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire during the first three decades of the seventeenth century, where, towards the end of that period, Edward Burghall became schoolmaster.⁸⁸ Burghall, a future parliamentarian who would be appointed as the pastor at Acton in 1646, wrote a manuscript entitled 'Providence Improved', a catalogue of God's active judgements upon society.⁸⁹ In 1628, Burghall recorded that:

⁸³ Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 'The Preface to the Reader'.

⁸⁴ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 107-108; Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92); Cheshire RO, Z ML/2, Letters 273 (draft letter from the Corporation of Chester to Archbishop Richard Neile, 31 August 1633) and 274 (draft letter from the Corporation of Chester to John Cosin, William Easdall and Henry Wickham, 31 August 1633).

⁸⁵ [Marchamont Nedham], *Mercurius Ecclesiasticus; Or, Doctor Cozens His Visitation At Warrington in Lancashire, divers Presentments and Censures therein passed* (no place: no printer, 1645), p. 3. George Thomason dated his copy as 7 January 1644/45.

⁸⁶ Parker, *English Sabbath*, pp. 189-191. 'Wakes [as defined by Parker, p.154] were traditional celebrations, usually held on the Sunday before or after the feast day of the saint to whom the parish was dedicated'

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸⁸ The 'preacher' at Bunbury was effectively the incumbent, there being no titular vicar.

⁸⁹ C. B. Phillips, 'Burghall, Edward (bap. 1600, d. 1665)', *ODNB*.

There was a remarkable Judgement light upon a wicked debauched Fellow in Bunbury, one Robinson a Bear-ward, who followed that unlawfull Calling, whereby God is much dishonoured, (especially at such Popish Festivals called Wakes,) was cruelly rent in Peices by a Bear, & soe died fearfully...⁹⁰

In 1635, God once again made His judgement manifest to the revellers of Bunbury:

A Multitude of People being set under the Church Yard Wall, on the South Side of the Church in Bunbury, at the Time of their Wakes, to see a Bearbait, the Wall suddenly fell down upon them, yet they were not hurt. They had the same Disorder the Year following & there happened the same Disaster, & the same Deliverance. Oh! the great Patience of Almighty God!⁹¹

Burghall's account was most likely written later in his life, though its style, of a collection of God's judgements upon His people, is similar to the London minister Henry Burton's 1636 publication *A Divine Tragedie Lately Acted*, where Burton had collected accounts of God's judgements against those who had partaken in Sunday recreations after the issue of the *Book of Sports*.⁹² The possible impact on the region's clergy of Burton and his collaborator William Prynne's time spent at Lancaster and Chester respectively in 1637 will be discussed in the next chapter, but it is worth noting at this point that Burton directed the epilogue of his *Divine Tragedie* against John Pocklington's sermon *Sunday no Sabbath*, preached at Ampthill in Bedfordshire on 17 August 1635 and printed in London in 1636.⁹³ It is telling that when John Ley finally printed his tract on the Sabbath in 1641, upholding the fourth commandment as a morally binding

⁹⁰ Edward Burghall, 'Providence Improved', in *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich*, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889), 1. Burghall continued 'That worthy Man Mr. [William] Hind, then preach'd at Bunbury, had not without Cause much inveighed against those Disorders, which was usually at Bunbury Wakes, & had threatened God's Judgements against the same, but could not prevail utterly to remove them, tho' he endeavoured it to the uttermost'.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 11. Nor were the parishioners of Bunbury the only people in Cheshire to suffer God's disapproval for abusing the Sabbath, as in 1634, 'a Woman in Chester, going upon the Walls to get Plums on the Lord's Day, fell down & brake her Neck', see *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹² Henry Burton, *A divine tragedie lately acted* [Amsterdam: J. F. Stam, 1636], passim; Phillips, 'Burghall, Edward', *ODNB*; Parker, *English Sabbath*, pp. 206-207.

⁹³ Parker, *English Sabbath*, p. 207. Pocklington maintained that as Sunday observance had been instituted by the apostles, the regulation of the day lay with the bishops. In particular, he held that as the Jewish Sabbath was Saturday, this had been superseded by Christ. Thus, though Christians should observe Sundays, it was not morally binding, and the conception of Sunday being a 'Sabbath' had been a mid-sixteenth century resurrection, see *Ibid.*, pp. 202-205.

precept, his title of *Sunday a Sabbath* stood as a clear rejection of Pocklington's text.

The re-issuing of the *Book of Sports* in 1633 obviously caused concern amongst such godly clergymen as John Ley and Edward Burghall, but tracing its impact at the parish level is much more complex. Nicholas Estwick, a Northamptonshire rector, wrote to Samuel Ward, the master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, explaining that although he had conscientious scruples about the contents of the *Book*, he had decided to read it in his church, and was disappointed that godly ministers were willing to be deprived of their livings rather than read the *Book*.⁹⁴ At Walton-on-the-Hill in Lancashire, the churchwardens' accounts appear to suggest that the vicar, Nevil Kay, bought the *Book* and was reimbursed by the churchwardens.⁹⁵ Kay would later conform to the presbyterian government established in Lancashire in 1646, and died holding his living in 1654.⁹⁶ Kay's survival contrasts with the situation in Suffolk, where twelve ministers ejected between 1644 and 1646 were charged with reading the *Book*, whilst a further six were accused of failing to rebuke parishioners for partaking in Sunday recreations.⁹⁷ Furthermore, James Hyett, the rector and vicar of Croston in Lancashire who would later be an active civil war parliamentarian and one of the ejected of 1662, prosecuted at the Midsummer quarter sessions held at Ormskirk in 1634 a 'pyper' named John Court for breaching 'the Kinges edicte' by piping on a Sunday without having that day attending church, and for further breaching the declaration by his performances being attended by 'recusantes'.⁹⁸ As will be a recurring theme throughout this chapter, examples from Lancashire and Cheshire point towards more complex reactions to Laudianism than is sometimes suggested.

It should be pointed out, though, that it is possible that as unwelcome as the *Book of Sports* probably was to keen sabbatarians, Bishop Bridgeman and his officers are not known (from an admittedly small surviving source basis) to have suspended any ministers solely for refusing to read the *Book of Sports* to their congregations.⁹⁹ This contrasts with the

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193.

⁹⁵ *The Churchwardens' Accounts of Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire, 1627-1667*, eds. Esther M. E. Ramsay and Alison J. Maddock, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxli (2005), 21.

⁹⁶ *Walton-on-the-Hill*, eds. Ramsay and Maddock, p. xi.

⁹⁷ *The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers, 1644-1646*, ed. Clive Holmes, Suffolk Records Society, xiii (1970), p. 19.

⁹⁸ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/138/51. I owe this reference to Prof. Angus Winchester. For Hyett's parliamentarianism, see National Archives, SP 23/159, fo. 34.

⁹⁹ My interpretation slightly differs from that of Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, p. 195, who suggests that Bridgeman did not suspend any ministers because of their refusal to read the *Book of Sports*.

situation at Rugeley in Staffordshire, the adjacent county to Cheshire, where Simeon Ashe lost his living because of his refusal to read the *Book of Sports*.¹⁰⁰ In Suffolk, located largely in the diocese of Norwich, Matthew Wren, the bishop between 1635 and 1638, used the reading of the *Book* as a test of conformity to be applied to ministers.¹⁰¹ There, the differences between those ministers who complied by reading the *Book* and those who were suspended for refusing to read it to their congregations would have been even more stark than they were in the diocese of Chester, where there is little evidence that Bridgeman vigorously enforced the reading of the *Book*, though he did include the reading of the *Book* as one his articles of enquiry for his triennial visitation in 1634.¹⁰² The churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's parish in Chester, where John Glendole was rector, do not record any payment for a copy of the *Book of Sports*.¹⁰³ This is particularly interesting as not only was this a church in the cathedral city of the diocese, and one where the communion table was railed in 1634, but Glendole was one of the signatories of the letter sent to Ley in the early 1630s urging him to pronounce on the Brerewood and Byfield correspondence.¹⁰⁴ Whilst Ronald Hutton has urged caution with regards to reading significance into the absence of particular items in churchwardens' accounts (an item purchased by the minister himself, for example, would not necessarily appear in the churchwardens' accounts), the parish of St. Mary's in Chester paid 6d. in 1633 'for the booke of tolleracion of lawfull Recreacions', and St. Michael's parish in Chester and Tilston parish both paid the same sum for the *Book* at around the same time.¹⁰⁵

In terms of the clerical response to the *Book of Sports*, the fragmentary surviving court book from Bridgeman's triennial visitation in 1634 reveals that John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth, and two other Cheshire clerics with histories of puritan nonconformity, William Lawton, the rector of Church Lawton (who had long-running disputes with his parishioners), and Robert Halliday, the vicar of Middlewich, were presented at the 1634 visitation for having not read the *Book of Sports* to their congregations. Ley and Halliday were to certify before 26 September 1634

¹⁰⁰ Ann Hughes, 'Ashe, Simeon (d. 1662)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰¹ Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, p. 188.

¹⁰² [Diocese of Chester], *The Articles... throughout the Diocesse of Chester... in this Triennial Visitation of... Iohn... Lord Bishop of that Diocesse* (London: for William Stansby, 1634), Item 66. I am grateful to Prof. Kenneth Fincham for drawing my attention to this.

¹⁰³ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1.

¹⁰⁴ Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 'Coppie of the Letter'.

¹⁰⁵ Cheshire RO, P20/13/1; P65/8/1; P18/3608; Ronald Hutton, *The British Republic 1649-1660* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, second edition, 2000), note 5 (p. 136).

that they had published the *Book*.¹⁰⁶ Treated more harshly was William Holt, the former curate at Goostrey chapel in Sandbach parish in Cheshire who had since relocated to St. Helens chapel in Prescott parish in Lancashire. Holt was accused of a catalogue of puritan offences including not reading divine service on holidays, omitting parts of the services, administering communion to sitters, and for omitting to wear the surplice, as well as for not publishing the *Book*. For these offences, Holt was excommunicated, but given the more lenient treatment of Ley and Halliday, I think that Holt's excommunication should be read as a result of the whole picture of his ministry, and not simply as a result of his failure to publish the *Book of Sports*.¹⁰⁷

Still, with James Hyett and Nicholas Estwick's examples in our minds, we should not assume that puritan clerics were unanimously opposed to the reading of the *Book of Sports*, or shared exactly the same conception of the Sabbath. There is evidence that even amongst the fourteen clergymen who wrote to Ley asking him to pronounce on the Brerewood and Byfield correspondence, whilst they presumably agreed in some fundamental ideas about how the Sabbath should be observed, there were disagreements over the exact nature of the Sabbath. In a letter sent to Bishop Bridgeman in July 1632, after Bridgeman had inhibited Ley from preaching on the topic of the Sabbath, Ley mentioned that a 'Mr. C', who had been one of the signatories of the letter, had complained to Bridgeman about the contents of the sermons. Ley noted that there had been a previous controversy between him and 'Mr. C.', and it seems that 'Mr. C.' believed that Ley was resurrecting this controversy within his sermons, prompting him to complain to the Bishop, with whom, as Ley wryly noted, 'Mr. C.' had had his own disputes in the past.¹⁰⁸ As this snippet of evidence illustrates, even a minister who could write to Ley asking him to pronounce on a print controversy may not necessarily have shared exactly the same opinions about the nature of the Sabbath, though 'Mr. C.' must have believed that he and Ley shared at least some common ground when he subscribed the letter to Ley. At this point, though, it should be noted that the arguments that Sunday observation was a human institution and was not morally binding came slightly after the re-issuing of the *Book of Sports*, in works by Peter Heylyn in 1634, by Francis White in 1635, and by John Pocklington and Heylyn again in 1636.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/33, fos. 4r., 6v., 9r. The court book refers to the 'minister' at Great Budworth, but John Ley was the vicar there, and as he was not a parochial pluralist, it is assumed that this refers to him.

¹⁰⁷ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/33, fos. 11v-12v.

¹⁰⁸ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18 /2 (P/399/67). If the label of 'Mr. C.' is accurate, they would appear to be one of Alexander Clarke, Samuel Clarke, Matthew Clayton or John Conny, see Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 'Coppie of the Letter'.

¹⁰⁹ Parker, *English Sabbath*, pp. 196-206. It should be noted that whilst he does not depart from the broad thrust of Parker's argument, a more complex picture of claims of

Evidence of ‘positive’ responses to the Book, such as that of James Hyett at Croston, pre-dates such works, and the evidence is sadly too scarce to be able to discern some kind of changing attitude towards the *Book* in the light of the likely dissemination of these later printed works.

To summarise the situation within the diocese of Chester, whilst the *Book of Sports* did represent a novel attempt by the monarch to redefine permitted Sunday recreations, the *Book* does not seem to have caused an immediate controversy. It was perhaps the case that Bishop Bridgeman proceeded with some caution: after all, there had been a sabbatarian controversy in Chester only a couple of years previously which had caused a disagreement between Ley and one of his own clerical advocates, and Bridgeman may have been wary about exacerbating this conflict by enforcing the reading of the *Book* too forwardly. Andrew Foster has argued that Archbishops Laud and Neile were much more cautious in enforcing the reading of the *Book of Sports* than they were in enforcing the railing of communion tables. For many puritans, as Foster suggests, it was the promotion of Sunday sports which caused the greatest concern, as they represented an attack on the godly’s emphasis on keeping the Sabbath holy, and seemed to pander towards ‘Catholic criticisms’ of the Church of England.¹¹⁰ Neile told Charles I in 1635 that in the diocese of York, ‘I have found some reluctancy in a few of the Ministers’, and he had referred them to read Francis White’s treatise on the subject.¹¹¹ It may be revealing that none of Bishop Bridgeman’s diocesan reports refers to his success (or possible lack of success) in enforcing the reading of the *Book of Sports* in his jurisdiction.¹¹² One interesting pattern which should be noted, albeit with some caution, is that I have uncovered no record of the *Book of Sports* being purchased by a parish or chapelry within the archdeaconry of Richmond.¹¹³ Due to the scarcity of sources, it would be unwise to assume that this represents a failure of enforcement, and indeed, the clergy attached to these parishes may well have read to their congregations from a personal copy of the *Book of Sports*. As we shall see later in this chapter, the archdeacon of Richmond, Thomas Dod, was well connected within puritan circles, but the

ecclesiastical prerogative being buttressed by choice quotations from scripture is provided in Lake, ‘Authority’, pp. 160-168, 171-172.

¹¹⁰ Foster, ‘Church Policies’, pp. 207-208.

¹¹¹ ‘Annual accounts’, ed. Fincham, 106.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 89-93, 107-108, 120-121, 138-139.

¹¹³ There are six relatively full sets of churchwardens’ accounts surviving from the archdeaconry of Richmond during the 1630s, none of which show any evidence for the purchase of the *Book of Sports* by those parishes: in Lancashire, Cartmel (Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal, WPR/89/W1); in Westmorland, Heversham (Cumbria AC, Kendal, WPR/8/4/1/1); and in Yorkshire, Bedale (North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, PR/BED/2/1), Kirkby Malzeard (North Yorkshire RO, PR/KMZ/14/2), Masham (North Yorkshire RO, PR/MAS/3/1/1), and Thornton Watlass (North Yorkshire RO, PR/TW/3/1). The partially surviving set of churchwardens’ accounts from Hawkshead in Lancashire also includes no references to the *Book of Sports*, see Cumbria AC, Kendal, WPR/83/File 16.

railing of communion tables was enforced within the archdeaconry of Richmond, and if this apparent failure of acquisition does indeed reflect an accurate pattern, this situation may offer some tentative support to Foster's contention that the promotion of Sunday sports offended the godly more than the railing of communion tables.¹¹⁴

Whilst it is clear that the reading of the *Book of Sports* was enforced at least in the archdeaconry of Chester, it does not appear to have been used as a test of conformity, as other bishops such as Matthew Wren seem to have done so. Interestingly, though, the case of James Hyett at Croston (a future civil war parliamentarian, no less) shows a clergyman who utilised the *Book of Sports* in a positive sense, as a weapon with which to tackle Catholic recusancy, and indeed, this is one of the senses which the *Book* was intended to be seen by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, even if such a reading never convinced its critics. Building upon Alan Dunbabin's arguments about Prescott, the *Book of Sports* may be seen as a tactic by which to bring Catholics into a permanent rather than to a temporary or occasional conformity.¹¹⁵ Historians, perhaps influenced by the criticisms of the *Book of Sports* in the 1630s and the 1640s, have possibly been too quick to seize upon the angst which the *Book* caused, but Hyett's example shows that at least some clerics (even if they were perhaps a minority) were willing to use the *Book* as an additional weapon in their pastoral armoury.

(ii). *The railing of communion tables:*

Amongst contemporaries and historians alike, no other aspect of Laudianism has come to symbolise the shift in the focus of worship from preaching to the sacraments more than the orders that churches rail their communion tables against the east wall, with the table standing on an 'altarwise', or north-south, axis.¹¹⁶ However, whilst much recent work has been done on the enforcement of the policy nationally, little specific work has been done on the enforcement of the policy in the diocese of Chester.¹¹⁷ This section will attempt to outline the speed and the extent to which the policy was enforced the diocese. Between Archbishop Neile's metropolitanical visitation in 1633, and 1636, most churches in the diocese seem to have complied with the order, even those with 'puritan' incumbents (in terms of both nonconformity and of known protestant zeal). Little fuss was

¹¹⁴ Foster, 'Church Policies', pp. 207-208.

¹¹⁵ Dunbabin, 'Prescot', ch. 4.

¹¹⁶ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 246. This point should be with the caveat that even though Laudianism re-ordered churches so that they were focused upon the communion table, 'puritans' nonetheless held a high esteem for the reception of communion, see Arnold Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, clxi (1998), 39-83.

¹¹⁷ The best overview of the enforcement of Laudian policies in the province of York remains Andrew Foster's 'Church Policies of the 1630s', pp. 193-223.

seemingly caused by the order, though Bishop John Bridgeman has been portrayed as being a reluctant enforcer, and his early ambivalence may even have extended to him consecrating a ‘tablewise’ communion table at Ringley chapel in Lancashire in December 1634.¹¹⁸ Whilst Bishop Bridgeman did cause some controversy in 1635 when he briefly converted St. Werburgh’s shrine in Chester Cathedral into an altar, it was not until 1637 that serious tensions began to arise in the diocese, by which time Bridgeman (as illustrated by further changes to the fabric of Chester Cathedral) increasingly appeared to be a Laudian enthusiast rather than a mere supplicant. These later developments will be further explored later in this chapter, with this section focusing on the impact of the policy up to 1636.

As Kenneth Fincham has established, Richard Neile was pressing for the railing of communion tables in the province of York during his visitations in 1632 (of the diocese of York) and 1633 (of the dioceses of Carlisle and Chester), with enforcement of the policy only commencing in the province of Canterbury in 1635.¹¹⁹ The evidence from the diocese of Chester seems to back this conclusion, with a consistory court case in 1635 concerning Stockport in Cheshire explicitly stating that the order for the railing of their communion table was made at the metropolitanical visitation.¹²⁰ Indeed, the visitors’ order survives for the railing of the communion table at St. Oswald’s church within Chester Cathedral, dated 27 August 1633, with the parish given until the Friday after Michaelmas to set their communion table ‘vpp close to the wall’, enclosed by ‘A decent raile’, with the seats currently standing against the east wall being removed in the process.¹²¹ With the exception of St. John’s church, where the communion table was not railed until 1637, the parishes in Chester for which evidence survives seem to have railed their communion tables in the months following the metropolitanical visitation in 1633, and certainly Chester Cathedral had received its railed communion table before January 1634, when Archbishop Neile mentioned it in his report to Charles I.¹²² Elsewhere in Cheshire, a new communion table was purchased at Marbury in 1633 (though a rail is not explicitly mentioned in the accounts), and rails were erected at Baddiley, Frodsham and Wilmslow in 1634, at Weaverham before Easter 1635, and at Tilston and Warmingham before September

¹¹⁸ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 200-201; *The Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon of Outwood*, ed. John Samuel Fletcher, Chetham Society, cix (1880), 32.

¹¹⁹ Fincham, ‘Restoration of Altars’, 923-924.

¹²⁰ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1635/20.

¹²¹ British Library, London, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 81r-v.

¹²² Crossley Evans, ‘Clergy’, 108; Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 222; ‘Annual accounts’, ed. Fincham, 90; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 233.

1635.¹²³ At Aston chapel in Runcorn parish, Bishop Bridgeman issued an order on 16 April 1635 that ‘with all convenient speed the Communion Table which standes irreuerently in the middle of the Chancell be removed and set North and South vnder the East window of the said Chancell, and a decent rayle made about the same’.¹²⁴ A consistory court case in 1635 concerning Tarporley church states that the pews had been made uniform following the Archbishop of York’s recent visitation (a move which often coincided with the railing of communion tables, in order to make the table more visible to the congregation), and certainly communion table rails were removed there in the early 1640s.¹²⁵ Similar reports about the uniforming of pews were made in consistory court cases concerning Nantwich chapel and Astbury church in 1636, though the impetus in the Astbury case (and in a further case at Weaverham) was said to have come from Bishop Bridgeman’s triennial visitation in 1634.¹²⁶ Wistaston church had been made ‘newly vniformed & all other decent & necessary ornamentes are provided’ by the time of Bishop Bridgeman’s visitation in the winter of 1637-1638.¹²⁷ Prestbury church in Cheshire underwent a particularly thorough renovation between 1634 and 1638, installing a communion rail, spending £16 11s. on ‘Payntors’ for ‘bewtifyinge the Church’, and over £12 on a new organ loft.¹²⁸ One reason why these changes may have been enacted relatively swiftly is that shortly after the 1633 metropolitical visitation, Bishop Bridgeman brought ruridecanal jurisdictions within the archdeaconry of Chester directly under the control of his diocesan chancellor, Edmund Mainwaring, thus allowing the bishop more direct oversight of his diocese.¹²⁹ However, it should not be assumed that compliance was necessarily swift or straightforward. Middlewich church, though, only acquired its rail in 1638, and in January 1638, the churchwardens of Hanmer (just over the Welsh border in Flintshire) complained to Bishop Bridgeman’s visitors that ‘the chancell is farre out of

¹²³ Cheshire RO, P173/6/1; P39/8/1; P8/13/2; P35/5228/18; P123/3466/9/2; P18/3608; EDC 1/52 (5 September 1635). Marbury was a chapelry of Whitchurch parish, which extended over the county boundary from Shropshire. See also Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 200, 205, 211-212, 217.

¹²⁴ British Library, Additional MS, 36919, fo. 217r.

¹²⁵ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1635/83; QJF 71/4/23; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 238.

¹²⁶ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1636/11; EDC 5/1636/81; EDC 5/1636/116. In June 1645, the Northwich Hundred sequestrators paid £1 14s. 4d. ‘for the levelling of the Chancell in the parish church of Asburie’, see British Library, Harley MS, 1999, fo. 113r.

¹²⁷ Cheshire RO, EDV 5/5.

¹²⁸ Cheshire RO, P338/8504/65 (i).

¹²⁹ S. J. Lander, ‘The Diocese of Chester, 1540-1660’, in *A History of the County of Chester*, ed. B. E. Harris (London: Institute of Historical Research, 3 vols., 1979-1987), iii. 35-36; Christopher Haigh, ‘Finance and administration in a new diocese: Chester, 1541-1641’, in *Continuity and change: Personnel and administration in the Church in England 1500-1642*, eds. Rosemary O’Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 159-160.

repaire & we haue no place convenient for the Communion Table'.¹³⁰ At Church Lawton at the same visitation, the churchwardens presented their rector, William Lawton, 'for not making the chancell chancell wise according to the archbishops order', and for moving the communion rail in order to accommodate a pew.¹³¹

Moving northwards to Lancashire, the construction of the rails at Prescott took place in early 1636, whilst at the nearby parishes of Childwall and Walton-on-the-Hill, the work seems to have taken place in 1634.¹³² The Walton churchwardens' visit to Standish church to view the rails there indicates an even swifter compliance in that parish.¹³³ At Whalley, where the churchwardens' accounts survive from 1636, the purchase in that year of a 'woollen table cloth for the Alter' may well be suggestive of compliance, and the pews had apparently been made uniform at Colne chapel in that parish by 1635, but even then, some pews still had their backs towards the communion table.¹³⁴ Elsewhere in Whalley parish, rails were erected at Padiham chapel in 1635, following a renovation.¹³⁵ To the west of the county, rails are also known to have been erected at Chorley chapel in Croston parish (in 1635), at Halsall (before 1635) and at Kirkham (before 1638).¹³⁶ A number of pews dated 1635 survived at Upholland chapel in Wigan parish into the nineteenth century, and Bishop Bridgeman's position as rector of Wigan may have placed that parish under extra scrutiny.¹³⁷ At Hawkshead, situated in Lancashire to the north of Morecambe Bay, the communion table was railed in 1634, and the churchwardens at Cartmel followed suit in 1636, ordering that a 'decent Raile' be made for the communion table.¹³⁸ Also, following orders issued by Neile's visitors in

¹³⁰ Cheshire RO, P13/22/1; EDV 5/3.

¹³¹ Cheshire RO, EDV 5/4. William Lawton had long had puritan tendencies, and had been in dispute with his parishioners for some years, see R. C. Richardson, 'Puritanism in the Diocese of Chester to 1642' (Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1969), p. 28.

¹³² Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool, H.283.1.ALL; *Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts 1635-1663*, ed. Thomas Steel, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxxvii (2002), 12; *Walton-on-the-Hill*, eds. Ramsay and Maddock, 32.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹³⁴ Lancashire RO, PR/8; Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1637/25. For Colne, see also Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1636/39.

¹³⁵ Lancashire RO, PR/2863/2/1. Interestingly, payment was also made in the same year at Padiham for a 'Lecture', and though it would push the evidence too far to interpret that as evidence of puritanism within the chapelry, one of the churchwardens in this year was the local gentleman, John Starkie of Huntroyde, who would later be a parliamentarian officer in the first civil war and a presbyterian classis elder after 1646, see *Victoria History*, eds. William Farrer and J. Brownbill, vi. 500; J. M. Gratton, *The Parliamentarian and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651*, Chetham Society, third series, xlviii (2010), p. 344.

¹³⁶ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1636/65; EDC 5/1635/25; EDC 5/1638/14.

¹³⁷ Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., *Notes on the Churches of Lancashire*, ed. Rev. J. A. Atkinson, Chetham Society, new series, xxvii (1893), p. 73. Unfortunately, the date of Glynne's visit to the church is unknown, though these pews had been removed by the time that the Rev. Atkinson visited the church in 1892.

¹³⁸ Cumbria AC, Kendal, WPR 83/File 16; WPR 89/W1, p. 242.

1633 and by Bridgeman's visitors in 1634, the communion table had been railed and the church renovated at Kirkby Ireleth by 1635, when the churchwardens complained about their difficulties in collecting the assessments from some of the inhabitants of the parish's outlying townships.¹³⁹ The railing of communion tables also appears to have been enforced in the Yorkshire parishes within the archdeaconry of Richmond, and the communion table was also railed at Heversham in Westmorland in 1634.¹⁴⁰

Thus far, this section has emphasised general compliance with directives to reorder church buildings, but without considering how such projects (which were often costly) were supported. Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke have pointed out that support for the innovations of the 1630s was not restricted to 'Laudians', but that support was also garnered from 'Calvinists' too.¹⁴¹ It would be taking the evidence too far to suggest that Calvinists enthusiastically supported the changes, but there is certainly evidence that parishes with evangelically-inclined incumbents, some of whom had previously been charged with nonconformity, complied with the innovations. At Halsall in Lancashire, Peter Travers, the newly appointed rector, had been accused at the 1633 metropolitical visitation of neglecting to wear the surplice in his other rectory at Bury (which he continued to hold in plurality with Halsall).¹⁴² However, Travers, only appointed to Halsall in 1634, appears to have been an absentee rector, and much of the initiative for complying with the innovations seems to have come from the parishioners.¹⁴³ Similarly, if we look at those ministers who wrote to John Ley (himself a puritan nonconformist) in the early 1630s asking him to pronounce on the Brerewood and Byfield sabbatarian controversy, parishes where John Glendole (rector of St. Peter's, Chester, and a future parliamentarian), Richard Wilson (rector of Holy Trinity, Chester), Robert Whittle (rector of Tarporley), and Andrew Wood (rector of Warmingham) were incumbents are known to have railed their communion tables soon after 1633.¹⁴⁴ There may also be a suggestion that Ley's own parish of Great Budworth had railed its communion table by the summer of 1634, for in a series of orders issued by George Snell, the archdeacon of Chester, for the repair of that church and the unifying of seats, the railing of the communion

¹³⁹ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1635/108.

¹⁴⁰ Communion rails were installed at Bedale in 1634 (North Yorkshire RO, PR/BED/2/1), at Thornton Watlass in 1634 (North Yorkshire RO, PR/TW/3/1), at Masham by All Saints' Day in 1635 (PR/MAS/3/1/1), and at Kirkby Malzeard in 1636 (PR/KMZ/14/2). For Heversham, see Cumbria AC, Kendal, WPR/8/4/1/1.

¹⁴¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 272-273.

¹⁴² Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 565v.

¹⁴³ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1635/25.

¹⁴⁴ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1; P1/11; EDC 5/1639/20; EDC 5/1635/83; EDC 1/52 (5 September 1635).

table is not listed amongst the repairs to be enacted.¹⁴⁵ A further case in point is that of Robert Bath, appointed by William Laud in March 1636 to the vicarage of Rochdale in Lancashire, the advowson of which was held by the archbishops of Canterbury.¹⁴⁶ In July 1636, Archbishop Laud wrote to Bishop Bridgeman, thanking him ‘for the loue you haue shewed the new vicar of Rachdale, I hope that he will continue to deserue it’. Laud continued, informing Bridgeman that Bath:

hath Delyuered this Peticion enclosed concerning a Parishioner of his, and a seat in the Chancell, he hath been content to part with his former seat, for longe vsed as herein expressed, I pray see him elsewhere conveniently placed in the Church as is desired, for it will be very fitt to show favour to orderly men.¹⁴⁷

Despite Bath’s seemingly ‘Laudian’ credentials, in ushering through the renovation of the chancel at Rochdale church, and also Edmund Calamy’s claim that Bath’s wife was Laud’s niece, Bath would go on to be an active member of the Bury presbyterian classis during the late 1640s and the 1650s, before being ejected from his living in 1662.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Henry Welsh’s curacy at Chorley, and James Hyett’s tenure as rector and vicar of the mother church of Croston, witnessed a thorough renovation to bring Chorley chapel into compliance with Laudian standards, but both would proceed to support Parliament in the first civil war, before losing their livings in 1662.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, as we have already seen, Standish church in Lancashire swiftly acquired its railed communion table after 1633, yet the future Muggletonian Laurence Clarkson (a native of Preston) regularly travelled there during the 1630s to hear sermons preached by ‘a Godly Minister’ (presumably its famously godly rector, William Leigh) rather than

¹⁴⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 193r. These orders are dated 24 June 1634, and were issued following a triennial visitation. Obviously, we can never be certain that these clergymen agreed with work which may have been undertaken by their parish officers, but given that the case of Edward Fleetwood at Kirkham in Lancashire in 1638 (discussed in the third chapter of this thesis) shows that parish officers were willing to draw the authorities’ attention to clergymen who had failed to accept their parishioners’ compliance with the Laudian innovations, I have assumed that at the very least, an uneasy acceptance of the innovations was the case for the clergymen here discussed.

¹⁴⁶ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/145). Bridgeman’s certification to Laud that work had been completed at Rochdale church, dated 12 January 1635/36, can be found at National Archives, SP 16/311, fo. 114r.

¹⁴⁸ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁹ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1636/65. Welsh received a payment of £5 from the parliamentary West Derby sequestrators on 23 November 1644, see National Archives, SP 28/300, fo. 379r. Hyett’s parliamentarianism was commented upon in National Archives, SP 23/159, fo. 34. For their ejections, see Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp. 262-263, 517.

attend services conducted by the ‘superstitious’ vicar of Preston, James Starkie.¹⁵⁰

Though the records are hardly detailed enough for us to go beyond speculation, what we may witness in the diocese of Chester is selective compliance with particular aspects of Laudianism. It has already been noted that though St. Peter’s parish in Chester railed their communion table in 1633, they failed to purchase a copy of the *Book of Sports*.¹⁵¹ Something of the rector, John Glendole’s, views may be indicated by him and his churchwardens being presented before the 1634 triennial visitation for not reporting those parishioners who failed to bow at the name of Jesus, or who opened their shops on holy days, enforcement of which were two aspects of a broader Laudian style of ecclesiology, and which were evidently not pursued at St. Peter’s.¹⁵² It seems unlikely that the parish would have gone against Glendole in erecting the rails. Relations between the two appear to have been good, with Glendole even being paid a ‘gratuety’ of £2 ‘when he was sicke’ in 1635.¹⁵³ Nick Alldridge has speculated that the parish’s particularly impressive response to the Protestation in March 1642 may have been due to the efforts of Glendole, who, unlike several of his clerical contemporaries in Chester, only held the one living, and who (contrary to the order) completed his parish’s return in his own hand.¹⁵⁴ Here, we may reach the crux of urban Laudianism. For a parish such as St. Peter’s, where minister and leading parishioners seem to have been united, the effective rebuilding of the church during the late 1630s may have served a dual purpose, of reluctant conformity to Laudian ideals on one hand, but on the other hand, the building of a church which would have been an effective preaching house, an idea which had a much longer tradition within parishes inclined towards puritanism.¹⁵⁵ After all, haphazardly placed and sized pews could be just as much of an obstacle to good preaching as to viewing the consecration of the communion, and a well designed reordering could be an effective reaffirmation of the link between magistracy and ministry which Patrick Collinson has argued was so central to puritanism.¹⁵⁶ St. Peter’s was a church well favoured by the Corporation during their absence from the

¹⁵⁰ *Walton-on-the-Hill*, eds. Ramsay and Maddock, 32; Laurence Claxton [Clarkson], *The Lost Sheep Found* (London: printed for the author, 1660), p. 4; Stephen Wright, ‘Leigh, William (1550-1639)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵¹ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1.

¹⁵² Cheshire RO, EDV 1/32, fo. 28v.

¹⁵³ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1.

¹⁵⁴ Nick Alldridge, ‘Loyalty and identity in Chester parishes 1540-1640’, in *Parish, Church and People: Local studies in lay religion, 1350-1750*, ed. S. J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 99-103; see also Parliamentary Archives, London, HL/PO/JO/10/1/78, Chester St. Peter’s Protestation return (undated).

¹⁵⁵ J. F. Merritt, ‘Puritans, Laudians, and the phenomenon of church-building in Jacobean London’, *Historical Journal*, xli (1998), 946, 951-956.

¹⁵⁶ Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 141-145.

Cathedral between 1628 and 1638, and it was the home of Chester's most prominent lectureship, then held by John Ley.¹⁵⁷ It may be further significant that, despite the renovation of the 1630s, St. Peter's was one of the first parishes in Chester to remove their communion rail, before 2 May 1641.¹⁵⁸ An instructive comparison is with St. Michael's parish in Chester.¹⁵⁹ There, a lay newcomer to the parish, William Parnell, oversaw the reordering of the church, effectively relegating in terms of their placing within the church building a number of important individuals. In doing so, Parnell's ally, a former churchwarden named James Lingley, caused the perpetual curate, Roger Gorst, to insert into the churchwardens' accounts an order backing Parnell's changes to the church fabric (though it was alleged during the subsequent consistory court case that Gorst had been led to believe that Bishop Bridgeman had made the order).¹⁶⁰ In such a case, where Gorst was effectively isolated from the leading parishioners, it is perhaps unsurprising that amongst the articles drafted against Bridgeman circa 1641 was the accusation that the Bishop had allowed Gorst, an 'Ignorant druncke & debauched man', to continue to serve as a minister.¹⁶¹ In a sense, there were ways and means of complying with Laudianism. Under Glendole's watch, St. Peter's had gone about things the right way, complying where necessary, but without sacrificing the parish's puritan principles. St. Michael's, under Gorst, went about compliance in the wrong way, culminating in a series of bitter consistory court suits in the late 1630s.

For a minister such as John Glendole, conformity with the church fabric aspects of Laudianism, if not with the reading of the *Book of Sports* or bowing at the name of Jesus, may have been a pragmatic means to a greater end, of the aiding of a godly preaching ministry. Indeed, though there was widespread compliance with the order to rail communion tables, and puritans had encroached into diocesan administration, there seems to have

¹⁵⁷ Alldridge, 'Loyalty and identity', pp. 86-87, 116-117; Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 101, 108. For an outline of lay support for the lectureship in Leeds, see Claire Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers: Religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, Borthwick Papers, lxxvii (1985), 21. A fascinating study of the renovation of St. Katherine Cree church in London during the 1630s can be found in Peter Lake, *The boxmaker's revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), ch. 11.

¹⁵⁸ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1. I would like to thank Prof. John Walter for drawing my attention to the significance of this reference.

¹⁵⁹ Events at St. Michael's are outlined in Alldridge, 'Loyalty and identity', pp. 109, 113-114.

¹⁶⁰ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1639/9; EDC 5/1640/59; EDC 5/1640/60. Gorst's insertion in the churchwardens' accounts is evident in Cheshire RO, P65/8/1.

¹⁶¹ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201v. After discovering circa 1637 that Gorst could not discern whether communicants were kneeling when they received communion in their pews, Bridgeman had taken the unusual step of specifically ordering that St. Michael's parishioners knelt at the communion rails for the reception of communion, something which is unlikely to have endeared either himself or Gorst to the parish's more puritan parishioners, see Fincham, 'Restoration of Altars', 938-939.

been a lack of Laudian enthusiasts amongst the clergy of the diocese of Chester. Even despite the lack of records comparable to those which survive for Lincolnshire, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire and Wiltshire, it may be telling that only two clergymen were accused of ceremonialism during the 1640s: William Clarke, the rector of St. Martin's and St. Bridget's parishes in Chester and a petty canon of the Cathedral, and George Snell, the rector of Wallasey and Waverton in Cheshire and the archdeacon of Chester, both of whom would lose their livings in 1646 on account of their royalism.¹⁶² In articles prepared against Bishop Bridgeman by the citizens of Chester circa 1641, it was alleged that Clarke 'refuseth to Administer the sacrament vnles the people come vp to the Rayles before the Altar'.¹⁶³ In June 1646, when Snell was facing sequestration from his livings, John Kerford of Wharton claimed that Snell 'was alwaies a very ceremonious man, except it were upon an extraordinary occasion', and that 'usually when hee came into the Chancell he bowed towards the Communion Table'.¹⁶⁴ In contrast, John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth, protested in print in 1641 that 'I never yet bowed head or knee, either to or towards an *Altar* or holy table'.¹⁶⁵

John Ley's conscience may have been uncomfortable about the Laudian innovations, but much work has been undertaken in an attempt to find constituencies of support for Laudianism. Peter Travers' parish of Halsall, lying on the Lancashire plain where Catholic recusancy remained strong, may well have been one of those parishes which Alexandra Walsham has suggested provided a constituency where the Laudian innovations could have been received with some welcome.¹⁶⁶ Certainly Fincham and Tyacke believe that this may be a plausible explanation for events at nearby Prescott, where the vicar John Alden and the churchwardens

¹⁶² *The Royalist Clergy of Lincolnshire*, ed. J. W. F. Hill, Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, ii, pt. 1 (1938), passim; *Suffolk Committee*, ed. Holmes, passim; Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 85-86 (Table 3.2); Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 115; A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 93-94.

¹⁶³ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201v. Clarke was one of those clergymen whose ministry in Chester appears to have ceased after the city's surrender to Parliament's forces in February 1646, see Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 115.

¹⁶⁴ National Archives, SP 23/118, fo. 511.

¹⁶⁵ John Ley, *A Letter (Against the Erection of an Altar), Written June 29. 1635. to the Reverend Father Iohn L. Bishop of Chester* (London: George Lathum, 1641), p. 26. Italics as in the publication.

¹⁶⁶ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlix (1998), 620-651. That there may have been some cultural divisions at Halsall is suggested by a presentment of two parishioners at the 1630 metropolitanical visitation on account of them having 'scornfully left their owne parish church at tymes of divine seruice there, and repayred to other churches', see Borthwick, V. 1629-30, fo. 97v.

spent nearly seven hundred pounds on renovating their church.¹⁶⁷ There are some issues, though, with Fincham and Tyacke's model of parishioners driving forward compliance because of enthusiasm for the worship innovations. In their case study of All Hallows' parish, Barking, all of the evidence for a 'Laudian' and 'godly' split in the parish comes from the later 1630s, by which time, as Anthony Milton has argued, Laudianism was acquiring a great deal of negative ideological baggage.¹⁶⁸ For example, a regular signatory in the churchwardens' accounts of Holy Trinity, Chester, at the time when that church was being renovated in the mid-1630s and the communion table was railed, was Peter Ince, who would be one of the aldermen of Chester who would welcome William Prynne to the city in 1637.¹⁶⁹ Fincham and Tyacke's Lancashire case study of Laudian enthusiasm at Prescott is also problematic. None of the repairs to the church took place until after a visit to the parish by Bishop Bridgeman in April 1635, and several local gentry at Prescott, including Bridgeman's younger brother Edward, refused to pay their leys during the time which the work was taking place, with another gentleman, James Pemberton, complaining that his family's 'ancient seate and buriall place' had been reallocated to a 'popysh recusant'.¹⁷⁰ What seems to have been the case in the diocese of Chester was that compliance (if not enthusiastic support) for the railing of communion tables and the reordering of churches was the most common response, and that opposition in the early stages of implementation did not so much oppose the policy *per se*, but rather, reacted towards its sometimes negative impact on the parish, such as pew disputes and burdensome assessments.¹⁷¹ At St. Oswald's church in Chester, housed in the south transept of the Cathedral, William Easdale, the chancellor of the diocese of York, ordered in February 1634 that the dean, Thomas Mallory, the vicar, William Case, and the two churchwardens allocate the newly uniformed seats in the church amongst the parishioners, as 'diuers of the Inhabitantes and parrishioners of the said parrish of St Oswaldes (as wee are credibly given to vnderstand) are destitute of convenient seates or stalles in the same, which occasion some disorder and disquiett in the same Church'.¹⁷² At Woodchurch in Cheshire, the churchwardens informed the visitors in 1634

¹⁶⁷ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 265, 273.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, *Altars Restored*, pp. 265-272; Milton, 'Creation of Laudianism', pp. 162-184.

¹⁶⁹ Cheshire RO, P1/11. Reference to the railed communion table at Holy Trinity is made in Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1639/20.

¹⁷⁰ Quoted in *Prescot*, ed. Steel, pp. xxviii-xxix, 3. Ironically, in his role as a justice of the peace, Edward Bridgeman granted orders in June 1636 and again in September 1637 against those similarly refusing to pay their church leys at Warrington, see Warrington Archives, Warrington, Warrington Library MS 4.

¹⁷¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 245.

¹⁷² British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 35r. Developments at St. Oswald's are discussed in P. D. Yorke, 'Iconoclasm, Ecclesiology and 'The Beauty of Holiness': Concepts of Sacrilege and 'the Peril of Idolatry' in Early Modern England, circa 1590-1640' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Kent, 1997), pp. 234-237, though Yorke does not cite this document.

that the threats made against them by some parishioners were the reason why the pews at their parish church were yet to be made uniform.¹⁷³

Bishop Bridgeman's own attitude towards the Laudian programme of railing communion tables was, initially at least, ambivalent, though I would like to suggest that by mid-1635, he was becoming more convinced in his support for Laudianism. A Calvinist by inclination, Fincham and Tyacke's reading is that Bridgeman was forced into compliance by a recent investigation ordered by Charles I into alleged financial mismanagement of his diocese by Bridgeman, and although only relatively small errors were ultimately found, Bridgeman was left under no illusions that he was being watched by his superiors.¹⁷⁴ Roger Richardson similarly found Bridgeman to have been a reluctant enforcer of Laudianism.¹⁷⁵ As has been noted, though, in a diocese where there were few Laudian enthusiasts amongst the lower clergy, it is possible that he may have been less determined in his enforcement of the reading of the *Book of Sports* in his diocese, a much less tangible act of resistance towards the Laudian programme than, for example, not enforcing the railing of communion tables.

Yet, whilst the Laudian reordering of churches was generally enforced throughout his diocese, even Bridgeman seems to have taken liberties towards the policy which were more in line with his Calvinist disposition.¹⁷⁶ In September 1634, Bridgeman ordered that St. Michael's church in Chester 'remoue the Communion table longwaies to the Eastwall of the Chancell & incompace the same with a decent and comelie Rayle'.¹⁷⁷ Barely three months later, Bridgeman contradicted this stance by consecrating a 'tablewise' communion table at Ringley chapel in Lancashire. Peter Seddon, a prominent inhabitant of the chapelry who had been presented at the 1625 visitation for refusing to kneel when receiving communion, wrote to the chapel's benefactor in London, Nathan Walworth, to inform him that Bridgeman had consecrated the chapel 'kneeling downe at the upper end of the table with his face down the Chappel before all the Congregation', and that 'I saw nothing but Godly Lawfull and Expedient without any superstition howsoever some Calumniaters have spoken against this way, but I think it is because they Love not Bishops'.¹⁷⁸ The Ringley

¹⁷³ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/32, certificate inserted between fos. 42v-43r.

¹⁷⁴ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 190-191, 200-201; Quintrell, 'Lancashire Ills', 67-102.

¹⁷⁵ R. C. Richardson, 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities: The Case of the Diocese of Chester', in *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, ed. Brian Manning (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 16-33.

¹⁷⁶ Bridgeman's Calvinist disposition is noted in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁷⁷ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 29r.

¹⁷⁸ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/14, fo. 92v.; *Correspondence*, ed. Fletcher, p. 32.

congregation was a notable bastion of lay puritanism in the south-eastern corner of Lancashire where the protestant reformations of the sixteenth century had been particularly successful, and Bridgeman may have felt that in such an environment, he would be freer to act according to his conscience than at a prominent church in the city of Chester.¹⁷⁹

The crucial point to be made here is that whilst there were isolated incidents of principled resistance to the policies being imposed by the bishops, as seen at Ringley, these incidents remained isolated, and it would not be until 1637 onwards that these incidents of what we might term as ‘anti-Laudianism’ reached a crescendo. In January 1636, the consistory court at Chester heard that when the minister at Northenden in Cheshire ‘was praying for the Archbishop and Bishop’, a parishioner, Robert Wrenshaw, declared that he would like to see ‘both on the Cookestoole’.¹⁸⁰ Whilst the positioning of the communion tables behind a rail at the east ends of churches was innovatory in the Church of England, church building projects were less so. Between 1600 and 1633, churches at Daresbury and Waverton in Cheshire and at Hawkshead, Huyton and Whalley in Lancashire witnessed significant building work, and the chapels at Harthill and Hargrave in Cheshire were newly built in 1609 and in 1627 respectively.¹⁸¹ New chapels were also built in Lancashire at Ringley in 1625, at Hoole in 1628, and at Astley in 1631.¹⁸² Bishop Bridgeman also undertook significant structural works during the 1620s at Wigan church in Lancashire, where he was rector.¹⁸³ Julia Merritt has shown that in style and motivation, Laudian church renovations in London were distinct from those undertaken there during the Jacobean period, but as Matthew Reynolds has argued for Norwich, Laudian work on church buildings could nonetheless appeal to proud parochial sentiment.¹⁸⁴ Such precedents and motivations may provide one explanation as to why the changes seem to have met little concerted resistance in the diocese of Chester before 1637, but from 1637

¹⁷⁹ Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁰ Cheshire RO, EDC 1/52 (15 January 1635/36). The newly appointed rector at Northenden in 1635 was Thomas Mallory, the son of the dean of Chester of the same name, though the minister in question is sadly unnamed in the account, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 36349 (date accessed: 22 March 2013).

¹⁸¹ Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., *Notes on the Churches of Cheshire*, ed. Rev. J. A. Atkinson (Chetham Society, new series, xxxii, 1894), pp. 35, 47, 132; Glynne, *Notes on the Churches of Lancashire*, ed. Atkinson, pp. 7, 100; Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *The Buildings of England: Cheshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), pp. 234-235; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 238.

¹⁸² Cheshire RO, EDA 3/1, fos. 244r-245v.; Pevsner, *South Lancashire*, p. 373; Pevsner, *North Lancashire*, p. 146.

¹⁸³ Yorke, ‘Iconoclasm’, pp. 222-230.

¹⁸⁴ Merritt, ‘Church-building in Jacobean London’, 935-960; Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich c. 1560-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), ch. 9.

onwards, the Laudian style was acquiring a great deal of negative ideological baggage, and in the context of developing opposition to Laudianism in print, Bishop Bridgeman's own recent actions may have intensified the meaning of the Laudian style within his own diocese.¹⁸⁵

That the year 1637 was a turning point for Bridgeman's episcopate, and of perceptions of Laudianism within the diocese of Chester, is suggested by the fact that Bridgeman, between 1634 and 1636, oversaw the collection of contributions from the clergy of his diocese towards the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral in London with no serious problems.¹⁸⁶ The restoration was a project which Charles I and Archbishop Laud were both particularly keen to see to fruition, and Brian Quintrell has suggested that Bridgeman's initial lack of enthusiasm for the restoration of St. Paul's and his lacklustre financial contributions towards the project in the early 1630s were what prompted the investigation into Bridgeman's management of his diocese.¹⁸⁷ At Prestbury in Cheshire, there does seem to have been some difficulties in levying the collection in 1633, with the churchwardens having to report to the magistrates those who had failed to pay.¹⁸⁸ After Bridgeman's escape from censure, he made a series of annual £500 contributions towards the project, which Quintrell has interpreted as being a result of the investigation.¹⁸⁹ Unlike other collections, such as that in 1639 for the war against the Scottish Covenanters, no clergymen are recorded as having refused to contribute to the restoration, though several have no contribution listed. However, of those who did not contribute, there is no particular correlation in terms of future allegiances during the first civil war.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Milton, 'Creation of Laudianism', pp. 162-184.

¹⁸⁶ 'Loans, Contributions, Subsidies, and Ship Money, paid by the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, in the years 1620, 1622, 1624, 1634, 1635, 1636 & 1639', ed. G. T. O. Bridgeman, in *Miscellanies, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, i, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xii (1885), 91-98.

¹⁸⁷ Quintrell, 'Lancashire Ills', 71-75.

¹⁸⁸ Cheshire RO, P338/8504/65.

¹⁸⁹ Quintrell, 'Lancashire Ills', 93.

¹⁹⁰ Regarding the non-contributors, Thomas Glover (the rector of West Kirby in Cheshire) and Peter Travers (the pluralist rector of Bury and Halsall in Lancashire) were both ejected from their livings on account of their royalism, and Henry Wilson (the rector of Grasmere in Westmorland) was accused in 1646 of being 'a notorious malignant', see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 90, 230-231; Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland: Their Predecessors and Successors* (2 vols., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911), ii. 1060. Henry Johnson, the vicar of Burton-in-Kendal in Westmorland, was a former royalist adherent who, by 1646, had taken the Solemn League and Covenant and the Negative Oath, and there is no record of him having been ejected from the living, though his date of death is unknown, see Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, ii. 988-989. James Langley, the vicar of Leyland in Lancashire, administered the Solemn League and Covenant to a compounding royalist parishioner in 1645, which implies that he himself must have had some sympathy with Parliament's cause, see National Archives, SP 23/180, fos. 594, 599. In contrast, two future Westminster Assembly members, John Ley at Great Budworth in Cheshire and Charles Herle at Winwick in

Quintrell portrayed Bridgeman as being (eventually) an unenthusiastic but regular and generous contributor towards the restoration of St. Paul's, though Peter Yorke's research has shown that Bridgeman was not inherently averse to the beautifying and restoration of churches, beautifying his rectorial church at Wigan in the early 1620s, and by the late 1620s, he was undertaking work at Chester Cathedral itself.¹⁹¹ Bridgeman's work at the latter ultimately brought him into some controversy. In June 1635, John Ley, the main protagonist in the sabbatarian controversy in Chester in the early 1630s, wrote a letter to Bishop Bridgeman criticising his recent decision to restore St. Werburgh's monument in Chester Cathedral as an altar, whereupon local Catholics had taken to venerating the monument.¹⁹² Why Bridgeman should undertake such an action may seem strange given his recent consecration of the chapel at Ringley with a 'tablewise' communion table, but to Ley, Bridgeman's actions made perfect sense. He wrote 'Howsoever, you may perhaps conceive it to be of some use to you, to cleare you from all imputation of Puritanisme, which some have (as you say, and those that well knowe you, may sweare) very undeservedly put up against you: and for that purpose perhaps you raised it up, to support your Episcopall reputation against that reproach'.¹⁹³ Jumping on the bandwagon of anti-Bridgeman sentiment during the Bishop's troubles in 1633 had been James Martin, a maverick clergyman who had been deprived of his vicarage at Preston in Lancashire by Bridgeman's chancellor David Yale in 1623 after he had been accused of simony.¹⁹⁴ Martin's complaints against Bridgeman included accusations that he had shown favour to both Catholics and puritans.¹⁹⁵ To Ley, Bridgeman's actions had arisen out of his anxiety to clear himself of such accusations. Ley, though, could accept no such compromise with the Church of Rome, and warned Bridgeman that 'a man may sooner eat up an *Altar* of stone, though it were as big as a Church, than reconcile our Church and the Romish together'.¹⁹⁶ However, in a brief defence written by Bridgeman and included in a postscript when the letter was printed in 1641, he claimed that he had restored the monument merely to be used as a table for the use of the preacher, after the consistory court (which had previously been based at the east end of the Cathedral) had been moved to the west end, leaving the preacher with no table.¹⁹⁷ After he had

Lancashire, were amongst the future parliamentarians who contributed towards the restoration, see Greaves, 'Ley, John', *ODNB*; Vivienne Larminie, 'Herle, Charles (1597/8-1659)', *ODNB*.

¹⁹¹ Yorke, 'Iconoclasm', pp. 222-243.

¹⁹² Ley, *Letter*, p. 3.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁴ Quintrell, 'Lancashire Ills', 75-76.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁹⁶ Ley, *Letter*, p. 19. Italics as in the publication.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

heard about the veneration of the monument, ‘I gave order for it to bee taken downe, which was done accordingly’.¹⁹⁸ The citizens of Chester were unwilling to forgive and forget, for in draft articles against Bridgeman prepared circa 1641, he was accused of having ‘of late caused an Altar of stone to [sic] of stone to bee erected from the ground at the East End of the Chancel of the Cathedral Church in the said Cittie’.¹⁹⁹

Bridgeman, though, did not take heed of Ley’s warning shot about the feeling within the city of Chester and its hinterlands. By 6 May 1637, Ley had reached a point where, on a visit to his native Warwickshire, his friend Thomas Dugard recorded that Ley had refused to attend a church service because of his conscientious scruples about the ceremonies.²⁰⁰ In the same year, Bridgeman installed a new east window in the Cathedral, depicting ‘the Annunciation, nativity, circumcision, and presentation &c. of our Saviour’, as well as gilding the organs and causing the steps to the communion table to be raised.²⁰¹ The surviving articles against Bridgeman dating from circa 1641 are incomplete, and do not mention this window or any other innovations by Bridgeman at the Cathedral other than the restored stone altar, though the probable funding of the nativity scene by Viscount Savage, a Catholic, would surely have caused some controversy if it had been public knowledge.²⁰² More generally, the installation of the window in 1637 by Bridgeman is highly symbolic of a turning point in Bridgeman’s episcopate, as from thereon, he became more directly implicated in the Laudian hierarchy governing the Church of England, a dramatic contrast with his position at the fringes in the early 1630s. In April 1641, Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick in Lancashire, complained that at Bangor in Flintshire, ‘your Lordshipp (they say) gaue order for the takeing away of the wooden communion table, and the raising vpp, rayling in and bowing to an altar of stone in place of it, and payd for the doing it’.²⁰³ Bridgeman’s actions from 1637 onwards will be investigated in more depth later in the next chapter, showing how they combined with broader national developments to help to create a storm in Cheshire which ultimately formed the basis of civil war allegiances.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹⁹⁹ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fos. 201r-v.

²⁰⁰ British Library, Additional MS, 23146, fo. 63v. This interpretation follows that of Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 78 (fn. 105).

²⁰¹ Cheshire RO, EDA 3/1, fo. 131r.

²⁰² Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/32); Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 233, fn. 33; M. D. G. Wanklyn, ‘Landed society and allegiance in Cheshire and Shropshire in the First Civil War’ (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1976), p. 503.

²⁰³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/210). The letter is simply dated as ‘20 April’, but a reference to anti-Bridgeman petitioning campaigns dates the letter to 1641.

(iii). *Puritanism:*

One of the key components of ‘the Laudian style’ was a belief that puritans were seeking to subvert the Church and state towards their own ends.²⁰⁴ Peter Lake has argued that ‘puritanism represented the product of a clash between the internal spiritual dynamic of edification and the growth of godly consciousness on the one hand and the demands of external order and formal obedience to the prince on the other’.²⁰⁵ Whilst ‘edification and even transcendence could be pursued within the Jacobean church through the propagation of that evangelical Calvinist piety which still passed as orthodox (at least until the very end of [James I’s] reign)’, Laudianism, in its pursuit of a united national church, sought to critically undermine the godly’s self-perception of there being a minority of true believers within an imperfect national church.²⁰⁶ As Lake has shown elsewhere, a clergyman such as Robert Sanderson was no supporter of Laudian sacramentalism or ideas of *jure divino* episcopacy, but could find common ground (and promotion) by sharing in a Laudian vision of puritanism’s subversive potential.²⁰⁷ It is thus somewhat ironic that Laudianism contributed towards the transformation of puritanism into being a phenomenon much closer to what Laudians feared it to be. Work by William Hunt on Essex, and John Morrill about the career of the Cheshire parliamentarian Sir William Brereton, have suggested that, against the backdrop of Laudianism in the 1630s, the outlook of puritan gentry was transformed from a concern about godly governance and magistracy in the locality to a belief that wholesale reformation of the Church of England was needed.²⁰⁸

I hope that I have already demonstrated that a straightforward ‘Laudian’ versus ‘puritan’ dichotomy is in many ways unsatisfactory, not least as because in the diocese of Chester, churches in the incumbency of puritan nonconformist clergy nonetheless witnessed significant renovations according to Laudian ideals during the 1630s. Indeed, moderate puritans had penetrated into the very heart of diocesan administration. John Ley served as sub-dean of Chester Cathedral during the 1630s, and in January 1637 he was asked by the diocesan chancellor, Edmund Mainwaring, to advise on what to do at a deathbed where either the sacrament was not available, or

²⁰⁴ Lake, ‘Laudian Style’, pp. 178-180.

²⁰⁵ Peter Lake, ‘Presbyterianism, The Idea of a National Church and the Argument from Divine Right’, in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, eds. Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 196.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219, quotation at p. 218.

²⁰⁷ Peter G. Lake, ‘Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson’, *Journal of British Studies*, xxvii (1988), 103-108.

²⁰⁸ William Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of a Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), ch. 11; John Morrill, ‘Sir William Brereton and England’s Wars of Religion’, in *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings*, ed. Peter Gaunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 202.

the dying person was too ill to be able to receive.²⁰⁹ In June 1639, John Glendole (whose attitudes towards Laudianism have already been discussed) issued a bond of excommunication on Mainwaring's behalf to William Curwen, the miscreant curate of Over Kellet in Lancashire.²¹⁰ Thomas Dod, the pluralist rector of Astbury and Malpas (Lower Mediety) in Cheshire, was also the archdeacon of Richmond, and George Snell, the rector of Wallasey and Waverton in Cheshire, was the archdeacon of Chester.²¹¹ Still, both retained their positions, and indeed, Dod, whose archdeaconry of Richmond, had witnessed the railing of communion tables if not necessarily the reading of the *Book of Sports*, was perhaps drawn into further involvement with the Laudian project, with his appointment as dean of Ripon in April 1635 being in some part due to Laud's suggestion of him to the King.²¹² Indeed, Dod's presentation as dean of Ripon appears in a document preserved within a volume of the State Papers for February 1638 listing clergymen preferred by Laud.²¹³ That Dod had come to be associated with Laudianism is further suggested by his appointment as a chaplain for the King's journey to northern England to negotiate with the Scots in 1639, when he shared his duties with such Laudian acolytes as John Cosin and John Pocklington.²¹⁴ However, any assessment of Dod should be qualified by noting that when Sir William Brereton stayed at Bishop Auckland in Durham (whilst visiting Bishop Thomas Morton of Durham) during his journey to Scotland in June 1635, Brereton heard Dod preach 'an excellent

²⁰⁹ Ley was the sub-dean when Bishop Bridgeman restored a stone altar in the Cathedral in 1635, see John Ley, *A Letter (Against the Erection of an Altar), Written Iune 29. 1635. to the Reverend Father Iohn L. Bishop of Chester* (London: George Lathum, 1641), p. 4. For the communion issue, see John Ley, *A Case of Conscience, concerning the sacrament of the Lords Supper* (London: R. H. for George Lathum, 1641), p. 1.

²¹⁰ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1639/88.

²¹¹ For Dod's puritanism, see Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 528r.; see also Dod's entry in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 24030 (date accessed: 25 May 2013). Six Act Books survive for the archdeaconry of Richmond dating from Dod's tenure as archdeacon, but they mainly deal with tithe and inter-personal suits and with probate issues, and reveal little about the imposition of Laudian ceremonialism in the archdeaconry, see West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, RD/A6, RD/A7A, RD/A7B, RD/A7C, RD/A7D, RD/A7E. Additionally, only two churchwardens' presentments survive from the 1630s, from Workington, Cumberland, in 1638 (RD/CB/8/1/25), and from Redmire chapel in Wensley parish, North Yorkshire, in 1638 (RD/CB/8/1/114). Some evidence, though, has been gleaned from the surviving churchwardens' accounts from the archdeaconry, and this has been presented elsewhere in this chapter. For Snell's puritanism, see Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 432v.

²¹² Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford Papers, 15/204; see also Kenneth Fincham, 'William Laud and the Exercise of Caroline Ecclesiastical Patronage', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, li (2000), 78-79.

²¹³ National Archives, LC 5/134, fo. 117r.

²¹⁴ National Archives, LC 5/134, fo. 320. For further details and context, see Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, 'Chaplains in Ordinary at the Early Stuart Court: The Purple Road', in *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, ed. Claire Cross, Borthwick Studies in History, ii (1996), 120-147.

sermon' there, and he was evidently on friendly enough terms with Dod to send some correspondence back to Cheshire in the care of Dod's servant.²¹⁵

In many ways, it strikes me that if puritanism was transformed during the 1630s, as Hunt and Morrill suggest, then the turning point is in 1637. Before then, most clergymen holding puritan attitudes conformed with the Laudian innovations to at least some degree. After 1637, only two clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire who from then onwards are known to have taken a stance of opposition towards either Charles I or the bishops would go on to support the King's cause during the first civil war, with both of them being in the patronage of the Stanley family, the earls of Derby.²¹⁶ All other such clergymen would go on to support Parliament. Conversely, no minister who is known to have defended the ecclesiastical establishment in some way after 1637 is known to have supported Parliament. In other words, puritanism became more politicised after 1637, forming the conditions whereby civil war allegiances could emerge.

This section is thus going to suggest that prior to 1637, puritanism was a fluid, in many ways pietistic, phenomenon, representing a particular style of religious zeal. John Ley unashamedly described 'Puritans' in 1643 as being 'the best Protestants'.²¹⁷ In most cases, this puritanism was of a moderate nature: as we will see below, only a minority of puritan ministers continued in their nonconformity up to suspension, with most signalling their willingness to conform when confronted with authority. In the same vein, whilst clergymen so inclined did engage in symbolic acts of nonconformity such as failing to wear the clerical surplice during services, this does not seem to have been converted into any kind of political agitation for a further purification of the Church of England. Conrad Russell questioned the existence of a puritan opposition in the parliaments of the early 1620s, and whilst Arminianism was a hot topic of contention in the Parliament of 1629, Russell tentatively suggested that it would only be when Arminian policies were imposed on parishes during the 1630s that the issue created serious national divisions.²¹⁸ Similarly, John Morrill has

²¹⁵ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-1635*, ed. Edward Hawkins, Chetham Society, i (1844), 79-80, 82.

²¹⁶ These two clergymen were Richard Wilson, the rector of Holy Trinity, Chester, and Samuel Rutter, the chaplain to the Stanley family, the earls of Derby, and their cases will be explored further in the next chapter of this thesis. For Wilson's patronage, see Ormerod, rev. Helsby, *Chester*, i, pt. i, 332; for Rutter, see J. R. Dickinson, 'Rutter, Samuel' (d. 1662)', *ODNB*.

²¹⁷ John Ley, *The fry of warre, and folly of sinne* (London: G. M. for Christopher Meredith, 1643), pp. 21-22.

²¹⁸ Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 26-32. It should be noted that Patrick Collinson warned against such an interpretation, pointing out that to see puritans as being 'simply reactive' is to downplay the provocation to which the likes of Archbishop Laud responded, see his 'The Puritan

questioned the extent to which early seventeenth century puritanism in north-western England can be classified as being a ‘movement’.²¹⁹ Indeed, as a case study of events at Manchester collegiate church during the 1630s will demonstrate, puritanism was hardly a stable entity, but a synthesis of evangelical protestant positions within which there were differing and shifting attitudes towards, for example, liturgical conformity.²²⁰ Following Russell, it is my belief that it would take the gathering opprobrium towards Laudianism (as witnessed in the diocese of Chester from 1637 onwards) to give puritanism a coherence which could form the basis for civil war parliamentarianism, but even then, as the fourth chapter of this thesis will demonstrate, there could be disparities of opinion amongst clergymen who had come to demand reform of the Church.

To explore the nature of puritanism in the diocese of Chester at the cusp of the 1630s, some insightful cases from the metropolitanical visitation in 1630 of Samuel Harsnett, the archbishop of York, offer glimpses. Bishop Bridgeman was warned by Harsnett during his brief archiepiscopate that nonconformists should taste ‘the oyle of scorpions’.²²¹ At Ormskirk in Lancashire, the vicar, John Broxupp, was accused of ‘keeping conventicles in his house vpon Sabath & other Festivall tymes in the night’, and twelve parishioners were presented for attending these conventicles.²²² Similarly, James Chambers, a layman in Liverpool, was accused ‘of repeating sermons in his House... the same being holden to bee conventicles’.²²³ In Cheshire, Hugh Burrows, the vicar of Runcorn, was presented ‘for not wearing the Surplesse... for Baptizing without the Signe of the Crosse, & for ministring

Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth Century English Culture’, reproduced in *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 110-111, quotation at p. 110. I personally do not think that it is problematic to both accept that the likes of Laud saw an inherent threat within puritan activities, but also, that puritanism as a mentality received some reinvigoration in response to the imposition of the Laudian innovations during the 1630s. For a useful account of the interplay between Laud and puritan polemicists, see Jason Peacey, ‘The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot’, in *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theories in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, eds. Barry Coward and Julian Swann (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 113-134.

²¹⁹ John Morrill, ‘The Northern Gentry and the Great Rebellion’, reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 202-203. A more general questioning of the use of the phrase ‘Puritan movement’ can be found in a chapter by one of Morrill’s former research students at Cambridge University, Tom Webster, ‘Early Stuart Puritanism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, eds. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 61-62.

²²⁰ This point is made in Peter Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – again?’, in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), pp. 3-29.

²²¹ Quoted in Fincham, ‘Samuel Harsnett’, 42.

²²² Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 108v. Broxupp would again be accused of hosting conventicles later in the 1630s, see Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1637/16; EDC 5/1638/96.

²²³ Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 102v.

the Communion to Sitters'.²²⁴ At Great Budworth, the vicar, John Ley, and his curate, James Knott, were 'all presented for administring the Communion to Sitters'.²²⁵

Something of the reactions of John Broxupp and his parishioners at Ormskirk and of John Ley and James Knott at Great Budworth to the charges brought against them are recorded in the visitation court book, and reveal some interesting points about how puritans perceived themselves. Those accused at Ormskirk:

hope they are not within the compasse of conventiclers, for they were onely present at Master Broxopps house, when he did onely to his childe & servantes, by way of repetition of the Heades of his owne Sermon, which that day he had deliuered, onely for the better informacion & instruccion of his family in the way of godlines, and to no other ende neyther intending any faccion...²²⁶

In a similar vein, Ley and Knott, after being accused of 'administring the Communion to Sitters... haue of late forborne, and now of late weare the Surplesse'.²²⁷ Their reformation was short lived, though, for at the 1633 metropolitical visitation, they were presented 'for not wearing the surplice nor reading the seruice at large, and for omitting to read praiers vpon Wednesdayes & Fridayes (& vpon the eues of Sundayes & holy dayes)'.²²⁸ Still, perhaps paradoxically, the visitors in 1633 noted the efforts of the clergy at Great Budworth in attempting to persuade a Mrs. Marbury to kneel to receive communion, and Ley was only suspended in 1633 from his lectureship in Chester and not from his ministry at Great Budworth.²²⁹

The response of John Broxupp's parishioners could have been lifted from Patrick Collinson's *Religion of Protestants*.²³⁰ Where the authorities saw the stirring of 'faccion', those on the inside saw a gathering for the better instruction of the minister's household (indeed, the parishioners never explicitly address why they were present during what they would later depict as being household instruction). Such private gatherings, as Collinson memorably argued, 'furnished the national and parochial Church with its legitimation in the eyes of the godly who declined to separate from it'.²³¹ As

²²⁴ Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 162r.

²²⁵ Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 149v.

²²⁶ Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 108v.

²²⁷ Borthwick, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 149v.

²²⁸ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 388v.

²²⁹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92).

²³⁰ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, ch. 6.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

for Ley and Knott, whilst in 1633 they could be seen to have been the victims with the full enforcement of conformity being imposed by Archbishop Neile's visitors upon the diocese of Chester, Neile's visitors did note that many clergy who neglected to wear the surplice and omitted parts of the services (like Ley and Knott) nonetheless perceived themselves to be 'very good churchmen', distinct from 'professed non-conformists'.²³² Previously, as Kenneth Fincham has argued, ministers who subscribed their conformity were often left unhindered if they undertook relatively minor acts of nonconformity in their ministry, such as not wearing the surplice.²³³ However, when Samuel Torshell and John Swan were suspended as preacher and curate respectively at Bunbury in Cheshire by the visitors in 1633, as Archbishop Neile reported to Charles I in January 1634, they were released from their suspension on the condition that they 'submitted themselves to subscribe, and have bound themselves to joyne in the due performance of the whole service, according to the Booke of Common Prayer, and your Maiesties Declaration, and Instructions, and undertaken to certifie their performance thereof'. This was despite Neile describing Bunbury under their watch as being 'a good nursery of Novelists'.²³⁴ Thomas Shaw, the rector of Aldingham in Lancashire north of Morecambe Bay (an area where the fragmentary historical record means that only glimpses of puritanism are available to the historian), was suspended after reportedly not wearing the surplice 'for a long while', and for having preached that bowing at the name of Jesus had no scriptural basis, but he was released from his suspension after agreeing to use the Prayer Book and to wear the surplice, and 'To declare unto his people, that bowing at the name of Jesus, is religiously to be used by all'.²³⁵ This was a common pattern of suspension then release upon promise of conformity, for Neile sent to Bridgeman a list of thirty-eight ministers in the diocese of Chester whom the visitors had suspected of nonconformity, many of whom had promised the visitors that they would conform in the future.²³⁶ A similar pattern can also be observed amongst the laity: twelve parishioners were presented before the triennial visitation in 1634 at Astbury in Cheshire for not kneeling at the required times during services, though all afterwards conformed.²³⁷ Such conformity could later prompt regret: Samuel Torshell at Bunbury recalled in 1643 that though he had 'protested' against the erection of altars and the suppression of godly ministers, he had nonetheless

²³² Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92); Fincham, 'Clerical Conformity', pp. 146-148;

²³³ Fincham, 'Clerical Conformity', pp. 138-146.

²³⁴ 'Annual accounts', ed. Fincham, 91-92.

²³⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92).

²³⁶ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92).

²³⁷ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/33, fo. 1r.

obeyed the bishops, something which he now classed as being ‘among the *errata* of my life’.²³⁸

Something of this tension between lawful obedience (as famously enjoined in the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul’s epistle to the Romans) and conscientious scruple is captured by the funeral sermon preached in Chester Cathedral by John Ley to the honour of Jane Ratcliffe, a wealthy Chester widow, and printed in 1640. After her godly conversion, Ratcliffe had scruples about the issue of kneeling to receive communion, and had initially refused to do so, as ‘shee tooke their example for a rule, who thought they could not bee good and sound Protestants unlesse they shewed themselves zealous detestants of whatsoever had been abused by Popish superstition’.²³⁹ However, concerned about being barred from the sacrament by her refusal to kneel, and worried about other sins which might arise from her refusal to kneel (such as breaching the fifth commandment by disobeying lawful authority, and causing the churchwardens to perjure themselves if they chose to deny her offence),²⁴⁰ Ratcliffe:

betooke her selfe (with a discreet and unpartiall indifferencie) to search into the lawfulnessse of that gesture, and by reading some of the chiefe books of controversie concerning it, and conference with those divines and other good christians whose knowledge might informe her, and their godly conversation confirme her in the truth, shee received good resolution that shee might safely receive the Sacrament upon her knees, and so shee did, and so continued without change of mind or scruple of conscience, or alteration of practice as long as she lived in this City.²⁴¹

It should not be assumed, though, that Ley’s motives were entirely benign. We have already seen that Ley had his own problematic relationship with ceremonial conformity. In the troubled context of the sermon’s printing in 1640, some of Ley’s motivations for printing an indirect defence of conformity may be indicated by the chapter of *A patterne of Pietie* entitled ‘A refutation of the Papists and Brownists who calumniat our Church for want of holinesse in those that are members of it’.²⁴² As Peter Lake has

²³⁸ Samuel Torshell, *The Hypocrite Discovered and Cvred* (London: G. M. for John Bellamy, 1643), ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’.

²³⁹ John Ley, *A patterne of Pietie, or The religious life and death of that gracious Matron, Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe, Widow and Citizen of Chester* (London: Felix Kingston for Robert Bostocke, 1640), pp. 143-145, quotation at p. 145; see also Alldridge, ‘Loyalty and identity’, pp. 115-116.

²⁴⁰ Ley, *Patterne of Pietie*, pp. 145-146.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, ch. 27.

interpreted this work, Ratcliffe's life provided a perfect illustration 'that, *pace* the claims of Brownists and conformists, an ardent but moderate puritan zeal was entirely compatible with a full and loyal membership of the national church'.²⁴³ Indeed, something of Ley's contradictory attitude is highlighted by a case involving his relationship with Richard Hopwood, the curate of Whitley in Cheshire, which came before the consistory court in June 1634. Ley was accused of whilst having 'publicly convyced & persuaded the said Master Hopwood of the lawfulness of his conformitie in the ceremonies of the Church of England, yet afterwarde and att other tymes in secret and privately hee should persuade him otherwise & not to conforme to the same'. Ley evidently disputed Hopwood's account, and upon Ley's petition, Bishop Bridgeman caused Hopwood to give his testimony again under oath.²⁴⁴ That Ley would seek to break ranks from his accuser immediately raises questions about the events recorded, but in any case, the model here described of public conformity versus private scrutiny may well have been a well used coping mechanism for clergymen who had scruples about both Laudian and older ecclesiastical policies.

Moderate puritans such as John Ley can be seen as being amongst the most evangelically minded members of the Church of England, whose zeal was sometimes (but not always) manifested in forms of nonconformity over issues where Catholic practices were felt to have crept into the Church's structure and liturgy. This, though, does not get to grips with the real dynamics of puritan organisation, especially during the crucial context of the early seventeenth century, following the failure of more formal puritan organisations, such as classes and prophesying gatherings, which had existed during Elizabeth I's reign.²⁴⁵ Patrick Collinson famously suggested that ideas of godly ministry and godly magistracy were inextricably linked: this was particularly the case in Cheshire, where five clergymen served as justices of the peace during the 1630s, of whom both George Byrom and George Snell were accused of nonconformity at the 1633 metropolitical visitation.²⁴⁶ At the Lancaster assizes held in August 1632, the assembled dignitaries heard Christopher Hudson preach a sermon

²⁴³ Peter Lake, 'Feminine piety and personal potency: The 'emancipation' of Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe', *Seventeenth Century*, ii (1987), 146.

²⁴⁴ Cheshire RO, EDC 1/52 (7 June 1634).

²⁴⁵ A neat overview of these issues is provided by Jacqueline Eales, 'A Road to Revolution: The Continuity of Puritanism, 1559-1642', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, eds. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 184-209.

²⁴⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 166. These clerical justices were Thomas Mallory (Dean of Chester, rector of Davenham and Mobberley), George Snell (Archdeacon of Chester, rector of Wallasey and Waverton), Thomas Dod (Archdeacon of Richmond, rector of Malpas (Lower Mediety) and Astbury), George Byrom (rector of Thornton-le-Moors) and William Nicholls (rector of Cheadle). Byrom's nonconformity is listed in Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 430v.; for Snell's puritanism, see Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 432v.

on the topic of ‘The Hapines of Governement’, where as well as inveighing against such sins as popery, idolatry, fornication and drunkenness, Hudson also explicitly promoted the magisterial role of the clergy.²⁴⁷ It is not improbable that one of Hudson’s hearers was Gilbert Nelson, the rector of Tatham, near Lancaster, who in July 1634 wrote to the county bench to call for a greater ‘mutuall helpe’ between magistracy and ministry in the county, and requesting that of the ‘7 or 8’ alehouses within his parish, ‘you shall doe god and the king good service in suppressing the most part of these Alehouses (Three are too many) and routing out these Nurseries of felenes and theftes’.²⁴⁸

The magistrates may not have ultimately implemented a reformation of manners in pre-civil war Lancashire, but that is not to say that puritanism did not impact upon local communities in other ways, particularly where a puritan clergyman was appointed as the local minister. Roger Richardson argued that in the diocese of Chester, puritan patrons held relatively few church advowsons, meaning that puritan patronage to clergymen was distributed by more informal means, such as by testamentary bequests.²⁴⁹ In particular, as Ronald Marchant demonstrated in the diocese of York, puritanism took particular root in the chapelries of the West Riding of Yorkshire, where a degree of autonomy from the parish church allowed congregations some freedom in appointing and funding their own minister.²⁵⁰ In the diocese of Chester, a couple of examples survive suggesting a similar style of appointment to chapelries. Around the late 1620s, Samuel Clarke had been the assistant to George Byrom at Thornton-le-Moors, but having become dissatisfied with his time there, culminating in him being prosecuted in the church courts for nonconformity, he resolved to take up an appointment in London. Having gone to the Michaelmas fair at Chester with the intention of sending his trunk to London, ‘some godly Christians, Inhabitants of *Wirrall*, a Peninsular beyond *West-Chester*, which had been frequent Hearers at *Thornton*, meeting me at the Fair, importuned

²⁴⁷ Lancashire RO, DP 353, fos. 46v-55r. Hudson was a lecturer at Preston and the curate of Lowe chapel (Walton-le-Dale) in Blackburn parish, where he was presented for puritan offences at the 1633 metropolitanical visitation, see Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 272v.

²⁴⁸ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, ch. 4; Lancashire RO, QSB 1/136/27. I would like to thank Mr. John Wilson for drawing my attention to this petition. Nelson, though, was likely to have been disappointed, for Keith Wrightson has demonstrated that the Lancashire quarter sessions during the 1630s were less interested in prosecuting regulatory offences than in settling local disputes, a marked contrast with Wrightson’s other sample county of Essex, see his ‘Two concepts of order: justices, constables and jurymen in seventeenth-century England’, in *An Ungovernable People: The English and their law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, eds. John Brewer and John Styles (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980), pp. 35-36.

²⁴⁹ Richardson, *Puritanism*, ch. 4.

²⁵⁰ Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 32-33.

my coming to *Shotwick* amongst them; and would receive no repulse till I had granted their desires'. Clarke set to work in the chapelry, establishing a rich tapestry of monthly communions interspersed with other constituents of godly life such as 'the Sermons in Repetition, singing of Psalms, and godly conference', and by the time he returned to his native Warwickshire, 'Hereby knowledge was wonderfully increased, so that I was never acquainted with more understanding Christians in all my Life, though the best of them went but in Russet Coats, and followed Husbandry'.²⁵¹ John Angier received a similar call circa the early 1630s to Ringley chapel in Prestwich parish in Lancashire. Angier, a Cambridge graduate who had originally come from the famous godly centre of Dedham in Essex, was visiting some of his wife's relatives near Wigan when he received an invitation to preach a weekday sermon at Ringley. As Oliver Heywood later recalled in 1685, 'it being a hot Summer-day', Angier collapsed with heat exhaustion during his sermon, but 'that evening many of the Chappelrie followed Mr. Angier to *Ellis Walworths* house, in *Ringley-fold*, and moved him to be Minister at *Ringley*'. After delaying his answer, 'many of the Chappelrie' then heard Angier preach a lecture at Bolton, and a formal request for him to be their minister, signed by 'the Names of the heads of the Chappelrie, that had votes in publick concerns', was presented to him. Evidently concerned by a division being caused by his appointment not being unanimous, Angier demanded a fuller subscription, and after he had returned to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he was then assisting the vicar, John Cotton, 'a Letter was sent to him with the names of all the Families, Masters, and others', whereupon, with Cotton's assent, Angier accepted the invitation.²⁵²

As well as solicitations direct from the congregation, gentry contacts could also provide a means by which likeminded clerics could receive employment. Sabbath Clarke was appointed in 1622 to the vicarage of Tarvin in Cheshire after his patron, John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, had purchased a reversion of the advowson from the prebendaries of Lichfield.²⁵³ Included within William Hinde's *Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen*, printed in 1641 (some twelve years after Hinde's death in 1629 and sixteen years after Bruen's death in 1625), was a testimony from Clarke that:

²⁵¹ Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1683), pp. 3-4, quotations at p. 4.

²⁵² *Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton*, ed. Ernest Axon, Chetham Society, new series, xcvi (1937), pp. 55-56. Italics as in the published edition.

²⁵³ Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 122; see also Sabbath Clarke's entry in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 10894 (date accessed: 10 January 2013).

He [Bruen] was the chief instrument, to plant and establish the preaching of the Gospel in this congregation. First, by providing divers of *Gods* Ministers to preach here oftentimes when the Incumbent was growne old, and decrepit: afterward by maintaining a Preacher at his owne proper cost and charges. And lastly, by being a means to obtaine the place for me by reversion, and allowing me the greatest part of my maintenance. So that this Parish hath cause for ever, to acknowledge him a nursing father of Religion amongst them, and a blessed Instrument to bring in the light of the Gospel unto them, when they sate in darkness, and in the shadow of death.²⁵⁴

All of this, though, ignores the crucial arena of clerical sociability which has been reconstructed through research into godly networks by the likes of Ann Hughes, Jacqueline Eales and Tom Webster.²⁵⁵ As has already been noted, unlike some areas of southern and midland England, the diocese of Chester had no history of formal agitation for church reform, even during the great parliamentary campaigns of the 1570s and the 1580s. These clerical contacts could provide links to individuals and areas with histories of more proactive campaigns for church reform than clergy in the diocese of Chester had. To give some examples, the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire, William Hinde, collaborated with the noted puritan nonconformist and native of Cheshire, John Dod, in the writing of *Bathshebaes Instructions to her Sonne Lemuel*, printed in 1614, and Dod's nephew was Thomas Dod, the moderately puritan archdeacon of Richmond during the 1630s.²⁵⁶ Hinde was also connected to the famous puritan network which surrounded Banbury in Oxfordshire, with Hinde dedicating several books to its members.²⁵⁷ Thomas Paget, the minister at Blackley in Lancashire during the 1630s, was the brother of John Paget, the pastor of the English reformed church at Amsterdam.²⁵⁸ Paget, together with his fellow clerics William

²⁵⁴ William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death, of Iohn Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, in the County of Chester, Esquire* (London: R. B. for Philemon Stephens and Christopher Meredith, 1641), pp. 88-89. As D. J. Lamburn has argued, moderate puritan clergymen, preaching a message of social order, had precisely the qualities which gentry patrons sought in the clergy which they appointed, see his 'The Influence of the Laity in Appointments of Clergy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century', in *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, ed. Claire Cross, Borthwick Studies in History, ii (1996), p. 115.

²⁵⁵ Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard', 771-793; Jacqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the outbreak of the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), ch. 3; Webster, *Godly Clergy*, passim.

²⁵⁶ S. J. Guscott, 'Hinde, William (1568/9-1629)'; J. Fielding, 'Dod, John (1550-1645)', both in *ODNB*. For Thomas Dod, see Dr. Beales, 'Astbury and Congleton', in *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in The County Palatine of Chester*, ed. William Urwick (London: Kent & Co., 1864), p. 152; for his puritanism, see above.

²⁵⁷ Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate', p. 128.

²⁵⁸ Keith L. Sprunger, 'Paget, John (d. 1638)', *ODNB*.

Bourne, William Rathband and John Gee, met together to form what another cleric, Richard Hollinworth, described as being ‘a kind of consultative classis’.²⁵⁹ Rathband, in turn, had connections with Northamptonshire, a county which was a notable centre of gentry-sponsored puritanism.²⁶⁰ Thomas Langley, suspended as lecturer at Middlewich in Cheshire for several years during the 1630s, was a member of a circle of persecuted ministers, including Simeon Ashe and Julines Herring, centred upon Lady Margaret Bromley’s home at Sheriff Hales in Shropshire.²⁶¹ John Angier, after he had completed his studies at the godly seminary of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had spent time after university living in the household of John Rogers, the lecturer at his home town of Dedham in Essex, and also at Boston in Lincolnshire in the household of the vicar, John Cotton, who in 1633 would resign his living to become the spiritual patriarch of the new settlement of Boston in Massachusetts.²⁶² The future Cheshire minister Samuel Clarke was taught at Emmanuel by Thomas Hooker, who was involved in debates about the issue of conformity in the early 1630s before heading, after a spell in Amsterdam, to New England in 1633.²⁶³ Clarke was also the nephew of the vicar of Tarvin, Sabbath Clarke.²⁶⁴ Both Samuel Clarke and John Ley had connections to the Warwickshire circle surrounding Thomas Dugard, which linked godly clerics to local gentry patrons, and Ley dedicated his *A patterne of Pietie*, printed in 1640, to Lady Alice Lucy from Warwickshire and Lady Brilliana Harley from Herefordshire.²⁶⁵ Lady Brilliana’s husband Sir Robert Harley was the dedicatee of Ley’s tract on the Protestation oath, printed in 1641, and Harley had made notes on Ley’s pamphlet of the same year, *Sunday a Sabbath*.²⁶⁶ Harley received correspondence from the Manchester clergyman William Bourne, and he was also a kinsman and correspondent of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, the patron of Sabbath Clarke at Tarvin.²⁶⁷ Though the tentacles of Cheshire’s clergy extended outside of the county, of the

²⁵⁹ Richard Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis; or, A History of the Town of Manchester, and what is most memorable concerning it* (Manchester: William Willis, 1839), p. 106; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 67.

²⁶⁰ Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 50.

²⁶¹ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 221; Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 54.

²⁶² John Angier, ed. Axon, pp. 49-54; Francis J. Bremer, ‘Cotton, John (1585-1652)’, *ODNB*.

²⁶³ Clarke, *Sundry Eminent Persons*, p. 3; Sargent Bush, jun., ‘Hooker, Thomas (1586?-1647)’, *ODNB*.

²⁶⁴ Ann Hughes, ‘Clarke, Samuel (1599-1682)’, *ODNB*.

²⁶⁵ Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard’, 771-793; Ley, *Patterne of Pietie*, dedicatory epistle.

²⁶⁶ John Ley, *A Comparison of the Parliamentary Protestation with the late Canonically Oath* (London: G. M. for Thomas Underhill, 1641), Preface; British Library, Additional MS, 70062, unfoliated (undated notes in the handwriting of Sir Robert Harley on ‘Sunday a Sabbath’).

²⁶⁷ British Library, Additional MS, 70105, unfoliated (William Bourne to Sir Robert Harley, 8 January 1640/41); John Bruen to Sir Robert Harley, 3 letters, 17 August 1621, 9 February 1621/22, and a third undated); Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 167, 169; Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, pp. 108, 112.

fourteen clergymen who wrote to Ley in the early 1630s asking him to pronounce on the controversy surrounding the printing of Edward Brerewood and Nicholas Byfield's correspondence, only one of those clerics, Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick in Lancashire, did not hold a living in Cheshire at some point during the 1620s or the 1630s.²⁶⁸ Clergymen certainly had opportunities to meet together. Prayers were said in Herefordshire in April 1633 'For the Ministers of the word & sacraments... and for the continuance of our exercises' in Cheshire and Lancashire, and Bury in Lancashire was reported in 1633 to hold a monthly exercise with two sermons.²⁶⁹ However, perhaps the most intriguing clerical connection is to a layman. In August 1619, when John Ley wrote to James Ussher asking him for advice regarding a sabbatarian controversy which was then raging in Chester, Ley asked that Ussher return his reply via the bookseller Peter Ince in Chester.²⁷⁰ Ince marked himself out as an opponent of Laudian policies when he was involved in the party which welcomed William Prynne to Chester in 1637, having seemingly made a similar journey to Ley in declaring his opposition to Laudianism after an initial compliance when he had been involved in the refurbishment of Holy Trinity church in Chester during the mid-1630s.²⁷¹ There is a neat circularity, thus, linking lay and clerical puritanism, when Bishop Bridgeman complained to Archbishop Neile in November 1637 that a lawyer named Bostock, who he suspected of involvement in Prynne's entertainment in Chester, 'hath beene a great expounder of Scripture in private familyes & a follower of seditious Ministers at exercises, as they call them'.²⁷²

Yet, despite this situation, what is most striking is that as far as can be discerned, most clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire, including apparent nonconformists such as John Ley, did accommodate themselves to some degree with the ecclesiastical authorities. Leif Dixon has argued, with reference to Robert Sanderson, that whilst uncomfortable about the Laudian innovations, he was able to satisfy himself about their legality by seeing

²⁶⁸ Herle's involvement with the letter may be explained by him having been an exact contemporary at Exeter College, Oxford, of another of the signatories, John Conny, see Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 'Coppie of the Letter'; Larminie, 'Herle, Charles', *ODNB*; Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 187.

²⁶⁹ British Library, Additional MS, 70062, unfoliated (memorandum, 22 February 1632/33 and 12 April 1633); noted in the margin are the name of 'Mr. Herring' and 'Mr. Cotton', with Julines Herring and John Cotton (and Sir Robert Harley himself) all being connected to individuals in Cheshire or Lancashire. Interestingly, a similarly worded memorandum in the same file dated 24 January 1632/33 does not mention Cheshire and Lancashire. For Bury, see Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 565v. (N. B. Richardson mistakenly places this exercise at Blackrod, see *Puritanism*, p. 67.)

²⁷⁰ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Letters 89, fo. 30v.

²⁷¹ Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 182; Cheshire RO, P1/11.

²⁷² Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/6B). R. N. Dore identified Bostock as John Bostock of Tattenhall in Cheshire, a lawyer attached to the Inns of Court, see Dore's *The Civil Wars in Cheshire* (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1966), p. 9.

them as coming under the monarch's prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs, and Dixon tentatively points to Sanderson's example as providing one explanation for a broader clerical compliance with Laudianism.²⁷³ Whilst Ley undoubtedly pushed the boundaries of conformity, his career was typified by a willingness to bow to his superiors' wishes whenever confronted with his nonconformity, and ultimately, by a degree of acquiescence with the Laudian ecclesiastical regime. Without being unduly cynical, Ley, as a vicar and a member of the Chester Cathedral chapter, had good financial reasons for not pushing such boundaries, and it is interesting to note that in the diocese of Chester from 1633 onwards, no beneficed clergyman resigned from, or was permanently deprived of, his living for puritan nonconformity. Rather, between 1633 and 1636, it was unbeneficed clergymen such as Richard Mather at Toxteth Park who made the most dramatic stands against Laudianism.

During the first decade or so of John Bridgeman's episcopate at Chester, puritan nonconformist clergy received a fair amount of *de facto* toleration. The elderly David Yale, diocesan chancellor until 1624, was primarily concerned with the punishment of sexual offences, and though his successor Thomas Stafford paid more attention towards puritanism, persecution was hardly systematic.²⁷⁴ A rare exception was the case of John Ridgely, the curate of Westhoughton in Lancashire, who was suspended after a hearing before Bishop Bridgeman on 13 November 1627. Ridgely was accused of:

serving the Cure & preaching without lycense. And for that yt appeared that he was not lycensed, nor would he subscribe, nor could he read his orders, nor was he Conformable, nor had he read service for many Sondayes together as is appointed by the booke of comon prayer, nor suffering a book of comon prayer to be in the Chappell, and for that he was found altogether insufficient for the Ministry.

Ridgely perhaps did not help himself through his combative approach, asking Bridgeman 'By what authority do you dispute with me in philosophy'.²⁷⁵ Despite his reputation for laxity, Bridgeman's administration was nonetheless willing to tackle more hard line puritans. Thomas Paget, the minister at Blackley in Lancashire, recalled that Bridgeman was more interested in 'pursuing rather his worldly affairs, save that he suspended a

²⁷³ Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590-1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 251-252.

²⁷⁴ Lander, 'Diocese of Chester, 1540-1660', iii. 31. David Yale had served as chancellor since 1587.

²⁷⁵ Cheshire RO, EDA 3/2, fo. 20v.

few Non-conformists'. At the time of the 1633 metropolitanical visitation, Bridgeman wrote to the nonconformist clergy of his diocese to 'inhibit' them, stating his fear of the consequences if Archbishop Neile discovered open nonconformity in his diocese. Paget then approached Bridgeman, and 'desired his favorable connivance as formerly, which he denied to grant, lest (as he said) he should he hazard the favour of his Prince'. Bridgeman then engaged Paget in a discussion about his opposition to kneeling to receive communion. Though Paget was suspended, he admitted that he 'thought the storme of the Archb. Visitation had been blowne over', but in 1635, he was forced to flee the diocese following another intervention from York, when orders were issued for him and two other unnamed ministers to be apprehended and brought before High Commission for preaching whilst suspended.²⁷⁶

Paget was not the only minister in the diocese to face the consequences of his nonconformity during the 1630s, as Bridgeman responded to prompts from his superiors. Samuel Eaton, the future congregationalist pastor, was appointed as the rector of West Kirby in Cheshire in 1628, but after being accused of nonconformity, he had vacated his living before 1631 and had left for the Netherlands in 1634.²⁷⁷ Richard Mather, suspended as curate of the extra-parochial chapelry of Toxteth Park in Lancashire by the metropolitanical visitors in 1633, left for New England in 1635.²⁷⁸ George Moxon, the curate of St. Helens in Lancashire, 'met with much trouble from Dr. *Bridgman* Bp. of *Chester* for his Nonconformity to the Ceremonies', and left the chapelry for New England having found a citation from Bridgeman nailed to the chapel door 'about 1637'.²⁷⁹ Oliver

²⁷⁶ Thomas Paget, 'An Humble Advertisment to the High Court of Parliament', in John Paget, *A Defence of Church-Government, exercised in Presbyteriall, Classical, & Synodall Assemblies* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), unpaginated.

²⁷⁷ S. J. Guscott, 'Eaton, Samuel (d. 1665)', *ODNB*. Eaton, along with five parishioners, was presented at the 1628 visitation 'for not standinge at the readinge of the gosple nor bowinge att the name of Iesus', see Cheshire RO, EDV 1/29, fo. 12r. The circumstances are hardly clear, but Eaton had vacated his rectory by 13 August 1631, when Thomas Glover was instituted as rector, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 31931 (date accessed: 9 February 2014). Additionally, Robert Parke resigned as the vicar of Bolton in Lancashire in 1631 and moved to Rotterdam, though the circumstances of his departure from Bolton are unclear, see Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 381.

²⁷⁸ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92); Increase Mather, *The Life and Death of... Mr. Richard Mather* (Cambridge, [Massachusetts]: S. G. and M. J., 1670), pp. 10-11; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (4 vols., London: F. C. and J. Rivington et al, 1813-1817), iii. 832; Susan Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers and the Call of Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 187

²⁷⁹ Edmund Calamy, *An abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his life and times. With an account of the ministers, &c. who were ejected after the Restauration, in 1660* (2 vols. London: for John Lawrence et al, second edition, 1713), ii. 128-129. Though I have been unable to find any contemporary evidence, Charles Broxholme, the curate at Denton in Lancashire, was also apparently suspended by Bridgeman, see Tupling, 'Causes of the Civil War in Lancashire', 4. Italics as in the publication.

Heywood later recalled that Thomas Langley, a lecturer at Middlewich in Cheshire, ‘was a minister there before the wars; and though *he was seven years together silenced*, yet when he was restored to his liberty he returned to them, when he had but a very pitiful maintenance, and continued there to the day of his death’.²⁸⁰ In discussing Langley’s case, Judith Maltby follows Hugh Trevor-Roper’s line in suggesting that Bridgeman acted under pressure from Neile, though Trevor-Roper also (perhaps unsurprisingly) implicated William Laud in this pressure.²⁸¹

Elsewhere, Heywood explicitly accused Archbishop Laud of causing Bridgeman to act against nonconformist ministers. John Angier, the minister at the unconsecrated chapel at Ringley, close to Bridgeman’s Lancashire residence at Great Lever, was regularly summoned to see Bridgeman, who ‘admonished him, exhorted him to conform... yet usually gave him good words, and professed his great respect to him’. Bridgeman’s position was made more delicate by Angier apparently striking a good relationship with the Bishop’s wife, who regularly sought Angier’s ministrations. Bridgeman suspended Angier ‘twice in one year; but restored by the mediation of his friends’. Eventually, according to Heywood, Laud became involved. The archbishop was unhappy that Bridgeman was already tolerating the nonconformist Alexander Horrocks in nearby Deane parish, and under pressure, Bridgeman thus felt obliged to suspend Angier.²⁸²

There are problems, though, with Heywood’s account. The incident took place circa 1630, before Laud was appointed as archbishop of Canterbury, and it should perhaps be seen in the context of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century opposition to Laud which is manifested, for example, in the manuscripts sent to John Walker concerning the sufferings of the clergy during the 1640s and the 1650s.²⁸³ However, recurring themes do emerge. Bridgeman seems to have acted at times when he came under

²⁸⁰ *John Angier*, ed. Axon, pp. 63-64. Italics as in the publication.

²⁸¹ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 221; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, third edition, 1988), p. 173.

²⁸² *John Angier*, ed. Axon, pp. 57-58. The relevant passage in full: ‘at last the Bishop said, Mr. *Angier*, I have a good will to indulge you, but cannot, for my Lords Grace of *Canterbury* (*i. e.* Archbishop *Laud*) hath rebuked me for permitting two Non-Conformists, the one within a Mile on one hand (that was good Mr. [Alexander] *Horrocks* at *Dean Church*) another on the other, your self; and I am likely to come into disfavour on this behalf; as for Mr. *Horrocks*, saith he, my hands are bound, I cannot meddle with him; (’tis thought he meant by reason of some promises to his Wife) but as for you, Mr. *Angier*, you are a young man, and doubtless may get another place, and if you were any where at a little further distance, I could better look off you, for I do study to do you a kindness, but cannot as long as you are thus near me, &c. some judged that one reason was, the Bishops sons were at this moment on rising ground; and this his connivance might cross his design in their preferment: he did suspend Mr. *Angier*, who continued a season under that suspension.’

²⁸³ McCall, *Baal’s Priests*, p. 90.

particular scrutiny, such as close to the metropolitan visitation of his diocese in 1633, and as Thomas Paget noted, aside from those times, there is little to suggest that he was particularly inclined to suspend ministers. On 12 July 1634, following the metropolitan visitation, Archbishop Neile wrote to Bridgeman, warning him to continue to be vigilant towards puritan clerics who had promised the visitors that they would conform, hinting that Neile may have had his doubts about Bridgeman's willingness to clamp down on puritanism.²⁸⁴ No doubt Neile's concerns were raised further as the visitors had even suspended Bridgeman's own curate at Wigan for, after having been warned by the visitors, omitting to wear the surplice whilst conducting a baptism, though the suspension was lifted after the curate (who is sadly unnamed) promised to conform.²⁸⁵ Nonetheless, as we have seen in John Ley's case, Bridgeman was prepared to act to preserve order by forbidding Ley to preach on the topic of the Sabbath, but outright suspension seems to have been a tool which Bridgeman was reluctant to use. William Bourne, a fellow of the Manchester collegiate church, was presented for nonconformity at six visitations between 1608 and 1633 (including the visitations in 1622 and 1625 carried out under Bridgeman's authority), but was only suspended following the metropolitan visitation in 1633.²⁸⁶

This brief account suggests that until the early 1630s, Bishop Bridgeman was generally reluctant to suspend nonconformist ministers, and his change in stance could explain why some puritan clergy chose to comply with at least some of the Laudian innovations. In essence, Bridgeman's apparent change in attitude may well have impacted upon the relationship between moderate puritanism and conformity within his diocese. This section will conclude with a case study of events at the Manchester collegiate church during the 1630s, which will explore further the problem of a fixed 'Laudian' versus 'puritan' dichotomy.

By 1630, the collegiate church at Manchester stood in a weak position.²⁸⁷ Chronically mismanaged by its warden, Richard Murray, a pluralist who had leased out the college's revenues for his own gain, the quire of the church stood in disrepair.²⁸⁸ Appointed in 1609, it was later alleged by Richard Hollinworth that Murray had gained the post thanks to the machinations of some 'Scottish lords' at the court of James I, when

²⁸⁴ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 12 July 1634.

²⁸⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92). One possible identification of the curate in question may be Robert Fogg, curate at Wigan between 1625 and 1634, and who features in the third chapter of this thesis as a correspondent of William Prynne, see Richardson, 'Puritanism', p. 91.

²⁸⁶ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 24-25.

²⁸⁷ The surviving minutes of the college at Manchester commence in 1635, but they do not add anything to this account, see Manchester Cathedral Archives, Manchester, MS 2/2/1.

²⁸⁸ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 110.

William Bourne had looked likely to gain the post, prompting Bourne to be afterwards granted a lease for three lives from the tithes of Manchester worth around £30 per annum, presumably to keep him content.²⁸⁹

Hollinworth, himself a fellow of the collegiate church from 1643 until its dissolution in 1650, was distinctly unimpressed by Murray, claiming that he had only ever preached twice at Manchester, whilst imposing ceremony in the worship of the collegiate church which exalted the dignity of his position as warden.²⁹⁰ The fellowship was hit by scandal in 1632, when, after administering the communion on Good Friday, one of the fellows, Daniel Baker, 'being, as it is feared, somewhat overcharged with drinke', drowned in the River Irwell, with Hollinworth hinting that he may have been murdered.²⁹¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, Archbishop Neile, in his post-visitation report to Charles I in January 1634, was scathing about the collegiate church:

Your Maiesties Collegiate Church at Manchester, where the Warden, and fellowes pretend an exemption from all Episcopall, and Archiepiscopall Jurisdiction, and subjection to Canons, was found to be altogether out of order: where there is neither Singing men, nor Quiristers, nor Organ fitt to be used. The Warden and fellowes altogether out of order, scarsely coming to prayers; but never are, when they come, in Collegiate-Quire habit of surplisse, and hoods: but all the service layd upon two poore Chaplens. But upon better consideration, all of them (save Mr. Bourne) reformed themselves, came to the prayers in their habits, and read the Service, which (they say) had not before ben seene. And Mr. Bourne himself was contented to read prayers without a surplisse; saying, he refused not, as opposing order, but that he was ashamed now to putt on the surplisse, which in 30 yeares before, of his being Fellow there, he hath not done. The rest have promised reformation for the time to come. And Bourne stands suspended.²⁹²

Neile's report reveals some of the tensions within puritanism. Whilst the fellowship contained a number of moderate puritans, omitting to wear the surplice and not fulfilling the full roster of worship which would normally be required in a collegiate church, only Bourne held out to the point of suspension, with the other fellows being willing to conform when

²⁸⁹ F. R. Raines, *The Rectors of Manchester, and the Wardens of the Collegiate Church of that Town*, Part II, Chetham Society, new series, v-vi (1885), v. 113; Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, pp. 107-108.

²⁹⁰ C. W. Sutton, rev. R. C. Richardson, 'Hollinworth, Richard (bap. 1607, d. 1656)', *ODNB*; Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, pp. 109-110.

²⁹¹ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 115.

²⁹² 'Annual accounts', ed. Fincham, 92.

put under pressure by the visitors. If clerical puritanism was not enough for the visitors to deal with, there was also the issue of lay puritanism in Manchester parish. The visitors even found that a local gentleman, Thomas Worsley, and his wife and daughter were ‘credibly reported to be Brownistes’, a rare discovery of protestant separatism during their visitation.²⁹³ Other parishioners were guilty of other forms of puritanism in worship, including ‘not kneeling when the generall confession letanie & other praiers are read in the Church’, and ‘not standing vpp at the saying of the beliefe’.²⁹⁴ One parishioner, Adam Byrom, was required to appear before the metropolitanical visitors in 1633 for not kneeling during divine service, only for him to come into an altercation with some of the visitors’ party because of his refusal to remove his hat when before them. In the subsequent High Commission case, he was accused of various offences, including not kneeling during services, and of commenting to one Mr. Anderton of Chester after prayers were said for the dead King James and Queen Anne, ‘what must wee haue poperie & pray for the dead’, all of which he denied. He also put a gloss on a confrontation which he had had with the vice warden, Peter Shaw, over seating arrangements in the collegiate church.²⁹⁵

As will become evident later in this section, Shaw himself was an interesting character, upholding Laudian ideals of order in worship, whilst allegedly holding heterodox doctrinal views. Peter Lake has described in vivid detail the internal manoeuvrings within the London puritan community in which Shaw had once been an active member, and the internal disputes over relatively minor points of doctrine which could develop. Nonetheless, as Lake makes clear, efforts were often made to keep such debates out of the public sphere, with a united public front often being portrayed.²⁹⁶ Such private-public dichotomy is illustrated by William Bourne. Richard Hollinworth claimed that Bourne:

dissented little or nothing from the discipline vsed in Scotland, but vehemently propugned it, yet in a private, prudent, and peaceable manner, saue that hee held the feasts of the Nativity of Jesus, of his Circumcision, &c., and other holidayes might, yea, ought (the lawes of the realme considered) to bee duly kept.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 607v.

²⁹⁴ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fos. 611r., 612v.

²⁹⁵ Borthwick, HC.CP.1635/2.

²⁹⁶ Lake, *Boxmaker's revenge*, ch. 9.

²⁹⁷ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 104.

However, though Bourne evidently kept his presbyterian views private and practiced some outward conformity (though not wearing the surplice), something which did come to public attention was a dispute circa 1631 between Bourne and another fellow, Richard Johnson, ‘about the Nature of Sin: whether it be merely privative, or have any positiveness in it. Mr. Burne maintained the later, and Mr. Johnson the former’. Hollinworth recalled ‘that a popish priest tooke vppon him to determine the controuersy in writing; and to inveigh against them both, and all Protestants, because of their divisions’.²⁹⁸

By 1634, Johnson was involved with a local gentleman, Humphrey Chetham, in encouraging the Privy Council to enact the reformation of the college, efforts which, according to Hollinworth, were supported by the town’s inhabitants.²⁹⁹ From thereon, a split seems to have emerged within the fellowship, with Johnson being at odds with Murray, Bourne and Peter Shaw, the latter two being recipients of Murray’s patronage, with Shaw being raised from a chaplaincy to a fellowship in 1634.³⁰⁰ What is remarkable about the ensuing events is that they seem to transcend attitudes towards conformity, and render any kind of ‘puritan’ versus ‘Laudian’ dichotomy untenable, as well as revealing something about the nature of intra-puritan disputes such as that between Bourne and Johnson. In an undated petition drafted by Johnson to be sent to Archbishop Laud, Johnson attempted to defend his own moderate puritanism, evidently in response to a petition levelled against him by Murray, Shaw, and some ‘non-conformists’ (with Bourne feasibly being amongst them). Johnson acknowledged that he did not wear the surplice when he read he read prayers and preached at Gorton chapel, but he claimed that that was because the chapel did not possess a surplice, and that ‘an hundred honest men shall testifie that he hath brought more nonconformists to obey the Churches discipline than any or all the fellowes of the Colledge have done these twenty yeares’. He also claimed that when he had administered communion in the collegiate church outside of the quire, he had only done so because Shaw had stoked ‘a publike fame that my Lord Arch Byshop had given licence so to doe’.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 114.

²⁹⁹ S. J. Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham 1580-1653: Fortune, Politics and Mercantile Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, Chetham Society, third series, xlv (2003), 185-194; Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 110.

³⁰⁰ F. R. Raines, ed. Frank Renaud, *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, Chetham Society, new series, xxi, xxiii (1891), xxi. 135.

³⁰¹ Francis Robert Raines and Charles W. Sutton, *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, Chetham Society, new series, xlix-1 (1903), 49-50. The original manuscripts of the correspondence transcribed by Raines and Sutton are preserved in Chetham Library’s, Manchester, Chetham MSS, vols. 2-3 (specific item references within these two volumes are given by Raines and Sutton). Johnson was also accused at the 1633 metropolitanical visitation of having administered communion to those that did not kneel, see Borthwick, V. 1633, CB 2, fo. 601r.

Johnson, though, had an even graver attack to make on Shaw's character. Johnson acknowledged that of his accusers, Murray and Shaw were the only conformists. However, 'if it bee required an hundred honest men shall witness that the sole or principall cause of Mr. Shawes dislike is not as hee pretendeth because of conformitie wherein hee doth egregiously wronge the Towne but because of obsanitie and paradoxes that God punisheth in heaven, and the like, &c.'³⁰² Having travelled to London to clear his name and to seek the reformation of the college, Johnson wrote to Humphrey Chetham on 1 May 1634, describing Shaw in strong terms as a '*Diabolus fratrum*', but he hoped that 'I am cleared by his graces owne mouth'.³⁰³

Johnson's accusations against Shaw may well have had some basis in fact. In 1629, Shaw had been subject to a case before High Commission, in which he was accused of peddling antinomian views as an unlicensed preacher in three London churches, resulting in Shaw being attacked by a clerical alliance of Laudians and moderate puritans.³⁰⁴ Shaw had been born and raised in Lancashire, his father Leonard having been the rector of Radcliffe, before progressing to Cambridge University.³⁰⁵ In the articles against Shaw, Nathaniel Walker, a London lecturer, alleged 'that he hath confessed (& there is evidence) that the Ministers of Lancashire made the same opposition to his sermons as do the Ministers of this citie'.³⁰⁶ Shaw emerged from the case discredited in London, and in 1631, during the case involving Samuel Pretty, another antinomian, William Laud, then bishop of London, claimed that Shaw 'came to me for admittance, which I purpose, never, God willing, to grant'.³⁰⁷ Shaw's coming to the Manchester collegiate church, which, as we have seen, under Murray claimed freedom before episcopal and archiepiscopal jurisdiction, represented an escape home, away from his London troubles. Yet, Johnson's correspondence suggests that he knew about Shaw's troubles, and that Laud (now archbishop of Canterbury) would take a dim view of Shaw's presence in the ministry at Manchester. However, Shaw himself was seeking to curry Laud's favour. In a petition sent to Laud dated 25 March 1634, Shaw claimed that as vice-warden during Murray's absence, he had:

³⁰² Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 50.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, xlix. 51. Italics as in the manuscript.

³⁰⁴ David Como and Peter Lake, 'Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw and its Contexts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1 (1999), 684-715. Peter Shaw's case is further discussed (with some minor corrections on the above) in David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 334-348.

³⁰⁵ Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 317.

³⁰⁶ Como and Lake, 'Peter Shaw', 710.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 684.

repayred & beautified the Chapterhouse & Quier, hee kept the Chaplaines singing men & Choristers in Order, & caused divine service & Sacramentes to be fully & duly read & celebrated in all things, according to the Book of Common prayer, the Canons of the Church & his Maiesties instruccions. By reason whereof your Lordships petitioner was reputed an innovator, much hated by some of the Fellowes with other members of the Colledge & whoole people. Some of them seeking to disgrace him by Secret Calumnyes at home and slanderous lettres abroad, making him a persecutor of the godly, a time-server & deboist fellow. And now the Fellowes & Chaplaines falle to many of their old disorders as to administer the holy communion in private seates not at the communion table to neglect the reading of whole divine service on Sundays to convert the greatest part of 6 of the clocke service into Sermons with the omission of the Surplice, in neglecting to note down the absences where by the Quier is often destitute of Choristers.³⁰⁸

Thus, a situation had arisen at Manchester where a moderate puritan (Johnson) was competing for Laud's favour against a doctrinally heterodox puritan but a ceremonial conformist in Murray's patronage (Shaw). Initially, things seemed to go Johnson's way. On 1 July 1634, Johnson wrote to Chetham, suggesting that Murray looked likely to be deprived as warden, and that a new foundation would be established.³⁰⁹ He further claimed that 'Mr. Burne is never like to bee put in fellowe in the new foundation as I heare; why I did not bringe his non-conformitie uppon the stage was not done with out good counsell: why you shall heare'.³¹⁰ A gap in the correspondence of nearly a year now ensues, meaning that we do not learn why Johnson did not use William Bourne's nonconformity as part of his case. One reason may be that by this time, Charles I had been informed by Archbishop Neile about Bourne's suspension, so his case was already known at the highest level without Johnson making a further point out of it.³¹¹ A further reason may be that Johnson, himself a moderate puritan, did not want to bring further attention to puritanism in Manchester if he did not need to do so, given that Bourne's case was already known to the King. As recently as 1631, a dispute between Bourne and Johnson had been used as capital by a Catholic priest, and Johnson may not have wanted Bourne's case to come to be seen as typical of Manchester puritanism, which would

³⁰⁸ National Archives, SP 16/263, fo. 87r.

³⁰⁹ Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 53.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xlix. 53-54.

³¹¹ 'Annual accounts', ed. Fincham, 92.

have put the area under further official scrutiny.³¹² In seeking to undermine Murray's wardenship, Shaw, as a recent arrival at the college whose heterodoxy was familiar to Laud, was a much easier target for Johnson than Bourne would have been.

Over a year later, on 12 July 1635, Johnson wrote to Chetham to inform him that he had been entrusted with drafting a charter for the new foundation.³¹³ By 22 July 1635, he had presented Laud with the draft, and though 'the Lord Privie Seale and the Lawyers have other corrected and (I must say) amended', he hoped that Laud 'will shewe his power and wisdom upon it'.³¹⁴ The next day, Johnson wrote to Chetham again, expressing his concern that 'the Arch Bishopp for all his former shewes studdyes for the pomp of the future Warden and to pleasure some Chaplaynes of the Kings or his owne with the place'.³¹⁵ Indeed, when Johnson had written to Chetham on 12 July, he had expressed his concern that their preferred candidate, Richard Heyrick, 'will bee bribed with some promise of a parsonage and if hee bee such a one it is noe matter if we misse of him'.³¹⁶ Why Heyrick should be their preferred candidate is unclear in Johnson's letters, though he did come from an evangelically protestant background, his mother Joan having caused some controversy by removing a painted glass window from a church in East Anglia.³¹⁷

Thus far, a strange situation has emerged where the conformist warden Richard Murray was facing deprivation of the wardenship, and another conformist, Peter Shaw, turns out to have had a somewhat dubious antinomian past. On the other hand, Richard Johnson, a moderate puritan, was liaising with Archbishop Laud in the establishment of the new foundation. On 20 August 1635, Laud, Lord Keeper Coventry and the earl of Manchester ordered that Humphrey Chetham (as farmer of the tithes of Manchester) did not 'dispose' of the tithes until he received further orders from them, explicitly because of 'the new founding' of the college.³¹⁸

³¹² Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 114.

³¹³ Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 56. An undated draft of a petition from the fellows to Archbishop Laud, Lord Keeper Coventry and the Earl of Manchester, calling for the refoundation of the college following Murray's deprivation, is transcribed in Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 69-70.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xlix. 59.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xlix. 61.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xlix. 57.

³¹⁷ G. E. Aylmer, 'Herrick, Sir William (bap. 1562, d. 1653)', *ODNB*. Sir William also knew Laud: a letter from Laud to Sir William, dated 21 October 1616, is reproduced in *Works of William Laud*, eds. Scott, then Bliss, vi. 238-239.

³¹⁸ Chetham's Library, Chetham MSS, vol. 3, no. 128. An accompanying letter to Chetham signed by two fellows, Samuel Boardman and Richard Johnson, is dated 21 August 1635, see Chetham's Library, Chetham MSS, vol. 3, no. 130. Neither of these two letters were transcribed by Raines and Sutton.

However, certainly by 25 August 1635, Johnson and Laud's relationship had deteriorated dramatically. Johnson wrote to Chetham:

It may seeme strange to yourselfe and some of neighbours, that things are so longe in doeinge but it cannot possibly be holpen. The Arch Bishopp hath beene sorely enraged at mee for hasteninge him so fast, and bids mee stay the king's leasure on God's name. If you bee pleased to knowe the truth, I feare some men have a mynd to put Mr Herrick besides the Wardenship for feare he should prove an Anti-arminian. My Lords Grace hath most strange prejudices agaynst mee and sayth I am foolishly and peevishly bent agaynst the Church as hee heareth and beleiveth. I pray God bee mercifull to mee, it is if not all yet my principall care and endeavour to be serviceable to God's Church, But the idolatry and superstition of the Church of Rome I hate and I abhorre the Doctrine of free will or rather of selfe will; and if his Grace call this a peevish disposition agaynst the Church, hee is not much deceived in mee, wheresoever hee learned it.³¹⁹

On 7 September 1635, Johnson again wrote to Chetham, suggesting that the establishment of the new foundation was now in hand.³²⁰ The power of the warden had been lessened, with the fellows being given more power.³²¹ After Murray's deprivation, despite Johnson's worries, Richard Heyrick was appointed as warden, and the existing fellowship, including (perhaps disappointingly to Johnson) both Bourne and Shaw, were re-appointed as fellows.³²²

This brief case study of the events at Manchester collegiate church indicates the problems of assuming that puritanism in north-western England was a coherent phenomenon; rather, there were disputes and tensions within puritanism (as shown by the relationship between Bourne and Johnson), and puritans whose doctrinal beliefs were somewhat heterodox (such as Peter Shaw) could nevertheless be conformable to the outward requirements of the Church of England. Even the moderate puritan Johnson could (for a time) liaise with Archbishop Laud with little incident, though, as we have seen, their relationship ultimately became strained. Richard Heyrick, the new warden, would go on to be a prominent

³¹⁹ Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 63-64. Raines and Sutton divided this extract into two paragraphs, but I have returned it to one paragraph as per the original manuscript, see Chetham's Library, Chetham MSS, vol. 3, no. 132.

³²⁰ Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 64-66.

³²¹ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 119.

³²² *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111, 118-119.

presbyterian during the late 1640s and the 1650s, but that did not prevent him from enacting at least some aspects of ‘the Laudian style’ during his wardenship, despite the fears of Laud and his coterie that he would prove to be ‘an Anti-arminian’.³²³ Under the terms of the new foundation, leases could only be issued to tenants for twenty-one years rather than for three lives, a development in common with a wider Laudian trend.³²⁴ The entry fines of tenants then renewing their leases ‘was bestowed in the rooffe of the Quire, and the two syde Isles, which then were taken downe and built vp againe, battled and pinnaced in a seemely, yea, a stately manner. Anno 1638’.³²⁵ William Bourne, in a letter to Sir Robert Harley dated 8 January 1641, was particularly forthright, denouncing the ‘Organs, Altars, gestures, vestares [vestments?], crosses, &c.’ which had been installed at the collegiate church.³²⁶ Indeed, the main argument of this chapter is that opposition to Laudianism only becomes a concerted position after 1637, and intriguingly, Richard Hollinworth hints towards this being the case, as the introduction of the new form of lease ‘kindled a sparke, which, afterward, with blowing, became a great flame, and was a meanes to blow vp the colledge’.³²⁷

With the benefit of hindsight, Hollinworth’s interpretation may carry some weight, but Heyrick’s own contribution in 1637 to the debates over ceremonies is worth noting, especially given that in some aspects of his enforcement of Laudian policies, such as the issuing of new leases for years rather than for lives, he was bound by the terms of the new foundation.³²⁸ In a visitation sermon preached before Bishop Bridgeman at Manchester on 24 April 1637, Heyrick called for peace between the rival factions, ‘them that preach for them [ceremonies], and them that preach against them’. However, Heyrick, who throughout his career had a skill for preaching carefully balanced sermons, observed that ceremonies ‘must not be walles of partition, if they bee Christ will breake them downe’; words from which both Bishop Bridgeman and Manchester’s puritans could surely have drawn some respective comfort.³²⁹

³²³ Michael Mullett, ‘Heyrick, Richard (1600-1667)’, *ODNB*.

³²⁴ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 119; Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 66; Foster, ‘Church Policies’, pp. 198-199.

³²⁵ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 119.

³²⁶ British Library, Additional MS, 70105, unfoliated (William Bourne to Sir Robert Harley, 8 January 1640/41).

³²⁷ Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, p. 119.

³²⁸ Raines and Sutton, *Humphrey Chetham*, xlix. 66.

³²⁹ Manchester Central Library, Manchester, M35/5/3/7. Heyrick’s suggestive text was Ephesians 2:17 (‘And hee came & preacht peace to them that were affar & to them that were nigh’).

Chapter conclusion

Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester, though initially enforcing both the reading of the *Book of Sports* and the railing of communion tables within his diocese, seems to have done so with a degree of ambivalence. Whilst there is some evidence that the reading of the *Book of Sports* was enforced in the diocese of Chester, Bishop Bridgeman may well have pursued a relatively moderate course given the recent sabbatarian controversies which had beset Cheshire. In contrast, the railing of communion tables was enforced throughout the diocese (notwithstanding Bridgeman's own strange aberration at Ringley chapel in Lancashire), and even parishes with 'puritan' incumbents railed their communion tables. Though there were isolated instances of anti-episcopal sentiment in the diocese prior to 1637, and some ministers failed to contribute towards the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, there was no coherent opposition to Laudianism, and as the case study of politics at the Manchester collegiate church neatly illustrates, puritanism was often an incoherent phenomenon, beset by intra-puritan rivalries. As the next chapter will demonstrate, from the mid-1630s onwards, Bishop Bridgeman became more associated with the Laudian hierarchy with which he had previously held some distance (it will be remembered that Thomas Paget recalled that Bridgeman had claimed that he was only suspending nonconformist clergy in 1633 because of his fear of Archbishop Neile), and indeed, Bridgeman's own Laudianism became more apparent in the building work which he undertook at Chester Cathedral. Opposition to Laudianism and to Caroline policies more generally began to develop apace in the diocese from 1637 onwards, and the first flickers of what would form after 1642 into civil war allegiances and divisions become apparent to the historian.

Chapter Three: The impending crisis: Clerical politics, 1637-1640

Nationally, between 1637 and 1640, the Laudian innovations became increasingly unpopular as the polemical stakes heightened, and opposition increased. In the diocese of Chester, Bishop John Bridgeman became more closely associated with Laudian policy at precisely the time when its public credibility was reaching its lowest ebb, and when principled opposition to Laudianism first becomes evident in the records of his diocese.¹ One may even note that if the literal meaning of the word ‘bishop’ from the Greek is ‘overseer’, then Bridgeman’s oversight of his diocese became increasingly contentious from 1637 onwards.² It will here be suggested that in the diocese of Chester, the early clerical opposition to Laudianism within the diocese arose more noticeably from outside puritan nonconformity than from within. Furthermore, for the handful of clergymen for whom sufficient evidence is available, and with two interesting exceptions, positions adopted by clergymen with relation to particular issues from 1637 onwards are consistent with the allegiances which they would hold during the first civil war (1642-1646).

The hardening of ideological positions after 1637 amongst those clergy in the diocese of Chester whose views are known coincides with a deepening resistance in Cheshire towards the collection of Ship Money.³ Indeed, as John Morrill has argued, the first bishops’ war against the Scottish Covenanters in 1639 severely undermined sheriffs’ abilities to collect Ship Money, as sheriffs were forced to levy the extra burden of coat and conduct money to fund the war. In 1640, Charles I issued a new writ attempting to levy the largest sum yet raised by Ship Money (after the burden had been lowered in 1639), set against the backdrop of further levies to fund the second bishops’ war, and the efforts of the clergy of the convocation of Canterbury to define the Church of England via a new set of

¹ Anthony Milton, ‘The creation of Laudianism: a new approach’, in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 162-184.

² *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 173.

³ Thomas Cholmondeley, the sheriff in 1637-1638, had to resort to threats, distrains and imprisonments in order to collect the full sum. In 1639, conditioned by the first bishops’ war against the Scottish Covenanters, the sheriff Philip Mainwaring of Baddiley also experienced severe difficulties in collecting the tax, with his successor, Sir Thomas Powell, seeing the effective collapse of the taxation under his watch in 1640, having to hire his own bailiffs to distrain goods for non-payment in the face of widespread refusal from the constables to distrain goods. For further detail, see Peter Lake, ‘The collection of Ship Money in Cheshire during the sixteen-thirties: A case study of relations between central and local government’, *Northern History*, xvii (1981), 55-67.

canons issued without parliamentary consent.⁴ The study of the climactic years between 1637 and 1642 thus offers an example of how national concerns, disseminated via (amongst other media) the printing press, interacted with local issues to condition individuals' responses to the British crises which would develop during those few years, ultimately leading, in 1642, to the outbreak of civil war in England. This chapter will focus on events between 1637 and 1640, with the next chapter continuing to trace developments up to the outbreak of civil war in the summer of 1642.

Bad *Newes from Ipswich*?: William Prynne and Henry Burton in north-western England, 1637

The title of this section highlights two ways in particular in which the arrival in 1637 of William Prynne and Henry Burton as prisoners at Chester and Lancaster respectively marks a turning point for attitudes towards Laudianism in the diocese of Chester. The first way in which they represented bad news was via their publications, particularly those printed in 1636. For readers, Prynne's account in *Newes from Ipswich* of Matthew Wren's episcopate in the diocese of Norwich offered a glimpse of a form of ultra-Laudianism, which, given Bishop Bridgeman's apparent growing enthusiasm for the Laudian style in his building works at Chester Cathedral, no doubt stoked fears that this was the direction in which Bridgeman's episcopate was heading.⁵ Similarly, Henry Burton's sermons, printed as *For God and the King*, 'attacked ceremonies, altars and the institution of episcopacy'.⁶ If the circulation of *Newes from Ipswich* was not damaging enough for Bridgeman's credibility, a second wave of damage came in the arrival of Henry Burton at Lancaster and, particularly, William Prynne at Chester. Prynne's entertainment by a group of citizens, followed by Bridgeman's role in prosecuting those citizens, caused irreparable damage to his reputation, and as will be seen over the course of this chapter, Bridgeman's grip on his diocese was severely weakened as a minority of clergy began to air their views in forthright terms. Even Bridgeman himself seemed to realise this, acknowledging in his order to the city's clergy dated 24 August 1637 that 'this *City*, which hitherto (God be praised,) hath continued free from any inconformity and schismaticall practices, is

⁴ John Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1630-1648* (Harlow: Longman, second edition, 1999), pp. 44-45.

⁵ It should be noted that William Prynne's alleged authorship of *Newes from Ipswich* has never been conclusively proven, and that Prynne himself never confessed to having written it. However, much of Prynne's trial in 1637 hinged upon the allegation that Prynne had colluded with John Bastwick and Henry Burton in writing *Newes from Ipswich*, and it is fair to assume that those who later welcomed Prynne to Chester were aware of the alleged association between Prynne and *Newes from Ipswich*. For further details, see William M. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne 1600-1669* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 37-39.

⁶ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 759.

therefore much defamed, and the Government thereof, as well by the Temporall as Ecclesiasticall Majestie, may in time receive some blemish, unlesse some speedy cours be taken therein'.⁷

Newes from Ipswich offered to the reader a vivid depiction of how popish bishops (of whom Wren at Norwich was the prime example) were subverting the Church of England by silencing godly preachers, promoting anti-sabbatarianism, railing communion tables, and even omitting collects which appeared to promote preaching from the new Scottish Prayer Book.⁸ Whilst, as the previous chapter argued, Bridgeman was not a bishop in Wren's mould, at least aspects of Prynne's picture, such as the railing of communion tables and the silencing of godly preachers, would have been recognisable to readers in the diocese of Chester.

It is impossible to assess the extent to which *Newes from Ipswich* and other works by William Prynne and similar writers of his ilk circulated in the diocese, but some glimpses are obtainable. On 20 August 1637, in the midst of the controversy surrounding Prynne's entertainment at Chester, Bishop Bridgeman informed the archbishop of York, Richard Neile, that he suspected that the 'puritanicall bookes' in circulation in the city were because of the efforts of Peter Ince, the only stationer in the city, who had been involved in entertaining Prynne. He also claimed that another of Prynne's entertainers, Calvin Bruen, had purchased a copy of Alexander Leighton's *Sions Plea* from Ince's shop, Leighton, like Prynne, having also ended up imprisoned for his criticisms of the Church.⁹ Upon investigation, Neile later informed Bridgeman on 16 November 1637 that it 'hath been made manifest to us by their owne confessions, that they had seene some of the seditious libells, and that they did know how Prin had been punished, & censured by the State for them'.¹⁰ Indeed, having examined Ince's wife, Bridgeman told Neile on 20 November 1637 that 'I perceave her husband hath beene of ancient acquaintance with Prin, for when hee was in the tower of London vpon his first censure, for his Historiomastix, this Peeter Ince

⁷ William Prynne, *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny* (London: M. S., 1641), pp. 94-95. A copy of this order is transcribed in the episcopal act book, see Cheshire Record Office, Chester, EDA 2/2, fos. 378v-379r.

⁸ [William Prynne], *Newes from Ipswich* (Ipswich: no printer, 1636), passim. William Lamont, in attempting to demonstrate that William Prynne was still a 'moderate' in 1636-1637, has followed Anthony à Wood in noting that *Newes from Ipswich* was focused very closely upon 'Wren and his clique', and that Prynne 'did not broaden the range of his attack to embrace all bishops in his anger', though I suggest here that others elsewhere (such as those in Chester) may well identified links and correlations beyond Wren at Norwich, see Lamont, *Marginal Prynne*, p. 41, quotation at p. 47.

⁹ Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D1287/18/2 (P/399/5B); Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 312.

¹⁰ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 16 November 1637.

visited him a prisoner there'.¹¹ As was noted in the previous chapter, Ince, as well as being an acquaintance of the puritan cleric John Ley, was also a regular signatory in the churchwardens' accounts of Holy Trinity parish during the renovation of the church in 1634, and one wonders if his disenchantment with the Laudian style of church reordering came as the style acquired increasingly negative ideological baggage.¹²

There is also evidence that the dissemination of seditious literature went beyond those immediately involved in entertaining Prynne in his visit to Chester. Bridgeman wrote to Neile on 10 November 1637, informing him that a lawyer named Bostock was suspected of being 'more inward with Prin than any others', and that:

I veryly beleve there hath beene no libellous or scandalous bookes published either from beyond sea or printed in England for diuers yeares but he hath gott it & dispersed it: hee hath beene a great Conventickler as his neighbors affirme & report to bee true & of long acquaintance with Prin, ere hee wrote his libells, it may bee hee afforded him some helpe therin.¹³

In his reply dated 16 November 1637, Neile requested that Bridgeman investigate Bostock 'for seditious goodes, & pamphlets', and also 'one Greene of Congerton, whom we find to be deepe also in Prins busines'.¹⁴ Bridgeman in turn confirmed on 20 November 1637 that he suspected that 'Bostock, a yong lawer but an old puritan... hath more schismaticall bookes (vnles this noise have scared them away) then anyone in my dioces'.¹⁵ Though *Newes from Ipswich* is never explicitly named, there is also evidence from the Manchester area that puritan books were in circulation, and that Prynne's sufferings were known. In 1638, Thomas Smith, a bookseller in Manchester, was accused before the consistory court of selling 'diverse Scottish, and other schismaticall bookes', as well as being a nonconformist and attending coventicles, all of which he denied.¹⁶

¹¹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 20 November 1637.

¹² Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson Letters 89, fo. 30v.; Cheshire RO, P1/11; Milton, 'Creation of Laudianism', pp. 162-184.

¹³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/6B). R. N. Dore identified Bostock as John Bostock of Tattenhall in Cheshire, a lawyer attached to the Inns of Court, see Dore's *The Civil Wars in Cheshire* (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1966), p. 9.

¹⁴ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 16 November 1637.

¹⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 20 November 1637.

¹⁶ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/113. In Oliver Heywood's biography of John Angier, a minister whom had suffered suspension under Bridgeman, Heywood recalled that when an annotated copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud's, speech in Star Chamber given during the trial of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick, was discovered at Stockport in

It will be suggested here that William Prynne's visit to Chester and its aftermath mark a turning point in Bishop Bridgeman's episcopate. Whilst from circa 1635, Bridgeman had been moving in a more overtly Laudian direction in his attitude towards, for example, the fabric of Chester Cathedral, his behaviour in the aftermath of Prynne's visit and his role in the prosecution of those involved in entertaining Prynne during his time in the city meant that Bridgeman effectively stepped into the role of persecuting bishop which Prynne had given Matthew Wren at Norwich in *Newes from Ipswich*. Indeed, as will be argued here, Bridgeman was not simply bowing to pressure from his superior Neile, but it must have seemed to observers that Bridgeman even seemed to relish the role, supplying information to Neile (something which was certainly public knowledge by 1641, if not earlier), and creating a scene in Chester Cathedral after two of the accused, Peter Ince and Thomas Hunt, had failed to complete their penances to his satisfaction. Though, as was suggested in the previous chapter, Bridgeman was never a keen persecutor of clerical puritans, after his persecution of Prynne's entertainers, Bridgeman never recovered his credibility amongst the local godly, and indeed, after 1637, Bridgeman at times displayed an aloofness and an authoritarian streak which seem to have been largely absent from his earlier years as bishop, when he had been willing to tolerate the nonconformist Alexander Horrocks' ministry at Deane in Lancashire, and had apparently only reluctantly suspended John Angier from the ministry under pressure from William Laud.¹⁷ Interestingly, even William Prynne discerned a change within Bridgeman's style of episcopate around this time, with Prynne pointing to the death of Bridgeman's wife Elizabeth in 1636 as being the turning point, claiming that:

This man in his wives life time, seemed to be a favowrer of godly Ministers, but since her decease, he hath turned a prosecutor, if not a persecutor of them, suspending and driving many of them out of his Diocesse, especially in *Lancashire* amidst the Papists where was greatest neede of them, to pleasure the now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose great creature and intelligencer he hath been of late yeares...¹⁸

Cheshire, Angier was suspected as being the author of the annotations, though he apparently protested his innocence in his diary, see *Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton*, ed. Ernest Axon, Chetham Society, new series, xcvi (1937), 60.

¹⁷ *John Angier*, ed. Axon, pp. 57-58. For a fuller account, see the second chapter of this thesis.

¹⁸ William Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, both to regall monarchy, and civill unity* (2 vols., London: for Michael Sparke senior, 1641), ii. 290. Italics as in the publication. Elizabeth Bridgeman seems to have held something of a good reputation amongst the local godly, with Oliver Heywood later claiming that when, during the early

Kevin Sharpe argued that the most shocking aspect of the treatment of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick was not so much their conviction in Star Chamber (on 30 June 1637) for writing and circulating seditious pamphlets, but the punishment which included the mutilation of ‘a gentleman, a lawyer and a divine’, three of the most respected positions in society.¹⁹ The first that we hear of Prynne’s entertainment in the city is from a letter which Bishop Bridgeman sent to Archbishop Neile on 20 August 1637; indeed, we do not know the exact date of Prynne’s visit. Bridgeman gives little detail about the entertainments themselves beyond that they were conducted with ‘great solemnity’, instead focusing on the four men involved, all of whom had some respectability within Chester. Calvin Bruen was ‘a silly but very seditious fellow who hath been lately sheriffe of that City’. John Aldersey was ‘an Alderman of Chester’, Peter Ince, as we have seen, was a ‘stationer’, and his brother Robert Ince was a ‘hosyer’. All except John Aldersey were explicitly accused of some kind of puritan behaviour by Bridgeman, but Aldersey was the great-nephew of Thomas Aldersey, the godly benefactor of Bunbury, and John Aldersey’s son and heir Thomas had been presented before the 1628 visitation for wearing his hat at the Whit Sunday service at St. Oswald’s church.²⁰ The Bishop then protested that his powers within the city were limited to what were held by the diocesan consistory court, and he suggested that none of the city’s magistrates were willing to bind the accused for their future good behaviour. He proceeded to request that Neile make what would be his crucial intervention of forwarding the case to the High Commission at York.²¹

Glimpses emerge by following the case chronologically based upon the surviving correspondence between Neile and Bridgeman. Whilst he did not explicitly say as much, in a letter dated 22 September 1637, we can infer that Neile evidently saw the actions of the citizens as being linked to the Chester Corporation’s near decade-long refusal to attend services in the Cathedral after a dispute in 1628 over the precedence of their seating there.²² It is also apparent that in a previous letter, Bridgeman had denied

1630s, John Angier was minister at Ringley chapel in Prestwich parish, close to the Bridgemans’ Lancashire residence at Great Lever Hall, Bridgeman’s wife frequently sought Angier’s ministrations, see *John Angier*, ed. Axon, p. 57.

¹⁹ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 764.

²⁰ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/29, fo. 3r. Invaluable in tracing the Aldersey family is Nick Kingsley, *Landed families of Britain and Ireland*, <http://landedfamilies.blogspot.co.uk/2013/09/73-aldersey-of-aldersey-hall.html> (date accessed: 9 February 2014).

²¹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/5B).

²² M. J. Crossley Evans, ‘The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672’, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 101-102; P. D. Yorke, ‘Iconoclasm, Ecclesiology and ‘The Beauty of Holiness’: Concepts of Sacrilege and ‘the Peril of

that Prynne had heard a sermon ‘that was very unreasonably preached’ in the city on the topic of ‘the affliction of Gods children’, but regardless of this, Neile requested that Bridgeman investigate the unnamed preacher of the sermon.²³ One of the most famous aspects of the case is the painting of a portrait of Prynne by Thomas Pulford, the subsequent dissemination of copies, and ultimately, after the conclusion of the case before High Commission, their burning.²⁴ Bridgeman had conducted examinations of the accused which he had sent to Neile but which no longer survive, for in a letter which Neile sent to Bridgeman on 14 October 1637, Neile refers to Bridgeman’s account of his examination of Pulford, noting that ‘I doubt not but there was much more in it, of his seeking to have Prins picture then he acknowledges in his examination which you sent to me’. Via his own enquiries, Neile had also discovered that at the inn in Chester where Prynne was lodging, ‘there was an assembly at prayers the morning that Prin went from Chester’, an event which had obvious connotations of conventicling.²⁵ By the time of his letter to Neile dated 10 November 1637, with Pulford now a prisoner at York, Bridgeman had ‘seized on 5 pictures of Prin drawne by the painter Pulford... which are all that I can heare of’, and asked Neile how he should dispose of them.²⁶ It is not, though, until a letter from Bridgeman to Neile dated 20 November 1637 that a relatively detailed account of Prynne’s visit to Chester appears in the surviving correspondence, though we know from the other letters that Bridgeman had sent more correspondence to Neile concerning the case than survives today. Bridgeman reported that Calvin Bruen had confessed to him that he had met Prynne outside of the city, and had invited him to stay at his house only for Prynne to decline, Bridgeman adding that Prynne had found Bruen to be ‘a silly fellow’ (a recurring theme in Bridgeman’s depictions of Bruen). He also noted that he had examined John Aldersey’s wife, finding that the Ince brothers had taken Prynne to visit St. John’s church in the city, before Prynne was entertained at Aldersey’s house.²⁷

By the time that Prynne had departed Chester for his imprisonment at Caernarvon Castle, he had caused a storm which would be the defining moment of Bridgeman’s episcopate. It is perhaps fitting that the other

Idolatry’ in Early Modern England, circa 1590-1640’ (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Kent, 1997), pp. 244-246.

²³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 22 September 1637.

²⁴ David Cressy, ‘The Portraiture of Prynne’s Pictures: Performance on the Public Stage’, in *Agnes Bowker’s Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England*, ed. David Cressy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 226-229.

²⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 14 October 1637.

²⁶ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/6B).

²⁷ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 20 November 1637.

account which we have of Prynne's visit to Chester comes from the man himself, who, ever the self-publicist, printed in 1641 his *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*. Rather than being harassed by Calvin Bruen (as Bridgeman had it), Prynne had had a perfectly cordial conversation with Bruen, asking him 'which was the best Inne in *Chester*'. The next day, Bruen and some others accompanied Prynne whilst provisions were bought for his coming journey to Caernarvon, guiding him across the treacherous Dee estuary, and then bade him on his way.²⁸

There are some differences between Bridgeman and Prynne's accounts, such as Prynne making no mention of his visit to St. John's church. However, after his release from prison, and after Archbishop Laud's imprisonment, Prynne obtained 'many of Laud's papers', including (we must suppose) copies of Bridgeman's three letters to Neile dated 20 August and 10 and 20 November 1637, which he printed as an appendix to his *New Discovery*.²⁹ As Prynne did not refute the claims that he had visited St. John's church or had had his portrait painted, we may accept that they did happen.³⁰ There are some details which are unique to Prynne's account, something which may reflect deficiencies in the surviving correspondence rather than fabrication on Prynne's part, though the information which he adds no doubt supported his broader anti-episcopal, and particularly anti-Laudian, agenda. Prynne argued that Laud had been angry with Bridgeman for the delay in reporting events to him, Bridgeman having been absent from Chester at his Lancashire residence during Prynne's visit.³¹ Being desperate 'to manifest his zeale to his Graces service', Bridgeman issued an order on 24 August 1637 to be read in Chester's churches on the following Sunday (28 August) which consciously emphasised aspects of his visitation articles of that year for the wearing of the surplice and the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, as well as ordering the city's clergymen to preach sermons condemning the entertainment of Prynne, and that no strangers were to preach in the city without his permission.³²

²⁸ Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 92-93. The full account: 'Mr. *Brewen* and some others of Mr. *Prynnes* acquaintance of *Chester* came to see him at his Inne, and the next day went with him into the Citie, to help him to buy some bedding and furniture for his chamber at *Carnarvan*, where no such commodities could be gotten; and when hee departed out of *Chester*, none of his conductors knowing the way, some three or foure of his friends conducted them over the washes which are dangerous; and bringing them onwards in their way about foure or five miles, bestowed a cup of wine and some cold meat upon his conductors, and returned'. Italics as in the publication.

²⁹ Cressy, 'Prynne's Pictures', p. 213.

³⁰ Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 218-226.

³¹ Bridgeman's absence in Lancashire during Prynne's visit to Chester is mentioned in Bridgeman's letter to Neile, 20 August 1637 (Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/5B)).

³² Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 93-95. It was ordered 'that every Lecturer in any Parish Church of this City, before every lecture or sermon, shall hence forth in his surplesse read prayers, distinctly, reverently and fully, according as it is prescribed in the book of Common prayer, and shall not preach but in his surplesse: & that as well all such lecturers

Interestingly, Prynne names two clergymen in the city, named ‘Ducker’ and ‘Cordwell’, who responded keenly to the order, and who:

openly and by name rayled sundry times in their Sermons against Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton* and Dr. *Bastwick* and the visitors of Mr. *Prynne*, calling them *Schismastickes, Rebels, Traytors, factious and seditious Persons, worse than any Priests or Iesuites, Rogues, Rascalls, Witches*, and comparing them to *Corah, Dathan and Abiram*; stretching their wits upon the tenterhookes to out-vie one another in rayling against them, to indeare themselves in the Prelates favours, and to make their libellous Pasquills a Stirrop to mount up to preferment, as some of them were not ashamed to confesse.³³

With regards to the final charge, Prynne named in the margin ‘*Cordwell* and his brother’.³⁴ Cordwell is a shadowy figure, named by Prynne as Bridgeman’s chaplain, but little else is known about him.³⁵ The name ‘Ducker’ probably refers to Charles Duckworth, a prebendary of Chester Cathedral and the rector of nearby Dodleston, who would be ejected from his rectory on account of his royalism during the first civil war.³⁶

This episode gives us a glimpse of what must have been intense exchanges within Chester’s pulpits around the storm which was developing in the city during the summer of 1637. It will be recalled that Bridgeman had denied to Neile that Prynne had been amongst the congregation which had heard a contentious sermon preached in the city by an unnamed

as all other persons Vicars and other preachers, shall in their next lectures and sermons, after timely notice had of this order, make publike expression of their heartie detestation of the offences for which the said Offenders were censured, as tending notoriously to scisme and sedition, and the breach of the unity of this Church, and effectually exhort the people to obedience, and to the avoidance of the like scisme; all with [sic] his Lordship doth require of them upon their canonicall obedience, and upon paid of suspention of the parties offending, or subterfuging, as also upon paine of suppressing that lecture, if any lecturer shall refuse the same, or be found deficient therein’.

³³ Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 96. Italics as in the publication.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97. Cordwell is so shadowy that I have been unable to discover his Christian name, and he does not have a *Clergy of the Church of England Database* entry, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk (date accessed 17 May 2013). He could, though, be the John Cardell who signed the testimony of Cheshire and Lancashire ministers in defence of George Byrom dated 27 April 1646, see The National Archives, Kew, SP 23/201, fo. 757. A further possibility is Thomas Cordell, licensed by Bridgeman as a schoolmaster in May 1629, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 36056 (date accessed: 3 November 2014).

³⁶ *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 12838 (date accessed: 17 May 2013).

preacher on the topic of ‘the affliction of Gods children’.³⁷ Neile later informed Bridgeman that his own investigations had suggested ‘that his name is Ruttle, or Rutter, & one that came from London’.³⁸ This ‘Ruttle, or Rutter’ was probably Samuel Rutter, the chaplain to the Stanley family, earls of Derby, who held a residence in Chester.³⁹ Rutter’s linkage with the Stanley family may well have protected him from sanction, as would his lack of a cure, and his time at Westminster School may have led to the assertion that he ‘came from London’. It is also intriguing to note that James, Lord Strange, the son and heir of the sixth earl of Derby and a future civil war royalist, had a French Huguenot wife, and he voted in February 1642 in favour of the bishops’ exclusion from the House of Lords, suggesting that the Stanley family were not necessarily keen supporters of episcopacy (or at least of the current episcopal bench).⁴⁰ Rutter would remain loyal to the Stanley family throughout their civil war troubles, being appointed in 1661 as the bishop of Sodor and Man, a diocese under the Stanley family’s influence.⁴¹

The main significance of Rutter’s sermon is that it is the earliest recorded explicit denunciation in a sermon of Laudian ecclesiastical policy in the diocese of Chester, and if the preacher Rutter is Samuel Rutter, it is all the more significant given that he would follow the Stanley family into active royalism during the civil wars. Even if Prynne did not actually hear the sermon himself, as was obviously rumoured at the time but which Bishop Bridgeman denied, it seems that this sermon was preached at a similar time, possibly even during Prynne’s visit or in its immediate aftermath. It may well be the case that when Prynne came to the city, Bridgeman was already beginning to lose the pulpit battle regarding Laudianism, hence his order to the preachers in Chester in late August 1637. Bridgeman would only proceed to lose this battle even further via his actions in the coming months.

³⁷ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 22 September 1637.

³⁸ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 16 November 1637.

³⁹ J. R. Dickinson, ‘Rutter, Samuel (d. 1662)’, *ODNB*. Rutter is often mistakenly seen as being synonymous with a Samuel Rutter who was rector of Waberthwaite in Cumberland, but as the Waberthwaite Rutter was minister there in 1624, when the Stanley family’s Rutter was still a student at Westminster School, this supposition can be discounted. This *ODNB* entry, and the Samuel Rutter entry on *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, both conflate the two Samuel Rutters, Person ID: 31549 (accessed 17 May 2013).

⁴⁰ J. M. Gratton, *The Parliamentary and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651*, Chetham Society, third series, xlviii (2010), pp. 132-133; Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 471.

⁴¹ Dickinson, ‘Rutter, Samuel’, *ODNB*.

Before we return to events in Chester, it is worth casting our glance northwards to Lancashire, where Henry Burton was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle prior to being removed to Guernsey.⁴² The town of Lancaster was not renowned as being a bastion of puritanism, though there were pockets of puritanism in the Lune valley stretching out of the town, and whilst Burton did not receive the same welcome to Lancaster which Prynne received in Chester, it is nonetheless apparent that he received some local support.⁴³ Bridgeman reported to Neile on 20 November 1637 that ‘I understand his [Burton’s] wife was much made of by some puritan neighbours thereabouts’, and he promised Neile that he would report again when he had discovered more, though no such report appears to survive.⁴⁴ Indeed, Bridgeman soon afterwards took action, as William Ellison, the curate of Arkholme in the Lune valley, to the east of Lancaster, was prosecuted in the consistory court at Chester, being accused of a variety of ceremonial nonconformist offences, of hosting conventicles, and of being a supporter of Burton.⁴⁵ It is difficult to estimate the extent to which Prynne and Burton’s case was an issue of contention in Bridgeman’s diocese, though they clearly had their supporters in Chester and Lancaster, symbolically situated at the heart of the diocese’s two archdeaconries of Chester and Richmond. There is also a strange letter sent to Archbishop Laud in April 1637 by a petitioner, Thomas Hitchcock, in which, after a recent visit to escape the plague, he reported that in Lancashire:

all the orders of the Church doth goe downe the wind for they call the Surplesse the rages of Rome. They doe it in Preston A corporacion and Manchester another, And will suffer noe orgins to stirr nor signe noe children with the signe of the cros when they are christned And the Alters are puld downe.⁴⁶

Both Preston and Manchester were centres of puritanism, and in a sense, the letter contains nothing new: resistance to the surplice or to the sign of the cross at baptism, and even to the use of the organ, were protests which could be made by ministers and congregations on a service by service basis, and were part of a long puritan tradition within Lancashire.⁴⁷ Less convincing, though, is the reference to ‘Alters’ being ‘puld downe’. As has been argued in the previous chapter of this thesis, communion tables were railed in Lancashire with relatively little fuss, and there is no reference in any other

⁴² Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 88-89.

⁴³ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 37-38.

⁴⁴ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 20 November 1637.

⁴⁵ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1637/9.

⁴⁶ National Archives, SP 16/354, fo. 181r.

⁴⁷ Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 8-13, 100.

sources (including the records of the Lancashire quarter sessions, the diocese of Chester's consistory court, and the northern High Commission at York) to communion rails being removed from churches there during the mid-1630s.⁴⁸ It may be the case that Hitchcock had stumbled across an isolated incident in Lancashire, but it should be remembered that the main point of his writing to Laud was to complain about Bishop John Williams' chaplain in the diocese of Lincoln, who at a church, 'has helped to brake downe all the Chancell windowes And the communion table throwen out'.⁴⁹ With such an axe to grind, and seeking to obtain Laud's support against Williams and his chaplain, Hitchcock was possibly not the most impartial correspondent.

Perhaps something of the tenor of Lancashire clerical puritanism in 1637 is shown by a letter subscribed by two such clergymen, William Bourne of Manchester and Thomas Paget of Blackley, and eleven other clergymen (including Julines Herring, a minister who was suspended from his lectureship in Shrewsbury and was now living at Wrenbury in Cheshire, and Thomas Langley, the suspended lecturer at Middlewich in Cheshire) which was sent to 'their Brethren in *New England*'.⁵⁰ The letter expressed their concerns about the congregational style of worship which was then developing in New England, with the New England congregations' opposition to any kind of set liturgy being a particular concern to those ministers remaining in England who had to adapt their use the *Book of Common Prayer* in a way which did not offend their consciences.⁵¹ They were particularly alarmed that 'letters from *New England* have so taken with divers of many in this Kingdome that they have left our Assemblies because of a stinted Liturgie, and excommunicated themselves from the Lords Supper because such as are not debarred from it'. In many ways prefiguring developments during the 1640s and the 1650s, they warned that such separatism would lead to the development of untrammelled errors.⁵²

⁴⁸ Lancashire Record Office, Preston, QSB series (checked via the catalogue); Cheshire RO, EDC 5 series (checked via the catalogue); Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, HC.CP series (checked via the York Cause Papers website, www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/index.jsp (date accessed: 20 March 2014)).

⁴⁹ National Archives, SP 16/354, fo. 181r.

⁵⁰ Simeon Ashe and William Rathband, *A Letter of Many Ministers in Old England* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1643), 'The Letter of Those Ministers in *England*', italics as in the publication. A manuscript version of this letter, complete with the signatures omitted from the printed version, is transcribed in *The Correspondence of John Cotton*, ed. Sargent Bush, Jr. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 262-268. See also Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 301-302; Nicholas Tyacke, *The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-1640* (London: Dr. Williams' Library, 1990), pp. 18-19; Jacqueline Eales, 'Herring, Julines (1582-1644)', *ODNB*.

⁵¹ In 1636, Richard Mather had explicitly informed one 'E. B.', an unidentified minister in Lancashire, that 'one sett forme of prayers for all churches is no where appointed by christ', see B. Richard Burg, 'A Letter of Richard Mather to a Cleric in Old England', *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, xxix (1972), 94. Burg was unable to identify 'E. B.'.

⁵² Ashe and Rathband, *Letter*, 'The Letter of Those Ministers in *England*'.

Bourne had been suspended from his ministry in Manchester following the metropolitanical visitation in 1633, and Paget had also suffered suspension under Bishop Bridgeman, but it is interesting that they should both seek to promote a vision of a unified church even though the Church of England appeared to be moving towards popery.⁵³ In many ways, their attitude fits into a puritan (and indeed protestant) model of viewing sufferings as trials from God, to be stoically borne in the hope that God would soon send better times.⁵⁴ Thus, though the thirteen clergymen in England still recognised the godliness of their New England counterparts, they believed that their sufferings had lured them into separation and schism, a grave sin.

By the summer of 1637, then, John Bridgeman presided over a diocese where the first clear rumblings of discontent against the religious innovations of the past four years were beginning to show, but which had yet to break fully into the open. Arguably, the treatment of particularly William Prynne at Chester, but also to a lesser extent Henry Burton at Lancaster, may have contributed towards the formation of discontent. The High Commission at York imposed heavy fines upon those who were implicated in entertaining William Prynne at Chester. Richard Neile wrote to John Bridgeman on 16 November 1637, informing him that:

we haue sentenced, imprisoned, fined, enjoyned, publike satisfaccion, both in the Cathedrall Church of Chester, and in the Common hall of the Citty, & condemned in costes of suite. Our proceedinges against them haue been upon ther owne confessions, & such thinges, as (upon oathe) they haue satisfied one of another. Calvin Bruen is fined 500l., Peter Ince 300l., Peter Leigh 200l., Thomas Hunt 100l., Wm Trafford 150l., Richard Goldborne 300l., Pulford is not fined, but only ordered to make a publike acknowledgement in a publike assembly of the Common hall, at which time the pictures are to be burned.⁵⁵

Neile had already ordered that Prynne's portraits be defaced, but upon Bridgeman's recommendation, the pictures were now to be burned, and

⁵³ 'Annual accounts of the Church of England, 1632-1639', ed. Kenneth Fincham, in *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A miscellany in celebration of the 400th anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library*, eds. Melanie Barber and Stephen Taylor with Gabriel Sewell, Church of England Record Society, xviii (2010), 92; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, third edition, 1988), p. 173.

⁵⁴ This sentiment was expressed by the Essex minister John Rogers, see Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 278.

⁵⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 16 November 1637.

correspondence between Neile and the chancellor of the diocese of Chester, Edmund Mainwaring, and reproduced by Prynne in his *New Discovery*, reflects this change in judgement, Mainwaring having already carried out the defacing.⁵⁶

The week of 10-17 December 1637, when the penances were enacted and the pictures burned, was a critical one for Bridgeman's episcopate at Chester. These were difficult times for Bridgeman: his wife Elizabeth had died in 1636, and the reason for his absence from Chester during Prynne's entertainment was because his eldest son Dove was gravely ill, dying soon afterwards.⁵⁷ Proceedings got off to a bad start for Bridgeman when two of the accused, Peter Leigh and Richard Golbourne, refused to make their penance, and thus lost the bond of £300 which each of the accused had made subject to them enacting their penance.⁵⁸ Calvin Bruen also absented himself from the Cathedral service on Sunday 10 December, when he should have enacted his penance, though Peter Ince and Thomas Hunt appeared to do their penance. In the face of this snub, in front of what Bridgeman described to Neile as being 'as full a Congregation as ever I saw', the Bishop's chaplain Cordwell delivered a sermon on Proverbs 24:21-22, a text whose message was unlikely to have been lost on the congregation.⁵⁹ William Prynne, unsurprisingly, had much to say about Cordwell's sermon, writing in 1641 that he had:

preached a most invective Sermon against Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, Dr. *Bastwicke* and the *Chester* men, comparing them to *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *their complices*, which Sermon was sent up to *Canterbury* by *Cordwell*, who expected some great preferment for it, and solicited the Archbishop to have a printed.⁶⁰

However, events soon took a farcical turn, as Bridgeman became embroiled in a confrontation with Ince and Hunt over the wording of the penance:

⁵⁶ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/93): Richard Neile to John Bridgeman, 16 November 1637; Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 103-105.

⁵⁷ These life events were recorded in Bridgeman's ledger, Staffordshire RO, D1287/3/1 (F/632). Bridgeman mentions his son's illness in his letter to Archbishop Neile dated 20 August 1637, Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/5B).

⁵⁸ Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 97.

⁵⁹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/7B), verso: John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 12 December 1637. Proverbs 24:21-22 reads 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to change: For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?'

⁶⁰ Prynne, *New Discovery*, pp. 97-98. Italics as in the publication.

But wheras by that schedule they should have said *Wee haue audatiouslie & wickedlie offred an affront &c.* so the Preacher read it to them, They left out the word *wickedlie* & instead thereof they pronounced *Ignorantlie* for which when I rebuked them telling them, that thereby they offred as great an affront vnto the Court of High Commission as they had done formerlie vnto the Star Chamber for if their Action was not wicked, then might it be thought or said That the Commission had censured them for that which was not worth censure, because not *wicked*, & therein the Court might suffer for injustice. But when they saw their error, they were willing to acknowledge again *in terminis* in the same place the same day, *That they had grievously offended therein, & that they had Audatiouslie & wickedlie offred an affront* according as is set downe in the schedule, which they performed accordinglie in time of divine service in a full congregacion, saying it aloud after the Minister, as was prescribed; and so have twice done pennance for their two Offences, one against the King, Church, & State in the forenoon, & the other against that Honourable Court of High Commission in the afternoon, & both in a very full Congregacion, & they will readilie performe whatsoever else shalbe enjoined them by the Court.⁶¹

Once again, William Prynne's *New Discovery* backs up this account, with the difference that Ince and Hunt substituted 'weakely' (rather than 'Ignorantlie') for 'wickedly'.⁶²

The following Tuesday, 12 December 1637, Ince and Hunt, together with Calvin Bruen, appeared at the Guild Hall in Chester to do their penance before the Mayor, Thomas Throppe, and the citizens. It seems that Bridgeman had expected Throppe to give some kind of verbal denunciation of the trio, but in a further snub to the Bishop, 'hee spake not a word', leaving the three to read their penances. Afterwards, they processed outside for the burning of the five frames which had formerly contained Prynne's portraits.⁶³ The next day, Bridgeman's chancellor, Edmund Mainwaring, certified to Archbishop Neile that the frames had been burned before the Mayor and Corporation and a crowd of a thousand people, crying 'Burne them, burne them'.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/7B), verso: John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 12 December 1637. Italics and underlining as in the manuscript.

⁶² Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 97.

⁶³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/7B), verso: John Bridgeman to Richard Neile, 12 December 1637.

⁶⁴ Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 107.

There was one final act in the saga when on the next Sunday, 17 December 1637, Calvin Bruen came to do penance in the Cathedral. This time, the sermon was preached by the archdeacon of Chester, George Snell, on another suggestive text, Matthew 18:17.⁶⁵ Snell's background perhaps made him an unusual critic as he had been presented at the 1633 metropolitical visitation for 'omitting to weare the surplice many times at reading of praiers', and his career exemplifies the ways in which moderate puritans were drawn into compliance and even support for Laudianism.⁶⁶ Bridgeman certified to Neile that Snell had:

tooke occasion, both to shewe the foulness of those seditious persons offences, and the great mercy of the King in sparing their lives, as also the dangers which these counternancers and offenders had runne into, being by the Law liable to the like punishments, if mercy had not convented them before the Church, but before the Temporall Iudges at the Kings Bench.⁶⁷

Snell's use of Matthew 18:17 drew the comment from William Prynne, 'How doe Prelates and their Agents wrest the Scriptures, to justifie their ungodly proceedings?'⁶⁸ Snell could draw some solace, though, from knowing that Prynne at least conceded that he had preached 'with more moderation' than Cordwell had the previous Sunday.⁶⁹

The main significance of the prosecution of Prynne's supporters from the local perspective is that Bridgeman had cast himself into the very role of persecuting prelate which Prynne had depicted so vividly in *Newes from Ipswich*. At precisely the moment when Laudian defences were becoming more radical, and the polemical stakes were escalating, Bridgeman had placed himself into such a role whilst simultaneously undertaking a grand renovation of the Cathedral, including installing a new stained glass east window and raising the communion table onto steps, whilst at some point also paying for the erection of a stone altar at Bangor in Flintshire.⁷⁰ Within the national context, Jason Peacey has shown that from the perspective of Archbishop Laud, the prosecutions of the supporters of Prynne which had followed Prynne's own conviction showed the depth to which the feared puritan plot had penetrated into English society, and had deepened Laud's fears about the inherently subversive nature of such

⁶⁵ Matthew 18:17 reads 'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican'.

⁶⁶ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 432v.

⁶⁷ Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 101.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷⁰ Cheshire RO, EDA 3/1, fo. 131r.; Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/210).

established pillars of godly life as the household meeting, the network, and the accumulation of church advowsons.⁷¹ The next section of this chapter will investigate the developing situation in the diocese of Chester between 1637 and 1640, as the example of the Scots' reaction to Charles and Archbishop Laud's attempts to impose a new Prayer Book upon the Kirk in 1637 helped to provide a context for Bridgeman's actions.

The developing crisis in the diocese of Chester, 1637-1640

In the aftermath of William Prynne's visit in 1637, John Bridgeman set to work on his triennial visitation of his diocese. This marked a new juncture for his episcopate, as though the railing of communion tables had been enforced in his diocese since Archbishop Neile's metropolitanical visitation in 1633, for the first time in 1637 Bridgeman included it as one of his articles of enquiry for his triennial visitation.⁷² At St. John's parish in Chester, Bridgeman received a doleful welcome, with the bells pointedly not being rung for his arrival.⁷³ The parishioners probably knew what was imminent. St. John's, visited only recently by Prynne, was the last parish in Chester not to rail its communion table. In the aftermath of the visitation, the communion table was railed, and much work was carried out at the church. For four years, a church in the cathedral city of the diocese had been able to get away without complying with a measure which had been widely enforced in the diocese, something which in itself is symbolic of Bridgeman's previous sensitivities towards the attitudes of the local godly, exemplified by his reversal of his controversial restoration of St. Werburgh's monument in Chester Cathedral in 1635. If the treatment of Prynne's entertainers had suggested to the local godly that Bridgeman was not quite so sympathetic to their cause as he had once seemed, the enforcement of the railing of the communion table at St. John's would only have confirmed such an impression.⁷⁴ Why Bridgeman should make this shift, abandoning his Calvinist inclinations and relatively moderate attitudes towards nonconformity, with seemingly little chance of episcopal preferment beyond Chester (he had already occupied the see for eighteen years by 1637), is open to speculation, but he may well have been mindful of the example of John Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, whose open

⁷¹ Jason Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot', in *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theories in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, eds. Barry Coward and Julian Swann (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 113-134.

⁷² [Diocese of Chester], *Articles to be considered on... through out the Diocesse of Chester, in the Triennial Visitation of... Iohn... Lord Bishop of that Diocesse* (London: for Henry Seile, 1637), p. 9; Kenneth Fincham, 'The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2001), 929.

⁷³ Cheshire RO, P51/12/1.

⁷⁴ Cheshire RO, P51/12/1; Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 108.

criticism of the Laudian line had resulted in him being imprisoned in the Tower of London.⁷⁵ Bridgeman was already making efforts to beautify the Cathedral by the time that Prynne came to Chester, but he may have felt that anything other than his full attention being paid towards Prynne's entertainers could have led to further suspicions about his integrity following those already raised by Sir Thomas Canon's investigation in 1633. These were questions which Bridgeman could ill afford.

Essential to understanding the context of developments in the diocese of Chester are events in Scotland, where, in July 1637, Charles and Archbishop Laud had arbitrarily imposed a new version of the *Book of Common Prayer* upon the Scottish Kirk.⁷⁶ Even at the time, the Venetian ambassador reported that it was feared by puritans that this intervention in Scottish affairs was engineered by the Papal envoy at the royal court, George Con, who hoped that the introduction of the Prayer Book in Scotland would provoke a civil war amongst protestants, whereupon Laud would have to rely upon Catholic support to suppress the insurrection.⁷⁷

As the possible meanings of Prayer Book conformity became a hot topic within the British context, seemingly becoming an instrument at the heart of a popish plot, a Cheshire cleric addressed these issues in dramatic fashion. On 12 January 1638, John Conny, the vicar of St. John's, Chester, was the subject of a vituperative attack from the pulpit of St. Peter's church by Thomas Holford, the perpetual curate of Plemstall in Cheshire, who was acting as John Ley's deputy in his lectureship there. In the early 1630s, both Conny and Holford had signed the letter requesting that Ley pronounce on the recently printed correspondence between Edward Brerewood and Nicholas Byfield about the observation of the Sabbath.⁷⁸ Before the consistory court, Holford was accused that 'in that sermon you did on purpose impugne and endeavor to confute a good and wholesome doctrine deliuered by one Mr. Conny a learned and lycensed preacher of that Citty towching conformity', and in the same sermon, attacked the describing of the 'more zealous' as 'Hereticke Schismaticke or Puritan'. Aside from this sermon, Holford was also accused of being 'a favorer of factious and schismaticall persons and Puritans', of administering the sacrament at Plemstall to those who did not kneel, and of arguing 'privatly and publickly' that 'the godly affected' should not adhere to 'the rytes and ceremonies of the Church of England' due to them being 'superstitious'. He was also

⁷⁵ I would like to thank Mr. Simon Healy for bringing this point to my attention. For Bishop Williams, see Brian Quintrell, 'Williams, John (1582-1650)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642*, p. 46.

⁷⁷ Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 110.

⁷⁸ John Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath* (London: R. Young for George Lathum, 1641), 'The Coppie of the Letter mentioned in the Preface'.

accused of omitting the sign of the cross of baptism, a long-standing puritan offence, but crucially, he was also accused of not bowing ‘when the reuerent and holy name of Iesus is vsed’, a long-standing offence but the renewed enforcement of which was typical of the Laudian drive towards conformity in the 1630s.⁷⁹

From what has just been described, some of the complexities of religious politics during the 1630s are revealed, as a minister whose parish was only now conforming with the altar policy was attacked in a sermon by a minister with whom he had co-signed a sabbatarian petition only a few years previously. Given that Holford was in trouble for both Laudian offences as well as for adopting long standing symbols of nonconformity, one can only wonder if the attack on Conny was perhaps prompted by his parish’s very recent ‘selling out’ and conformity with the railing of communion tables, and not only that, his own preaching about the virtues of conformity. Holford, though, was not an archetypal puritan. He had not been in trouble for puritanism at either the 1633 metropolitical visitation or at the 1634 triennial visitation. In the latter case, he had even gone to the trouble of sending a certificate to the visitors reporting two parishioners whose church attendance had recently become irregular.⁸⁰ What we may be seeing in Holford’s case is a puritan of previously very moderate, indeed conformable, character, whose views had become radicalised in the space of little over four years, as the implementation of Laudian policy had become more contentious within the diocese of Chester.

One of the most interesting aspects of this case are the interpretations of the sermon which five of the city’s clergymen who had witnessed the sermon provided to the court. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Conny (for whom sitting through a sermon attacking him must have been an uncomfortable experience) disliked the sermon, and its division of conformity and godly zeal into mutually exclusive categories. William Clarke, the rector of the poor parishes of St. Martin’s and St. Bridget’s and a minor canon of the Cathedral, and William Seddon, the curate of St. Mary’s church, both acknowledged that though Holford was not conformable to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, Clarke believed that the sermon had attacked the hierarchy of the Church, whilst Seddon saw no such attack within the sermon. However, the rector of St. Peter’s church, John Glendole, and another clergyman, Nathaniel Lancaster, both exonerated Holford, claiming that the sermon did not represent an attack

⁷⁹ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1637/32.

⁸⁰ Cheshire RO, EDV 1/32, certificate attached to fo. 23v.

upon the Church of England. Certainly, whatever was the truth, Holford escaped lightly, getting away with an admonition from the court.⁸¹

This case seems to bear out Anthony Milton's argument that the printed defences of Laudian policies becoming increasingly more radical as the 1630s progressed, thus heightening the stakes associated with the movement.⁸² Whilst Holford was preaching his sermon in St. Peter's church, the listener would have had to have looked no further than that very church to see a church which had swiftly conformed with the altar policy, yet it was John Conny, whose parish, St. John's, had only recently conformed, who was the subject of Holford's attack.⁸³ One wonders if Conny's parish's conformity in 1637, by which time the altar policy had acquired a great degree of (negative) ideological baggage, was perhaps less forgivable than the swift conformity in 1633 of the church where they were all sitting. Nathaniel Lancaster, one of Holford's two defenders, appears in the historical record as having had a more unequivocal attitude. In 1627, Lancaster had been appointed as preacher at St. Michael and St. Olave's churches in Chester.⁸⁴ The churchwardens' accounts for St. Michael's suggests that the parish swiftly railed its communion table, but as Lancaster was not the incumbent there, only a preacher, this does not suggest any agency or involvement on his part.⁸⁵ In 1638, Lancaster was appointed as the rector of Tarporley in Cheshire, and it is in this post that he came into conflict with his parishioners.⁸⁶ In an undated petition from the early 1640s, one of Lancaster's parishioners, John Walley, complained that Lancaster neither used the *Book of Common Prayer* nor wore the surplice, and had removed the communion table rail.⁸⁷ In another petition dated January 1643, a group of parishioners repeated the allegation that Lancaster failed to use the Prayer Book in services, as well as bemoaning his failure to support the King's cause in the civil war, and a similar undated petition was drafted for the King himself.⁸⁸

What is interesting about the reaction to Holford's sermon is that with the exception of John Conny, who died just before civil war broke out in 1642, the positions which the four other witnesses took later prefigured their civil war allegiances: Clarke and Seddon, who had criticised Holford's

⁸¹ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1637/32; Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 98, 109-110.

⁸² Milton, 'Creation of Laudianism', pp. 177-178.

⁸³ Cheshire RO, P63/7/1.

⁸⁴ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 107. A book of notes on some of Lancaster's sermons preached at St. Michael's church in the late 1620s is preserved at Cheshire RO, CR 63/2/132.

⁸⁵ Cheshire RO, P65/8/1.

⁸⁶ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 73-75.

⁸⁷ Cheshire RO, QJF 71/4/23.

⁸⁸ Cheshire RO, QJF 71/4/24; British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 139v-141r.

nonconformity, would both lose their livings on account of being resident at Chester when it was a royalist garrison during the first civil war, whilst Holford's supporters, Glendole and Lancaster, would join Holford in being active parliamentarians.⁸⁹ This is a highly significant moment for tracing the development of clerical allegiances in the diocese of Chester. In the early 1630s, two future royalists, William Mostyn and Richard Wilson, joined future parliamentarians such as Holford, Glendole, Lancaster, Samuel Clarke and Charles Herle, in asking that John Ley (another future parliamentarian) give his opinion on a current sabbatarian controversy.⁹⁰ As the previous chapter demonstrated, parishes with incumbents who would be parliamentarians in the first civil war, such as John Glendole's parish of St. Peter's, swiftly railed their communion tables after 1633.⁹¹ From 1637 onwards, though, whilst we do not know the political beliefs of most of the clergy in the diocese of Chester until after civil war had broken out, of those for whom we can get an inkling of their prior attitudes, in all but two cases do they align with the allegiance during the first civil war with which those values would be most closely associated.⁹²

Delivering his sermon from Chester's most prominent lectureship, Thomas Holford would surely have known that he was stoking fires. The sermon came less than a month after Calvin Bruen's penance had been enacted, and in the context of the Corporation's troubled relationship with Bishop Bridgeman, the Corporation being keen supporters of John Ley's lectureship in which Holford was deputising.⁹³ The Corporation had long had a tense relationship with the Cathedral authorities. In 1606, a clash extending over several months about whether or not the Mayor's ceremonial sword should be carried into the Cathedral culminated in the Cathedral's west doors being slammed shut as the funeral procession of the city's late

⁸⁹ For Holford, see Bodleian Library, Oxford, Nalson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r. John Ley reported to the Westminster Assembly on 20 October 1643 that John Glendole was being held as prisoner, see *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652*, ed. Chad van Dixhoorn (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), ii. 220, and after the surrender of Chester to parliamentary forces in February 1646, payments were made to Glendole by the Wirral sequestrators, see John Rylands Library, Manchester, English MS, 957. For Lancaster's parliamentarianism, see Cheshire RO, QJF 71/4/24; British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 139v-141r. By January 1645, Lancaster was serving as a chaplain to Sir William Brereton's troop of horse, see Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-51* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), pp. 144-145.

⁹⁰ Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 'Coppie of the Letter'. For the civil war allegiances of these ministers, see A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 92, 94; Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 113. From the *ODNB*, see Richard L. Greaves, 'Ley, John (1584-1662)'; Ann Hughes, 'Clarke, Samuel (1599-1682)'; Vivienne Larminie, 'Herle, Charles (1597/8-1659)'.

⁹¹ Cheshire RO, P063/7/1.

⁹² These two clergymen were Samuel Rutter (chaplain to the Stanley family, earls of Derby) and Richard Wilson (rector of Holy Trinity, Chester).

⁹³ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 107-108.

swordbearer was about to enter.⁹⁴ Notes on two undated sermons, probably preached during the early seventeenth century, show that both the bishop and the dean of Chester had preached sermons attacking the Corporation.⁹⁵

The disputes between the Corporation and the Cathedral chapter were reflected in clashes between Bishop Bridgeman and Dean Mallory, who had a strained relationship.⁹⁶ St. Oswald's parish church was situated inside the Cathedral building, and it was customary for the citizens to attend sermons in that church on Sunday afternoons. However, after Bridgeman had, before travelling to his rectory at Wigan in Lancashire, asked the Mayor in 1624 to oversee the re-seating of St. Oswald's church, upon his return, Bridgeman found that the re-seating had been to the detriment of his own pew relative to the Mayor's. Subsequently, Bridgeman ordered that the sermons be moved into the Cathedral quire, rather than take place in St Oswald's church as had been customary. In retaliation, the Corporation refused to attend Cathedral services. At this point, on 15 January 1629, Dean Mallory, bringing 'A message of peace', informed the parishioners of St. Oswald's that he had attempted to persuade Bridgeman to return 'things vnto their ancient course, and that the sermons might be preached as formerly in that parish church', though this does not seem to have happened, and the Corporation continued to worship away from the Cathedral.⁹⁷ In April 1630, William Case, the vicar of St. Oswald's and a Cathedral prebendary, was reported before the city's Assembly (effectively the governing body of the Corporation) for separately insulting both members of the city's companies, and also the city's justices of the peace.⁹⁸

The tensions between the Corporation and the Cathedral arose again in the midst of the Prynne controversy, when Archbishop Neile wrote to

⁹⁴ Catherine F. Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England', *History*, lxxxv (2000), 552-553. This was a common dispute in cathedral cities, as cathedral precincts were traditionally outside of the jurisdiction of city corporations.

⁹⁵ British Library, London, Harley MS, 2103, fos. 8r-9r. These sermons have been dated by Kenneth Fincham to the Sunday following the mayoral election in 1613, see his *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 93-94. Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown', 553-554, also attributes these sermons to Bishop George Lloyd and Dean Thomas Mallory respectively, and close to Fincham, she dates these sermons to 1612, placing them in the context of Bishop Lloyd's clash with the Corporation over their issuing of their own sabbatarian by-laws for the city, see Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 105-106.

⁹⁶ Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 104.

⁹⁷ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 31r.; Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 101. Though containing little specifically about Chester, a useful survey of various aspects of Laudian policy towards cathedrals, including the relationships between chapters and city corporations, is Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *Historical Journal*, liii (2010), 895-918.

⁹⁸ R. V. H. Burne, *Chester Cathedral: From its Foundation by Henry VIII to the Accession of Queen Victoria* (London: S. P. C. K., 1958), p. 109.

Bridgeman on 27 August 1637, enclosing an order from Charles I that the York aldermen should worship in the Minster.⁹⁹ In enacting this order in 1638, it was Bridgeman's turn to be conciliatory towards the Corporation, only for Mallory to scupper his attempts. No doubt mindful of his role in the prosecution of those men (including three aldermen) who had entertained William Prynne at Chester, Bridgeman made concessions towards the Corporation regarding the precedence of their seating arrangements, restoring the Mayor to his formerly held seat alongside the Dean, with the aldermen sitting alongside the Cathedral clergy. The Corporation thus returned to the Cathedral, only for them to be ejected from their seats by the sub-sextons on Mallory's orders.¹⁰⁰ Angered by Bridgeman's attempts to conciliate with the Corporation, Mallory complained to Archbishop Neile, who backed him, giving the example of York Minster as justification.¹⁰¹

On 1 December 1638, Bridgeman wrote to Laud, sending him the account discussed above. Included were two interesting comments. Firstly, Bridgeman noted that 'It is such an unseasonable Quarrell for these troublesome Times (and as I heare, is taken notice of in Scotland), as if I may deliver my Thoughtes, I would haue it sopited, (at least) till the Scottish business be abated'. Later in the letter, Bridgeman wrote that 'Myne aym (God knows my heart) is only to cast Water on that Fire which is already kindled; or (at leastwise) that none may gett a stick from this Place to increase the Flame; our Citizens being already too sensible of that Punishment which they justly and lately received for Prin's Entertainment'.¹⁰² In his reply, Laud informed Bridgeman that Mallory had also written to him, and whilst admitting that he had no jurisdiction at Chester (being in the province of York), he nonetheless shared Bridgeman's sensitivities in the aftermath of the recent prosecutions and also of the developing crisis in Scotland, writing that 'if the Deane haue anie Iust Exception, there may be a better tyme hereafter to haue it heard then now'.¹⁰³

Conrad Russell first popularised the three kingdoms model of interpreting political and religious developments in the British Isles during the 1630s, insisting that events in no one kingdom can be understood

⁹⁹ Cheshire RO, EDA 3/1, fo. 273r.

¹⁰⁰ Bishop Bridgeman's account of events, addressed to Archbishop Laud, is in National Archives, SP 16/404, fo. 11r. A less detailed account, addressed to Archbishop Neile, can be found in Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/165B).

¹⁰¹ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/162A&B). The case is discussed more generally in Crossley Evans, 'Clergy', 108; Yorke, 'Iconoclasm', pp. 245-250.

¹⁰² National Archives, SP 16/404, fo. 11r.

¹⁰³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (P/399/176).

without considering events in the other kingdoms.¹⁰⁴ Caroline Hibbard established that Charles I and Archbishop Laud's attempts to impose 'Laudian' conformity upon the Scottish Kirk were perceived by alarmed observers to be part of a 'popish' plot to force civil war upon the three kingdoms, whereupon Charles would be drawn into closer alliance and reliance upon his loyal Catholic subjects, to their political and religious benefit.¹⁰⁵ William Prynne, the recent visitor to Chester, had written scurrilous pamphlets in 1636 and 1637, claiming that George Con's mission was to reconcile the English and Roman churches, and that Laud was destined to be a cardinal.¹⁰⁶ To observers in the diocese of Chester, subtle shifts towards Rome may have been noticeable by the late 1630s. At St. Michael's parish in Chester, after the churchwardens had demolished the chancel screen, the consistory court ordered them to rebuild it in ornate fashion.¹⁰⁷ It was established in the previous chapter that even clerics at the heart of diocesan administration, such as the archdeacon of Richmond, Thomas Dod, had come from moderately puritan backgrounds. Such older clerics would have shared a common Calvinistic university experience, an educational tradition which was eroded and eventually overawed by the advance of Arminianism at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge after circa 1620.¹⁰⁸ One such younger product of the universities was Thomas Bigg, the vicar of Heversham in Westmorland (a parish situated adjacent to the Lancashire border), who had graduated B. A. from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1633, and M. A. in 1636, being appointed as a fellow of the college in the same year. Bigg immediately began to impose his influence on the parish. Payments for the communion bread began to be listed in the churchwardens' accounts as 'holy bread', a hood was purchased for Bigg in 1639, and the organ was repaired in 1640.¹⁰⁹ Bigg also commenced tithe litigation against James Bellingham, a prominent gentleman in the parish.¹¹⁰ Whilst throughout the 1630s, the diocese of Chester retained a strong backbone of experienced clergy whose university educations had pre-dated the pre-eminence of Arminianism within the universities, the arrival of younger clergy in the diocese who would have received a similar education to Bigg at Cambridge may well have provoked murmurs that the Calvinist edifice of the Church of England was under threat.¹¹¹ It is unfortunate,

¹⁰⁴ Conrad Russell's most concise exposition of this idea is his 'The British Problem and the English Civil War', reproduced in *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings*, ed. Peter Gaunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 79-103

¹⁰⁵ Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, chs. 5-6.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

¹⁰⁷ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1640/60.

¹⁰⁸ Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), chs. 2-3.

¹⁰⁹ Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal, WPR/8/4/1/1.

¹¹⁰ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1639/62.

¹¹¹ In Lincolnshire, parishioners at Barnoldby-le-Beck were shocked by the 'Creeping, & cringing to the high alter' of their new rector, Anthony Harwood, a recent Cambridge

though, that for most of the younger clerics in north-western England at this time, we do not possess the evidence of their ecclesiological preferences that we have for Thomas Bigg.

One of the main arguments of this thesis is that in the late 1630s, we first see clergymen adopting positions consistent with what would be their allegiances in the first civil war after 1642. Thomas Bigg would be ejected in 1644 from his vicarage at Heversham on account of his royalism.¹¹² Similarly, clergymen can be seen adopting positions which would be consistent with parliamentarianism in 1642. Obviously, it cannot be certain when these ministers first began to adopt these views; all that can be said is that it is after 1637 that their holding of such views first becomes apparent to the historian. In this sense, the diocese of Chester is different from other areas of England, such as Northamptonshire or East Anglia, which had witnessed vociferous clerical opposition to various aspects of Laudian policy throughout the 1630s, though it is fair to suggest that John Bridgeman was less confrontational in enforcing Laudian policies in his diocese than either of his counterparts, Francis Dee at Peterborough and Matthew Wren at Norwich.¹¹³

The prosecution in 1638 of Edward Fleetwood, the vicar of Kirkham in Lancashire, in the consistory court of the diocese of Chester, is important as it is the first case in the diocese of a minister being prosecuted for not observing the Laudian innovations. Fleetwood's case is particularly instructive. He was an M. A. graduate of Trinity College, Oxford, and he had paid first fruits for the vicarage of Kirkham on 17 July 1630, having been appointed as vicar by the dean and chapter of (Christ Church) Oxford.¹¹⁴ The dean and chapter of Oxford had a track record of appointing puritan-inclined clergy: two of their Cheshire appointees, Hugh Burrows at

graduate appointed in 1642, see *The Royalist Clergy of Lincolnshire*, ed. J. W. F. Hill, reprinted from Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, ii (pt. 1), (1938), 34-127, p. 38 in offprint. See also Harwood's entry in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 97079 (date accessed: 25 May 2013). The penetration of Arminian ideas at Cambridge University is perhaps exemplified by Harwood's college being Sidney Sussex, a traditionally godly college which had resisted bringing its chapel into line with the Laudian innovations, see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 231.

¹¹² See Bigg's petition to the House of Lords in June 1660 calling for his restoration to the living, Parliamentary Archives, London, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/288; see also Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland: Their Predecessors and Successors* (2 vols., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911), ii. 972, 978-979; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 367.

¹¹³ Webster, *Godly Clergy*, chs. 10-11. For the diocese of Peterborough, see John Fielding, 'Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989), chs. 9-11.

¹¹⁴ *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 12688 (date accessed: 27 May 2013).

Runcorn and John Ley at Great Budworth, were presented before the 1633 metropolitanical visitation accused of puritan offences.¹¹⁵ However, like Thomas Holford, who preached the contentious sermon in Chester in January 1638, there is no suggestion in earlier visitation records that Fleetwood was a puritan: he was not accused of any puritan offences at the metropolitanical visitation in 1633.¹¹⁶ Indeed, in the suit brought against Fleetwood in 1638, none of the listed offences predated March 1636, by which time Bishop Bridgeman's activities at Chester Cathedral, such as his failed attempt to erect a stone altar, were beginning to identify him as an advocate of a particular style of episcopate.¹¹⁷

Why Fleetwood should have become so discontented with Laudianism despite his lack of a puritan background may have had something to do with the parochial situation at Kirkham. There was a history of both recusancy and anti-puritanism in the parish. In 1598, parishioners had accused the vicar, Nicholas Helme, of preaching against the use of the sign of the cross at baptism, and of having obtained the vicarage by simony.¹¹⁸ At the 1604 visitation, Kirkham was one of ten parishes in Lancashire where more than ten per cent of the population were listed as recusants.¹¹⁹ Kirkham may well have been one of those parishes which Alexandra Walsham has identified as having provided a constituency of support for Laudianism due to the religious conservatism of its parishioners.¹²⁰ For a minister such as Fleetwood, Laudianism may have represented a compromise too far with the Catholics whom his ministry was trying to win for the Church of England.

The instigators of the case against Fleetwood were some parishioners led by a churchwarden, Roger Threlfall. They evidently had an axe to grind against Fleetwood, for in 1636, he had attempted to impose a new set of rules on the Thirty Men of the parish, including giving the vicar a right of veto to any decision made by the body (which was effectively a select vestry).¹²¹ Fleetwood was accused of having, since March 1636, been

¹¹⁵ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fos. 385v., 388r., 407v. For Burrows and Ley's appointments, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy IDs: 30992 (Burrows) and 13711 (Ley) (date accessed: 27 May 2013).

¹¹⁶ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 205v.

¹¹⁷ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/14.

¹¹⁸ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 318.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¹²⁰ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlix (1998), 620-651.

¹²¹ Lancashire RO, PR/3218/14/41, p. 10. These are notes written by William Langton in 1794 and copied by the parish clerk of Kirkham, John Swan, in 1798, and based upon seventeenth century manuscripts which were then in the parish's possession but which are

guilty of a catalogue of typically puritan offences: irregular use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, omitting to read the Litany, neglecting to read prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays and on the eves of holy days, inventing his own prayers, 'and many tymes omitted or wilfully neglected to weare the Surplesse'. He was alleged to have conducted services without reading the name of Jesus to prevent the parishioners from bowing at His name, and of not reading the epistle and gospel appointed for particular days. He also neglected to read divine service at the feast of the Epiphany in 1638, despite many parishioners having gathered in expectation at the church (though his absence on Sunday 30 November 1637 is more difficult to explain from a calendrical perspective). He was further accused of offences which suggest opposition to Laudian policies. On several occasions, he had refused the Thirty Men of the parish access to the church so that they could assess the repairs needed before they raised an assessment, and around 10 August 1636, he threatened the churchwardens and Thirty Men with violence if they attempted to enter the church. He also barred his opponent Roger Threlfall from receiving communion, despite him being 'duly prepared and ready'. It was also recorded that the parishioners had placed the communion table 'at the East End of the Chancell and Encompassed with a decent Raile', only for Fleetwood to refuse to administer communion to those kneeling to receive at the rails, 'in manifest contempt of Ecclesiastical Authority and gouernment'.¹²²

Fleetwood's case is particularly interesting for two reasons. The first has already been noted, that he was a minister with no prior history of nonconformity, but who had been pushed into nonconformity because of his experience of Laudianism. Indeed, the case papers allow the dating of the commencement of Fleetwood's nonconformity to March 1636, and one wonders if his poorly executed attempt to snatch a right of veto from the Thirty Men in 1636 was in response to their attempt to thrust the Laudian innovations upon him. The second reason is almost an aside in Fleetwood's case, but it is particularly important for understanding the course of Bishop Bridgeman's episcopate. The complainants recalled that they had already complained about Fleetwood 'seuerall tymes' to Bishop Bridgeman, with Fleetwood proceeding to ignore the warnings which the Bishop had sent to him. It is telling that it would not be until 1638 that proceedings against Fleetwood would commence at the consistory court. In the aftermath of the prosecution of those men who had entertained William Prynne at Chester in the summer of 1637, Bridgeman may have felt that he could no longer indulge ministers such as Fleetwood who had obstinately refused his

no longer listed amongst the parish's records. Many of these notes are duplicated in Lancashire RO, PR/2070, which appears to be a nineteenth century copy.

¹²² Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/14.

warnings, and proceeded to suspend him pending reform.¹²³ However, after Bridgeman had referred the case to Archbishop Neile, it was ultimately dismissed, with Neile evidently being unwilling to rule against an incumbent who was standing his ground against a lay vestry.¹²⁴

There is certainly a sense that from the mid-1630s onwards, Bridgeman became increasingly associated with a Laudian style of episcopate, both in terms of his activities at Chester Cathedral, and in his prosecution of puritans such as Prynne's entertainers and Edward Fleetwood which were uncharacteristic of Bridgeman's episcopate hitherto. George Moxon fled his curacy at St. Helens in Lancashire for New England in 1637 having received a citation from Bridgeman.¹²⁵ Furthermore, in the articles drafted against Bridgeman circa 1641, it was alleged that he had made threats of prosecution against Sabbath Clarke, the vicar of Tarvin in Cheshire, for preaching in a Chester lectureship on Jesus' conclusion to the parable of the wicked husbandmen in Matthew's gospel, that 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth fruits thereof'.¹²⁶ The same articles also claimed 'That the diocesan silenced one Mr Barlow a godly able paynful preacher of Gods word in the said Cittie and would not suffer him to abide there'.¹²⁷ Whilst these instances are sadly undated, they were obviously of current memory circa 1641, which prompts suspicion that they may have been fairly recent events. In any case, fitting the broader argument of this chapter, Fleetwood and Clarke both supported Parliament during the first civil war.¹²⁸

As the correspondence between Bishop Bridgeman and Archbishop Laud over the seating dispute at Chester Cathedral in 1638 neatly illustrates, events in the late 1630s cannot be separated from either the developments in Scotland, where Charles and Laud's attempt to foist an English-style Prayer Book upon the Kirk in 1637 prompted the formation of the covenanting movement to defend the autonomy and integrity of the Kirk in 1638, nor from the rising tide of anti-Laudian sentiment in England, some of which was undoubtedly inspired by the determined example of the Scots to resist

¹²³ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/14.

¹²⁴ Lancashire RO, PR/3218/14/41, pp. 9-18.

¹²⁵ Edmund Calamy, *An abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his life and times. With an account of the ministers, &c. who were ejected after the Restoration, in 1660*, second edition (2 vols. London: for John Lawrence et al, 1713), ii. 128-129.

¹²⁶ Matthew 21:43.

¹²⁷ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fos. 201r-v. I have been unable to trace Mr. Barlow, and no entry in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* plausibly fits his description, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk (date accessed: 27 May 2013).

¹²⁸ Fleetwood's parliamentarianism is evident in his testimony appended to the anonymous, pro-parliamentarian pamphlet, *A Declaration of A Strange and Wonderful Monster* (London: Jane Coe, 1646); George Thomason, in his copy now preserved at the British Library in London, crossed out this date and wrote '3 March 1645' [i.e. 1646]. For Clarke, see Bodleian, Nalson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r.

Laudian innovation in their Kirk.¹²⁹ It has already been suggested in this chapter that *Newes from Ipswich* provided readers in the diocese of Chester with a terrifying vision of Matthew Wren's episcopate at Norwich, and Bridgeman duly stepped into the role of persecutory bishop in his treatment of Prynne's entertainers at Chester. Proof of Wren's treatment of nonconformist clerics duly arrived in the Manchester area in 1637. It would not be until November 1637 that Thomas Case, the rector of Erpingham in Norfolk, was formally cited before the consistory court of the diocese of Norwich, but he had already left the diocese by then, apparently preaching in Manchester by March 1636, and marrying in August 1637 at Stockport in Cheshire, Ann, the daughter of Oswald Mosley of Manchester and the widow of Robert Booth of Salford, both notable lay puritans in the Manchester area.¹³⁰ It seems likely that what brought him to Manchester, though, was his friend, Richard Heyrick, the warden of the collegiate church there. The pair had been contemporaries at Merchant Taylors' School in London, and Case had served as curate when Heyrick was the rector at Northrepps in Norfolk.¹³¹

It was in the collegiate church at Manchester that Case preached the sermons on the cusp of 1638 and 1639 which would bring him to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities at Chester.¹³² Manchester was hardly isolated from the political controversies of the time: as we have seen, an annotated copy of Archbishop Laud's speech before Star Chamber at the trial of William Prynne in 1637 had been discovered at Stockport, and a Manchester bookseller, Thomas Smith, was cited before the consistory court in the spring of 1639 for selling seditious literature and for attending conventicles, both of which he denied.¹³³ As Conrad Russell observed, 'seditious words, because they were punishable, were not uttered when the wrong people were thought to be listening', and Case must have believed that there were people in Manchester who shared his views.¹³⁴ Archbishop Laud was sufficiently concerned to write to Bishop Bridgeman on 24 February 1639, warning him of the dangers posed by the dissemination of

¹²⁹ These issues are well explored in Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, ch. 2.

¹³⁰ The reference to Case preaching in Manchester in March 1636 is in Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/112. Mary Booth took notes on sermons preached by Case at Manchester on 9 April 1637 (Easter Sunday) and 23 April 1637, see Manchester Central Library, Manchester, M35/5/3/7.

¹³¹ Michael Mullett, 'Case, Thomas (bap. 1598, d. 1682)' and 'Heyrick, Richard (1600-1667)', both *ODNB*.

¹³² Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/112. The papers of the case are simply endorsed as '1638', but the references to Case possessing a copy of the *Information*, issued in February 1639, and to him preaching on Christmas Day 'last past' [i.e. 1638], places events around the winter of 1638-1639.

¹³³ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/113; *John Angier*, ed. Axon, 60. These two incidents were discussed in more detail earlier in this chapter.

¹³⁴ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, p. 81.

pro-Scottish literature, and the Scots' disingenuous claims 'that they have noe Intention to Invade, or Annoy England'.¹³⁵

The allegations made against Case essentially centred upon a number of sermons which Case had preached at Manchester collegiate church and in the chapels of Manchester parish. On Christmas Day 'last past' (1638), he was alleged to have preached a sermon at the collegiate church comparing the 'Scribes and Pharisees' who had opposed Jesus to 'Bishopricks, Deanes or Prebends', though he claimed that he did not remember using that phrase, and if he did use it, he had done so unintentionally. He was also alleged to have preached 'that many kingdomes at this day were in great Persecucion meaneing Denmark, Germany, Sweed=land, France, and the Low=Countries; And yow said there were many others, which were likewise in persecucion, which you would not name: Vnder which many others, diuerse of your Auditors conceiued that yow meant the kingdome of Scotland for one'. To cap off this sermon, Case also argued that the ceremonies of the Church of England were 'indifferent', and he condemned 'the Gouvernors of the Church of England' for enforcing them as 'necessary'. Whilst ministering in the chapels of Manchester parish, he was accused of preaching at conventicles, of refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, and of administering communion to those 'sitting or standing'. At a service held at Salford chapel, Case had 'used a praier for the staite of both kingdomes of England and Scotland which was seditious and scandalous'. It was also alleged that since being in Manchester, he 'had or haue seen a booke called the Informator, or the Informacion in writeing or in print, And diuerse other scandalous and offensiue booke printed in Scotland or beyond seas against the service discipline government by Bishops or the King or state of England or in defence of the Scottish tumultes or discipline now'. Amongst the requirements of the court were that Case reported to them the names of the nonconformists whom he had encountered since coming to Manchester, and the names of the books which he had read. Clearly, the court hoped that they could use Case to break both puritanism in the Manchester area, and any links which those puritans may have had with Scotland.¹³⁶ Case's trajectory of reform would lead him into active parliamentarianism during the first civil war.¹³⁷

The allegation that Case possessed a copy of 'the Informator, or the Informacion' is particularly revealing about his views. First appearing from Scottish presses on 4 February 1639, *An Information to All Good Christians within the Kingdome of England* claimed that 'popishly affected prelates'

¹³⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/182).

¹³⁶ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/112.

¹³⁷ Mullett, 'Case, Thomas', *ODNB*.

were seeking to stoke war between England and Scotland, so that protestantism in the two kingdoms would be sufficiently weakened for Catholicism to be restored.¹³⁸ In the authorities' view, thanks to Case's efforts, the 'popish plot' view of Anglo-Scottish affairs was perceived to be gaining ground in the Manchester area, at precisely the moment when Charles I was looking to wage war against his Scottish subjects.¹³⁹

After the National Covenant in defence of the Scottish Kirk had been launched in late February 1638, Charles slowly made conciliatory gestures to the Covenanters via the duke of Hamilton, with a General Assembly of the Kirk being proclaimed in September 1638 to meet in Glasgow. However, Charles had arguably delayed playing his hand for too long, as the Assembly voted to abolish episcopacy in the Kirk.¹⁴⁰ Subsequently, the English nobility were summoned to attend their king at York on 1 April 1639, as Charles prepared to wage war against his Scottish subjects in defence of episcopacy.¹⁴¹ Charles, though, had seemingly been contemplating war for some time, as the earl of Arundel was sent north as early as July 1638 to inspect border fortifications, and he was mobilising troops in northern England over the winter of 1638-1639.¹⁴²

The issue of contributions to the first bishops' war in 1639 became a source of contention in the diocese of Chester, and it is reasonable to assume that the dissemination of works such as the *Information* within the diocese, together with individuals' own experience of what they saw as episcopal tyranny, helped to form the response of those individuals who took a stance against raising money for the war. Given the line taken by the

¹³⁸ Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, p. 114; Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, p. 61.

¹³⁹ At this juncture, something should be said about a famous bequest, given variously as worth between £50 and £400, made to Ellenbrook chapel in Eccles parish in 1638 by a godly widow, Dame Dorothy Legh of Worsley, with the aim that the interest from the bequest be used to maintain a minister there. This bequest has gained something of a life of its own in the historiography because of Legh's apparent proviso 'that the bishop should have no hand in the putting in, placing or displacing of the minister there... and for so long as Lord Bridgewater should suffer the chapel to stand'. This proviso would seem to fit the argument of this chapter that by the late 1630s, Bishop Bridgeman was provoking increasingly hostile reactions in the Manchester area, and the bequest has been seized upon, for example by R. C. Richardson, as evidence of puritanism, see his *Puritanism*, p. 138. Ernest Axon, though, was sceptical about this, pointing out that Dame Dorothy's concern may have been with maintaining the Ellenbrook's rights as a private chapel of her kinsman, the earl of Bridgewater, see his 'Ellenbrook Chapel and its 17th Century Ministers', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, xxxviii (1920), 1-2. In any case, I am not sure what the source origins of this bequest and its proviso are (though some bequest must have been made as it was the subject of a dispute in the 1650s), but there is no mention of it in Dame Dorothy's will, see Lancashire RO, WCW, will of Dame Dorothy Legh of Worsley, Eccles, proven 26 April 1639.

¹⁴⁰ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 49-60.

¹⁴¹ Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's campaigns against Scotland 1638-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-2, 8.

¹⁴² Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, pp. 99-101.

Information, one can only suspect that the collection raised for the King by Lancashire Catholics from mid-April 1639 onwards raised suspicions, as did the crypto-Catholic earl of Arundel's recruitment of Catholic officers, such as the Lancastrian Roger Bradshaigh.¹⁴³

Conrad Russell suggested that amongst the few peers for whom definite views on the first bishops' war can be obtained, 'their attitudes in all cases correlate with their later allegiance in the civil war'.¹⁴⁴ With one exception, this pattern is replicated amongst the clergy of the diocese of Chester whose views on the war can be positively stated. The exception is Richard Wilson, the rector of Holy Trinity parish in Chester, who refused to contribute towards the funding of the first bishops' war in 1639, but who subsequently lost his living on account of royalism during the first civil war. The possible reasons for Wilson's shift in attitude are interesting, and will be outlined in the next chapter of this thesis. Joining Wilson in refusing to contribute to the war were two future parliamentarians: Samuel Torshell, the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire, and Robert Fogg, the curate of Hoole in Lancashire.¹⁴⁵ John Jackson, the rector of Marske in Yorkshire and a future member of the Westminster Assembly, seems to have been inclined towards parliamentarianism, though perhaps not to the extent of Torshell or Fogg as he only subscribed reluctantly to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643.¹⁴⁶ A fifth clergyman, Thomas Squire, the vicar of Ainderby Steeple in Yorkshire, also refused to contribute to the war, but he had ceased to be vicar there by March 1640.¹⁴⁷

For one of the future parliamentarian clergymen, Robert Fogg at Hoole in Lancashire, Bishop Bridgeman's raising of clerical contributions for the first bishops' war may well have further convinced him that the Bishop was the dupe of the wider popish plot unravelling before his eyes. The bringing of William Prynne and Henry Burton as prisoners to Chester and Lancaster respectively has already been described in this chapter, but according to Prynne himself, the prosecution of the pair and John Bastwick had been mocked in bizarre fashion by a Mrs. Hauton of Grimsargh in

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101, 121-122.

¹⁴⁴ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 84-85.

¹⁴⁵ 'Loans, Contributions, Subsidies, and Ship Money, paid by the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, in the years 1620, 1622, 1624, 1634, 1635, 1636 & 1639', ed. G. T. O. Bridgeman, in *Miscellanies, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, i, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xii (1885), 119-129. I have cross-referenced this transcription with the original in Bishop Bridgeman's ledger, Staffordshire RO, D1287/3/1 (F/632). For Torshell, see Jacqueline Eales, 'Torshell, Samuel (1605-1650)', *ODNB*; for Fogg, see Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁶ *Westminster Assembly*, ed. van Dixhoorn, i. 125.

¹⁴⁷ *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 35347 (date accessed: 23 May 2014).

Lancashire, ‘a Popish recusant’, who cropped the ears of her three cats and named them ‘*Bastwick, Burton and Prynne*, to the grave offence of many’. This incident came to the attention of Robert Fogg:

One Mr. *Fogge* a grave *Minister* neare, certified this Prelate [Bishop Bridgeman] of it being within his Diocesse, desiring him twice or thrice, to take some order for the questioning and punishing this audacious Recusant for this strange fact, which tended to the derision of justice, and the disgrace of those of our Religion: But he, good Prelate, instead of questioning the delinquents, checkes the informer for a busie fellow, and in lieu of reformation falls to imitation of this Papist, hee and his servants ordinary calling a crop-eared Horse of his by the name of *Prynne*.¹⁴⁸

The account of these incidents does not give a date for them, but if they are true (and much of what Prynne writes in relation to Bishop Bridgeman is verifiable by other sources), it is possible that they had already happened by the time that Bridgeman began to orchestrate collections from his diocese for the war against the Scottish Covenanters. If so, Bridgeman’s failure to take action against a Catholic recusant mocking the punishment of Bastwick, Burton and Prynne, and indeed, apparently taking delight in the incident by mocking Fogg for reporting it and then replicating it himself, would surely have eroded the trust which Fogg had previously held in the bishop when he had first sought to report the incident to him.

Unlike the five clergymen listed above, Richard Heyrick, the warden of the Manchester collegiate church, and William Bourne, the redoubtable fellow of the college, were not explicitly listed as having refused to contribute in 1639, despite both of them having contributions of zero listed, and both being future supporters of Parliament in the first civil war.¹⁴⁹ Heyrick’s views on the conflict were made in veiled form in a sermon which he preached on the politically sensitive date of 5 November 1639. A year previously, on the same date in 1638, Heyrick had warned about the dangers of the Roman Church, and argued that toleration should not be granted to Catholics. Now, in 1639, in the aftermath of the first bishops’ war, Heyrick adopted a similar anti-popish theme, blaming Jesuits and their supporters for the conflict, whilst noticeably avoiding placing any blame for the conflict

¹⁴⁸ Prynne, *New Discovery*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁹ For Heyrick, see Mullett, ‘Heyrick, Richard’, *ODNB*. For Bourne inspiring the parliamentary defenders of Manchester when it was besieged in September 1642, see John Rosworm, *Good service hitherto ill rewarded* (1649), reproduced in *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War*, ed. George Ormerod, Chetham Society, ii (1844), 223; *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, ed. William Beamont, Chetham Society, lxii (1864), 7-8.

upon the Scots. For Heyrick, the rebels were not the Scots, but the Catholics who had stoked the conflict.¹⁵⁰ Heyrick's sermon in 1639 must have been particularly striking to his congregation, given that Lloyd Bowen has recently demonstrated that English parishioners were presented during the course of 1639 with a variety of royal proclamations to be read in churches which placed the blame firmly with the Scottish Covenanters.¹⁵¹

Whilst the vast majority of clergymen in the diocese of Chester (unless they were excused on the grounds of poverty) contributed towards the war, aside from whatever interpretation may be made from generous contributions, there is only one incident which may imply some kind of support for the war. Once again, Bishop Bridgeman was implicated. Isaac Allen was the rector of Prestwich in Lancashire, a parish which included Ringley chapel. As was discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, Ringley was a notable bastion of lay puritanism, and was where Bridgeman had apparently consecrated the chapel with its tablewise communion table in late 1634. On 12 November 1632, soon after Isaac Allen's appointment as rector of Prestwich, the Ringley congregation's London-based benefactor, Nathan Walworth, wrote optimistically to Peter Seddon, a local lay puritan, telling him that 'you can never have a fitter tyme to establish your selves, in as much freedom and libertie, as now whyle Mr. Allen is there'.¹⁵² Allen was in trouble for nonconformity at Archbishop Neile's metropolitical visitation in 1633, when he and his assistant, John Pollett, were presented 'for not readinge praiers on the eves of Sundays and holidayes; nor catechise on holidayes; & they do omitt sometimes to weare the surplice'.¹⁵³ However, by 1639, and engaged in a bitter tithe suit over the estate of William Hulme, a deceased benefactor to the Ringley congregation, Allen contributed £12 towards funding the war in 1639, the biggest contribution of any clergyman in the deanery of Manchester. This act could well have been seen as provocative by the Prestwich godly, especially given the content of Richard Heyrick's and particularly Thomas Case's recent sermons in nearby Manchester.¹⁵⁴ On 21 June 1639, Walworth wrote to Seddon, telling him that 'if the B[ishop] B[ridgeman] and Mr. Allen, contende with you, feight with them, you will be able to make your parte in good, I am sure you are 20, to one'.¹⁵⁵ The church historian William

¹⁵⁰ These sermons were both printed in Richard Heyrick, *Three Sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester* (London: T. B. for L. Fawne, 1641). My interpretation follows that of Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, pp. 145-146.

¹⁵¹ Lloyd Bowen, 'Royalism, print, and the clergy in Britain, 1639-1640 and 1642', *Historical Journal*, lvi (2013), 300-304.

¹⁵² *The Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon of Outwood*, ed. John Samuel Fletcher, Chetham Society, cix (1880), p. 18. Seddon had been presented at the 1625 visitation for sitting to receive communion, see Cheshire RO, EDV 1/26, fo. 109v.

¹⁵³ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fo. 585r.

¹⁵⁴ 'Loans', ed. Bridgeman, 123.

¹⁵⁵ *Correspondence*, ed. Fletcher, p. 66.

Shaw suggested that this dispute was about the contribution to the Scottish war, and the Scottish troubles are mentioned elsewhere in Walworth's letter, but it should be noted that the dispute could also refer to one of the periodic troubles over the funding of Ringley chapel which had previously delayed its consecration, and indeed, the letter does mention that William Hulton, the minister at Ringley, 'wants money'.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, given the scale of Allen's contribution, it cannot be ruled out that Allen's contribution was controversial amongst his godly parishioners, and certainly several of those godly parishioners testified against Allen when he was accused of royalism in 1643 (when he was acquitted) and again in 1645 (after which he was sequestered from his living), though both sets of depositions are notable in not accusing Allen of any offences committed before 1642.¹⁵⁷

As we have seen, during the late 1630s, something of a perfect storm brewed in the diocese of Chester. Bishop Bridgeman's apparently harsh treatment of the men who had entertained William Prynne in Chester in the summer of 1637 coincided with Bridgeman becoming more overt in his support for Laudianism in his reordering of the fabric of Chester Cathedral. Edward Fleetwood, the vicar of Kirkham in Lancashire, was suspended in 1638 for his failure to conform with the innovations, the first such suspension in the diocese. At a consistory court case in 1639 relating to Holt, just across the Welsh border in Flintshire, it was alleged that Oliver Thomas, a 'stranger', had preached pointedly 'That all subordinate Magistrates had their Authority onely from the Devell'.¹⁵⁸ All of this took place within the context of the developing crisis in Scotland, and at Manchester, Thomas Case and Richard Heyrick were both involved in the promotion of pro-Scottish sentiment there. Also, a small number of clergymen refused to contribute towards the first bishops' war in 1639. We should be wary about getting too excited about findings based upon a small number of clergymen. One of those five clergymen who refused to contribute, Richard Wilson, the rector of Holy Trinity parish in Chester, would go on to support the King in the first civil war, and his journey from resistance in 1639 to royalism in 1642 is an interesting one which will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis. Conversely, the anti-Laudian Edward Fleetwood contributed £3 towards the Scottish war.¹⁵⁹ What seems likely, though, is that events between 1637 and 1640 prompted a number of clergymen to reassess their relationship with the Church of England, and some, such the apparently previously conformable Fleetwood, began to

¹⁵⁶ *Correspondence*, ed. Fletcher, p. 65; *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891), xxiv. 403.

¹⁵⁷ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fos. 279r-282v.; National Archives, SP 23/158, fos. 331-350.

¹⁵⁸ Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1639/84.

¹⁵⁹ 'Loans', ed. Bridgeman, 124.

adopt positions which would be consistent with parliamentarianism in 1642, even if that discontentment did not yet stretch to him disobeying an order to contribute to a war, even one which rumour suggested had been stirred by Catholic malcontents. What we see is individuals *beginning* to think along the lines of what would be parliamentarian ideas in 1642, rather than adopting in the late 1630s the whole package of what would become parliamentarianism in 1642. To illustrate this point, Samuel Torshell, the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire who had refused to contribute in 1639, later admitted that he had only turned against episcopacy (an idea consistent with first civil war parliamentarianism) after he had read a copy of John White's speech in against episcopacy, made in the House of Commons during the bishops' exclusion debates in June 1641.¹⁶⁰ This rule, though, is not hard and fast. The earl of Derby's chaplain, Samuel Rutter, preached an anti-Laudian sermon in Chester in 1637, yet followed his employer's heir into royalism in 1642.

To conclude this section, and the argument that it is from 1637 onwards that conscientious positions begin to firm into what would become first civil war allegiances, it is worth noting what Edward Burghall, the schoolmaster at Torshell's parish of Bunbury, later recalled that Charles' disastrous intervention in Scottish affairs 'was the first Rise of that unhappy War, that continued so long amongst us: & the Bishops of England (especially Laud Archbishop of Canterbury) were (not without Cause) thought to have a cheif Hand in it'.¹⁶¹ Needless to say, Burghall's suggestive interpretation links nicely with the position which I have adopted in this chapter, in that both the origins of the first civil war, and of allegiances during that conflict, can be traced from 1638 onwards, though events in 1637 in Chester and Lancaster respectively surrounding the treatment of the prisoners William Prynne and Henry Burton no doubt provided a tense context for the developments from 1638 onwards.¹⁶²

Chapter conclusion

Whilst there are further developments in the diocese of Chester between 1640 and 1642 which will be discussed in the next chapter of this

¹⁶⁰ Samuel Torshell, *The Hypocrite Discovered and Cvred* (London: G. M. for John Bellamy, 1643), 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'. For John White's speech, see Jacqueline Eales, 'White, John (1590-1645)', *ODNB*. A printed version of this speech is John White, *A Speech of Mr. John White* (London: for Thomas Nicholes, 1641).

¹⁶¹ Edward Burghall, 'Providence Improved', in *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich*, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889), 13-14.

¹⁶² The punishment of Prynne's Cestrian entertainers was also noted by Burghall, see *Memorials*, ed. Hall, 13.

thesis, by 1640, the bases for clerical allegiances in that diocese after 1642 begin to become evident. With regards to the early vocal opposition to Laudianism (rather than what the diocesan authorities treated as omissions, such as failing to read the *Book of Sports*), Thomas Case would also become a parliamentary supporter after 1642, as would Thomas Holford and Edward Fleetwood, who challenged Laudianism despite having no prior record of nonconformity, perhaps a consequence of the changing style of episcopate of Bishop Bridgeman, who by 1637, seemed to be making a shift from reluctant enforcer of Laudianism to persecutory bishop, illustrated by his treatment of those men who had entertained William Prynne at Chester in the summer of 1637. On this front, Henry Burton's Lancastrian supporter William Ellison (whose own civil war allegiances are unfortunately difficult to discern) is the notable exception amongst the earliest vocal opponents of Laudianism in the region in that he had been suspended for puritan offences after the 1633 metropolitanical visitation.¹⁶³ In terms of the civil war allegiances of the region's early opponents of Laudianism, the Stanley family's chaplain Samuel Rutter is the notable exception in his emergence into royalism. A couple of years later, the refusals to contribute to the first bishops' war in 1639 represents the beginning of a trajectory which in most cases led to parliamentarianism after 1642 (a contrast with the lack of correlations between those clergymen who had failed to pay their Ship Money contributions), and even for Richard Wilson, who came to support the King after 1642, the reasons for his transition are revealing and will be explored in the next chapter of this thesis.

¹⁶³ Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92).

Chapter Four: Clerical politics and the road to civil war, 1640-1642

By the time of the rival military mobilisations in the summer of 1642 which would culminate in civil war, the fabric of the Church of England had been severely undermined. During the previous two years, the bishops had been excluded from the House of Lords, and the very office of bishop had come under sustained attack both within and outside of Parliament, as had the *Book of Common Prayer*. In the north-west of England, communion rails had been removed from churches, and clergy and laity alike had engaged with the salient issues of the future of episcopacy and the liturgy via the submission of petitions to Parliament and other forms of activism.¹

The work of Judith Maltby has complemented the earlier work of John Morrill in making developments in Cheshire between 1640 and 1642 relatively well known to historians of the period, where the well-documented petitioning campaigns for and against episcopacy and the *Book of Common Prayer* were set against a backdrop of iconoclasm in churches and agitation against established ecclesiastical structures.² Maltby and Morrill's views have been challenged somewhat by Peter Lake, whose work on this topic deserves detailed consideration.³ The situation in Lancashire, though less well documented, has not been completely ignored, with Anthony Fletcher making particular use of Lancastrian materials. This chapter will now proceed to study separately the situations in the two counties, before concluding with a comparative analysis of their respective situations.

Cheshire:

Work on civil war allegiances in Cheshire has generally focused upon the religious beliefs of participants propelling them towards particular choices of allegiance. This work has invariably followed some variation of a

¹ The two best overviews of the years 1640-1642 are provided by Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: Edward Arnold, paperback edition, 1985), and Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). For the period 1640-1642, David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), is useful, though its analyses are perhaps a little sensationalist in places.

² Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim, especially chs. 4-5; J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), ch. 2.

³ Peter Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions: local politics in national context, Cheshire, 1641', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 259-289.

tripartite model. Focusing upon the gentry, Norman Dore and John Morrill have both suggested that Laudian supporters and Catholics supported the King in 1642, whilst puritans supported Parliament.⁴ Dore went on to suppose that the middle ground mostly swung towards the King in 1642.⁵ Morrill broadly followed Dore's model, though his research suggested that the middle ground of gentry, what he described as the 'Booth-Wilbraham' group (named after its two leaders, Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey and Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey), and typified by their moderate opposition to Charles I's policies and their distaste at the petitioning campaigns raised by both puritans and conservatives in late 1640 and in 1641, ultimately split in their allegiances, with a third of the group supporting the King.⁶ Judith Maltby's model is essentially a variation on this model. She sees two extremes, Laudian and puritan, equating to the two rival allegiances of royalism and parliamentary respectively, with the middle ground, 'conformist' in their support for the Church of England and exemplified by those who signed the two religiously conservative petitions from Cheshire sent to the House of Lords in February and December 1641, forming the basis for royalism within the county.⁷ I share Peter Lake's concerns about Maltby's model, in that she assumes that the signatures to these petitions can be interpreted as the true voice of 'conformists', and this section will aim to build upon Lake's work in demonstrating the complex politics which lay behind the two conservative petitions.⁸ In particular, this section will demonstrate that the first round of petitioning, in early 1641, was innately linked to the developing troubles of Bishop Bridgeman, as his role in the prosecution of those men who had welcomed William Prynne to Chester in 1637 was investigated by the House of Commons. However, Maltby is right in seeing the petitions as forming a basis for civil war royalism, and as will be seen, there is indeed a remarkable correlation between the clerical signatories of these two petitions and first civil war royalism.

After the collapse of Charles I's personal rule in the aftermath of his disastrous attempted interventions in Scottish affairs in the late 1630s, elections were held in the spring of 1640 for the first Parliament to sit since the Parliament of 1629 had ended in acrimony. In the approach to the election for the county of Cheshire, there were what Morrill described as being 'two distinct parties' of gentry in the county: the first surrounding the county's two most prominent lower peers, Lords Cholmondeley and

⁴ R. N. Dore, *The Civil Wars in Cheshire* (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1966), pp. 19-20; Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 65-66.

⁷ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 128-129.

⁸ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', p. 288.

Kilmorey, and the second surrounding Sir George Booth and Sir Richard Wilbraham, whom John Werden, in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith (one of the candidates standing for the city of Chester) dated 27 March 1640, sardonically described as ‘our twoe popular patryots’.⁹ This latter party pursued ‘a more directly anti-Court platform’ to the peers’ party.¹⁰ The leaders of the two parties evidently disliked each other, and Werden suggested to Smith on 20 March 1640 that ‘theire lords haue soe bitter distast of the neglect given them by the two Greate Patryots as for aught I see the matter growes very high and the contestacion like to be the greatest that euer wee heard of in our Cuntrey’.¹¹ Ultimately, Booth and Wilbraham’s candidates stood down (perhaps after an intervention from Lord Strange, one of the county’s lord lieutenants), and the winners were the candidates promoted by the two peers, Sir Thomas Aston of Aston and Sir William Brereton of Handforth.¹²

As Werden had noted to Smith on 20 March 1640, ‘Sir William Brereton wyns daylye amongst the religious’, and religious issues seem to have come to the fore by the time of the election of autumn 1640, for what would become the Long Parliament.¹³ For this election, Lords Cholmondeley and Kilmorey appear to have dropped Brereton as their candidate, selecting Aston and Peter Venables of Kinderton, who was related by marriage to Cholmondeley.¹⁴ Whilst this family connection may have been enough reason to justify Venables’ selection as candidate, both Morrill and Maltby suggest that Brereton’s connections with popular puritanism within the county, as evident during the election to the Short Parliament, may have discouraged the peers from selecting him again.¹⁵ Certainly Brereton’s travels during the mid-1630s had revealed him as being sympathetic towards the cause of religious reform, as he admired the

⁹ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 32-33; The National Archives, Kew, SP 16/449, fo. 24r.

¹⁰ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 32. The meanings of a ‘court’ versus ‘country’ dichotomy are outlined in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, ‘Introduction: after Revisionism’, in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 19-21. It seems probable that at least some discontent was provoked by the purchase of Irish titles by Sir Robert Cholmondeley in 1628, and by Lord Kilmorey’s late father, Sir Robert Needham, in 1625, in order to elevate their precedence within the county, to the disgust of baronets such as Booth and Wilbraham, see Anthony Fletcher, ‘National and Local Awareness in the County Communities’, in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Government and Politics*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 162-163; also John Morrill, ‘Cholmondeley, Robert, earl of Leinster (1584-1659)’, *ODNB*.

¹¹ National Archives, SP 16/448, fos. 87r-v.

¹² Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 34. The election of spring 1640 is also discussed in Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 135-136.

¹³ National Archives, SP 16/448, fo. 87v.

¹⁴ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34; Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 137. For Brereton’s puritanism during the 1630s, see John Morrill, ‘Sir William Brereton and England’s Wars of Religion’, reproduced in *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings*, ed. Peter Gaunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 187.

Scottish Kirk in Edinburgh, and praised Dublin, where six sermons could be heard in a day.¹⁶ Brereton thus stood against the peers' candidates, defeating Aston to be elected in first place with Venables elected in second place.¹⁷

The previous two chapters of this thesis have traced the course of Bishop John Bridgeman's episcopate at Chester during the 1630s, suggesting that as the decade progressed, he became more closely associated with Laudian policies, as exemplified by his liaising with archbishops William Laud and Richard Neile over his treatment of the men who had entertained William Prynne at Chester in 1637. Indeed, Bridgeman was amongst the bishops who had upheld Laudianism during the 1630s and who came under fierce attack in the early months of the Long Parliament, and it is within this context that the first wave of petitioning in Cheshire in early 1641 should be seen.

After Charles I's dissolution of the Short Parliament on 5 May 1640, the King broke with convention in allowing the convocations of Canterbury and York, normally dissolved alongside Parliament, to continue to sit. Charles seems to have liaised with Laud in formulating the new ecclesiastical canons, which were completed by the convocation of Canterbury on 29 May 1640, being (apparently) approved by the convocation of York shortly afterwards. The most controversial aspect of the canons was the oath attached to the canons, whereby clergy had to swear: 'nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established and as by right it ought to stand'. In breathtaking fashion, the oath seemed to challenge the King and Parliament's right to settle the government of the church.¹⁸

Writing sometime later, Edward Burghall, then the schoolmaster at Bunbury in Cheshire, recalled that 'Many took it, & many refused it, tho' otherwise conformable Men, but within a while it was condemned by

¹⁶ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-1635*, ed. Edward Hawkins, Chetham Society, i (1844), 106-108, 144; see also Morrill, 'Sir William Brereton', p. 187.

¹⁷ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Many aspects of the canons of 1640 were novel and controversial, including an assertion of the divine right of monarchs, a comparison of the Scottish Kirk's General Assembly to the Pope, and an intervention into the debates over arbitrary taxation recently witnessed in Parliament by claiming that taxes were due 'by the law of God, nature and nations'. The canons assimilated under the label of sectaries a wide variety of moderate forms of puritanism, and vigorously (but selectively) defended the Church of England's doctrine and discipline, including using a curtailed version of the 1559 injunction on the placing of the communion table to justify the innovative permanent placing of the communion table at the east end of the church, see Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 136-139.

Parliament'.¹⁹ That the *et cetera* oath caused some discord is confirmed by other sources from the diocese of Chester. When George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors in Cheshire, was being sequestered from his living in 1646 on account of his alleged royalism, one of the claims made in his defence by a group of Lancashire and Cheshire ministers was that he 'To his great perill opposed Episcopall vsurpacion; refused to take the Oath in the Sixth Cannon for support of them'.²⁰ On 18 August 1640, Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick in Lancashire, and John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire, preached at a monthly exercise at either Warrington or Winwick in Lancashire; as Ley related, 'our minds and tongues united in pressing *Peace* and *Charity*, most needfull Themes for these crazie and distracted times'.²¹ After the day's sermons, a group of clergy met together, and their conversation inevitably turned towards their doubts about the oath. They resolved to present their doubts to Bishop Bridgeman, with Ley being tasked to write a paper for presentation. At the next exercise, the clergy read Ley's paper, and were apparently pleased with it, but whilst they were at the exercise, news arrived of a letter from Archbishop Laud ordering bishops not to press the oath upon any clergy until 13 October 1640. The clergy then agreed to hold back from sending the paper to Bridgeman, and in the meantime, a new Parliament was called. This news seems to have emboldened the clergy, as it 'so varied the case, that it invited us to betake our selves to another course then wee intended before; and then it was thought fit, neither so to sollicite the Bishop, as if wee did principally depend upon his favour for our freedom from the Oath; nor yet so to passe by him, as to give cause of suspition, that he was slighted by us'. Ley, though, in a private capacity, decided to send Bridgeman a version of the manuscript, and this text formed the basis for Ley's *Defensive Doubts*, printed in 1641.²² The printed text went through the canons clause by clause, outlining the reasons why each clause could prompt doubt within the conscientious cleric,

¹⁹ Edward Burghall, 'Providence Improved', in *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich*, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889), 16-17.

²⁰ National Archives, SP 23/201, fo. 757.

²¹ John Ley, *Defensive Doubts, Hopes, and Reasons, For refusall of the Oath, imposed by the sixth Canon of the late Synod* (London: R. Young for G. Lathum, 1641), 'A Letter, declaring the occasion of beginning a manner of proceeding for the penning and publishing of the Discourse ensuing'. Italics as in the publication. Though the location of the exercise is only identified in the pamphlet as 'W.', it has been identified as Warrington by R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 68-69, whilst Mark H. Curtis has opted for Winwick, see his 'The Trials of a Puritan in Jacobean Lancashire', in *The Dissenting Tradition: Essays for Leland H. Carlson*, eds. C. Robert Cole and Michael E. Moody (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), p. 95. Samuel Clarke, the Warwickshire minister who knew both Herle and Ley, was brazen enough to present a petition to the King against the oath, receiving a frosty response, see Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1683), pp. 7-8.

²² Ley, *Defensive Doubts*, 'A Letter'.

based against the premise that an oath taken against one's conscience was offensive to God.²³

According to 'N. E.', who wrote a further preface to Ley's *Defensive Doubts* and whose possible identity will be discussed later, the canons were said to have been passed by the convocation of York (of which Ley was a clerk) without ever having been presented before the assembled members.²⁴ Other accusations of impropriety surrounded the oath, with Bishop Bridgeman at the centre of some allegations. The anonymous author of *The vnfaithfulness of the Cavaliers*, printed in London in January 1644 but essentially a discussion of royalist activities in Cheshire, argued that when Bishop Bridgeman's son Orlando had enforced his own arbitrary government upon the city of Chester when it was a royalist garrison, 'he was as imperious as the Bishop his Father amongst the Ministers, upon the making of the late Cannons'.²⁵ This interpretation is given some support by the petition drafted against Bridgeman by some citizens of Chester circa 1641, which claimed that Bridgeman had forced two ministers in the city, William Clarke (the rector of St. Martin's and St. Bridget's parishes) and Roger Gorst (the perpetual curate of St. Michael's, and the curate of St. Olave's and St. Giles-without-Spitalfield), to swear the *et cetera* oath.²⁶

Whilst it is fairly obvious that the oath provoked some discomfort amongst the clergy of the diocese of Chester, the nature of the opposition to the oath is sketchy. Ley addressed the 'Letter' which preceded his *Defensive Doubts* to the clergy of the diocese generally, but he also addressed four clerics specifically: Thomas Mallory (the dean of Chester), Thomas Dod (the archdeacon of Richmond), Richard Heyrick (the warden of the Manchester collegiate church), and Charles Herle (the rector of Winwick in Lancashire).²⁷ We may suspect that these four figures were perhaps the most senior clerics in the diocese to oppose the oath: Mallory was never likely to miss an opportunity to oppose Bridgeman, whilst Dod, Heyrick and Herle all had moderate puritan credentials. Conversely, an interesting omission from this roll call of senior clergy in the diocese was George Snell, the archdeacon of Chester, who seems to have been closely allied to Bridgeman,

²³ Ibid., passim.

²⁴ Ibid., 'A Preface to the Reader, written by N. E.'

²⁵ Anon., *The vnfaithfulness of the Cavaliers* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1643/[44]), sig. A2r.

²⁶ British Library, London, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201v.

²⁷ Ley, *Defensive Doubts*, 'A Letter'. These names are listed cryptically: 'Mr. Th[omas] M[allory] D[ean] of Ch[ester]', 'Dr. D[od] D[ean] of R[ipon]', 'Mr. R[ichard] H[eyrick] W[arden] of M[anchester]', and 'Mr. Ch[arles] H[erle] R[ector] of W[inwick]'.

preaching the sermon when William Prynne's supporter Calvin Bruen enacted his penance in Chester Cathedral in December 1637.²⁸

By attempting to administer an oath which seemed to undermine the role of Parliament in the governance of the Church, Bishop Bridgeman once again placed himself at the heart of Laudian policy. Indeed, the politics of the petitioning campaigns of late 1640 and 1641 cannot be fully understood without relating them to the developing context of Bridgeman's troubles. Nonetheless, despite being linked to the moves against Bridgeman in Parliament, and whilst Bridgeman undoubtedly had his enemies in Cheshire, the first anti-episcopacy petition never gained the support in Cheshire that Aston's petitions did, and one may suspect that Brereton may have hoped that anti-Bridgeman sentiment would have gained the petition more support than it actually did.

On 19 February 1641, Sir William Brereton presented a petition to the House of Commons from 'the Countie of Chester... against Episcopacie and the manye abuses of their courts; and the innovations in Doctrine and discipline. It was subscribed by above 1100 hands', and was presented alongside a similar petition from Devon.²⁹ Just over a week later, Brereton's electoral opponent Sir Thomas Aston submitted to the House of Lords a rival petition from Cheshire in defence of episcopacy. The politics of this latter petition has been placed under important scrutiny by Peter Lake. Rather than being a straightforward 'conformist' defence of a Church free from Laudianism, Lake has interpreted the petition in much more politicised terms, seeing it as not simply pro-episcopacy or anti-innovation in the Church, but potentially (and problematically for many) anti-puritan too.³⁰ It is notable that Aston had apparently failed to gain the support of a number of moderate opponents of Charles, such as Sir George Booth, Sir Richard

²⁸ Herle and Dod were both cited for puritan offences at the 1633 metropolitanical visitation, see Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fos. 365r., 528r. Heyrick's protestant evangelicism is evident in his printed *Three Sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester* (London: T. B. for L. Fawne, 1641). For the relationship between Mallory and Bridgeman, see M. J. Crossley Evans, 'The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 104. As Snell's wife Lydia's maiden name was Bridgeman, the pair may even have been related by marriage, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 93

²⁹ *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes: From the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the trial of the Earl of Strafford*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 375. In the debate which followed the presentation to the Commons of Bruen's second petition on 19 April 1641, D'Ewes claimed that Bruen's first petition had been subscribed by '2000 handes', see British Library, Harley MS. 163, fo. 69r. In any case, this is still well below the 6000 signatures claimed by Aston. See also *Proceedings in the Opening Sessions of the Long Parliament: House of Commons*, ed. Maija Jansson (7 vols., Rochester, New York, and Suffolk, UK: Rochester University Press, 2000-2007), ii (21 December 1640 – 20 March 1641), 486-488.

³⁰ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 262-264.

Wilbraham and Sir Richard Grosvenor of Eaton Hall.³¹ He points to the similarities in language between Aston's petition and Charles I's speech to both Houses of Parliament on 23 January 1641, where the King made clear that episcopacy was not an issue for negotiation as Parliament attempted to form a settlement with the Scottish Covenanters.³² Indeed, there were claims in London that the text of the petition had been expanded after many signatures had already been acquired.³³ Furthermore, the timing of Aston's presentation of the petition on 27 February 1641 smacks of political motive, coming in the midst of a debate in the Commons when Edward Hyde 'was trying to make the members of the junto choose between their alliance to the Scots and their attachment to a settlement with the crown with episcopacy at its heart'.³⁴

However, it was not only Aston who played the political game, but Brereton can also be seen partaking in the same processes in the formulation of his anti-episcopal petition. He had laid his cards on the table in the first month of the Long Parliament when, on 25 November 1640, he spoke against 'the exorbitant power' of the unpopular ecclesiastical court of High Commission, and claimed that 'They deprive godlie and innocent ministers'.³⁵ The next day, the Commons held their first debate on the new ecclesiastical canons, with every speaker recorded by Sir Simonds D'Ewes condemning the canons.³⁶ This was the context for the coming to the Commons on 3 December 1640 of Calvin Bruen, Peter Leigh and Richard Golborne, three of the Cestrians prosecuted by Bridgeman for entertaining William Prynne in 1637. The three men presented petitions about their treatment, and in Sir Simonds D'Ewes' account, Bruen had been 'forced to make a most uniuist and wicked submission in the Cathedrall church in Chester', and George Snell had preached 'that it was the mercie of the Church to take these seditious persons'.³⁷ Six days later on 9 December 1640, Bishop Bridgeman's son Orlando spoke in the Commons on the topic of the canons, perhaps prompted into action by his father's impending troubles, or by the speech against the canons which Alexander Rigby, his

³¹ Ibid., pp. 276-277.

³² Ibid., p. 278.

³³ British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fos. 118v-119r.; see also Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 274-275.

³⁴ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', p. 279.

³⁵ *D'Ewes*, ed. Notestein, p.64.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 70-72.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 101. Interestingly, whilst Bruen's petition refers to him having been 'much pressed unto [making his 'acknowledgement'] by the Bishop and Chancellor', there is nothing in it explicitly about Snell's sermon, see British Library, Harley MS, 165, fos. 21r-22r.; *Proceedings*, ed. Jansson, i (3 November – 19 December 1640), 452-453. D'Ewes' references to Snell's sermon presumably either came from what Bruen may have said verbally when presenting his petition, or from D'Ewes' own knowledge of the case, or, if written later, from William Prynne, *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny* (London: M. S., 1641), p. 101.

fellow member for Wigan in Lancashire, had just given.³⁸ On 15 December 1640, the Commons condemned the canons, and ordered that no clergyman should be bound by them.³⁹

It is unclear when exactly the machinations for what would become Sir William Brereton's petition began in Cheshire. The first Root and Branch petition, from London, was submitted to the Commons on 11 December 1640.⁴⁰ It is on 3 January 1641 that there is the first mention of anti-episcopal agitation in Cheshire. Samuel Eaton, the puritan nonconformist minister who had vacated his rectory of West Kirby by mid-1631, had now returned from New England with the intention of utilising the changed political situation to complain about his treatment at the hands of High Commission.⁴¹ In June 1638, allegations were circulating that Eaton had held 'conferences & disputes' in London involving the notorious John Goodwin of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, that Eaton was 'an Anabaptist' who had said that 'the said Church governed by Bishops to be descended from Antichrist & so from the devill', and that it was Eaton who had endeavoured 'to pervert Dr. Bastwick'.⁴² Preaching a sermon on 3 January 1641 at St. John's church in Chester (a highly symbolic location given its associations with William Prynne), Eaton advocated that each congregation should choose its own minister, and that each congregation should be responsible for the discipline of its own members, who would be bound together by a covenant. According to Aston, Eaton had 'called the Bishops the mighty enemies of God and his Church'. Furthermore, Eaton had also claimed 'That all things which are of Humane invention in the worship of God (under which he seemed chiefly to comprehend the book of Common prayer, and the rites and Ceremonies therein prescribed) are unsavoury and loathsome unto God'. However, it seems that Eaton's sermon in this

³⁸ D'Ewes, ed. Notestein, p. 128. Sir Simonds D'Ewes was unimpressed by Bridgeman's efforts, recording that 'his argument was noe great consideration for hee spake soe dubiouslie, sometimes for them and sometimes against them, as it was difficult to conclude anie thing from what hee said'. From D'Ewes' rough notes, though, it seems that Bridgeman had criticised this particular set of canons, but had defended the Church's right to issue its own canons, see p. 128, fn. 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 157; Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 232-234.

⁴⁰ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 180-182.

⁴¹ Eaton's successor as rector of West Kirby, Thomas Glover, was instituted as rector on 13 August 1631, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 31931 (date accessed: 12 May 2014). Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (4 vols., London: F. C. and J. Rivington et al, 1813-1817), iii. 673, implies that Eaton may have vacated his living voluntarily, though S. J. Guscott, 'Eaton, Samuel (d. 1665)', *ODNB*, gives the more conventional line that Eaton was deprived, though I have been unable to find any evidence of this, and I thus lean towards à Wood's interpretation.

⁴² Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bankes MS, 48/7. Eaton's Cheshire connections are explicitly noted in this manuscript, thus ruling out the London antinomian of the same name as being the subject of these allegations. I would like to thank Prof. Anthony Milton for pointing me towards this reference.

prominent location was not simply the ranting of a disgruntled minister, but had a much more practical purpose, as Eaton called for his hearers ‘to petition the Parliament for the razing of the old foundation’, which Aston took to mean the abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of presbyterianism.⁴³ In a further sermon preached at Knutsford, Eaton advocated that members of a congregation should be bound together by a covenant, and that power lay with the whole congregation, not just with the minister.⁴⁴

The text of Brereton’s petition included a number of topics which were currently being discussed in Parliament, such as prelatial innovations, the church courts, the ecclesiastical canons of 1640, and ‘the English refined Masse-booke of Common Prayer’. The petition had an explicitly anti-Catholic undercurrent, with the bishops being called ‘Popes Substitutes’, and the Prayer Book was said to contain ‘popish significant Ceremonies’. It does seem that the petition reproduced by Aston in his *Remonstrance against Presbytery* is genuine, given that Aston evidently misinterpreted it as being in favour of presbyterianism, when what it actually advocates is a form of congregationalism similar to that which Eaton had been involved with in the Netherlands and later in New England.⁴⁵ Thomas Paget (who, as we saw in the previous chapter, had subscribed to a letter in 1637 attacking New England congregationalism) complained that Aston had made this mistake, writing that:

Neither the Petition, nor Positions annexed to the Remonstrance doe seeke for Presbytery, but seeme rather to affect a popular government. The Patrons of popular government (contended for in the positions) are for the most part either Separatists, or Semi-separatists, who are as opposed to Presbyteriall government as they are to Prelacy; as is well knowne to them that know them.⁴⁶

This leads to a striking observation. Whilst the historian is hamstrung by not being able to refer to the original anti-episcopacy petition and its subscriptions (which contrasts with the survival of the subscriptions for the two pro-episcopacy petition from Cheshire), Samuel Eaton is the only

⁴³ Sir Thomas Aston, *A Remonstrance against Presbitery* (no place: for John Aston, 1641), ‘The Petition which was spread abroad in the Countrey amongst the Common people’, pp. 5-6. Eaton’s involvement in the petition was also noted by an anonymous London-based commonplace book author, see British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fo. 118v.

⁴⁴ Aston, *Remonstrance*, p. 6. A manuscript account of this sermon at Knutsford (dated 3 January 1640/41) is preserved in Bodleian Library, Tanner MS, 65, fos. 214r-v.

⁴⁵ Aston, *Remonstrance*, ‘Petition’, pp. 1-4.

⁴⁶ Thomas Paget, ‘An Humble Advertisment to the High Court of Parliament’, in John Paget, *A Defence of Church-Government, exercised in Presbyteriall, Classical, & Synodall Assemblies* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), unpaginated.

clergyman known to have been involved with this particular petition. Indeed, the number of reported subscriptions (1100) is small when compared to the circa 6000 subscriptions to the February 1641 pro-episcopacy petition, and the circa 9000 subscriptions to the similarly conservative petition submitted in December 1641.⁴⁷ It is perhaps fair to assume that the petition presented to the Commons by Sir William Brereton on 19 February 1641 was a flop, with its narrow congregationalist base alienating clergy and laity who may have wanted an otherwise thorough (but not congregationalist) reformation of the Church, though it is difficult to assess the extent of such support in Cheshire in early 1641.⁴⁸

On 13 January 1641, the committee investigating the treatment of William Prynne came to the discussion of Bishop Bridgeman's actions. They heard how Bridgeman had ordered sermons to be preached against Prynne, John Bastwick and Henry Burton, before moving on to studying Calvin Bruen's petition of 3 December 1640. Original letters were presented before the committee implicating Bridgeman in Bruen being taken to York for trial at High Commission.⁴⁹ Given that (as has been noted) Brereton, like his rival Aston, had a talent for political timing, around then would have been an obvious time to submit the Cheshire anti-episcopacy petition. Certainly, it seems that petitioning had been underway by the time of Eaton's sermon at Chester on 3 January 1641, so an aim to present the petition around the date of this committee meeting does not seem unfeasible. Indeed, to emphasise this link, there is a suggestion that Bruen himself was involved in this petition, for when Brereton presented to the Commons on 19 April 1641 a petition from 'the City and County of Chester' orchestrated by Bruen, the *Commons Journal* noted that its signatories 'were late Petitioners in another Petition'.⁵⁰ However, it would not be until 19 February 1641 that the first Cheshire anti-episcopacy petition finally straggled into the Commons. If one compares this with Sir Thomas Aston's first pro-episcopacy petition, it appears that his call for subscriptions was sent to the magistrates of each hundred of Cheshire on 30 January 1641, with the petition (containing in effect over five times more signatures than Brereton, Bruen and Eaton's effort) being presented by Aston to the House of Lords on 27 February 1641.⁵¹ In essence, the likely intended timing of the anti-episcopacy petition was meant to capitalise upon

⁴⁷ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 151.

⁴⁸ Indeed, it is unlikely that there were 1100 convinced supporters of congregationalism in Cheshire in early 1641, so even with this first petition, we are probably looking at a coalition between congregationalists and some of Bridgeman's (and episcopacy's) keener opponents. I would like to thank Dr. Joel Halcomb for this valuable observation.

⁴⁹ *D'Ewes*, ed. Notestein, pp. 251-252; see also *Proceedings*, ed. Jansson, ii. 186.

⁵⁰ *Commons Journal*, 19 April 1641.

⁵¹ Aston, *Remonstrance*, 'A Petition', pp. 7-8. Aston's petition is preserved in the Parliamentary Archives, London, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/53.

Bishop Bridgeman's troubles, only for the narrow congregationalist wording of the petition to undermine any attempt to gather together a broad coalition of Bridgeman's opponents.

Such an interpretation receives support from the subsequent attempts in London to discredit Aston's petition of February 1641 as the creation of clergymen bound to Bishop Bridgeman by the *et cetera* oath. An anonymous commonplace book author noted that 'The Ministers that haue subscribed, are either them who have subscribed to the new Canons, or the Abettors of them'.⁵² Interestingly, similar ideas were in circulation in Chester. Around this time, some citizens drafted a petition against Bishop Bridgeman, in which one of the allegations was that one Russell, a servant of the bishop, upon 'the committal of the archbishop of Canterbury laboured with diuers Ministers of the said Cittie and the parishes thereaboutes as with one Mr Cony Mr Mostyn Mr Wilson & others who haue taken the said oath to subsigne a Certificat of the good gouernment of the said Diocesan'.⁵³ As Laud was committed to the Tower of London on 1 March 1641, the suggestion is that only a matter of days after Aston's petition was presented to the Lords on 27 February 1641, individual clergymen's loyalty to Bridgeman via the *et cetera* oath was once again perceived to be driving affairs in Cheshire.⁵⁴ Whilst it cannot be proven, given the closeness of their timing, it is plausible that there was a link between the rumours simultaneously circulating in Cheshire and London about the *et cetera* oath's influence upon some clergy in Cheshire. This was just one of several

⁵² This author named seven Cheshire-based clergymen who were implicated in this: Peter du Moulin (a noted polemicist then based in Chester, but without holding a formal living), Thomas Bridge (rector of Malpas Upper Mediety), John Robinson (rector of Brereton), Thomas Tudman (vicar of Sandbach), John Conny (vicar of St. John's and St. Oswald's parishes, Chester), and two others whom I have not been able to conclusively identify, Jo. Geminesditch and Abil. Dumville, see British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fo. 119r. 'Jo. Geminesditch' is probably the John Grimsdich of Cheshire who matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in January 1635, see Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. Similarly, 'Abil. Dumville' is probably a mistaken identification of William Domville, the vicar of Bowdon who was ejected from his living on account of his royalism during the first civil war, see A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p. 90. Something which may not have been lost within the London context was that Peter du Moulin was a noted defender of episcopacy, having printed a treatise in 1640 challenging the Scottish Covenanters' assertion that the French protestant church was on their side in their conflict with Charles I. Rather, du Moulin suggested, the French church (within which his father Pierre was an eminent cleric) was actually pro-episcopacy, but was not currently in a position to enjoy such a system of government, see Peter du Moulin, *A Letter of a French Protestant to a Scottishman of the Covenant* (London: R. Young and R. Badger, 1640), passim; see also Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 494; Vivienne Larminie, 'Du Moulin, Peter [Pierre] (1601-1684)', *ODNB*.

⁵³ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201r. These three named clergymen were John Conny (the vicar of St. John's and St. Oswald's parishes, Chester), William Mostyn (the rector of Christleton), and Richard Wilson (the rector of Holy Trinity, Chester).

⁵⁴ Anthony Milton, 'Laud, William (1573-1645)', *ODNB*.

rumours then circulating in London. The author of the commonplace book also alleged that only an abstract of the petition was circulated around Cheshire, pledging simply for the restoration of the Church as it stood during Elizabeth I's reign, 'And to regulate what is amisse in church or state', and that some signatories were later 'much distracted upon the view of the large petition' as submitted to the Lords.⁵⁵ Certainly, whilst the printed petition's defence of episcopacy was moderate, its approach to puritanism was anything but, with presbyterianism presented as a serious threat to order.⁵⁶ The commonplace book author also claimed that 'Twenty three Recusantes in one Towne subscribed, And one Gentleman (it is said) threatened his Tenantes for refusing'.⁵⁷ Those involved with organising the petition were aware of these allegations, and were stung when investigations revealed that there was some impropriety involved in gathering signatures.⁵⁸

These reports in London seem to have contributed to the next development. Around March 1641, a petition against episcopacy was printed in London, purportedly from the county of Cheshire in response to Aston's petition. Unlike the petition presented to the Commons by Sir William Brereton a few weeks previously, this petition was overtly presbyterian rather than congregationalist in its solution for redress, and additionally, picked up on the developing storm surrounding Bishop Bridgeman. The petition opened with the claim 'That... divers Petitions, by the practise of the Prelates and of our present Diocesan, have been lately posted about this County for the continuance of our present exorbitant Hierarchie and Church-Government, under which the whole Kingdome hath long time groaned', and proceeded to suggest that Aston's petition aimed not so much 'at our Church and Prelates Reformation, as at the maintenance of their absolute Jurisdiction and Innovations both in Religion and Government'. The petition accused the bishops of 'the propagation of Popery', and then followed a denunciation of various aspects of general episcopal misgovernment, including the practices of the church courts and the issuing of the *et cetera* oath. The petition concluded with a note that appended to it was 'a briefe Remonstrance of sundry Grievances,

⁵⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fo. 118v. As Peter Lake has noted, the preambles to some parishes' subscriptions reflect the commonplace book author's version of the original petition rather than the version actually submitted by Aston, see Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 274-276.

⁵⁶ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 262-264. The text of this petition is reproduced in 'Petitions for episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer on the eve of the civil war 1641-1642', ed. Judith Maltby, in *From Cranmer to Davidson: A Miscellany*, ed. Stephen Taylor, Church of England Record Society, vii (1999), 116-118.

⁵⁷ British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fo. 119r.

⁵⁸ John Werden, a minor Cheshire gentleman who seems to have acted as an agent for Aston, wrote to him on 2 April 1641 about reports that tenants had been enlisted in the petition *en masse* without being consulted, for which Werden 'was sorry to understand this', see British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fo. 210v.

Innovations and Persecutions, under which we of this County (especially those of the City of Chester) have miserably suffered, by meanes of our now Bishop, and the High-Commission at Yorke'. As has been frequently observed by historians, the figures claimed in support of this petition were roughly double the number that subscribed to Aston's petition, and in a final reference to the rumours then circulating in London, 'not one of them a Popish Recusant'.⁵⁹

In a complaint to the House of Lords on 2 April 1641, Aston claimed that the petition 'was supposed to be made by one Henry Walker'.⁶⁰ Walker was a London-based printer and journalist, noted for making several printed attacks upon Archbishop Laud.⁶¹ If Aston's allegation was true, given the letters between Bridgeman, Laud and Archbishop Neile which had recently been produced in Parliament concerning the William Prynne affair in 1637, it is unsurprising that Walker should choose to attack Bridgeman as a means to attack Laud, who was himself named and attacked in the petition.⁶² Bridgeman was perhaps also a target of attack because on 1 March 1641, he had been amongst the ten bishops appointed to the Lords' Committee for Religion, which, as Archbishop Laud bitterly recorded, 'professes to meddle with doctrine, as well as ceremonies'.⁶³ Given that another of the appointees to this committee was the bishop of Ely, Matthew Wren, the London press may have been concerned that a Laudian bulwark on this committee would hinder the cause of religious reform. The reaction in the Lords to Aston's complaint perfectly reveals some of the divisions which were developing in Parliament at this time. The Lords summoned Aston to explain 'the Manner of his Expression in his Petition'.⁶⁴ Though he was ultimately cleared of any offence, one diarist recorded that the earl of Holland had to persuade the

⁵⁹ Anon., *The humble petition... of divers thousands of the inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester... In Answer to a Petition delivered in to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, by Sir Thomas Aston, Baronet, from the County Palatine of CHESTER, concerning Episcopacie* (no place: no printer, [1641]), passim. The latter observation has been made by, amongst others, Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 148; Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', p. 265.

⁶⁰ *Lords Journal*, 2 April 1641. Judith Maltby assumes that Sir William Brereton was responsible for circulating this petition, but neither Aston nor other Cheshire gentry in their 'Attestation' blamed Brereton for this petition, see Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 148. For the Cheshire gentry's 'Attestation', see British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 63r-64r. It should be noted that this reference demonstrates that Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 264-265, misdates this petition, claiming that it appeared sometime after the presentation of Calvin Bruen's petition to the Commons on 19 April 1641.

⁶¹ Joad Raymond, 'Walker, Henry (fl. 1638-1660)', *ODNB*.

⁶² Anon., *Humble petition*, passim.

⁶³ *Lords Journal*, 1 March 1640/41; *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*, eds. William Scott, then James Bliss (7 vols., Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860), iii. 437.

⁶⁴ *Lords Journal*, 2 April 1641; British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 62r. One diarist described the peers who complained against Aston as being 'the zealous party', see British Library, Sloane MS, 1467, fo. 26v.

earl of Essex not to register his dissent at the decision, reminding him to be 'sensible of the honour of that house'.⁶⁵

The haughty tone of Aston's complaint, attacking the printed petition for claiming 'The whole order of Bishoppes as the profest enemies of the Gospell', may well have antagonised those peers, such as Essex, who were inclined towards religious reform and for whom the printed petition had stated nothing more than the truth.⁶⁶ Aston, though, was perhaps buoyed by receiving a letter from Lord Cholmondeley, dated 26 March 1641, informing him that a letter had been received in Cheshire from the King, welcoming the petition.⁶⁷ It is certainly plausible that Aston had received Cholmondeley's letter a day or two before he submitted his complaint to the Lords, and by its aloof tone, Aston may well have believed that he was doing the King's business.⁶⁸

Back in Cheshire, the King's letter was widely circulated, as was, also, the 'faked' petition which had originated in London and which had provoked Aston's mirth.⁶⁹ What we witness around these few days in early April 1641 is the development of what would form into the two rival parties of civil war allegiance. In an unfortunately undated letter, Werden wrote to Aston about the welcome which the King's letter had received in Cheshire, claiming that 'none of qualitie (except our Mayor) (whoe countenanced the Seditious Preacher) but they have testified an inexpressable comfort in his Maiestie resolution and acceptance of their duties and devotions'.⁷⁰ It also seems that Aston's complaint to the Lords had been circulated in Cheshire. In an undated letter of thanks to Aston signed by forty-four gentlemen, including Lords Cholmondeley and Kilmorey and three clergymen (William Bispham, the pluralist rector of Eccleston and Lymm (Warburton Mediety)

⁶⁵ British Library, Sloane MS, 1467, fo. 26v.

⁶⁶ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 62r.

⁶⁷ British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fo. 201r.

⁶⁸ Aston had had a strained relationship with the court during the 1630s, not least as he had become bogged down in jurisdictional disputes over ship money, to the annoyance of Charles and the Council. Peter Lake, thus, has argued that Aston's petition should be seen within the context of his attempts to 'establish or re-establish close links with the court and the political and polemical programme of the king', as well as him trying to undermine his former electoral rival, Sir William Brereton, see Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', p. 281. For further detail, see also Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 133-135.

⁶⁹ John Werden wrote to Aston on 2 April 1641: 'you may well laugh as heartily as I did to be tauld that on sonday last one to whom I had given a copy of the kinges lettredid reade it att Tarvyn emongst diuers precisians and they vnhappyly said it was directed to S^r W^m Brereton: They broke with a suddane blessinge both of God & the Kinge which they had noe sooner done but he shewed them it was directed to the Lordes whereas these Querulous men changed cheere & said they would not beleuee but it was a counterfeit lettred', see British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fo. 211v. 'The lordes' here presumably means Lords Cholmondeley and Kilmorey.

⁷⁰ British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fo. 216v., '17 beatissium 1641'. The 'seditious preacher' mentioned is probably Samuel Eaton and his sermon in St. John's church, Chester, on 3 January 1641.

and the Chester Cathedral sub-dean, together with John Conny and Richard Wilson), it was written that the petition printed in London:

wee perceive was neuer preferred to neither house, but dispersed malitiously and seditiously to stir vp discord and tumult, And wee haue allsoe seene the coppie of the petition preferred on the behalfe and for the seruice of this countie for whom you are trusted in this which wee all soe well approoue of...⁷¹

Further light on this situation is given by another undated letter sent to the earl of Bath by forty-seven gentlemen, many of whom (including the three clergymen) had signed the letter to Aston. This letter was presumably sent to Bath in April 1641, and states:

that wee vnderstand allsoe that Sir Thomas Aston whoe was trusted by all the well affected of this countie to aduance our petition hath by his fidelitie and zeale to his countrey made himselfe lyable to some reproofe for his sinceritie; And for that allsoe the protraction of some course with the ventor of that factious and seditious doctrine publicquely preached (wherof wee gaue informacion,) hath rather giuen boldnes to other factious and turbulent spirits to put in practise their malice against the peace & gouernment of the Church by not only labouringe for multitude of vulgar handes to blast our petition soe well accepted of by his Maiestie and the lordes & still avowed by vs, but allsoe encouraged them to commit diuers outrages even in the City of Chester, by pullinge downe the rayles in one of the most publicke churches of the said citie at noone daie which might haue caused much effusion of blood, besides the practises of other innouators who haue neglected vpon Sundaie to read diuine seruice at all, but entertayned the people with nouell exhortacions and inuentions of their owne, to the great grieffe and discouragment of his Maiesties moderate and well affected people...⁷²

For the complainants to Bath, the disorders which had recently been witnessed in Chester, when unpopular Laudian communion rails were pulled down, could be linked directly back to the sermon which Samuel Eaton had preached in Chester in January 1641. However, as has been noted, Eaton's sermon called for the establishment of a congregationalist

⁷¹ British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fos. 222r-223v. (quotation at fo. 222r.).

⁷² British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fos. 224r-225v. (quotation at fo. 224r.). This letter mistakenly addresses Bath as a marquess, see Victor Stater, 'Bouchier, Henry, fifth earl of Bath (c. 1587-1654)', *ODNB*.

system of church government, and this is the line taken by the petition from Cheshire submitted to the Commons by Brereton on 19 February 1641. Aston (as Thomas Paget pointed out) had mistaken congregationalism for presbyterianism, and the relatively small support for this petition would imply that its overt congregationalist basis had cost it potential support. The situation had changed by April 1641. The London printed petition, which, as Aston's supporters had observed, had been circulated in Cheshire, had shown that rather than being (as a number of subscribers had apparently perceived) a moderate call for the reform of the Church so that it was returned to how it had been during the reign of Elizabeth I, Aston's petition had actually been maliciously converted by the baronet himself into a much more pro-Laudian enterprise.

The London printed petition's placing of Bishop Bridgeman at the heart of a popish, Laudian episcopate had also recently received further verification. The draft articles against Bridgeman alleged that when the earl of Strafford had returned from Ireland for the final time in early April 1640, he was accompanied by Sir Tobie Matthew, the son of the late archbishop of York of the same name and a famous convert to Catholicism who had been rehabilitated in courtly circles under Charles I.⁷³ Travelling via Chester, Matthew was entertained by Bridgeman, who:

hee the said Lord Bishop during their abode in his house sett vp or caused to be sett vp a popish picture whereon was paynted or engreaven the Image of the Pope and the Picture of our Saviour Christ on the one side and of the Virgin Mary on the other.⁷⁴

It was also alleged that Mass was regularly said at a house on Northgate Street in Chester, adjacent to the Bishop's Palace, but when a group of local inhabitants informed the bishop's servants, 'the officers & servantes geered at those that gaue notice thereof'.⁷⁵

The sight (if true) of Bishop Bridgeman entertaining a famous Catholic convert would have been shocking enough, but the allegations received new life in March 1641, as Cheshire was again stirring with the circulation of the 'fake' printed petition. In August 1640, Matthew had been at the centre of a supposed plot to poison the King revealed by an informant, Andreas ab Habernfeld.⁷⁶ On 23 March 1641, the Commons voted to

⁷³ Strafford departed from Ireland after the proroguing of the Irish Parliament on 31 March 1640, arriving in London on 18 April 1640, see Ronald G. Asch, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593-1641)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201r.

⁷⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201r.

⁷⁶ Though Matthew was imprisoned for a time, the Council's investigation, led by Archbishop Laud, was hardly speedy, and was still ongoing when the Long Parliament

request a conference with the Lords to discuss sending a petition to the King asking for the removal from the court of Matthew and three other Catholics.⁷⁷

All this led to the creation of a perfect storm in Cheshire. Bishop Bridgeman's Catholic friend was now apparently a hardened plotter seeking to kill the King, and Aston's petition had duped a large section of the population into supporting a petition calling for the preservation of Laudian episcopacy when they actually believed that they were petitioning for its reform. This latter issue became a major theme for Calvin Bruen's petition, submitted to the Commons by Sir William Brereton on 19 April 1641.⁷⁸ As Sir Simonds D'Ewes summarised:

The substance of it was that whereas Sir Thomas Aston had preferred a petition to the Lordes in the name of the Countie of Chester for the continuance of Bishopps, to which 6000 hands weere pretended to bee subscribed: they found vpon examination therof that diuers mens names weere sett in who weere dead at the time of the supposed subscription or at sea. That the names alsoe weere ther inserted of children & papists: and that diuers yet liuing whose names weere subscribed disavowed the same. The petition being read the parties weere called in & avowed the same and named some two or three of a kinde of the first sorte, & saied that they had alreadie discovered neare vpon 120 persons whose names were subscribed without ther knowledge and against ther likings.⁷⁹

One issue which irritated members of the Commons during this session was that as a response to the anti-episcopacy petition submitted to the Commons from Cheshire in January 1641, Aston should have submitted his petition to the Commons and not to the Lords, and one wonders if this oversight was perhaps because none of the Chester or Cheshire members were willing to present it.⁸⁰ This was also a topic of discussion when the petition was discussed on 11 May 1641 by the committee appointed to deal with the

convened in November 1640. The full details of the supposed plot were not printed until 1643, though Laud suggested at his trial in 1645 that members of Parliament knew about the plot by early 1641, and Caroline M. Hibbard has argued that aspects of the plot were 'common knowledge' even before Habernfeld wove them together into a conspiracy, see her *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 157-162.

⁷⁷ *Commons Journal*, 23 March 1641; see also A. J. Loomie, 'Matthew, Sir Toby (1577-1655)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁸ *Commons Journal*, 19 April 1641.

⁷⁹ British Library, Harley MS, 163, fo. 69r. Bruen's petition is also discussed in less detail in John Moore's parliamentary journal, see British Library, Harley MS, 478, fo. 604v.

⁸⁰ British Library, Harley MS, 163, fo. 69r.

Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance. D'Ewes' account of this meeting, though, does not add anything about the content of the petition, nor does he note what (if any) action the committee decided to take against Aston.⁸¹ However, as Peter Lake has observed, for this meeting only, the Commons had ordered on 23 April 1641 that the committee be 'packed' with known supporters of Root and Branch reform, including Bruen's ally and Aston's opponent, Sir William Brereton.⁸²

The accounts of the parliamentary diarists D'Ewes and John Moore focus upon the procedural issues which Bruen's petition raised about Aston's petition, but other sources imply that Bruen's petition had an anti-Bridgeman, and by association, an anti-Laudian dimension. Charles Herle (the rector of Winwick in Lancashire), in a goading letter to Bridgeman dated 20 April 1641, wrote about the petitions being organised against him at Chester, at Bangor in Flintshire, and at Wigan and Kirkham in Lancashire, the latter having been organised by the vicar, Edward Fleetwood, whom, as was discussed in the previous chapter, seems to have entered into nonconformity only with the enforcement of Laudian policies in the diocese of Chester. Herle also criticised 'the pretended altars' which Bridgeman had erected at Chester and Bangor, both of which were places which had organised petitions against Bridgeman.⁸³

The Chester petition mentioned by Herle was presumably Calvin Bruen's petition, and evidence (admittedly from Sir Thomas Aston's ally John Werden) links the gathering of signatures to clerical agitation, disdain for the liturgy and iconoclasm. On 2 April 1641, Werden reported to Aston that signatures had been gathered before the Sunday sermon at Frodsham. Also, at Neston on the previous Thursday, 'twoe zealots', one of whom was Sir William Brereton's cousin (unnamed but probably John Brereton), preached against Aston's petition, and upon further investigation, Werden found out that an anti-episcopal petition was being prepared in the Wirral.⁸⁴

⁸¹ British Library, Harley MS, 164, fo. 210r.

⁸² Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 264-265, quotation at p. 265.

⁸³ Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D1287/18/2 (P/399/210). This letter is dated 20 April with no year given, though the reference to the petitioning campaigns against Bridgeman suggests that the year was 1641. This letter will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. It is also possible that this anti-episcopal petitioning is the context for the petition against episcopacy which John Kerford of Waverton attempted to organise, only for the rector, George Snell, to discourage signatories, and later force Kerford and his allies to subscribe to a subsequent pro-episcopacy petition upon threat of being 'carried before the commissioners if they Refused', see National Archives, SP 23/118, fo. 511. It is, though, also feasible that Kerford was referring to the anti-episcopal petitioning of January 1641, and the pro-episcopal petitioning of February 1641.

⁸⁴ Sir William Brereton's cousin was probably John Brereton, an M. A. graduate of the University of Edinburgh (1637) who was confirmed as rector of Wilmslow by the Committee for Plundered Ministers on 22 September 1645. Though John's relationship to Sir William is unclear, John was a legatee in Sir William's will in 1661, see A. G.

The further observation in Werden's letter that 'At Neston, they haue puld down the railles from the Communion table', suggests that a link was likely (at least in Werden's mind). Werden also reported that in Chester, some were 'bould to remove the table in St. Warburghes Church' (presumably a reference to Chester Cathedral, which is dedicated to St. Werburgh).⁸⁵ It also seems that the rail in St. Peter's church in Chester was removed around this time, with a payment of 4d. being recorded in an account drawn on 2 May 1641.⁸⁶ On 23 April 1641, Werden was aghast that Sir William Brereton's wife had ordered that the minister at Neston 'take downe some painted ancient Imagery which was in the Glasse wyndowes', and when he refused as 'he knew none that took offence at them', she instructed one of her men to remove the windows.⁸⁷ As one of Werden's acquaintances commented, he 'loved Sir William Brereton well but yet... loved decency order & good discipline better'.⁸⁸

For Aston and his supporters, the coincidence of this crescendo of iconoclasm with the anti-episcopal petitioning was no accident, and indeed, they may well have sought to make political capital of it. As we have seen, a complaint about the iconoclasm was sent to the earl of Bath, a noted defender of the Church of England in the House of Lords.⁸⁹ Whilst Bath's hand in this enterprise cannot be proven (though he certainly attended the House on this day), on 22 April 1641, three days after Sir William Brereton had presented Calvin Bruen's petition to the Commons, the Lords heard about the disturbance of divine service in churches in Cheshire, and issued an order to be sent to Cheshire that divine service be performed as required by law.⁹⁰

The reporting of these incidents reveals the development of a 'puritan' versus 'anti-puritan' dichotomy, of puritan iconoclasm versus an

Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 71.

⁸⁵ British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fos. 210r-v.

⁸⁶ Cheshire Record Office, Chester, P63/7/1. I would like to thank Prof. John Walter for drawing my attention to the significance of this reference.

⁸⁷ British Library, Additional MS, 36914, fos. 215r-v. This letter is dated as 'Good Friday', and I would like to thank Dr. David Wykes for his assistance in identifying the calendar date. Judith Maltby (*Prayer Book and People*, p. 174) has questioned if 'Neston' might actually read 'Weston' (in Staffordshire), but having checked the manuscript, I am satisfied that it reads as Neston. The vicar of Neston, Francis Greene, was articulated against following the first civil war and his case was referred to the Wirral sequestration committee on 22 September 1646, before he was forcibly retired on the grounds of old age, see *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896), xxviii. 165, 188.

⁸⁸ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 215r.

⁸⁹ Stater, 'Bourchier, Henry, fifth earl of Bath', *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ *Lords Journal*, 22 April 1641.

anti-puritan concern for order and decency in worship. In the absence of the subscriptions to the anti-episcopacy petition of January and April 1641, drawing any kind of patterns is necessarily speculative, but it seems that moderately puritan clergy were the last clergymen to enter into anti-episcopal opposition, and that their opposition post-dated these two petitions. Samuel Torshell, the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire, recalled in November 1643 that ‘though I never thought Episcopacie to be of Divine-right, as it was proudly chalenged, yet I looked upon it as the most antient and most prudentiall way of government, and so obeyed it and spake well of it, though not its mad and furious wayes’, proceeding to list his qualms with Laudian episcopacy. Torshell then related how his views changed after reading a copy of John White’s speech against episcopacy, given in the Commons in late May or June 1641, when ‘I was fully convinced of the inconveniencies and mischiefe of it among us’.⁹¹

It is interesting that a cleric such as Torshell (a puritan nonconformist who had apparently conformed after being put under pressure at the 1633 metropolitanical visitation) only came to an anti-episcopal position after the two petitioning campaigns of January and April 1641, and this further strengthens the view that the clerics engaged in this campaign were relatively marginal figures from outside the local clerical establishment: Samuel Eaton was a one-time puritan nonconformist minister who had recently returned from New England, and John Brereton was a recent graduate from a Scottish university (perhaps indicative of his ecclesiological views) who in 1641 seems to have been unbeneficed, though A. G. Matthews found that he may have been an assistant clergyman at Prestwich in Lancashire.⁹² We have got to consider the very real possibility that these early anti-episcopacy petitions may have alienated potential supporters of religious reform: the first because of its overt congregational basis, and the second because of its association with iconoclasm. Margaret

⁹¹ Samuel Torshell, *The Hypocrite Discovered and Cvred* (London: G. M. for John Bellamy, 1643), ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’. Interestingly, this pamphlet was printed upon the order of a John White (there were two members of Parliament of this name), and with a recommendation from Charles Herle. For John White’s speech, see his *A Speech of Mr. John White, Counsellor at Law, made in the Commons House of Parliament concerning Episcopacy* (London: for Thomas Nicholes, 1641). I cannot find any reference to a speech by White in the *Proceedings*, ed. Jansson, v (7 June – 17 July 1641), but on 11 June 1641 (the date when Sir Robert Harley called for a debate on the Root and Branch bill), Sir Simonds D’Ewes noted that ‘Many other passages and speeches worthy of memory happened which are too long to set down in order’, see *Proceedings*, ed. Jansson, v. 94. The other possibility (given that the cover of the pamphlet claims that it was printed ‘with additions’) is a speech given by White on 31 May 1641 about the oaths sworn at ordination, noted by John Moore, see *Proceedings*, ed. Jansson, iv (19 April – 5 June 1641). 660. Indeed, William Sanderson claimed that White’s speech had been given in May 1641, see his *A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Tomlins and George Sawbridge, 1658), p. 421.

⁹² Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 71. For Eaton, see *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Aston has pointed out that even the puritanically inclined could be uncomfortable with the idea of unbridled iconoclasm.⁹³ Richard Wilson, the rector of Holy Trinity parish in Chester, was one of the five clergymen from the diocese who refused to contribute to the war against the Scottish Covenanters, but unlike the other three clergymen whose political allegiances are known and who supported Parliament in the first civil war, Wilson became a royalist. Whilst we cannot rule out the possibility (as suggested in the articles drafted against Bishop Bridgeman) that Wilson felt himself bound to Bridgeman and to episcopacy by having taken the *et cetera* oath, and he subsequently signed both of Sir Thomas Aston's petitions in February and December 1641, he may have become alienated from this oppositionist position in 1639 by the initial congregationalism and the later iconoclasm associated with the anti-episcopal campaigns in Cheshire, signing the letter to the earl of Bath complaining about the disorders associated with the petitioning.⁹⁴ Certainly, onetime moderate puritans signed one or both of Aston's petitions.⁹⁵ Thus, rather than the petitioners representing a stable conformist body as Judith Maltby has suggested, we need to consider the impact of the overt congregationalism of the January 1641 anti-episcopacy petition upon support for the February 1641 pro-episcopacy petition (as well as the allegation that some subscribers believed that they were petitioning for moderate ecclesiastical reform), and that by the time of the pro-liturgy petition in December 1641, the witnessing of iconoclasm in Cheshire's churches plus the knowledge that Aston's cause had royal support (bearing in mind that each clergyman had sworn to the oath of supremacy at their ordination) may have further ensured moderate puritan clerical support for Aston.⁹⁶ The extent to which such sentiments may have informed clergymen in making their decision to support the King in 1642 and beyond should not be underestimated, and offers some support to Maltby's assertion that subscriptions to Aston's petitions formed the basis of first civil war royalism.⁹⁷ Indeed, only eleven clerical signatories of either of Aston's petitions show some signs of parliamentarianism between 1642

⁹³ Margaret Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, eds. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 121.

⁹⁴ For Wilson's refusal to contribute to the war against the Scottish Covenanters in 1639, see the third chapter of this thesis.

⁹⁵ Based on a comparison of signatories to Aston's petition and clergymen presented for puritan nonconformist offences since the beginning of Charles I's reign (and thus, such figures will, if anything, underestimate the scale of moderate puritan support for Aston's petitions), ten clerics signed both petitions, five clerics signed the February 1641 petition only, and four clerics signed the December 1641 petition only, see the third appendix of this thesis. It should also be noted that Malcolm Wanklyn has observed the support of puritan gentry for one or both of Aston's petitions, see his 'Landed society and allegiance in Cheshire and Shropshire in the First Civil War' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1976), p. 501.

⁹⁶ For Maltby's ideas, see her *Prayer Book and People*, ch. 3.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

and 1649, and in two of those cases, they appear to have come to parliamentarianism after being suspected of royalism.⁹⁸ In comparison, forty-two future royalist clergymen (including the two ‘turncoats’) signed one or both of Aston’s petitions.⁹⁹

The failure of moderate puritans such as Samuel Torshell, Thomas Holford, Nathaniel Lancaster and John Ley to support the December 1641 pro-liturgy petition despite apparent royal approval (which the February 1641 petition had lacked at the time of subscription) is highly suggestive of hardening opinions against a church establishment without substantive reform, even if this was the form of settlement desired by their king and supreme governor. Torshell’s move to an anti-episcopal position has already been discussed, but the likely shifts to such a position by the other three clergymen deserve consideration. The build-up to the December 1641 pro-liturgy petition came after a group of local gentry attempted to cool the political temperature in Cheshire after the stirs of April 1641. At the heart of this group were Sir George Booth, Sir Richard Grosvenor and Sir Richard Wilbraham. It seems that Aston had made efforts to gain the support of this

⁹⁸ The two ‘turncoats’ are Ralph Poole (C. Bebington in 1641, signed December 1641 petition) and Samuel Catherall (uncertain living in 1641, R. Swettenham and Handley in 1643, signed both petitions), who both signed the *Attestation* in May 1648 after previously having been investigated for royalism. The other nine clergymen are William Bagelay (uncertain living in 1641, minister at Burtonwood in Lancashire in 1646, signed February 1641 petition), William Bridges (C. Grappenhall in 1641, signed February 1641 petition), Thomas Brooke (uncertain living in 1641, minister at Gawsworth in 1646, signed December 1641 petition), William Glegg (C. Heswall in 1641, signed both petitions), Randle Guest (C. Little Budworth in 1641, signed the December 1641 petition), Bradley Hayhurst (uncertain living in 1641, minister at Leigh in Lancashire in 1646, signed the February 1641 petition), John Johnson (appointed as R. Ashton-on-Mersey in 1642, signed the February 1641 petition), Thomas Joynson (V. Prestbury in 1641, signed both petitions), and Francis Shelmerdine (uncertain living in 1641, minister at Mottram-in-Longdendale in 1647, signed both petitions). For Shelmerdine, see Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains 1642-1651* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), p. 174. Bridge, as minister at Grappenhall in March 1644, noted the names of delinquents in Bucklow Hundred for the sequestrators there, see British Library, Harley MS, 2174, fo. 34r. Brooke, as minister at Gawsworth, contributed £5 in January 1646 towards the siege of Chester, see *The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton*, ed. R. N. Dore, 2 vols., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxiii, cxxviii (1984-1990), cxxviii (vol. 2, 18 June 1645 – 1 February 1645/46), p. 1235. John Johnson, appointed in June 1642 as the rector of Ashton-on-Mersey and who had signed the February 1641 petition, was appointed to the committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, see *Commons Journal*, 9 October 1643. Along with Catherall and Poole, Bridges (by then at Farndon), Glegg, Guest and Joynson signed Anon., *An Attestation to the Testimony of our reverend Brethren of the Province of London... Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their meeting May 2. and subscribed at their next meeting June 6. 1648* (London: R. Cotes for Christopher Meredith. 1648), pp. 55-56. In March 1648, Bagelay and Hayhurst signed the Lancashire precedent to the *Attestation*, *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: J. Macock for Luke Fawne, 1648), pp. 25-30.

⁹⁹ See the third appendix of this thesis. Additionally, John Smith, the curate at Bowdon who signed the February 1641 petition, was apparently ejected by Sir George Booth in 1643, but his later career makes a positive identification as a royalist difficult, see Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp. 446-447.

trio and their gentry supporters for his petition of February 1641, but had ultimately failed.¹⁰⁰ According to Peter Lake, this failure was rooted in the depths of local gentry politics rather than in any great ideological differences between Aston and the trio's faction (essentially the Booth-Wilbraham group of John Morrill's work, with the addition of Grosvenor in Lake's reading).¹⁰¹ The trio were irritated by Aston's claim before the Lords to be speaking on the behalf of the county of Cheshire when he urged the prosecution of the printers and circulators of the 'fake' printed petition, and gathered together an 'Attestation' signed by forty-eight gentlemen disassociating themselves from Aston, which Peter Venables, the knight of the shire, presented before the Commons on 22 May 1641.¹⁰² As Lake observes, the text of the Attestation not only attacked Aston's performance before the Lords, but also sought to cast doubt on the veracity of the February 1641 petition.¹⁰³ It was almost preordained that Aston would not get a favourable hearing for John Moore, the member of Parliament for Liverpool, recorded in his journal that the Attestation was 'referred to M^r Caluin Brewin his committie', an inversion of how Bruen's own petition was referred to a committee packed with favourable hearers.¹⁰⁴

Attempting to reconstruct the nature of the Booth-Grosvenor-Wilbraham group's clerical support at this time is a difficult proposition, given that there is no document which gives an indication of their clerical support until an accommodation petition organised by them in the spring of 1642. The trio seem to have had some godly credentials. Grosvenor had represented Cheshire in the parliaments of the 1620s, giving a notable speech against the King's Arminian counsellors in the Parliament of 1629, and he also possessed a copy of the judgement made in 1627 by Bishop John Williams of Lincoln against the 'altarwise' position of the communion table at Grantham church in his diocese.¹⁰⁵ However, the only clergyman who did not sign either of Aston's petitions who can be definitively linked to this group prior to the accommodation petition is Nathaniel Lancaster, who, in a sermon printed in 1628, praised Grosvenor's support for godly ministers.¹⁰⁶ It is of course feasible that some clergymen of Lancaster's ilk (such as John Ley, Thomas Holford or Samuel Torshell) were beneficiaries of Grosvenor's support, though this is not recalled in the historical record.

¹⁰⁰ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 262, 272-274.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

¹⁰² British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 63r-64r.; Harley MS, 477, fo. 546v. See also Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 108.

¹⁰³ Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions', pp. 267-268.

¹⁰⁴ British Library, Harley MS, 477, fo. 546v.

¹⁰⁵ *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor, 1st Bart. (1585-1645)*, ed. Richard Cust, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxxiv (1996), pp. xviii-xix; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 181.

¹⁰⁶ *Sir Richard Grosvenor*, ed. Cust, pp. x, xiv-xv.

Nonetheless, Lancaster certainly operated in the same circle as Ley and Holford, with Lancaster and Holford signing the letter to Ley calling for him to pronounce on the issue of the Sabbath in the early 1630s.¹⁰⁷

Whilst the pro-episcopacy petition was being gathered in Cheshire in February 1641, John Ley was in London, his dedicatory to his *Defensive Doubts* being dated from Paul's Churchyard on 22 February 1641, and his *Letter (Against the erection of an Altar)* having dedicatories dated 13 and 24 February 1641.¹⁰⁸ On 23 January 1641 (the same day as Charles I's Banqueting House speech), Sir Robert Harley had presented to the House of Commons the Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance, which called for substantial reform of episcopacy, but not for its outright abolition.¹⁰⁹ It is plausible that Ley was involved in the Remonstrance. His *A patterne of piety*, printed in 1640, was co-dedicated to Sir Robert's wife Lady Brilliana, and his treatise on the Protestation oath, printed later in 1641, was dedicated to Sir Robert.¹¹⁰ Also, Sir Robert had evidently read the printed version of Ley's treatise, *Sunday a Sabbath*, printed in early 1641.¹¹¹ In a letter to Richard Baxter in 1659, the London minister Cornelius Burges recalled twice weekly meetings in the early 1640s involving himself, John White, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, 'and one or two ministers more... not one was for total abolishing of all, or any, but usurped episcopacy'.¹¹² These four named clerics were all involved in organising the Remonstrance.¹¹³ It is intriguing to wonder if Ley was one of these other ministers. He certainly had connections (by his Warwickshire upbringing and via his friend Thomas Dugard, the Warwick schoolmaster) to Lord Brooke, who according to Burges also attended some of these meetings.¹¹⁴ He was also a long standing friend of James Ussher, the archbishop of Armagh, whose proposals for 'modified episcopacy' were what John Adamson has described as being

¹⁰⁷ John Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath* (London: R. Young for George Lathum, 1641), 'The Coppie of the Letter mentioned in the Preface'.

¹⁰⁸ Ley, *Defensive Doubts*, epistle dedicatory; John Ley, *A Letter (Against the Erection of an Altar)*, Written June 29. 1635. to the Reverend Father Iohn L. Bishop of Chester (London: George Lathum, 1641), epistle dedicatories

¹⁰⁹ John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007), pp. 174-175.

¹¹⁰ John Ley, *A patterne of Pietie, or The religious life and death of that gracious Matron, Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe, Widow and Citizen of Chester* (London: Felix Kingston for Robert Bostocke, 1640), dedicatory epistle; John Ley, *A Comparison of the Parliamentary Protestation with the late Canonick Oath* (London: G. M. for Thomas Underhill, 1641), dedicatory epistle.

¹¹¹ British Library, Additional MS, 70062, unfoliated (undated notes in the handwriting of Sir Robert Harley on 'Sunday a Sabbath'). The page numbers cited by Harley correspond to those in the printed version of Ley's *Sunday a Sabbath*.

¹¹² Dr. Williams' Library, London, Richard Baxter's letters, vol. 3, fo. 80r.; see also Jacqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the outbreak of the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 112.

¹¹³ Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 113.

¹¹⁴ Ann Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s – a 'Parliamentary-Puritan' Connexion?', *Historical Journal*, xxix (1986), 786.

‘broadly compatible’ with what is known about the contents of the Ministers’ Petition and Remonstrance (of which no text survives).¹¹⁵ Indeed, in February 1641, Ley had spoken to Ussher only ‘the other day’.¹¹⁶ The solution might lie in the identity of ‘N. E.’, who wrote a preface to Ley’s *Defensive Doubts* explaining why it was now being printed some two months after the canons of 1640 had been voted down by Parliament in December 1640. They were obviously someone close to the heart of this reform group, as they wrote about the volume of letters which they had recently received from clergymen on the topic, with one such letter being reproduced.¹¹⁷ I would like to tentatively suggest that ‘N. E.’ was Matthew Newcomen, the lecturer at Dedham in Essex involved later in 1641 (alongside Calamy and Marshall) in authoring the ‘Smectymnuus’ pamphlets.¹¹⁸ Ley sometimes used a formulae in his dedications of ‘X [surname initial] of Y [place initial]’, and it may be possible that ‘N. E.’ represents ‘N[ewcomen of] E[ssex]’.¹¹⁹ More prosaically, ‘N. E.’ are the first two letters of Newcomen. If this identification is accurate, it would place Ley at the heart of this London-based group calling for a thorough reformation of the Church of England, possibly but not essentially ‘Root and Branch’ in nature, and the publication in quick succession of two anti-Laudian but not anti-episcopal pamphlets would suggest as much. Interestingly, given the timing, the *Letter* was dedicated to Lord Kilmorey, and thanked him for having recently secured for Ley an augmentation of his salary. Coming simultaneously to Kilmorey’s involvement with Aston’s petition, one wonders if this was a tactical move to draw one of Aston’s most prominent supporters into the coalition of moderate reformers with whom Ley was involved.¹²⁰

It seems possible that like Samuel Torshell, Ley only came to hold an anti-episcopal opinion during the summer of 1641. When he dedicated his tract contrasting the Protestation oath with the *et cetera* oath to Sir Robert Harley on 20 September 1641, he could hardly have failed to have been aware either of the Protestation’s significance, which, according to the Commons’ explanation of 12 May 1641, did not bind the taker to obedience to the discipline or ceremonies of the Church of England, or that Harley himself had decisively turned against episcopacy when, on 11 June 1641, he

¹¹⁵ Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 174. For a letter from Ley to Ussher dated August 1619, see Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Letters 89, fos. 30r-v.

¹¹⁶ Ley, *Defensive Doubts*, ‘Letter’. I would like to thank Dr. Elliot Vernon for pointing this out to me, and for other discussions around the development of anti-episcopal positions in 1641.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ‘A Preface to the Reader, written by N. E.’.

¹¹⁸ Tom Webster, ‘Newcomen, Matthew (d. 1669)’, *ODNB*.

¹¹⁹ Ley, *Defensive Doubts*, ‘A Letter, declaring the occasion of beginning a manner of proceeding for the penning and publishing of the Discourse ensuing’.

¹²⁰ Ley, *Letter*, ‘To the Right Honourable Robert Lord Viscount Killmurrey’.

called for a debate in the Commons on the ‘Root and Branch’ bill.¹²¹ Indeed, the Protestation return sent from the parish of St. Peter’s, Chester, where Ley was lecturer and his friend John Glendole was the rector (and whose signature headed the return), explicitly qualified the parish’s subscriptions ‘according to the explanation subioyned therevnto’.¹²² In the dedication to his tract, Ley professed ‘my devoted service to the pious designes of your honourable Senate’, and prayed ‘to prosper your consultations with such happy successe’.¹²³ Torshell and Ley may not have been alone in making this transition. In a letter dated 6 August 1641 from John Werden to Sir Thomas Smith, one of the members of Parliament for the city of Chester, Werden claimed that preaching exercises had been held at Little Budworth, Barrow, Thornton-le-Moors and Tarvin, and that ‘the tenor of all those sermons are against the Bishops & their government’. At Barrow (a provocative location, given that the rector was Bishop Bridgeman’s son Henry), Samuel Eaton and Thomas Holford preached, ‘but Eaton was modest in comparison to Holford whoe rayled most damnably against all church gouernment at all established’.¹²⁴ Thomas Holford, one will remember, was the perpetual curate of Plemstall and an associate of John Ley who had apparently no prior record of nonconformity until he launched an attack on conformity and what he saw as the abuse of puritans in a sermon preached at St. Peter’s church in Chester in January 1638.¹²⁵ Unlike Eaton, this is the first known instance of Holford adopting an anti-episcopal stance.

So, why did moderate puritans such as Holford, Ley and Torshell come into open anti-episcopalianism in the summer of 1641? Like Torshell, they could have read one of the numerous pamphlets on the topic of episcopacy which were then in circulation. Also, as Peter Lake has argued, they could be amongst those moderate puritans who had lost their belief that they could be edified via membership of the Church of England, and thus, only a complete restructuring of the church could make it once again pleasing to God.¹²⁶ One reason, though, may have been the timely return of Sir William Brereton to Cheshire from London, perhaps seeking to capitalise on the anti-Aston sentiment then evident in the county. On 25 May 1641, Sir Francis Gamull, a member of Parliament for the city of

¹²¹ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 113; Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, pp. 330-331; Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 113.

¹²² Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/78, Chester St. Peter’s Protestation return (undated). I would like to thank Prof. John Walter for pointing me towards this reference.

¹²³ Ley, *Comparison*, dedicatory epistle.

¹²⁴ National Archives, SP 16/483, fos. 35v-36r.

¹²⁵ See the third chapter of this thesis.

¹²⁶ Peter Lake, ‘Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice’, in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), p. 95.

Chester, wrote to his father-in-law, Sir Richard Grosvenor, ‘S^r W[illiam] B[rereton] is Gonn into Cheshire wee learne to obtaine new matter & that committye is not like to remaine vnless hee come with new force out off Cheshire. Maney are more zealous against Bishops I spare not to say they will destroy that order’.¹²⁷ The Root and Branch bill, presented to the Commons by Sir Edward Dering on 27 May 1641, was up against a majority of peers and bishops in the Lords opposed to the abolition of episcopacy, and debates about the bill continued over the summer. Brereton, a member of a number of Parliament’s religious committees, may have realised that a new wave of support for Root and Branch reform was needed if the current majority in the Lords opposing reform was to be overcome, and to gain such support, he returned to his constituency.¹²⁸ It is not unfeasible that his return consisted of a series of bridge-building exercises, given the overt congregationalism and the iconoclasm associated with the two previous anti-episcopal petitioning campaigns which are likely to have alienated potential moderate puritan supporters. In seeking to build an anti-episcopal coalition, he may well have reined in the iconoclasm associated with the latter anti-episcopacy petition, and the report to the Lords from the magistrates and ministers of Chester dated 31 May 1641 (in response to the Lords’ order of 22 April 1641) which noted that church services were no longer being disturbed may be accurate.¹²⁹ Certainly, future acts of iconoclasm reported in Cheshire seem to have been relatively orderly affairs pursuant to the Commons’ order of 8 September 1641, or the removal of communion table rails by joiners and recorded in parish churchwardens’ accounts, rather than the apparently spontaneous actions associated with anti-episcopal petitioning in the spring of 1641.¹³⁰ The churchwardens at Baddiley, where the future parliamentarian army chaplain George Mainwaring was rector, even paid 1s. in 1641 to ‘the smith for defacing the Crosse’.¹³¹

What Brereton did was widen the appeal of the anti-episcopal movement in Cheshire, from being the seeming preserve of congregationalists and iconoclasts into a movement with which moderate clergy could respectably align themselves, and whose primary weapon was preaching. In this enterprise, he may have been aided by the timely appearance in 1641 of William Hinde’s *Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford*. Bruen had died in 1625, and Hinde (the preacher

¹²⁷ British Library, Harley MS, 2081, fo. 93v.

¹²⁸ Morrill, ‘Sir William Brereton’, pp. 188-189.

¹²⁹ *Lords Journal*, 31 May 1641.

¹³⁰ See the discussion below.

¹³¹ Cheshire RO, P173/6/1. George Mainwaring was paid £2 in August 1644 for preaching at Nantwich garrison, see ‘An Account Book of Sir William Brereton, Bart.’, ed. David Eastwood, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, cv (2009), 75; see also Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 333

at Bunbury) had died in 1629.¹³² Hinde was a noted religious writer, later being described by Edward Burghall, the schoolmaster at Bunbury, as a ‘worthy Man’.¹³³ In the first printed edition of the text, edited by William Hinde’s son Samuel (with a preface dated 20 May 1641), Bruen’s cleansing of the ‘many superstitious images, and idolatrous pictures in the painted windowes’ in the church at Tarvin (where the Bruen family had a chapel) was recorded. Crucially, this action was conducted ‘in a warrantable and peaceable manner’, with Bruen paying for the church to be reordered along protestant lines.¹³⁴ Given that Bruen’s son Calvin was a leading light in the Cheshire anti-episcopal petitioning movement, as Margaret Aston has suggested, the timely appearance of a work promoting orderly iconoclasm may not have been accidental.¹³⁵ William Hinde still held hefty credit amongst the Cheshire godly, and one wonders if this printing should be seen within the wider efforts to recast the nature of the anti-episcopal campaigning in the county.

Whilst the summer of 1641 seems to have provided a defining moment for the attitudes towards episcopacy, and ultimately the first civil war allegiances, of the likes of Thomas Holford, John Ley and Samuel Torshell, in terms of activism, the situation seems to turn quiet in Cheshire. The petitioning movements seem to have hit something of a lull, and church-cleansing efforts are unheard of apart from the removal of the communion rail at Frodsham, which is listed in the churchwardens’ accounts between the June and July communions.¹³⁶ On 21 August 1641, the two members of Parliament for the county, Sir William Brereton and Peter Venables, were ordered by the Commons to assist in the disarming of recusants in Cheshire.¹³⁷ This quiet ended after 8 September 1641, when, acting with neither the King nor the Lords’ authority, the Commons issued an order for the removal of superstitious and popish images from churches, as well as for the pulling down of communion rails.¹³⁸ In Chester, the sheriff, Calvin Bruen, oversaw the cleansing of the city’s churches pursuant to this order, and the churchwardens’ accounts for St. John’s, St. Mary’s and St. Michael’s parishes record payments for the removal of communion table

¹³² Steve Hindle, ‘Bruen, John (1560-1625)’; S. J. Guscott, ‘Hinde, William (1568/9-1629)’, both *ODNB*.

¹³³ Burghall, ‘Providence Improved’, p. 1.

¹³⁴ William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of The Holy Life and Happy Death of Iohn Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, in the county of Chester, Esquire* (London: R. B. for Philemon Stephens and Christopher Meredith, 1641), pp. 78-79.

¹³⁵ Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm’, p. 111. For the Bruen family, see Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 182.

¹³⁶ Cheshire RO, P8/13/2.

¹³⁷ Mary Frear Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-1641: A Biographical Study of its Members* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954), p. 372.

¹³⁸ Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm’, pp. 114-117; Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 368-372.

rails at around this time.¹³⁹ Bruen, though, was prevented from cleansing the Cathedral by the sub-dean, William Bispham, and he was still negotiating for permission six months later on 26 March 1642.¹⁴⁰

During the course of 1641, the *Book of Common Prayer* became an additional focus for attack alongside episcopacy. On 31 August 1641, though the Commons that day voted in favour of the Prayer Book, the committee to which was referred the drawing of an order in support of the Prayer Book was packed with members who opposed such an order.¹⁴¹ The next day, the Commons began formulating the order which would be issued on 8 September 1641.¹⁴² In response, on 9 September 1641, the Lords voted to print their earlier order of 16 January 1641, requiring the continued performance of divine service as required by statute.¹⁴³ The development of such an open dichotomy between the supporters and opponents of future reform may explain the development of Sir Thomas Aston's second petition, which was being organised by late October 1641. The campaign got off to a bad start. On Sunday 31 October 1641, William Bispham, the sub-dean, presented a copy of the petition to William Clarke, the rector of St. Martin and St. Bridget's parishes in Chester and a minor canon of the Cathedral, instructing him to gather signatures at morning prayer in the Cathedral the next day.¹⁴⁴ Clarke was the target of some resentment in the city, being accused in the articles against Bishop Bridgeman drafted in 1641 of refusing 'to Administer the sacrament vnles the people come vp to the Rayles before the Altar', and of reporting to Bridgeman the contents of sermons preached 'by graue and godly Ministers'. It was also claimed that Clarke was a cooper by trade who had been ordained and promoted by Bridgeman, and that the bishop had forced Clarke to swear the *et cetera* oath.¹⁴⁵ On the day in question, Bispham had instructed Clarke to conduct the service in the place of another Cathedral canon, John Pilkington, who nevertheless attended Clarke's service. Clarke proceeded to give the congregation a defence of the petition in chime with Laudian attitudes, claiming that the Prayer Book was a successful proselytising tool, that episcopacy had apostolic origins, and comparing the papists and puritans' enmities to the

¹³⁹ Cheshire RO, P51/12/1; P20/13/1; P65/8/1. There is a notable entry in Randle Holmes' account of the siege of Chester, where he accused the parliamentarians of breaching the terms of the city's surrender in February 1646 by 'pulling the Railes from before the communion tables', though I suspect that this reference perhaps refers more to a resurgence of aspects of Laudianism amongst members of the city's royalist garrison rather than evidence of communion rails which survived the removals in 1641, see British Library, Harley MS, 2155, fo. 139v. I would like to thank Ms. Amy Calladine for drawing my attention to this reference.

¹⁴⁰ Cheshire RO, DCC 14/68.

¹⁴¹ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 368-369.

¹⁴² Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 115; Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, p. 370.

¹⁴³ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 117.

¹⁴⁴ Bodleian Library, Nalson MS, c. 13, fo. 70 (my foliation).

¹⁴⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 2103, fo. 201v.

Church as being like the respective roles of King Herod and Pontius Pilate in the crucifixion of Christ, in that though both were enemies, they agreed upon putting Christ to death. Unwisely, Clarke claimed that puritans were a greater danger to the Church than papists, for whilst the papist threat had lain dormant for many years, the puritan threat was very much an active threat.¹⁴⁶

Clarke's timing of his sermon could not have been worse. On the same day, news broke in England of rebellion in Ireland.¹⁴⁷ When under investigation by the mayor and the justices of the city, in the copy of his sermon which he supplied to them (and which corresponds closely to the depositions supplied by the congregation), Clarke noted in the margin, 'I had not then heard of the insurreccion in Ireland by Papists'.¹⁴⁸ The city authorities, though, were taking the matter seriously, perhaps unsurprisingly given that the city was now being flooded with Irish refugees.¹⁴⁹ On 5 November 1641, they took a series of depositions from members of the congregation, and on 27 November 1641, Thomas Cowper (the mayor), Christopher Blease, and Thomas Aldersey (the son of the John Aldersey prosecuted for welcoming William Prynne to Chester in 1637) submitted a file to the House of Commons complaining about Clarke's 'scandalous words'.¹⁵⁰

The actual text of the petition presented by Sir Thomas Aston to the House of Lords on 20 December 1641 was much more moderate in tone than that presented by Aston in February 1641.¹⁵¹ There was no mention of episcopacy, which was an issue of contention in the creation of the earlier petition. Instead, the petition focused entirely upon the upholding of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the suppression of 'Schismatiques and Separatists'. An interesting caveat, though, and not unusual amongst similar petitions from this time, is that the Prayer Book 'cannot be altered (unlesse by the advice and consent of some Nationall Synode) without an [sic] universall discontent'.¹⁵² Whilst the petition is certainly sympathetic to *Common Prayer*, this clause suggests that the authors were willing to countenance some reform of the liturgy as long as it was enacted properly.

Aston's second petition did not garner the controversy of his first petition, and testament to his efforts to position the petition on moderate

¹⁴⁶ Bodleian Library, Nalson MS, c. 13, fos. 66-68, 70-71 (some of this foliation is my own).

¹⁴⁷ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 136.

¹⁴⁸ Bodleian, Nalson MS, c. 13, fo. 71.

¹⁴⁹ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 202.

¹⁵⁰ Bodleian, Nalson MS, c. 13, fo. 69 (my foliation).

¹⁵¹ For the subscriptions to this petition, see Parliamentary Archives, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/74.

¹⁵² 'Petitions', ed. Maltby, pp. 133-134.

terms are the signatures of Sir George Booth, Sir Richard Grosvenor and Sir Richard Wilbraham. This point is well exemplified by a comparison with the pro-Parliament accommodation petition gathered circa April 1642, and which will be discussed in more depth later.¹⁵³ Whilst two clergymen signed this petition and both of Aston's petitions, and nine clergymen only signed the accommodation petition, particularly interesting are the four clergymen who signed both Aston's liturgy petition of December 1641 and the accommodation petition. The patronage of all four clergymen is revealing. Richard Hunt (who had achieved the rare feat of being praised by the metropolitanical visitors in 1633) had been presented to the vicarage of Acton in 1628 by Sir Richard Wilbraham, Jonathan Colly had been presented to the rectory of Pulford in 1640 by Richard Brereton of Ashley, William Marbury of Marbury, and Hugh Wilbraham of Woodhey, all of whom were prominent 'baronets' who were allied to Booth, Grosvenor and Sir Richard Wilbraham in their tussles with Aston, and Samuel Shipton was presented as rector of Alderley in 1630 by Sir Thomas Stanley of Alderley, another ally of the Booth-Grosvenor-Wilbraham group.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, William Shenton was presented as vicar of Rostherne circa 1630 by Peter Venables, who, as a member of Parliament for Cheshire, had presented the 'Attestation' to the Commons.¹⁵⁵ In essence, it appears that clergymen with close connections to the Booth-Grosvenor-Wilbraham group and who had avoided signing Aston's first petition joined the group leaders (if not necessarily their own personal patrons) in signing Aston's second petition.

However, though there is clear correlation amongst the clergy between signing Aston's two petitions and first civil war royalism, it should not be assumed that what would become two rival parties in Cheshire were already aligned by December 1641. Indeed, a tentative observation would be that whilst future parliamentarian clergy (such as Thomas Holford) can be seen adopting positions consistent with their first civil war allegiance in as early as 1638, and this trend continues with the adoption of anti-episcopal positions by John Ley and Samuel Torshell (and also by Holford himself) by the summer of 1641, the formation of royalist allegiances was a much slower and more drawn out process. Though preachers of overtly Laudian sermons such as George Snell (in 1637) and William Clarke (in 1641)

¹⁵³ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 60r-61r.

¹⁵⁴ *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy IDs: 131786, 131661, 131899 (date accessed: 30 July 2013). For Brereton, Marbury and Hugh Wilbraham, see Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 59, 61. For Hunt's praise by the metropolitanical visitors, see Staffordshire RO, D1287/9/8 (A/92).

¹⁵⁵ George Ormerod, rev. Thomas Helsby, *The History of the City and County Palatine of Chester* (2nd edition, 3 vols., London: George Routledge and Sons, 1882), i. pt. 2, 429. Shenton's *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* entry, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, does not contain details of his presentation, Clergy ID: 24106 (date accessed: 30 July 2013).

would become royalists, there is nonetheless a lot of fluidity in the positions held by future royalists in the months leading to the outbreak of civil war in August 1642.

This pattern is illustrated by the signatories to a petition calling for accommodation between the King and Parliament. After the passage of the bishops' exclusion bill in Parliament in late December 1641, and Charles' failed attempt to arrest the Five Members on 4 January 1642, the King had symbolically breached with Parliament by departing from London.¹⁵⁶ Addressed to the King, the petition centred upon the King's plan to lead an army to Ireland which had emerged in early April 1642, and the printed version of the petition noted that it was presented to Charles at York on 7 May 1642.¹⁵⁷ Ann Hughes has observed that in petitions raised in Yorkshire in 1642, though the language of such petitions was ostensibly similar, they nonetheless revealed crucial differences of interpretation for the causes of the current crisis.¹⁵⁸ Thus, whilst the Cheshire petition is couched in respectful language in its concern for the safety of the King's person, its message is clear, beseeching Charles:

To consider what danger (if your resolution for Ireland continew) you expose vs by the popish faction, when your Maiestie shall leaue vs naked, we not being putt into a posture of defence to repell the rage and attemptes of the enemies to our Religion, who we haue too Iust cause to feare.¹⁵⁹

The signatures to this petition are headed by Booth, Grosvenor and Wilbraham, and of the fifteen clerical signatories, at least seven are known to have been involved in first civil war parliamentarianism, including Thomas Holford, Nathaniel Lancaster and John Ley.¹⁶⁰ Joining them in

¹⁵⁶ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, ch. 11. Peter Legh (the M. P. for Newton-in-Makerfield in Lancashire) wrote briefly about recent events in London in a letter to his uncle, Francis Legh of Lyme in Cheshire, dated 4 January 1641/42, see John Rylands Library, Manchester, Legh of Lyme Correspondence, Box 2, Folder 10. As Legh does not mention Charles' attempt on the Five Members, we can only assume that the letter was written early that day.

¹⁵⁷ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 488-489; Anon., *The humble petition of 85 Gentlemen and Free-Holders, and 15 Ministers of the County Palatine of Chester* (York: Robert Barker, 1642).

¹⁵⁸ Ann Hughes, 'Local History and the Origins of the Civil War', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), p. 238.

¹⁵⁹ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 60r.

¹⁶⁰ For John Ley and Thomas Holford, see Bodleian, Nalson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r.; for Ley, see also Richard L. Greaves, 'Ley, John (1584-1662)', *ODNB*. For Lancaster, see Cheshire RO, QJF 71/4/24; British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 139v-141r.; Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 144-145. The four other known parliamentarians are Richard Eaton (the vicar of Audlem), John Glendole (the rector of St. Peter's and later vicar of St. Oswald's, Chester), George Mainwaring (the rector of Baddiley) and William

signing this petition, though, were at least two future royalists, Richard Hunt and Samuel Shipton.¹⁶¹ A further interesting signatory is John Conny, the vicar of St. John's and St. Oswald's parishes in Chester. Though he died soon after signing this petition, Conny had signed both of Aston's petitions, and had been named as one of the clergymen whose involvement in Aston's first campaign was due to his having sworn to the *et cetera* oath. Furthermore, Conny also signed the letter to the earl of Bath complaining about the pulling down of a communion table rail by a crowd in Chester. What we see, thus, is a coalition calling for accommodation consisting of erstwhile anti-episcopalians (such as Ley and Holford) and associates of the Booth-Grosvenor-Wilbraham group (such as Colly, Hunt, Shenton, Shipton, and possibly also Lancaster), together with John Conny, whose views are frankly difficult to place.

The role of Conny and the future royalists Hunt and Shipton in this petition is interesting, given that this petition espoused a particular view of current affairs, where 'our feares and distractions haue bene many & greate, and much increased by your maiesties absence from your Parliament'.¹⁶² In a sense, the King being physically apart from his Parliament was no good for anyone, and would theoretically lead to a deadlock in the pursuit for settlement as the King could not give his royal assent to statutes. But, more pressingly, as the two army plots of 1641 and the botched attempt to arrest the Five Members in January 1642 had shown, Charles was not a monarch to be trusted in sole control of military force.¹⁶³ Indeed, as Conrad Russell demonstrated, even courtiers who were otherwise loyal to Charles were horrified by the prospect of Charles leading an army to Ireland.¹⁶⁴ This

Peartree. Richard Eaton was recorded on a contemporary list found by William Urwick of ministers who, in Urwick's words, had been 'imprisoned and plundered by the royalists', declarations, but he did not give a reference, and I have been unable to trace this list, see William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in The County Palatine of Chester* (London: Kent & Co., 1864), p. xx. John Ley reported to the Westminster Assembly on 20 October 1643 that Glendole was being held as prisoner, see *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652*, ed. Chad van Dixhoorn (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), ii. 220, and after the surrender of Chester to parliamentary forces in February 1646, payments were made to Glendole by the Wirral sequestrators, see John Rylands Library, Manchester, English MS, 957. George Mainwaring (the rector of Baddiley), was paid £2 in August 1644 for preaching at Nantwich garrison, see 'An Account Book of Sir William Brereton, Bart.', ed. David Eastwood, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, cv (2009), 75; see also Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 333. William Peartee, who suffered imprisonment and plunder for his parliamentarianism, was listed on Urwick's list as imprisoned in 1642, and was employed as a lecturer to the Nantwich garrison in 1645, see Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p. 160. He was also listed in Urwick's list as being 'imprisoned and plundered by the royalists'.

¹⁶¹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 91, 93.

¹⁶² British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 60r.

¹⁶³ Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 209.

¹⁶⁴ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, p. 489.

matter would have been of particular concern in Cheshire, as Chester would be the likely landing point for an Irish invasion force led by Charles: indeed, troops were already being gathered in Chester in the early weeks of 1642, and as the Shropshire accommodation petitioners complained, troops marching through their county to Chester were guilty of ‘insolencies and robberies’ and contained many who were ‘popishly affected’.¹⁶⁵ It is thus perhaps unsurprising that the signatures to the petition were gathered at the Chester assizes, and the intention was perhaps to raise a petition in the name of the county. However, the careful wording of the opening of the petition, being in the name of the signatories rather than the county (and avoiding Aston’s mistake) suggests that there may have been dissent, and the allegations of impropriety which surrounded the conservative petition gathered in Kent in the spring of 1642 arose initially after its organisers attempted to push the petition onwards despite failing to secure the support of the Grand Jury at the Maidstone assizes.¹⁶⁶

If we are to view this petition in terms of a coalition, no alliance is more striking than that of John Conny and Thomas Holford, who, as was seen in the previous chapter, had in a sermon preached in January 1638 attacked Conny’s recent conformity with the Laudian innovations, as well as questioning more generally the Laudian vilification of puritanism. Earlier in the 1630s, though, Conny and Holford, together with Lancaster, had signed the letter to Ley calling on him to pronounce on the sabbatarian controversies then raging in Chester. Any conclusions drawn from the signatures to a petition are necessarily limited, as Conny and Holford could have both signed the petition without ever encountering each other. Still, the range of backgrounds of the clerical signatories does suggest that well into 1642, relations remained intact between Aston’s supporters and clergymen who were moving in an anti-episcopal direction.

John Morrill has suggested that ‘moderation’ and ‘accommodation’ were the characteristics which typified the majority of the Cheshire gentry as England drifted towards civil war in the summer of 1642.¹⁶⁷ During the preceding months, the political temperature had been rising. Proximity to Ireland necessarily led to a tense situation. On 18 August 1641, the Lords ordered that commissioners be sent into Cheshire to ensure that recusants had been disarmed, as stipulated in the King’s proclamation of 11 November 1640, and the Commons would make a further such order in March 1642.¹⁶⁸ On 22 November 1641, the House of Commons had passed

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁶ Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp. 95-102.

¹⁶⁷ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁸ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 61, 204.

the Grand Remonstrance, which colourfully outlined the extent of a popish plot against the state, and the Commons subsequently decided on 23 December 1641 to print the Remonstrance, prompting a response from the King.¹⁶⁹ A petition from Cheshire presented to the House of Commons on 24 May 1642 welcomed the Grand Remonstrance as a ‘looking glasse for this age’.¹⁷⁰ The sense that protestantism was under attack was further invigorated by the campaign in the aftermath of Charles’ attempt on the Five Members to ensure that the Protestation was taken by all adult males, and though returns only survive from some Chester parishes, John Robinson, the rector of Brereton, owned a copy of John Ley’s treatise on the oath, and the Mayor and Corporation of Chester received orders to issue the oath in early February 1642, though they pointed out that they had already taken the oath.¹⁷¹ Parliament’s militia ordinance of 5 March 1642 is often seen as the prompt for parliamentary military recruitment, which generally predated royalist recruitment in the counties.¹⁷² Yet, as Anthony Fletcher has argued, in Cheshire the militia ordinance seems to have been used to recruit forces for the preservation of order within the county. Even as late as 8 August 1642, a letter from Brereton was read to the Commons stating that most of the gentry would not contribute to Parliament’s war effort in the county unless it was guaranteed that their contribution would be ‘employed for the defence of their own Countrey’.¹⁷³

In the event, Sir William Brereton’s courting of the moderates during the summer of 1641 paid dividends, for in enacting the militia ordinance in the county in late June and early July 1642, he won the support of five gentlemen ‘whose political views were more moderate than his own’, including Sir Richard Wilbraham.¹⁷⁴ At a muster at Knutsford on 30 June, it appears that the deputy lieutenants had emphasised their desire for accommodation as a grounds for recruitment.¹⁷⁵ It is also feasible that

¹⁶⁹ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, pp. 424-429, 439.

¹⁷⁰ Anon., *Two Petitions from The County Palatine of Chester* (London: R. Badger for Richard Lownds, 1642), petition to the Commons, 24 May 1642.

¹⁷¹ British Library, Harley MS, 1999, fo. 280v. The books sold by the sequestrators in 1646 and 1647 following Robinson’s ejection from his living are so diverse as to prevent any identification of his ecclesiological preferences, with works by Theodore Beza and the notably Calvinist Irish Articles of Religion being owned alongside works by Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker and Francis White. For the Corporation’s receipt of the order from the Commons to issue the Protestation oath, see Cheshire RO, DCC 47/26 (Thomas Cowper, mayor of Chester, and other aldermen to Sir Thomas Smith, 5 February 1641/42). I would like to thank Prof. John Walter for pointing out to me that it seems that the Corporation had already taken the oath.

¹⁷² See, for example, Martyn Bennett, ‘Between Scylla and Charybdis: the Creation of Rival Administrations at the Beginning of the English Civil War’, reproduced in *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings*, ed. Peter Gaunt (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 169-170.

¹⁷³ British Library, Harley MS, 164, fo. 260r.

¹⁷⁴ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 352-353, quotation at p. 352.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.385.

Brereton played the anti-Catholic card, as he reported to the Commons on 7 June 1642 that he had received information that, Captain Edward Gerrard, ‘a papist’, was attempting to ‘raise 30 horse’ for the King from Cheshire.¹⁷⁶ Generally, anti-Catholic fears in Cheshire do not seem to have gained momentum like they did in Lancashire, though a pamphlet printed in London claimed that on 20 November 1641, when the trained bands went to search for arms at the home of the recusant ‘Lord Chomes’, ‘50 Papists’ armed in the house ‘slew 25 of the Protestants’.¹⁷⁷ In all likelihood, this account is fictitious, and one wonders if ‘Lord Chomes’ is meant to represent Lord Cholmondeley, and that the pamphlet was thus an attempt to further discredit the Cheshire pro-episcopacy campaigns.

In Cheshire, whereas the early parliamentarians used the motif of peace (rather than the desire for religious reformation) as their rallying cry in the summer of 1642, the royalists had a much more overtly religious dimension.¹⁷⁸ To the informed observer, the delineation over religious matters would have been obvious. Charles had issued a declaration on 10 December 1641 urging the continuation of the lawfully appointed services, whereas on 21 January 1642, the House of Commons had voted for a resolution claiming that the lack of reformation was due to the inadequacy of the liturgy, something which Michael Braddick has interpreted as an active refusal to defend the Prayer Book.¹⁷⁹ In Cheshire, the most active of the King’s commissioners of array were Sir Thomas Aston and Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth, a loyal supporter of Aston during the 1641 petitioning campaigns.¹⁸⁰ In August 1642, Bishop Bridgeman’s son Orlando was actively recruiting troops for the King’s forces.¹⁸¹ The anonymous author of *The vnfaithfulness of the Cavaliers* claimed in January 1644 that at the outset of the war, Bishop Bridgeman and his son, together with Lord Kilmorey, had effectively usurped the governance of the city, with the city council’s meetings being rendered largely meaningless.¹⁸² Later, the earl of Clarendon similarly suggested that the reason why Chester was royalist was because of the efforts of Bishop Bridgeman and his son.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ British Library, Harley MS, 163, fo. 152v.

¹⁷⁷ Anon., ‘The true Relation of a Bloody Conspiracy by the Papists in Cheshire’, appended to *A Royall Message* (London: for John Greensmith, 1641), unpaginated.

¹⁷⁸ The Cheshire parliamentarians’ approach differs from the much bolder declarations issued by parliamentarians in Warwickshire, see Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 153.

¹⁷⁹ Russell, *Causes*, p. 124; Michael Braddick, *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), pp. 185-186.

¹⁸⁰ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 360.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹⁸² Anon., *Vnfaithfulness of the Cavaliers*, unpaginated.

¹⁸³ *The History of the Rebellion in England begun in the year 1641 by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), ii. 469-470.

As military recruitment developed in Cheshire, the Booth-Grosvenor-Wilbraham group launched a final attempt at accommodation in June 1642, gathering what would become the Cheshire Remonstrance, though there is no evidence that it was ever submitted to Parliament.¹⁸⁴ Richard Cust has speculated that the trio may have been encouraged by the member of Parliament, Peter Venables, who in late June 1642 was reported to have been optimistic that a settlement could be agreed on the basis of the Nineteen Propositions.¹⁸⁵ The Cheshire Remonstrance contained 8376 signatures collected on a parish-by-parish basis, and called for joint action from the King and Parliament to tackle ‘sects and schisms’, as well as ‘papists, Donatists and Arminians’.¹⁸⁶ Anthony Fletcher has emphasised the unique nature of this petition in its stress of loyalty to both sides, and its earnest appeal for a reunion of King and Parliament.¹⁸⁷ Amongst the clerical signatures are moderate puritans who would become parliamentarians, including Thomas Holford, Nathaniel Lancaster, John Ley and Samuel Torshell. Particularly interesting are the signatures of George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors, and John Saring, the curate of Nantwich.¹⁸⁸ Both would lose their livings for royalism during the first civil war, but neither had signed either of Aston’s petitions nor the earlier accommodation petition.¹⁸⁹ Saring and Byrom were presented for puritan offences at the 1633 metropolitical visitation, and Byrom had previously employed the nonconformist Samuel Clarke as his curate.¹⁹⁰

From the Remonstrance of the summer of 1642, it would appear that there was a sizeable body of support for accommodation, which, though perhaps alarmed by Charles I’s activities, was nonetheless anxious to avoid a war against their sovereign. Peter Lake has argued that Aston’s two petitions represented the building of coalitions of differing shades of opinion, and a similar interpretation may be applied to the two accommodation petitions.¹⁹¹ Individuals may have had different motives for subscribing to the two accommodation petitions, including a genuine desire to avoid civil war. For some, though, there was perhaps no need to involve themselves at this point in an anti-episcopal petitioning campaign, given the

¹⁸⁴ Richard Cust has noted that several folios of the Remonstrance are annotated in Sir Richard Grosvenor’s handwriting, see *Sir Richard Grosvenor*, p. xxii. The Remonstrance is discussed in some depth in R. N. Dore, ‘1642: the coming of the Civil War to Cheshire: conflicting actions and impressions’, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxxxvii (1991), 51-55

¹⁸⁵ *Sir Richard Grosvenor*, ed. Cust, p. xxiii; see also Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸⁶ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 270-271; Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁸⁷ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁸⁸ British Library, Harley MS, 2107.

¹⁸⁹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 89, 93.

¹⁹⁰ Borthwick, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fos. 430v., 515v.; Clarke, *Sundry Eminent Persons*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹¹ Lake, ‘Puritans, popularity and petitions’, p. 288.

negative connotations which such campaigns had in Cheshire. Rather, a successful accommodation between King and Parliament was likely to generate some kind of settlement with which they could fall into line, even if that perhaps took the shape of a reduced episcopacy rather than of outright abolition.¹⁹²

Why, then, the royalist party should have emerged as dominant in Cheshire by the autumn of 1642 needs explanation. Anthony Johnson interpreted the city of Chester's support for the King as being the result of chicanery by the Gamull brothers, Sir Francis and William, both prominent aldermen, with Sir Francis being one of the city's two members of Parliament. The royalist coup was effectively completed by the King's appearance at Chester on 23 September 1642.¹⁹³ For John Morrill, the King's visit had a similarly dramatic impact. The 'Booth-Wilbraham' group of gentry, which he sees as being genuinely moderate and neutral, was critically split by the King's coming to Cheshire, with five of the group's leaders, including Sir Richard Wilbraham, answering the King's summons to appear before him at Chester, where they were promptly taken into custody and conveyed with the King to Shrewsbury. Afterwards, Sir George Booth declared his hand for Parliament, whilst 'about a third of the old moderate leadership became royalists', though who constituted this 'leadership' is sadly undefined by Morrill.¹⁹⁴

Johnson and Morrill's accounts have been challenged by Norman Dore and Anthony Fletcher respectively. Dore has pointed out that there is little evidence to support Johnson's account, and he notes that Johnson chooses to cast aside contemporary evidence of the role of Bishop Bridgeman and his son Orlando in securing Chester for the King. Furthermore, by the time of the King's visit, the earl of Derby and most of the Cheshire gentry had declared for the King, and the King's main field army was based at Shrewsbury, meaning that Chester becoming a parliamentary stronghold would have been highly unlikely. Indeed, Sir William Brereton's farcical attempt in the summer of 1642 to raise troops

¹⁹² Given the links which the likes of John Ley had to London, there is possibility that this attitude may have developed as a response to the so-called Aldermanbury accord, agreed at Edmund Calamy's house in late 1641, whereby ministers agreed to direct their efforts towards securing the abolition of episcopacy, with the exact details of religious settlement being considered afterwards. It is possible that the Cheshire ministers were waiting to assess developments in London. I would like to thank Dr. Elliot Vernon for suggesting the Aldermanbury accord to me as a possible reason for this attitude. For details about the Aldermanbury accord, see Francis J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), pp. 132-133.

¹⁹³ A. M. Johnson, 'Politics in Chester during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, eds. Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 204-210.

¹⁹⁴ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 55-66, quotation at p. 66.

for Parliament in the city resulted in him and his men being disarmed by the citizens, with the mayor having to come to his aid, and for Dore, this is evidence of the citizens' inclination towards royalism.¹⁹⁵ In Morrill's case, Fletcher has persuasively shown that some of Morrill's neutral leadership were actually moderate allies of Brereton, who, though desperate to avoid a civil war (and hence where Morrill perceived their neutralism), generally leaned towards supporting Parliament in their political preferences.¹⁹⁶

In the aftermath of the King's visit to Chester, Brereton had left the county, and serious fighting did not begin in Cheshire until January 1643, after a failed attempt to negotiate a demilitarisation pact at Bunbury in December 1642.¹⁹⁷ Yet, in the early stages of the war, royalist dominance of the county laid a basis for the nature of clerical allegiance in the county. Whilst it is difficult to place the emergence into royalism of individual clerics, it was claimed in 1646 that William Bispham (the pluralist rector of Eccleston and Lymm (Warburton Mediety)), Charles Duckworth (the rector of Dodleston) and George Snell (the archdeacon of Chester and the pluralist rector of Wallasey and Waverton) had, during the enforcement of the commission of array in the summer of 1642, paid for 'a man, horse and Armes' to fight for the King, and Snell was further alleged to have played a role in enforcing the commission of array.¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, all three clergymen had connections to Bishop Bridgeman's regime, the former two being members of the clergy at Chester Cathedral, and the latter was the archdeacon of Chester.¹⁹⁹ Cheshire was soon split between royalist control of the western part and parliamentary control of the eastern part, and Thomas Mallory, the rector of Northenden in the north-east of the county, claimed in 1660 to have been ejected from his living in as early as 1642.²⁰⁰ On the other side, in a letter to Oliver Cromwell dated 30 July 1642, Brereton reported that John Ley, Thomas Holford, Sabbath Clarke (the vicar of Tarvin) and Richard Oseley (the vicar of Weaverham) had been summoned to appear before the Chester assizes for refusing to read the King's declarations.²⁰¹ With regards to clerical networks, it is worth noting that three of the above clerics, Clarke (B. A. 1611), Ley (B. A. 1605, M. A. 1608), and Oseley (B. A. 1604) were all graduates of Christ Church, Oxford, together with another leading parliamentary cleric in Cheshire,

¹⁹⁵ *Sir William Brereton*, ed. Dore, cxxviii. 592-593.

¹⁹⁶ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 352-353.

¹⁹⁷ *Sir William Brereton*, ed. Dore, cxxviii. 593; Dore, *Civil Wars in Cheshire*, pp. 14-15. The Bunbury neutrality pact is discussed in some depth in Dore, '1642: the coming of the Civil War to Cheshire', 55-61.

¹⁹⁸ National Archives, SP 23/118, fos. 505, 509.

¹⁹⁹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 3, 88, 90, 93-94.

²⁰⁰ Parliamentary Archives, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/290; Peter Gaunt, 'Four churches and a river: Aspects of the civil war in Cheshire', *Cromwelliana*, second series, v (2008), 8.

²⁰¹ Bodleian, Nalson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r.

John Glendole (B. A. 1620, M. A. 1625).²⁰² On 8 September 1642, Parliament issued a declaration calling for an end to the royalists' persecution of ministers in Cheshire for 'yeelding obedience to the Ordinance and command of Parliament, and for refusing to obey the Illegal commands of the Commission of Array'.²⁰³ In the months after the outbreak of war, hostility to their ministry had forced John Ley and Samuel Torshell to leave Cheshire for London (where Torshell printed a justification of his decision), and later in the war, Nathaniel Lancaster does not seem to have been resident at his rectory of Tarporley, instead serving as a chaplain in Brereton's forces.²⁰⁴ In an unfortunately undated petition to the King, some of Lancaster's parishioners also claimed that he had provided five men to serve under Brereton.²⁰⁵

In conclusion, whilst it is sometimes a dangerous game to make generalisations, some broad points can be made. Sir Thomas Aston's two petitions of February and December 1641 do display a discernible correlation in terms of clerical signatories and known royalist allegiance, and Judith Maltby's observation that the petitions formed the basis for royalist support during the first civil war does seem fair.²⁰⁶ In some ways, the King's monopoly on the symbolism of order was one which would appeal to supporters of the Prayer Book and to moderate puritans alike, and whilst the former are notoriously difficult to discover, the latter were certainly numbered amongst the King's supporters.²⁰⁷ In contrast, whilst the genesis of clerical opposition to the King's religious policies can be discerned in 1637 (in a sermon by Samuel Rutter, perhaps ironically a future royalist), the earliest clerical agitator against episcopacy, Samuel Eaton, cut an isolated figure, as he often did throughout the 1640s and the 1650s. It was not until Sir William Brereton came to Cheshire in the early summer of 1641 and had calmed down the tenor of the anti-episcopal campaign in Cheshire that moderate puritan clergymen such as Thomas Holford, John Ley and Samuel Torshell became associated with the anti-episcopal cause which would later lead them into parliamentarianism. Central to the political

²⁰² Richardson, *Puritanism*, p. 187.

²⁰³ Anon., *Two declarations of The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament; The One, concerning the Releasing of diverse Worthy Ministers, and other his Maiesties good Subjects, in the County of Chester* (London: for John Wright, 1642).

²⁰⁴ Anon., *Vnfaithfulness of the Cavaliers*, unpaginated; Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 144-145.

²⁰⁵ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 140r.

²⁰⁶ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 129.

²⁰⁷ This explanation of support for the King is argued particularly vigorously in P. R. Newman, 'The King's Servants: Conscience, Principle, and Sacrifice in Armed Royalism', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays presented to G. E. Aylmer*, eds. John Morrill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 225-241, particularly pp. 240-241. For an acknowledgement of a perceived link (amongst opponents at least) between parliamentarianism and disorder, see Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, p. 140.

activisms of these clergymen was the idea of accommodation, and subsequently, as Anthony Fletcher has argued, it was Brereton's parliamentarians who made the most use of the rhetoric of peace in Cheshire during the mobilisations of 1642.²⁰⁸ However, the coming of the King to Cheshire in late September 1642 dealt an initially shattering blow to clerical parliamentarianism in the county, and in the aftermath, Ley and Torshell fled the county for London.

Lancashire:

Lancashire offers an interesting counterpart to the study of Cheshire. The two counties were the only northern counties to submit petitions against episcopacy to the House of Commons in 1641, but the politics of both counties, read from the surviving sources, offer interesting contrasts. In essence, this section is going to argue that due to the particular strength of Catholicism in the county, candidates in support of religious reform were elected to the Commons in the autumn of 1640, and then in the coming months leading up to the submission of the anti-episcopal petition in April 1641, that campaign enjoyed particular support. Lancashire is less fortunate than Cheshire in that virtually no sources survive which allow the reconstruction of the rival petitioning campaigns during 1641, and given that the Lancashire anti-episcopacy petition, submitted to the Commons on 21 April 1641 with 4488 signatures, generated more signatures than either of its counterparts from Norfolk or Suffolk, both counties with puritan traditions which would be the future heartland of Parliament's Eastern Association during the first civil war, this lack of evidence must be considered to be a great loss.²⁰⁹ The one aspect where Lancashire evidence is strong is for the fear of Catholicism, perhaps understandable given the county's history of recusancy and (particularly after the rebellion in the autumn of 1641) its proximity to Ireland. However, this presents a quandary to the historian, particularly if one is to compare Lancashire to Cheshire. There is no evidence that the Lancashire petitioning campaigns were as bitter as those in Cheshire, but there is evidence of inter-religious tensions. If this evidence provides a true reflection, this could explain the scale of the anti-episcopacy campaign in Lancashire, particularly if the Laudian innovations in the Church of England may have seemed to have been more of a sop to Catholicism there than they perhaps did in parts of England where Catholicism was less strong.

²⁰⁸ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 385.

²⁰⁹ British Library, Harley MS, 478, fo. 610v.; Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 92, 194; Stephen Bull, '*A general plague of madness*': *The civil wars in Lancashire, 1640-1660* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2009), pp. 62-63.

In late 1640 or early 1641, the inhabitants of Farnworth chapelry in Prescott parish drafted a petition to be sent to the House of Commons which interacted with such rhetoric. Requesting to be made into a separate parish, they pointed out ‘That there are 450 families & above within the said Chappellry, and 1200 or more Communicantes within the same, besides very many recusants which have much increased for want of a preaching Minister.’ They were currently served by ‘an old man, who is of a disordered life and conversacion... against whome we have oft complayned and cannot gett redresse’. The inhabitants were clear about how this situation had arisen. The parish officers at Prescott had caused ‘vs to bee at more charges or to paie more monies for the making and adorning of a paire of Organs & for the continuall mayntayning of an Organist [at the parish church], then wee can well allowe to a preaching Minister’.²¹⁰ In his response to the petition, the vicar, John Alden, pointed out that the only reason why so much money was spent on the organ was because it had been ‘enjoynd vs by authority because we formerly had an Organ’, neatly passing the blame to the beleaguered Bishop Bridgeman.²¹¹ For the inhabitants of Farnworth chapelry (and to their vicar), the imposition of Laudianism in Prescott parish had been such a financial burden that a preaching minister could not be maintained by the parish at the chapelry, and thus, popery had increased. In essence, their petition ticked all the boxes for the Commons’ concern that the Church of England during the 1630s had been shifted from its primary purpose of spreading correct protestant belief, and instead, had only served to encourage Catholicism.²¹²

When the elections for what would become the Long Parliament were held in Lancashire in the autumn of 1640, religion was the dominant issue. The county elected fourteen members, and interestingly, of the eight

²¹⁰ King’s College Archive Centre, Cambridge, PRE/30.

²¹¹ King’s College, PRE/31. Alden also admitted that the previous curate had been problematic, and he would have ‘displaced [him] for his vices and insufficiency’ if he had received a complaint, but the inhabitants’ preferred response seems to have been to employ their own lecturer. Alden continued ‘But during that tyme of preaching, and since hath popery decreased? I feare me noe: but rather encreased, & that not for wante of preachinge, they haueing two sermons every Lords daye, but indeed because their preachers were for the most parte mistaking and mistatinge the questions in difference betweene papists and the orthodox; and alsoe vttering that which they had borrowed, rather by tale than weight, to the great advantage of papists’. Research at King’s College by J. A. J. Walker revealed a note which suggested that when the inhabitants of Farnworth chapelry were again calling for parochial status in 1748, a search had been made in the records of the Commons to find out if the 1640 petition had ever been presented, but nothing was found, see their *Farnworth, Chapelry and Parish: Collected papers on its history* (self-published, 1999), p. 41. Walker’s work also includes full transcriptions of PRE/30 and PRE/31, see pp. 40-44, though I have consulted the original manuscripts myself.

²¹² The imposition of Laudianism in Prescott parish is discussed in Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 265, 273. For a rather different perspective, see the discussion of Prescott parish in the second chapter of this thesis, and in *Prescot Churchwardens’ Accounts 1635-1663*, ed. Thomas Steel, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxxvii (2002), pp. xxvii-xxx.

members elected who were ordinarily resident in the county, all were interested in the pursuit of religious reform, and excluding Thomas Standish of Duxbury, one of the members for Preston who died in the autumn of 1642, all of the remaining seven members except Roger Kirkby of Kirkby Ireleth (one of the knights of the shire) supported Parliament in the first civil war.²¹³ The calling of the Long Parliament was particularly welcomed by William Bourne, the puritan nonconformist fellow of the Manchester collegiate church. The second chapter of this thesis outlined some of the tense politics of the Manchester collegiate church during the 1630s, and on 8 January 1641, Bourne wrote to the Herefordshire member Sir Robert Harley in expectation that the college's business would soon become a topic of debate in Parliament, 'As Organs, Altars, gestures, vestares [vestments?], crosses, &c: which I hope you will remoue... I doubt not but you are resolved to remoue whatsoever savours of Anti-christ from amongst vs'. Bourne, though, was concerned about Harley's links to the group of London clergy involved in formulating the Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance who may have been willing to compromise over the issue of episcopacy.²¹⁴ Bourne's solution was clear:

I think you may doe well to conformance the same to the Apostles times; whereof wee haue presidents in France, Geneva, Scotland, & other reformed churches; the which if you doo; you shall make a most comfortable & perpetuall accord betwixt the Kingdomes [of England and Scotland]'.²¹⁵

²¹³ Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp. 53-54; see also the entries for individual members in Keeler's gazetteer. The six pro-religious reform and ultimately parliamentary Lancastrian (with their parliamentary seats in brackets) were Ralph Assheton of Middleton (knight of the shire), Ralph Assheton of Downham (Clitheroe), John Moore of Bank Hall, Liverpool (Liverpool), Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, senior (Preston), Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, junior (Clitheroe), and Alexander Rigby of Goosnargh (Wigan). Lancashire's fourteen members consisted of two for the shire, and two each for the boroughs of Clitheroe, Lancaster, Liverpool, Newton-in-Makerfield, Preston and Wigan. Lancaster and Liverpool both customarily accepted a nominee from the duchy of Lancaster, whilst Clitheroe and Newton were family-controlled seats, meaning that the county had a smattering of members who were either not natives of Lancashire, or who, though holding land in the county, were not ordinarily resident there. Very little is known about these elections, though that at Wigan seems to have been particularly fraught. Six candidates stood, with Orlando Bridgeman (the son of Bishop Bridgeman, who was the lord and rector of Wigan) being elected alongside Alexander Rigby of Goosnargh, as they had been at the Short Parliament election earlier in the year. The result was subsequently challenged by disgruntled inhabitants opposed to the borough's limited franchise, though it was allowed to stand.

²¹⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Elliot Vernon for discussing with me this group of clergymen.

²¹⁵ British Library, Additional MS, 70105, unfoliated (William Bourne to Sir Robert Harley, 8 January 1640/41). For Harley's involvement with the Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance, which he ultimately presented to the Commons on 23 January 1641, see Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, pp. 174-176; Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads*, pp. 111-113.

Yet, beyond Bourne's presbyterian enthusiasm, we are still left with the issue both of the nature and the extent of anti-episcopal sentiment in the county. Whilst not necessarily proof of anti-episcopalian sentiment, there is evidence of petitioning campaigns against Bishop Bridgeman in the spring of 1641, and Charles Herle told the bishop on 20 April 1641 that petitions were being gathered against him at Kirkham and at Bridgeman's rectory at Wigan. Given the timing of this letter and the links between anti-episcopal and anti-Bridgeman sentiment in Cheshire, the petitions which Herle refers to may well be linked to the anti-episcopacy petition submitted to the Commons on 21 April 1641. Tellingly, Herle named the organiser of the Kirkham petition as the vicar, Edward Fleetwood, who, as we have seen in the previous chapter, clashed with Bridgeman over the implementation of the Laudian innovations in his parish.²¹⁶ Furthermore, and interestingly given the trouble which Bishop Bridgeman was now suffering over his treatment of William Prynne's supporters in Chester, Bridgeman was also subject to a hostile petition to the House of Lords in June 1641 from Tobias Knipe and Arthur Gardiner, the 'vndoubted patrons' to the vicarage of Lancaster (the site of Henry Burton's imprisonment in 1637). It was alleged that in 1630, Bridgeman had refused to institute their nominee Richard Routh as vicar, and instead had secured the appointment of his 'chaplen and kinsman' Augustine Wildbore (already the vicar of Garstang) by a rival patron, Thomas Farrington, which, given the dubious nature of the presentation, was subsequently confirmed by a royal presentation. Though no outcome is known, orders were issued for both Bridgeman and Wildbore to appear before the Lords.²¹⁷

The Lancashire anti-episcopacy petition was presented to the Commons by the knight of the shire, Ralph Assheton of Middleton, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes noted its explicit call for the abolition of episcopacy, and its referral to the committee considering the Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance with the restriction that the abolition of episcopacy was not to be considered by the committee.²¹⁸ Indeed, it seems that in Lancashire, not only were more people willing to signify their support for anti-episcopalianism than in Cheshire (perhaps a legacy of Samuel Eaton's overtly congregationalist petition), but that some gentry became attracted to the possibilities which Root and Branch reform had for lay control of the local church, a possibility which gained support as the debates in the

²¹⁶ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/210). Herle was the rector of Winwick in Lancashire.

²¹⁷ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/63 (House of Lords Main Papers, 23 June 1641).

²¹⁸ British Library, Harley MS, 163, fo. 80r. This reference was brought to my attention by Anthony Fletcher, 'Concern for Renewal in the Root and Branch Debates of 1641', in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History*, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, xiv (1977), 285.

Commons progressed after 11 June 1641.²¹⁹ By 14 July, the Lancashire members had nominated the eight gentlemen who would form Lancashire's commission 'for causes Ecclesiasticall', including (intriguingly) three future royalists.²²⁰ On the same day, nominations were made for Lancashire's committee for scandalous ministers, though there is no evidence of any ministers being ejected in the county until 1643.²²¹

However, perhaps because of the particular Lancastrian context, no pro-episcopacy campaign developed in the county until possibly as late as the spring of 1642: though the pro-episcopacy petition appeared in Sir Thomas Aston's printed *Collection of Sundry Petitions*, given royal approval on 20 May 1642, Thomas Barlow, a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, noted in his copy of the *Collection* that the Lancashire petition was presented on 2 June 1642.²²² Whilst it should be made explicit that this argument by no means suggests that pro-episcopalianism was non-existent in Lancashire until 1642, the lack of rival *organised* factions vying for support within the county may explain why there is no record of iconoclasm in the county (including the removal of communion rails) until the pursuit of the Commons' order of 8 September 1641, in contrast to Cheshire, where the removal of rails seems to have been a characteristic of the gathering of Calvin Bruen's anti-episcopacy petition in the spring of 1641, in response to Sir Thomas Aston's pro-episcopacy petition of February 1641.

The Long Parliament had barely convened when, on 11 November 1640, Alexander Rigby, a lawyer from Goosnargh, near Preston, who was a member of Parliament for Wigan, told the Commons 'that there was a Popish Ecclesiasticall hierarchie and governement over the whole goverment of this Kingdome', and that 'The Papists of Lankeshire have

²¹⁹ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 104.

²²⁰ British Library, Harley MS, 479, fo. 801r. The three future royalists were Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Sir Edward Wrightington, and Roger Kirkby, see J. M. Gratton, *The Parliamentarian and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651*, Chetham Society, third series, xlvi (2010), Appendix 3.

²²¹ British Library, Harley MS, 479, fo. 801r. Seventeen members were appointed, including the county's eight 'native' members of Parliament. On 19 December 1640, a new committee had been appointed to investigate the deficiencies in the ministry in Lancashire, and the extent of the Commons' concern for the situation in Lancashire is testified by all of the county's members being appointed to it. The Commons ordered that within six weeks, the members for each county supply details of the situation concerning the preaching ministry in their county, see *Commons Journal*, 19 December 1640. On 24 December 1640, Alexander Rigby wrote to his brother George asking him to give suitable ministers the job of undertaking this task for Lancashire, see Lancashire RO, DDKe 9/23/69.

²²² 'Petitions', ed. Maltby, pp. 113, 140-141; Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 246 (fn. 29). If this date is accurate, it is possible that the authors of this petition (like the authors of some of the other county petitions appear to have been) were in contact with Aston before they presented it to Charles I, and had supplied Aston with a draft of the text of the petition which subsequently appeared in the *Collection*, see Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 87 (fn. 10). The Lancashire petition was addressed exclusively to the King, which suggests that it was presented to him at York, see 'Petitions', ed. Maltby, p. 140.

prepared all this summer more Armes than the Protestants'.²²³ On the same day, and coinciding with anti-Catholic disturbances in various parts of England, the King issued a proclamation calling for the disarming of recusants.²²⁴ Peter Lake has analysed the nature of this perceived threat during the early 1640s, and has suggested that by targeting such a widely accepted opponent of English protestantism, those in favour of religious reform could place themselves at the head of a coalition of the non-popish versus the popish, and thus dictate the political agenda.²²⁵ In many respects, as Lake has pointed out, popery was the binary opposition of protestantism: Papal authority versus scriptural authority, ritual versus the word, idolatry versus purity, salvation by works versus predestination, foreign versus English, Antichrist versus Christ.²²⁶ However, the term 'popish' could by extension be applied to anyone who was perceived to be an obstacle in the path of religious reformation. Henry Fairfax, the rector of Ashton-under-Lyne, certainly had godly credentials, being the brother of Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax (and thus the uncle of Sir Thomas Fairfax), but this did not prevent him being abused in 1641 as 'a goose & a popish priest'.²²⁷

Aside from the term 'popish' being used as a term of abuse, Lancashire was a county notorious for the extent of its Catholic recusancy. The knight of the shire, Roger Kirkby, horrified the Commons on 27 January 1641 when he revealed that at the recently held Epiphany quarter sessions, fifteen thousand recusants had been indicted in Amounderness Hundred alone, 'with the report of which great number of the Howse it selfe was much startled'.²²⁸ Gilbert Nelson, the rector of Tatham, wrote to the justices on 5 October 1641 to report that a local recusant gentleman, John Cantsfield, had not brought his recently born child to church to be baptised. Nelson went on to call for the justices to enforce the collection of recusancy

²²³ D'Ewes, ed. Notestein, pp. 24-25.

²²⁴ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 61; Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), p. 159.

²²⁵ Lake, 'Anti-popery', pp. 82-83, 95-97.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-83. Other good analyses of the protestant versus popish dichotomy can be found in Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', pp. 146-151; Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present*, li (1971), 27-62.

²²⁷ Lancashire Record Office, Preston, QSB 1/263/65. For Fairfax, see Andrew J. Hopper, 'Fairfax, Henry (1588-1665)', *ODNB*.

²²⁸ D'Ewes, ed. Notestein, p. 292. Whilst Kirkby certainly made an impression on the Commons, perhaps a more realistic account of the scale of recusancy in the county has been calculated by Christopher Haigh from the metropolitanical visitation in 1630, finding 3433 recusants and 65 non-communicants, see his *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 276 (Table 3). Amongst the gentry circa 1642, Gordon Blackwood found that 221 out of 774 families (28.6%) were Catholics, see B. G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-60*, Chetham Society, third series, xxv (1978), p. 28 (Table 15).

finer in Tatham parish, writing ‘out of an vnfaigned desire of suppression of poperye (that greate greivance of this kingdome)’.²²⁹

There is perhaps a sense that exercises such as the disarming of Catholics triggered a self-perpetuating cycle by revealing the aspects of Catholic behaviour which stirred most fear.²³⁰ During the spring of 1641, high constables uncovered and confiscated collections of recusant arms in Leyland Hundred, in Aughton, Halsall, Ormskirk and Sefton parishes in West Derby Hundred, and in Aspull, Blackrod, Little Bolton and Lostock townships in Salford Hundred.²³¹ The high constables also searched for recusant arms in Prescott and Walton-on-the-Hill parishes.²³² At around the same time, on Easter Sunday (25 April) 1641, the Catholic priest Ambrose Barlow was apprehended whilst celebrating Mass at Morleys Hall in Leigh, with him being tried and ultimately hanged at Lancaster in September 1641.²³³ This brings us to a problem. It was clear that recusants in Lancashire had been armed, were potentially dangerous, and were causing alarm by their activities. Furthermore, revelations before Parliament had revealed that the Laudian bishops had been in the thrall of a popish plot, yet, the obvious symbol of the innovations of the 1630s, the communion rail, does not seem to have been targeted in Lancashire until after the Commons’ order on 8 September 1641.²³⁴ In the coming weeks, the churchwardens’ accounts of Childwall, Prescott and Walton-on-the-Hill all record payments for the removal of their rails, and though the removal of the rails at Hawkshead church in the far north of the county cannot be dated as specifically as in the three south-western parishes, the rails were removed in 1641 and the payment made in the churchwardens’ accounts suggests an

²²⁹ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/252/17.

²³⁰ Robin Clifton has advanced an interpretation that anti-Catholic panics in early 1640s England coincided with particular moments of crisis, and indeed, he found that there was a notable decline in such panics after December 1641, when the Commons launched an investigation into the work of pursuivants, paid informants against Catholic priests who often stirred trouble in localities as they pursued the rewards on offer for uncovering priests, see Clifton, ‘Fear of Popery’, pp. 158-161; Robin Clifton, ‘The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution’, *Past and Present*, lii (1971), 53. It is difficult, though, to assess the precise dynamic of protestant and Catholic relations in Lancashire during the 1630s and the early 1640s, and both Clifton and Alexandra Walsham have played down the extent to which protestants lived in daily fear of their Catholic neighbours, see Clifton, ‘Fear of Popery’, pp. 164-165; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: Tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 277-279.

²³¹ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/246/40; 1/246/60; 1/247/28.

²³² Prescott, ed. Steel, 72; *The Churchwardens’ Accounts of Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire, 1627-1667*, eds. Esther M. E. Ramsay and Alison J. Maddock, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxli (2005), 65.

²³³ ‘The Apostolical Life of Ambrose Barlow O. S. B.’, ed. W. E. Rhodes, *Chetham Miscellanies*, ii, Chetham Society, new series, lxiii (1909); see also Thompson Cooper, rev. G. Bradley, ‘Barlow, Edward (bap. 1585, d. 1641)’, *ODNB*.

²³⁴ Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm’, pp. 114-117.

orderly removal.²³⁵ Yet, as we have seen, communion rails had been targeted in Cheshire in the spring of 1641 as part of the particularly vicious rival petitioning campaigns which had taken place in that county. Why were communion table rails not targeted as part of the machinations behind the Lancashire anti-episcopal petitioning campaign culminating in its submission to the Commons on 21 April 1641? The historian obviously cannot compensate for gaps in the historical record which may conceal such iconoclasm, but there is no suggestion of any such activity in either the very full surviving quarter sessions records for the county, or in the records of Parliament where the Cheshire disturbances were reported.²³⁶ Indeed, that there was enthusiasm for the cause of religious reform is suggested both by the gathering of the anti-episcopal petition, but also by the magistrates calling in the summer of 1641 for the ministers of Salford Hundred to administer Parliament's Protestation in their churches and chapels, some six months before the taking of the oath became widespread in early 1642 after Charles I's attempt to arrest the Five Members.²³⁷ Three explanations may be offered. The first is that in eastern England, as John Walter has argued, the first wave of iconoclasm in 1640-1641, which targeted Laudian church fittings, was often orchestrated by troops impressed for service against the Scottish Covenanters.²³⁸ The march northwards of these troops was centred upon the eastern side of England, as indeed was the Scottish occupation of the north-east in 1640-1641, meaning that the north-west did not witness such military iconoclasm, and that the iconoclasm in Cheshire does seem to have been a product of the rival petitioning campaigns.²³⁹ It should also be noted that due to its northern location, Lancashire was exempt from impressment for the Scottish campaign of 1640.²⁴⁰ The second explanation is that, as noted, there is a possibility that the anti-episcopal campaign in Lancashire was more gentrified in leadership, and thus more respectable, than its Cheshire counterparts, and therefore iconoclasm was not an issue for the Lancastrians. The third explanation may be that, paradoxically, the disarming of recusants perhaps removed some of the impetus for anti-Catholic actions. Whilst many Catholic gentlemen and yeomen evidently owned arms (as many of their protestant counterparts would have done), they had never used those arms against their neighbours, and nor are there any reports of the disarming being resisted. Indeed, beyond the disarming of

²³⁵ Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool, H.283.1.ALL: *Prescot*, ed. Steel, 82; *Walton-on-the-Hill*, eds. Ramsay and Maddock, 69; Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal, WPR 83/File 16. The *Prescot* accounts explicitly note that the removal of the rails was in fulfilment of the Commons' order.

²³⁶ Lancashire RO, QSB series.

²³⁷ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/251/62 (this draft is undated, but it survives in the file for the quarter sessions held at Manchester in Midsummer 1641); Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 209.

²³⁸ John Walter, 'Popular Iconoclasm and the Politics of the Parish in Eastern England, 1640-1642', *Historical Journal*, xlvii (2004), 267-277.

²³⁹ Cressy, *England on Edge*, ch. 4.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

recusants, there is no record of any specific anti-Catholic panics in Lancashire until after news broke of the Irish rebellion in early November 1641, and Irish refugees began to come into the county, further validating Clifton's suggestion that protestants distinguished between their Catholic neighbours and Catholic strangers.²⁴¹ At Walton-on-the-Hill, efforts were made to encourage Catholics to reconsider their allegiances, and the vicar, Nevil Kay, sent certificates to the justices containing the names 'of all the Converted recusantes betweene Michaelmas and Christmas'.²⁴²

News of the Irish rebellion reaching north-western England in early November 1641 changed the tenor of the perceived Catholic threat in Lancashire. On 16 November 1641, the Lords reported to the Commons the contents of a letter which the Westmorland peer Lord Wharton had received from Lord Strange, the lord lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, dated 13 November 1641 from the Stanley family residence at Knowsley in Lancashire. Strange had heard 'many rumours of dangers', but as yet 'no particulars', but 'hee was faigne now to guard the doores of his howse which had heeretofore stood open all night'.²⁴³ At the same time, James Gatley, the vicar of Leigh, noted in a letter to the member of Parliament for Liverpool, John Moore, dated 15 November 1641, that the local gentleman John Atherton of Atherton was planning to arm his tenants and some local inhabitants with arms recently confiscated from recusants.²⁴⁴

Tensions further increased following Charles I's failed attempt to arrest the Five Members on 4 January 1642, and his subsequent departure for York.²⁴⁵ On 22 February 1642, the House of Lords heard a report of an

²⁴¹ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, pp. 202-203; Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', p. 165.

²⁴² *Walton-on-the-Hill*, eds. Ramsay and Maddock, 71.

²⁴³ The letter had a dramatic impact on the Commons, who, according to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, immediately 'fell upon debate of putting the kingdome into a defensive posture and securing the persons of the greater papists', see *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes: From the first recess of the Long Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London*, ed. Willson Havelock Coates (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 152-153. The original letter from Strange to Wharton is preserved as Bodleian, Tanner MS, 66, fos. 203r-v.

²⁴⁴ Liverpool RO, 920 MOO 1506. Anti-Catholic panics occurred in Lancashire throughout the coming months. On 23 November 1641, the High Sheriff of Lancashire, the deputy lieutenants and the justices met with Lord Strange at Wigan, where orders were drafted that watchmen 'apprehend & stay all such knowne Papistes, strangers, or other persons which ryde or Travell in the night tyme, or that goe Armed offensively, or whom they shall suspect to carry anie lettres or messages', and that they keep a particular watch for assemblies at recusants' houses, see Lancashire RO, DDF 2437, fos. 90r-v., quotation at fo. 90r. On 1 December 1641, one of the members of Parliament for Liverpool, Sir Richard Wynn, brought before the Commons the examinations made by the Mayor of Liverpool concerning the case of 'one William Chorley a papist', who had denied having claimed that 'the protestants should shortly have a blowe and the papists should have crosses or the like in their hatts that they thereby might not bee killed'. Chorley was ordered to be brought before the King's Bench, see *D'Ewes*, ed. Coates, pp. 222-223.

²⁴⁵ Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, ch. 12.

alleged Catholic plot in Lancashire which had been sent by three justices in the county to Lord Newburgh, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.²⁴⁶ The fear of a joint Irish and recusant insurrection prompted a group of Lancashire gentlemen to present a petition to the House of Commons on 12 March 1642.²⁴⁷ In terms of religious matters, the petition was studiously moderate, requesting the calling of ‘a Nationall Synode’ to settle ‘the Civill war of the Church’, and asking that the number of preaching ministers in Lancashire be increased, and that the curates of chapelries receive a more equitable income, rather than the tithes being concentrated on making provision for the parish church. The petitioners were more forthright in dealing with the Irish and recusant threats within the county, believing that the number of recusants in the county would encourage the Irish to focus an invasion upon the Lancashire coastline. They thanked the Commons for putting the recusancy laws into enforcement, and for the appointment of Lord Wharton as Lord Lieutenant, but nonetheless, they asked ‘that a Fleet of small ships may be appointed for the guard of this Coast’, and that recusants be disarmed.²⁴⁸ The Commons thanked the petitioners, and promised to consider the requests contained within the petition.²⁴⁹ During the spring of 1642, signatures for the Protestation oath were gathered in Lancashire, and it is fair to speculate that returns such as that from Garstang township, where 230 men subscribed and 288 men refused, probably did nothing to settle fears about Catholics.²⁵⁰ Indeed, of the 15,000 names listed on a recusancy roll dating from 1641-1642, approximately 9000 resided in Lancashire.²⁵¹

Before discussing the development of allegiance in the county, it is worth providing a brief outline of the military developments in the county up to the close of 1642. In Lancashire, military parliamentarianism was slow to get off the mark. The county’s gentlemen had initially voted not to enact Parliament’s militia ordinance of 5 March 1642, and the deputy lieutenants

²⁴⁶ The plot information alleged that a Catholic priest, Edward Reeding, had caused a local recusant, Richard Lathom, to take an oath of secrecy, whereupon he gave him instructions on how to make ‘Balls of Wildfire’, and revealed to him a plan for an Irish invading force to land in the county and unite with local recusants ‘to fire all the principal Towns in the Country, before the Inhabitants were aware of any design against them’. Lathom had subsequently revealed this plot to the justices, whose covering letter attempted to deflect suspicion away from Lathom, see *Lords Journal*, 22 February 1642. The three justices were Sir Thomas Stanley, John Atherton and John Holcroft.

²⁴⁷ *Commons Journal*, 12 March 1642.

²⁴⁸ Anon., *To The Honorable The House of Commons now assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of divers Knights, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the Countie Palatine of Lancaster* (London: Felix Kingston, 1641/[42]).

²⁴⁹ *Commons Journal*, 12 March 1642.

²⁵⁰ Clifton, ‘Fear of Catholics’, p. 47.

²⁵¹ Statistic quoted in K. J. Lindley, ‘The part played by Catholics in the civil war in Lancashire and Monmouthshire’ (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1965), pp. 5-6.

were startled when Lord Strange, whom had hitherto shown little inclination towards royalism, took action by reading the commission of array at Preston Moor on 20 June 1642, and by seizing the magazines at Lancaster and Liverpool for the King.²⁵² Indeed, it would not be until after the successful defence of Manchester in late September 1642 that a county-wide parliamentarianism began to be organised, but a combination of initial dilatoriness and simple numerical disadvantage meant that early parliamentarian strength was concentrated in south-eastern Lancashire.²⁵³ 1642 ended, like in Cheshire, with both sides pursuing a county-based demilitarisation pact, with negotiations in both counties being ended by intervention from Parliament.²⁵⁴

In terms of tracing the developments of clerical political allegiances during the course of 1641 and 1642, Lancashire suffers through its dearth of sources relative to Cheshire, but one glimpse is provided by Richard Hollinworth's account of the accommodation petition presented from Lancashire to the King at York on 2 May 1642. Similar to the Cheshire accommodation petition discussed earlier in this chapter, the petitioners bemoaned that the King's absence from his Parliament had 'animated the Popish and Malignant party among us', and beseeched the King not to travel to Ireland.²⁵⁵ According to Hollinworth, the petition had been presented to the King by Richard Heyrick (the warden of the Manchester collegiate church) and a local gentleman, John Bradshaw of Bradshaw, together with 'very many gentlemen and others of the towne and country'. The petition, though, received a frosty response, and 'was crossed, by a suggestion at the court, that that petition was not the petition of the county, but of a party, and there would come shortly up another petition'.²⁵⁶ Charles' own official response was no more sympathetic, reporting that he was 'grieved and highly offended to see how his good People have been, and are abused by false Rumours and Intelligences', and instructing them to instead petition Parliament to call upon them to accommodate with him over 'the Suppression of the Barbarous Irish Rebellion'.²⁵⁷

It is worth here briefly considering the beliefs of Richard Heyrick, and it is particularly instructive to compare his views to those of his fellow Lancashire cleric and Westminster Assembly member, Charles Herle, the

²⁵² Gratton, *War Effort*, pp. 133-134.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82, 159-175.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136; Bull, *Lancashire*, p. 105.

²⁵⁵ Anon., *The humble Petition of the Baronets, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others peaceably affected in the Countie Palatine of Lancaster* (London: A. N. for John Franke, 1642).

²⁵⁶ Richard Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis; or, An History of the Towne of Manchester, and what is most memorable concerning it* (Manchester: William Willis, 1839), pp. 120-121.

²⁵⁷ Anon., *Peaceably affected*.

rector of Winwick. Both he and John Bradshaw would support Parliament during the first civil war, and Heyrick would go on to be a prominent presbyterian during the late 1640s and the 1650s, before conforming to the Church of England after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.²⁵⁸ Interestingly, the recently published minutes of the Westminster Assembly (of which Heyrick was a member) provide a valuable glimpse of Heyrick's ecclesiological views, as he seems to have been a relatively late convert to presbyterianism. On 3 October 1643, he expressed his reservations to the Assembly about the Solemn League and Covenant and whether it was right to issue an oath against episcopacy which stood contrary to the law, episcopacy still being legally established.²⁵⁹ The next month, Heyrick told the Assembly 'It is professed that archbishops are Antichristian; if I did beleive [sic] it, I should deny my ministry'.²⁶⁰ However, in May 1646, Heyrick told the House of Commons that Manchester had been 'a place of refuge and sanctuary against the Tyranny of Prelacy', perhaps suggesting a change of tact.²⁶¹ In contrast, Charles Herle, also a parliamentary supporter, seems to have been a much earlier supporter of presbyterianism than Heyrick.²⁶² In May 1641, Roger Twisse, a yeoman, and William Sutcliffe, a husbandman, testified at Ormskirk in Lancashire before the magistrate, Edward Bridgeman (Bishop Bridgeman's brother), that they had heard a wooden heel maker, Thomas Constable, say before Herle:

the cerples and other ceremoneyes that all men that haue the vse of Reason doe tread them vnderfoote and are put downe by Authoritye that the Bishoppes are an accursed herarkeye that he careth not for binding to the good behaiour no more then grasse or dockes which hee puld from the ground and spurnd itt with his foote.²⁶³

What is particularly striking about this case is that no deposition survives from the obvious witness, Charles Herle, who was apparently subjected to Thomas Constable's rant against episcopacy. Instead, the magistrate, Bishop Bridgeman's brother Edward, had to rely on testimony of this incident from two men of relatively low status. Constable was obviously a problematic parishioner, as related to the same case, the churchwardens of Winwick

²⁵⁸ Michael Mullett, 'Heyrick, Richard (1600-1667)', *ODNB*.

²⁵⁹ *Westminster Assembly*, ed. van Dixhoorn, ii. 162.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 307.

²⁶¹ Richard Heyrick, *Queen Esthers Resolves* (London: J. Maccock for Luke Fawne, 1646), p. 24.

²⁶² Vivienne Larminie, 'Herle, Charles (1597/98-1659)', *ODNB*.

²⁶³ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/246/31. This case was brought to my attention by Cressy, *England on Edge*, pp. 185, 366, though Cressy mistranscribes 'grasse or dockes' as 'geese or ducks' (p. 366).

reported that Constable had not attended divine service nor had received communion during the past year, and he had told them:

that hee did not value or care for any presentment that could be made against him by any of the churchwardens or sworne men, for that for space of Twentie yeares past hee had stood in the Chancellors teeth in defyanse of his Authoritie, and for all the Bishoppes they are as they haue proued themselues the very scum of our countrie.²⁶⁴

Yet, one cannot but help wonder if Herle may have shared some sympathy with Constable's views, and that Constable's airing of his views to Herle may be more a case of a relatively civilised conversation than of abuse. In April 1641, as we have seen, Herle had written a letter to Bishop Bridgeman in which he had scarcely disguised his contempt for the bishop, with the actual practical reason for the letter (the appointment of a new curate at Newton-in-Makerfield chapelry in Winwick parish) ultimately being reduced to a postscript.²⁶⁵ In a sermon before the House of Commons preached on 30 November 1642, Herle seems to advocate (briefly) an erastian episcopalian settlement, but during the Westminster Assembly, Herle was a consistent opponent of episcopacy, announcing on 6 December 1643 that 'The Bishops [are] against the word of Christ', and one suspects that such views were already in development when he had his encounter with Constable.²⁶⁶

Herle's case suggests that even in as early as May 1641, episcopacy was a hot topic of debate in Lancashire, and it was into this sentiment that the royal court attempted to tap in the early summer of 1642. It may have been the case that *if* future royalist gentry had positively interacted with the anti-episcopal cause during 1641 (and it is by no means clear that they did), pro-episcopal sentiment in Lancashire may have lacked the effective gentry leadership to gather an earlier petition. Also, whilst puritanism certainly did not equate to anti-episcopalianism, the high number of puritan nonconformist clergy in Lancashire may offer a further reason why a pro-episcopal campaign only developed slowly.²⁶⁷ Indeed, reminiscent of Sir Thomas Aston's complaint to the Lords in April 1641, it seems to have been prompting from the royal court which pressed the organisers of Lancashire's pro-episcopalian petition into action, as Richard Hollinworth noted that

²⁶⁴ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/246/30. QSB 1/246/32 also relates to this case.

²⁶⁵ Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (P/399/210).

²⁶⁶ Charles Herle, *A payre of compasses for chvrch and state* (London: G. M. for John Bartlet, 1642), p. 12; *Westminster Assembly*, ed. van Dixhoorn, ii. 412.

²⁶⁷ My speculative interpretation thus follows Fletcher, *Outbreak*, ch. 6, who sees gentry and clerical leadership as being crucial in organising the petitioning campaigns.

Heyrick and Bradshaw were informed at York that another petition was in preparation to counter theirs, and a pro-episcopacy and pro-liturgy petition was duly presented to the King by Sir John Girlington of Thurland Castle, the high sheriff of Lancashire, on 2 June 1642.²⁶⁸ Charles apparently received the petition more warmly than he had received Heyrick and Bradshaw's petition, and in his official response dated 6 June 1642, it was written that 'it is a great contentment to Him to finde so many true Sons of the Church of England', and he promised to 'not yeeld in his Zeal and Constancie for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, neither to Queen *Elizabeth*, nor to his father of ever blessed Memory, both against Popish Superstition on the one side, and Schismaticall Innovation and Confusion on the other'.²⁶⁹

There is a broad consensus amongst historians that the question of whether or not the Church of England should be restored along the lines of the church of Elizabeth I and James I, or if instead, 'Root and Branch' reform of episcopacy and the liturgy should be pursued, represented the wedge issue over which individual allegiances during the first civil war were formed.²⁷⁰ William Bourne at Manchester and Charles Herle at Winwick, as have been discussed, were opponents of episcopacy by 1641 and went on to emerge as parliamentarians after the summer of 1642.²⁷¹ Edward Fleetwood, the opponent of Laudianism and organiser of the petition against Bishop Bridgeman at Kirkham in the spring of 1641,

²⁶⁸ This date is noted in a copy of the printed petition owned by Thomas Barlow, a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, see Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 246. For Girlington, see Gratton, *War Effort*, p. 66. This petition called for the Parliament to reconcile with the King over the gathering of an army to tackle the Irish rebellion, and it thanked Charles for his proclamation requiring the disarming of recusants, for agreeing to the Triennial Act, and for allowing the closure of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. From a religious perspective, the petition asked 'for the maintenance and continuance of our Church Government', for the preservation of the liturgy, and the restoration of the Church 'according to the modell of Queene Elizabeths dayes'. Though the manuscript of the petition does not seem to have survived, the printed version claimed the impressive support of '64 Knights and Esquires, 55 Divines, 740 Gentlemen, and of Freeholders and others above 7000', see 'Petitions', ed. Maltby, pp. 140-141.

²⁶⁹ Anon., *The Petition Of divers of His Majesties faithfull Subjects, of the true Protestant Religion, in the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: Robert Barker, 1642). This petition is reproduced, without the King's response, in 'Petitions', ed. Maltby, pp. 140-141. Italics as in the publication.

²⁷⁰ See, for example, John Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 45-68; John Walter, 'Confessional Politics in Pre-Civil War Essex: Prayer Books, Profanations, and Petitions', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2001), 677-701; Michael J. Braddick, 'Prayer Book and Protestation: Anti-Popery, Anti-Puritanism and the Outbreak of the English Civil War', in *England's Wars of Religion Revisited*, eds. Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 125-145.

²⁷¹ For Bourne, see the more detailed discussion below; for Herle, see Larminie, 'Herle, Charles', *ODNB*.

similarly emerged as a parliamentary supporter during the war.²⁷² These categorisations, though generally supported by the evidence, should not be read too rigidly, for, as we have seen, Richard Heyrick was a parliamentary and sufficiently respected to be appointed to the Westminster Assembly, though he was never a particularly convinced anti-episcopalian.²⁷³

Whilst evidence is hardly forthcoming for the emergence of clergymen into parliamentarianism, it is even less available for tracing their emergence into royalism, though a couple of cases do provide glimpses. Edward Moreton, the pluralist rector of Sefton in Lancashire and Tattenhall in Cheshire, had been appointed to the former living in 1639 thanks to pressure placed upon Bishop Bridgeman by Moreton's uncle, Archbishop Laud.²⁷⁴ In March 1642, Moreton's brother Philip, then living in London, made some enquiries amongst his contacts in the capital, and reported back to their father, William Moreton of Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire, that 'most that I haue spoken with all, doe beleeeve that noe Cleargie man shall hould aboue one livinge'.²⁷⁵ William Moreton was also an associate of Sir Thomas Aston in the Cheshire campaign to defend the Church of England in 1641.²⁷⁶ Though Philip Moreton did not make the point explicitly, the pursuit of such reform would negatively impact upon his brother Edward. Perhaps unsurprisingly given that he would be a target of Parliament's reform agenda, Edward Moreton sided with the royalist cause, and was afterwards prosecuted alongside his father for this choice, losing both of his livings.²⁷⁷ It is also possible that, with two competing lawful authorities, ministers simply read the first declaration which came into their hands, and in the sometimes murky situation of pre-civil war mobilisations, it is often difficult to tell (if later evidence is absent) when obeying a lawful authority became a fully-fledged allegiance. Lord Strange called a meeting at Preston Moor for 20 June 1642 for the reading of the King's commission of array, prompting one of the two Richard Shuttleworths and Alexander Rigby to desperately prevent the reading of Strange's summons in the Wigan area. They were too late at Standish, though, where the constable informed them that the rector, John Chadwick, had already read Strange's summons at the

²⁷² Fleetwood's parliamentarianism is evident in his testimony appended to the anonymous, pro-parliamentarian pamphlet, *A Declaration of A Strange and Wonderful Monster* (London: Jane Coe, 1646).

²⁷³ See above, and Mullett, 'Heyrick, Richard', *ODNB*.

²⁷⁴ Staffordshire RO, D1298/18/2 (P/399/154), (P/399/159), (P/399/187), (P/399/188).

²⁷⁵ British Library, Additional MS, 33936, fo. 263r.

²⁷⁶ Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 152.

²⁷⁷ National Archives, SP 23/204, fos. 165-172; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 230. Edward Moreton has been included under Lancashire as the only piece of evidence as to where he might have resided, a letter to his father dated 27 May 1641, was sent from Sefton, see British Library, Additional MS, 33936, fo. 234r.

service that morning, being Sunday.²⁷⁸ Chadwick, though, died in 1644, so we cannot be certain how deep his ‘royalism’ was, or if reading this declaration might have come back to haunt him if he had lived longer.²⁷⁹

More evidence survives for the case of Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, which offers some support to Conrad Russell’s view that Charles I was able to secure a monopoly on the rhetoric of order.²⁸⁰ When Allen was present in Manchester during the incident there on 15 July 1642, when an inhabitant was killed in a skirmish between the townsmen and some of Lord Strange’s men, Allen’s attempts towards ‘accomodacion’ were emblematic both of a puritan concern for order, but also of a minister’s duty to promote peace.²⁸¹ In Allen’s view, Lord Strange had been invited to the town ‘in friendly manner’, and that Allen himself ‘was lykewyse invited by some of the Towne’. In his defence to the allegations levelled against him, Allen wrote that:

this Respondent was the more willing so to doe, because some difference had formerly bene betwixt the Lord Strange and the Towne, And this Respondent being a neighbour to the said Towne was hopefull that some good accomodacion & agreement might be had & made betweene them, whereof this Respondent should haue bene right gladd.²⁸²

Whilst Strange had been implementing Charles I’s commission of array for much of the previous month, and Manchester had been secured to defend itself against any force raised in response to the commission, Allen may well have genuinely had hopes that some sort of accommodation could be

²⁷⁸ *Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War*, ed. George Ormerod, Chetham Society, ii (1844), 326 (Alexander Rigby to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Manchester, 24 June 1642). I have been unable to trace the original manuscript of this letter.

²⁷⁹ *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 106307 (date accessed: 22 August 2013).

²⁸⁰ Russell, *Causes*, pp. 132-133, 136-142.

²⁸¹ Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 149-153; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 66; Bull, *Lancashire*, pp. 89-90. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Allen’s appointment as rector in 1632 was welcomed by Nathan Walworth, a London-based supporter of the local lay puritan community at Prestwich, and Allen was reported at the 1633 metropolitical visitation for moderate puritan offences such as not wearing the surplice. However, he seems to have later become alienated from these puritans, perhaps because of his generous monetary contribution towards the Scottish war in 1639, and they constituted several of his opponents when he was investigated for royalism in November 1643. Though duplicate names within the parish prevent a certain identification, three of the eighteen parishioners presented at the 1625 visitation for refusing to kneel to receive communion may have been amongst Allen’s later opponents, see Bodleian, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fos. 279r-282v.; Cheshire RO, EDV 1/26, fo. 109v.

²⁸² Bodleian, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 277r.

reached.²⁸³ Indeed, in his defence Allen quoted from the *Twenty Considerations*, an anonymous pamphlet published in the aftermath of the refusal of Sir John Hotham to allow Charles entry into Hull in April 1642. The author took the view that it was a ‘malignant party’ which was attempting to sow discord between the King and the Parliament, and in several places, the author praised the good which has been achieved by the Parliament, such as ‘taking away all offensive and superstitious innovations’.²⁸⁴ The author feared that the discord was the creation of papists, who, having seen the progress made by Parliament in reforming the Church, had combined with an alliance of dependants of the King’s court and debauched ‘Cavalier’ gentlemen to destabilise the state.²⁸⁵ The author’s solution to this quandary was quoted verbatim by Allen in his defence:

Let every one in his station studie peace & vnion & endeavoure all meanes of pacification, abhorring the verie thought of ever takeing vp Armes against either King or Parliament, but to the vttermost of our powers setting our selves against the Incendiaries betweene them both, that the peace of God & the God of peace may still rule in the midst of vs.²⁸⁶

In quoting this particular author, Allen placed himself into a particular narrative of the conflict: of the discord being stoked by a ‘malignant’ third party, meaning that it was his duty to avoid being sucked into this plot, and instead to defeat the plot by labouring for an accommodation between the King and Parliament.²⁸⁷ This kind of attitude may well explain why Allen was present in Manchester on 15 July 1642. Peter Lake has seen the conflict between King and Parliament as being viewed by contemporaries in terms of ‘popery’ versus ‘populist Puritanism’.²⁸⁸ The *Twenty Considerations* was resolute in its blaming of popery for the crisis. The line which it took was heavily critical of the direction in which the Church of England had taken in the previous decade, decrying the ‘superstitious innovations’ and the

²⁸³ Bull, *Lancashire*, pp. 86-88. It was not as if there was not potential common ground. Manchester was renowned for its puritanism, and whilst Strange was not currently popular in the town in July 1642, barely five months previously, on 5 February 1642, he had voted in favour of the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords, see Richardson, *Puritanism*, pp. 8-13; Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies*, p. 471.

²⁸⁴ Anon., *Some more new Observations concerning the King and Parliament: being Twenty Considerations of the dangerous estate the Kingdome now standeth in by reason of a MALIGNANT Party* (London: for Thomas Bankes and William Ley, 1642), p. 2. George Thomason dated his copy as ‘14 July’.

²⁸⁵ Anon., *Twenty Considerations*, pp. 6-7.

²⁸⁶ Bodleian, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 277r; Anon., *Twenty Considerations*, p. 7.

²⁸⁷ This explanation of the origins of the conflict was also deployed by John Ley in a sermon preached to the House of Commons on 26 April 1643, printed as *The fvry of warre, and folly of sinne* (London: G. M. for Christopher Meredith, 1643), p. 18.

²⁸⁸ Lake, ‘Anti-popery’, p. 97.

suppression of preaching as evidence of a popish plot.²⁸⁹ According to such a reading, the stoking of discord between protestants was part of a popish plot which had to be stopped.²⁹⁰ Allen, therefore, was not simply a lover of peace and stability, but for him, the securing of peace was imperative if England was to be prevented from meeting a fate far worse than civil war, and even late in 1643, Allen obviously felt that the image of an indifferent peacemaker still held some currency.²⁹¹

One thing which has previously been noted in this section is that acts of iconoclasm were unseen in Lancashire until after the Commons' order of 8 September 1641. John Walter and David Cressy have both argued for links between troop recruitment for the Scottish campaign in 1640 and iconoclasm in southern and eastern England, and it is noticeable that military mobilisations in Lancashire in 1642 prompted iconoclasm in that county.²⁹² Perhaps closing the stable door after the horse had bolted, Charles Herle told the House of Commons on 30 November 1642 that 'There is no discipline as ill as no discipline; all our eyes are upon you for a reformation, but there are a sort of reformers, that would be first themselves reform'd; such as break into Churches, teare the books, and *overturn* the wrong *Tables*'.²⁹³ Herle may have had in mind developments in Lancashire, from whence he had recently fled to London.²⁹⁴ The contemporary anonymous (but pro-parliamentarian) author of the *Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire* wrote that following the raising of the siege of Manchester:

it is very observant what willingness and alacritie of the spirit of God put into the hands of the men of that [Salford] Hundred ther being noe compulsion but all freely put themselves under such Captains as they Judged most convenient for them. And of those that first put themselves into Armes were men of the best affection to Religion and it may be thought that God pointed them out of their forwardnes, and zeale caried them soe out, To effect that Reformation in some things offensive in every part of the County where they came, that Eighty yeares and the Gospell did not, which was the pulling downe of Crosses in the High waies, erected through Superstition as alsoe some in Market Townes – witness Preston and others – takeing out of Churches the Booke of Common Praier, Surplisses Fonts and breaking downe of Organs wher they found any.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁹ Anon., *Twenty Considerations*, p. 6.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁹¹ I owe this point to Prof. Anthony Milton.

²⁹² Walter, 'Popular Iconoclasm', 267-277; Cressy, *England on Edge*, pp. 91-93.

²⁹³ Herle, *Payre of compasses*, p. 42. Italics as in the publication.

²⁹⁴ Larminie, 'Herle, Charles', *ODNB*.

²⁹⁵ *Discourse*, ed. Beamont, p. 10.

The author of the *Discourse* vehemently believed that the troops were fulfilling God's work in ridding churches of superstitious items. One specific incident recorded by the author was at Bury, where the troops 'took away the Surplisse and put it on the back of a Souldier and caused him to rid in the Cart and the Armes were caried in to be matter of sport and laughter to the Behoulders'.²⁹⁶ With their perceived Catholic heritage, the surplice, fonts, organs, and the Prayer Book were obvious targets for parliamentarians. Earlier in the summer in June 1642, news had circulated in London of three hundred armed Catholics having gathered near Lancaster, and anti-Catholic sentiment in Lancashire was no doubt boosted amongst the parliamentarians by six recusant gentlemen being granted commissions to raise troops by the King; commissions which were granted on 27 September 1642, during the King's visit to Chester and simultaneous to the royalists' siege of Manchester, and which were printed soon afterwards.²⁹⁷ George Rigby of Peel believed that 'all the Papistes in this County were forward in giveing assistance against the towne of Manchester'.²⁹⁸ Conversely, royalist troops recruited in 1642 enjoyed their own forms of iconoclasm. At Hindley chapel in Wigan parish, they 'pulled downe the pulpit', and tore up a copy of 'the Roundheads Bible' (presumably a Geneva Bible), before displaying its ripped pages around Wigan.²⁹⁹

Whilst such outbursts received their iconoclastic form within the context of the rival military mobilisations, they should perhaps be seen as the culmination of developments which had taken place in Lancashire in the aftermath of Charles I fleeing London in January 1642. Rival petitioning campaigns, unseen in 1641, were now a feature of county politics, and in a sense, these campaigns arose out of whether one believed that the King or Parliament was to be best trusted with dealing with the Irish (and the broader Catholic) threat. Perhaps the most vivid example of these increasingly polarised positions comes from the portmoot court session held at Liverpool on 18 April 1642, where John Mannwarring was presented:

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 11. Bury was an obvious location for such 'sport' amongst the troops, as not only was it a manor in the possession of the earl of Derby, whose son, Lord Strange, was the main royalist commander in the county, but the rector, Peter Travers, was also a royalist who would later be ejected from the living for moving into the Stanley family residence of Lathom House, then a royalist garrison, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 230-231.

²⁹⁷ Benjamin Williamson, *Horrible Newes from Lancashire* (London: for J. Horton, 1642); Anon., *The Humble Petition of divers Recusants and others, in the County of Lancaster* (London: for T. Husbands and John Frank, 1642).

²⁹⁸ Lancashire RO, DDKS 30/15.

²⁹⁹ Anon., *The latest printed Newes from Chichester, Winsor, Winchester, Chester, Manchester, and Yorke, &c.* (London: T. Underhill, 1642), p. 4 (listed under 'Manchester, 17 Decemb. 1642'). Hindley is misnamed as 'Hendon'.

for abusing the Fast and saying these words that if the king had commanded a Fast he would then have kept it but because a companie of Puritanicall Fellowes had appoynted it hee wold keepe none nor cared a fart for it with dyvers over revyleing speeches and especially against the Minister.³⁰⁰

In his own crude way, Mannwarring expressed a dilemma which troubled many by April 1642, and with the prospect of accommodation between King and Parliament becoming increasingly unlikely, people had to make difficult choices about which side to support in the conflict, and whose plans for settlement they most desired: settlements which uncannily resembled those proposed in the rival petitioning campaigns of 1641 and 1642.³⁰¹

Chapter conclusion

The two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire offer a fascinating contrast of how two regions situated adjacent to each other could offer different responses to the issues of the period. In Cheshire, whilst the fear of Catholicism should not be downplayed too much, it does seem to have been less of a feature in local politics than it was in Lancashire. Instead, local politics became increasingly polarised by responses to the various petitioning campaigns of 1641, which whilst debating the broader issue of the future of episcopacy and (later) the liturgy, should also be seen as responses to the episcopate of Bishop John Bridgeman at Chester, whose policies had become increasingly contentious during the late 1630s. Coupled with the anti-episcopal petitioning of the spring of 1641 was iconoclasm, an unusual phenomenon because of its local, non-military origins, as iconoclasm elsewhere in 1640 and early 1641 seems to have been largely centred upon the movements of discontented and impressed troops in southern and eastern England. However, whilst the pro-episcopal petitioning did form the basis, at least amongst the clergy, of royalist allegiance during the first civil war, during the summer of 1641, perhaps due to the presence of Sir William Brereton, the anti-episcopal campaigning became more moderate, shedding the iconoclasm, disorder and the overt congregationalism which had typified the earlier campaigns, and enabling anti-episcopalianism to gain the support of a broader constituency of clergy, including moderate puritans. Indeed, the early mobilisations of Cheshire parliamentarians in the summer of 1642 were typified more by a desire for accommodation than a thorough pursuit of the war, and this trend within

³⁰⁰ *Liverpool under Charles I*, eds. George Chandler and E. K. Wilson (Liverpool: Brown, Picton and Hornby Libraries, 1965), p. 301.

³⁰¹ For example, for the linkage between pro-episcopal petitioning and civil war royalism, see Fletcher, *Outbreak*, ch. 9.

Cheshire parliamentarianism would be a constant source of annoyance to Brereton throughout the first civil war.³⁰²

In contrast, Lancashire did not witness the bitter rival petitioning campaigns which were such a dominant feature of Cheshire politics in 1641, but anti-Catholic sentiment was, perhaps unsurprisingly in a county notorious for the extent of its recusancy, more evident than it appears to have been in Cheshire. What is noteworthy, though, is that after the disarming of recusants in the spring of 1641 (with which recusants seem to have complied), this anti-Catholicism seems to have lost some of its intensity, though it was undoubtedly stoked again by the fears garnered by news of the Irish rebellion reaching Lancashire in November 1641. Anti-Catholicism was a widely held sentiment, and because of the relative unanimity of Lancashire protestant society in 1641 (at least when compared to Cheshire), coupled with the absence of impressed troops, iconoclasm only seems to have begun in the county after the Commons' order of 8 September 1641. Indeed, the division of the county into rival parties seems to have been a relatively late phenomenon, perhaps as late as the spring and early summer of 1642 when rival petitions representing rival parties were submitted to the King at York. Even then, there is a suggestion from (the admittedly partisan) Richard Hollinworth that the latter petition, for episcopacy and the liturgy, was encouraged by the royal court. Ultimately, it was the Lancashire parliamentarians who made the most successful usage of anti-Catholic rhetoric, as the royalists, though initially well supported, were easy targets for such rhetoric because of the support which they received from Catholic recusant gentry.

³⁰² See Morrill, *Cheshire*, ch. 4.

Chapter Five: **‘God save His Church’:** **Civil war and religious reformation, 1642-1649¹**

Much has been written about clerical experiences during the civil war, often using as their main source the manuscript papers of John Walker, the author of *The Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714), preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.² This chapter will not focus primarily on such experiences, as traumatic as they often were for clergy of both sides (and not just for the royalists who were Walker’s, and latterly, Fiona McCall’s subject), but rather, will focus on how clergymen interacted with the moves towards religious reformation which followed Parliament’s military victory in the first civil war in Lancashire in 1645 and in Cheshire in 1646. This latter issue has been the focus of an influential article by John Morrill, and more recently, Lancashire and Cheshire have received some peripheral attention in Ann Hughes’ study of the London presbyterian cleric and polemicist, Thomas Edwards.³ The respective works of these two authors contain flaws which will be identified and challenged in this chapter. Before then, though, this chapter will look at some of the ways in which ministers preached allegiance, and also, will outline some statistics regarding the extent, and nature of, clerical royalism and parliamentarianism. It should be noted, though, that this chapter will not attempt to link ‘popular allegiance’ to religious attitudes, as Mark Stoye has done in impressive manner for Devon.⁴ Whilst the efforts of Malcolm Gratton have elucidated much information about the geographical origins within Lancashire of both royalist and parliamentarian officers, to link their choice of allegiance to the

¹ This exasperation was inscribed into a new bell, dated 1642, installed at Stoak chapel in Cheshire, and still hung in the tower to this day, see Anon., ‘Saint Lawrence Church, Stoak’, accessible via: http://www.achurchnearyou.com/documents/2011-06-13_8189_1307960777.pdf (date accessed: 10 February 2014).

² John Walker, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, & c. who were Sequestered, Harrass’d, & c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (2 vols., London: J. Roberts, 1714). The manuscript accounts which were sent to Walker in the early eighteenth century can be found in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS J. Walker. Two works which make particular use of Walker’s manuscripts are Fiona McCall, *Baal’s Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), passim; Anne Laurence, ‘“This sad and deplorable condition”: An attempt towards recovering an account of the sufferings of northern clergy families in the 1640s and 1650’, in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia xii (1999), 465-488.

³ John Morrill, ‘The Church in England 1642-1649’, reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 148-175; Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), passim, but especially ch. 5.

⁴ Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), passim, but particularly chs. 3-5, 10-11.

possible influence of local clergymen is unwise, particularly in the absence (as is the case for both Cheshire and Lancashire) of definite linkages.⁵

As a preliminary, it is worth briefly saying something about the course of the first civil war in Lancashire and Cheshire. In Lancashire, as Ronald Hutton has observed, despite the keen gentry support for the King, the local war effort soon collapsed in 1643, only to receive a brief revival when Prince Rupert attempted to absorb the county into a national royalist war effort during his time in the county en route his defeat at Marston Moor in the summer of 1644, with the final defeat of armed royalism in the county coming when Greenhalgh Castle and Lathom House fell to Parliament's forces in 1645.⁶ In Cheshire, whilst the county town of Chester was held for the King until February 1646, the tendency of the city council to ensure that the royalist garrison within the city remained focused upon the defence of the city rather than upon furthering the royalist cause in the wider locality meant that armed royalism flourished little beyond Chester's environs, particularly as the royalists had failed to gain control of most of Cheshire's trained bands early in the war.⁷ Indeed, Peter Gaunt has recently argued that whilst Parliament never starved of funds the parliamentarian commander in Cheshire, the local member of Parliament, Sir William Brereton, in his attempts to capture Chester and Beeston Castle, there was a wider belief that it was more important to force the royalist field army into a decisive battle than to secure a port such as Chester, and that the royalists accorded more importance to retaining Chester (a vital sea port for Ireland) than Parliament dedicated to capturing it.⁸ Later, Lancashire was at the forefront of the second civil war when a mainly Scottish army in support of Charles I was defeated at Preston in August 1648, an action which arguably went a long way towards convincing the likes of Oliver Cromwell that the removal of Charles I would be necessary if peace and godly reformation were to prevail.⁹

Something which should be stated from the outset is that whilst one should not underestimate the war in Lancashire (the inhabitants of Bolton suffered heavy losses at the hands of Prince Rupert's army in May 1644 in what was one of the worst atrocities of the war), Cheshire does seem to have witnessed a greater degree of intra-protestant division than was witnessed in

⁵ J. M. Gratton, *The Parliamentary and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651*, Chetham Society, third series, xlviii (2010), pp. 159-175.

⁶ Ronald Hutton, 'The Failure of the Lancashire Cavaliers', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxix (1979), 47-62.

⁷ J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 128-133.

⁸ Peter Gaunt, 'Four Churches and a River: Aspects of the Civil War in Cheshire', *Cromwelliana*, second series, v (2008), 9.

⁹ Barry Coward, *Oliver Cromwell* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1991), pp. 60-65.

Lancashire.¹⁰ This is perhaps a result of the bitter petitioning campaigns of 1641, but probably also a by-product of the conduct of the parliamentary war effort, as will become clear in this chapter. A telling example of this latter issue comes from Mottram-in-Longdendale in Cheshire, where in 1643, the vicar, Gerard Browne, had been ‘pursued’ out of the living by six men (five of whom were inhabitants of Mottram), of which it was later recalled by John Bretland in 1653 that Browne ‘was generally well esteemed amongst his Parishioners for his peaceable deportment vnlesse it were by the parties of that parish then inveyinge against Episcopall Gouerment’.¹¹ Indeed, during the war, episcopacy, perhaps because of its association with the royalist cause, became a much more overt issue of division in Cheshire than it was in Lancashire: George Snell, the pluralist rector of Wallasey and Waverton and the archdeacon of Chester, was accused in July 1646 by some sequestrators of being ‘one of the Episcopall Faction’.¹²

Like episcopacy, the *Book of Common Prayer* also became a point of differentiation between the royalists and the parliamentarians. The parishioners of Tarporey went to great efforts in early 1643 in attempting to prosecute their rector, Nathaniel Lancaster, and their curate, John Jones, before the Cheshire quarter sessions for neglecting to use the *Book of Common Prayer* in their services, something which they saw as innately linked to the pair being ‘Stirrers vp of sediccion betwixt his Maiestie and his subiectes’.¹³ In particular, John Walley accused Lancaster of a variety of offences, including not wearing the surplice, not reading prayers on Christmas Day nor visiting the sick, not meeting corpses at the churchyard gate at funerals, and removing the communion table rail and breaking the windows in the church.¹⁴ This is probably the case reported in the pro-parliamentarian newsbook *Speciall Passages* for the week 17-24 January

¹⁰ It should be noted that with regards to the killings at Bolton by Prince Rupert’s royalist forces on 28 May 1644, P. R. Newman has attempted to play down the bloodiness of this operation, and claims that whilst there were Catholics within Prince Rupert’s forces and puritans within Bolton, the religious dimension to this clash has been exaggerated, see his ‘Aspects of the Civil War in Lancashire’, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxxxii (1983), 118. However, regardless of whether or not Newman makes a valid point, the 78 burials recorded as a result of this clash would surely have had a traumatic impact upon Bolton, see *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bolton 1573-1574, 1590-1660*, ed. Archibald Sparke, Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1 (1913), pp. 464-465.

¹¹ The National Archives, Kew, SP 23/149, fo. 55. John Bretland of Thorncliff was an attorney who had been employed by the moderately parliamentary deputy lieutenants to prosecute Browne’s ejectors, only for himself to then be sequestered for alleged royalism by Sir William Brereton’s faction; his case is discussed in depth in John Morrill and R. N. Dore, ‘The Allegiance of the Cheshire Gentry in the Great Civil War’, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxxvii (1967), 67-75.

¹² National Archives, SP 23/190, fo. 643.

¹³ Cheshire Record Office, Chester, QJF 71/4/23; 71/4/24.

¹⁴ Cheshire RO, QJF 71/4/23.

1643 as having recently been prosecuted at the quarter sessions at Chester, complaining that ‘the Justices were as fierce and malicious as Devills in setting it on’, and had engaged in various kinds of procedural irregularities in attempting to gain a conviction.¹⁵ Though not reported by the newsbook, the court record suggests that the prosecution had failed because two of the jurors had refused to convict Lancaster and Jones, though those two jurors were themselves later convicted and fined when it was revealed that one of them, John Rathbone, had breached his oath by having been in contact with Lancaster at the time of the trial.¹⁶ It was perhaps after their failure to prosecute Lancaster and Jones at the quarter sessions that his enemies within the parish drafted an undated petition to send to the King, in which they alleged that as well as failing to administer communion at Easter, using their own catechism, and abusing their parishioners from the pulpit, Lancaster and his curate (presumably Jones):

will not Reade the booke of common prayer but publiquely laboure by all the meanes they cann to seduce and perswade the ignorant people that it is supersticion and idolatry and that it is a vayne and idle fable and that the Booke of Common prayer prescribed and tollerated by your Royall Maiestie: (was made by the imps of hell).¹⁷

Why the Prayer Book should have become such an issue in Cheshire is quite possibly, like the labelling of the ‘episcopal’ party, a result of the bitter petitioning campaigns of 1641. In Lancashire, whilst troops raised for Parliament in Salford Hundred (as seen in the previous chapter) engaged in acts of iconoclasm, such acts were perhaps not typical of parliamentarianism in the county. Charles Herle, the parliamentarian rector of Winwick, preached a sermon before the House of Commons on 30 November 1642 urging them to press ahead with religious reformation, as ‘There is no

¹⁵ Humphrey Blunden, *Speciall Passages* (17-24 January 1642/43), p. 200. This newsbook entry was brought to my attention by Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Coming of War’, in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649*, ed. John Morrill (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 44.

¹⁶ Cheshire RO, QJB 1/6, fos. 87v-88r.

¹⁷ British Library, London, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 139v-141r., quotation at fo. 139v. Lancaster and Jones’ case is discussed in Anthony Fletcher, ‘Factionalism in Town and Countryside: The significance of Puritanism and Arminianism’, in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, xvi (1979), 291-292; Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 73-75. In another undated testimony, it was alleged by Ralph Wright, the curate of Harthill in Cheshire, and his churchwardens that Jones had preached against the Prayer Book in a sermon given at Harthill, claiming that ‘I am perswaded that the reading of Common prayers hath bene the meanes of sending many soules vnto hell. That the booke of Common prayers doth stinke in the nostrills of god. That reading of Common prayer is as bad or worse than the mumbling of the masse vpon beades’, see British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fo. 137r.

discipline as ill as no discipline; all our eyes are upon you for a reformation, but there are a sort of reformers, that would be first themselves reform'd; such as break into Churches, teare the books, and *overturn* the wrong *Tables*'.¹⁸ Indeed, in Lancashire, religious issues seem to have largely remained outside of the official prosecutions of ministers for royalism, and one issue which will be considered later in this chapter is of a mutually recognisable godliness between ministers. During the first civil war period (1642-1646), only one minister is recorded as having been ejected for royalism coupled with liturgical conservatism (Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, whose case will be discussed shortly). Rather, with the exception of Allen's case, allegations of liturgical conservatism and forms of anti-presbyterianism (from a conservative standpoint) only surface later in the 1640s, after the end of the first civil war and the establishment of classical presbyterianism within the county.¹⁹ Some reasons for such differences between the two counties will be outlined later in this chapter.

Isaac Allen has already been met in this thesis as the moderately puritan rector of Prestwich who seems to have become alienated from the lay puritans of his parish who had been encouraged by his appointment in 1632. His generous contribution of £12 to the Scottish campaign in 1639 (the largest contribution of any clergyman in the Manchester deanery) may not have helped relations with them, and lay puritans were prominent opponents against him during the two investigations in 1643 and in 1645.²⁰ When Allen was first accused of royalism in November 1643, these allegations were focused entirely upon the nature of Allen's alleged royalism, with no mention of any religious accusations.²¹ Interestingly, Allen (after launching a spirited defence) seems to have been acquitted on this occasion, though he was ultimately ejected from his living after a second round of accusations in 1645.²² In 1645, alongside further allegations of royalism, Allen's religious beliefs were subjected to scrutiny. A particular focus was placed upon one incident, as John Gaskell and Abraham Walworth both testified that when they were removing the font

¹⁸ Charles Herle, *A payre of compasses for chvrch and state* (London: G. M. for John Bartlet, 1642), p. 42. Italics as in the publication. Invaluable in identifying this and other parliamentary fast sermons has been John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1648* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), Appendix 2.

¹⁹ See, for example, the cases in the Bury classis minutes of Thomas Blackburn (the curate of Rivington), Robert Hill (the curate of Edenfield), John Pollitt (the curate of Milnrow), and Robert Gilbody (the curate of Holcombe), and from the Manchester classis minutes, John Lake (the curate of Oldham), see *Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis 1647-1657*, ed. William A. Shaw, Chetham Society, new series, xxxvi, xli (1896-1898); *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891).

²⁰ See the third and fourth chapters of this thesis.

²¹ Bodleian, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fos. 279r-282v.

²² National Archives, SP 23/158, fo. 339.

from Prestwich church in June 1645, Allen had entered the church and declared ‘that there was nothinge in the booke of Commonprayer but what was agreeable to the word of god’.²³ Allen’s words should be seen within the context of the escalation of the religious reform efforts of the 1640s: a parliamentary ordinance of May 1644 ordered that fonts be removed from use and be ‘utterly defaced’, and in January 1645, the presbyterian-based *Directory for Public Worship* was approved for use in churches, in place of the *Book of Common Prayer*.²⁴ Allen’s alleged response, about the Prayer Book being agreeable to God’s word may seem surprising words from a puritan (if true), but as Isaac Stephens has recently demonstrated, puritanism and liturgical conservatism were not necessarily mutually exclusive.²⁵ In his defence, Allen received support from Richard Heyrick, the warden of the Manchester collegiate church and a member of the Westminster Assembly.²⁶ He protested on 24 December 1645 that Allen’s life was ‘vnblameable and his doctrine sound’, and that in private conversation, Allen had told him that royal commands which were contrary to the law should not be obeyed. Heyrick further deposed that Allen had said that he was ‘indifferent’ about the matter of episcopal government, and ‘that Master Allen acknowledged the parliament to be a true parliament, & that he prayed for the said parliament every day’.²⁷ Indeed, at no point were there any allegations made against Allen of scandalous behaviour or of ceremonialism in worship, both of which were common allegations against ministers at this time.²⁸

Allen’s case highlights a prescient point: in the recriminations against royalist clergymen which followed Parliament’s forces securing military control of Lancashire and Cheshire, only one cleric, George Snell, was ever accused of ceremonialism, with John Kerford of Waverton in Cheshire (one of Snell’s parishes) deposing in June 1646 that Snell ‘was alwaies a very ceremonious man, except it were upon an extraordinary occasion’, and that ‘usually when hee came into the Chancell he bowed towards the Communion Table’.²⁹ George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors in Cheshire, was even defended by some fellow clerics as an opponent of ‘dumbe dogges, non residentes, Pluralistes, Papistes, Arminians, and desired a holy disciplyne & Reformacion’.³⁰ This situation

²³ National Archives, SP 23/158, fos. 347-348.

²⁴ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 78; Morrill, ‘Church in England’, p. 152.

²⁵ Isaac Stephens, ‘Confessional Identity in Early Stuart England: The “Prayer Book Puritanism” of Elizabeth Isham’, *Journal of British Studies*, 1 (2011), 29, 41-47.

²⁶ Michael Mullett, ‘Heyrick, Richard (1600-1667)’, *ODNB*.

²⁷ National Archives, SP 23/158, fo. 339.

²⁸ I. M. Green, ‘The persecution of ‘scandalous’ and ‘malignant’ parish clergy during the English Civil War’, *English Historical Review*, xciv (1979), 510-512.

²⁹ National Archives, SP 23/118, fo. 511.

³⁰ National Archives, SP 23/201, fo. 759.

contrasts dramatically with the allegations of ceremonialism later levelled against large proportions of royalist ministers in, for example, Lincolnshire, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire and Wiltshire.³¹ Similarly, though accusations of scandalous conduct (such as drunkenness and frequenting alehouses) were levelled against ministers in both Lancashire and Cheshire from 1647 onwards as efforts to reform the church progressed, no such allegations can be found before then, a notable contrast with the six southern counties aforementioned.³²

From a military perspective, one of the main reasons why armies and their generals were concerned about the opposition's clergymen was not so much because of their attitudes towards episcopacy, ceremonies or the liturgy, but because of the influence which they could have as prominent members of the local community, particularly as they had (in the form of the pulpit) a platform from where they could seek to influence their parishioners.³³ In particular, preaching was vital as a means of transmitting news to, and within, the provinces, and for Jacqueline Eales, 'the parish church and its congregation acted as a focal point for public declarations of allegiance throughout the 1640s and the sermons that were preached there undoubtedly had a significant impact on that allegiance'.³⁴ The parliamentarians certainly believed this. George Byrom was accused in June 1646 of 'Preaching many inuective sermons against the Parliamentes proceedinges and freinds, ventinge his spleene and malice and also much encouraginge in his Sermons the Enemyes partie'.³⁵ In March 1647, the Liverpool Corporation ordered that a complaint be sent to the Committee for Plundered Ministers about Andrew Clare, the rector of Walton-on-the-Hill (the parish church of Liverpool), 'shewing the violence he used against this

³¹ *The Royalist Clergy of Lincolnshire*, ed. J. W. F. Hill, Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, ii (pt. 1), (1938), passim (I would like to thank Prof. Jacqueline Eales for providing me with a rare copy of Hill's work); *The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646*, ed. Clive Holmes, Suffolk Records Society, xiii (1970), passim; Jim Sharpe, 'Scandalous and Malignant Priests in Essex: the Impact of Grassroots Puritanism', in *Politics and People in Revolutionary England: Essays in Honour of Ivan Roots*, eds. Colin Jones, Malyn Newitt and Stephen Roberts (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 253-273; McCall, *Baal's Priests*, pp. 85-86 (Table 3.2). For a case study of Richard Drake, the rector of Radwinter in Essex, who was accused of ceremonialism and royalism, see John Walter, 'Affronts & Insolencies': The Voices of Radwinter and Popular Opposition to Laudianism', *English Historical Review*, cxxii (2007), 35-60.

³² McCall, *Baal's Priests*, pp. 67-84.

³³ Jacqueline Eales, 'Provincial preaching and allegiance in the First English Civil War, 1640-6', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 193.

³⁴ Eales, 'Provincial preaching', p. 187.

³⁵ National Archives, SP 23/201, fo. 761.

Towne and how hee preached heere'.³⁶ Whilst we do not know the contents of Byrom and Clare's sermons, the next section of this chapter will examine the contents of some sermons preached by ministers from Lancashire and Cheshire during the first civil war, to highlight the themes which they promoted to their congregations in their attempts to influence allegiance.

Discussing allegiance during the first civil war

The last two decades have seen the publication of some interesting work on the means in which clergymen attempted to disseminate particular views about the civil war and rival allegiances. Even before war broke out in the summer of 1642, William Sheils has shown how various lecturers in the West Riding of Yorkshire (including David Ellison, then the curate at Otley and later the parliamentarian intruder at Childwall in Lancashire) used their sermons to condition their hearers for what was to come, placing the blame for the current crisis squarely with the King, though crucially, these preachers stopped short of advocating armed resistance.³⁷ Building upon some of Sheils' insights, Jacqueline Eales has argued that rival preaching contributed to the politicisation which 'helped to break down the barriers to civil war'. In particular, preaching was vital as a means of transmitting news to, and within, the provinces, and ministers played other roles, such as the administration of oaths to their congregations.³⁸ Additionally, though focusing primarily on the pre-civil war period, Lloyd Bowen has shown that the King's circle, sometimes suggested to have been somewhat suspicious of printed communications, actually made effective use of England's parochial structure through the distribution of proclamations to be read in churches, a tactic which both sides utilised after armed conflict had broken out in 1642.³⁹

When Isaac Allen's parishioners at Prestwich in Lancashire attended church services in 1642, they hoped that their rector would provide them with some kind of interpretative framework for the conflict developing around them. They were to be disappointed. John Taylor told the committee investigating Allen in November 1643 'that hee never heard him [Allen] vse any meanes in his mynistry or otherwise to setle and satisfie his Congregacion to what Partie to adhere in the present differences betwixt

³⁶ *Liverpool under Charles I*, eds. George Chandler and E. K. Wilson (Liverpool: Brown, Picton and Hornby Libraries, 1965), p. 376.

³⁷ William Sheils, 'Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding fast sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 290-312.

³⁸ Eales, 'Provincial preaching', pp. 184-207, quotation at p. 186.

³⁹ Lloyd Bowen, 'Royalism, print, and the clergy in Britain, 1639-1640 and 1642', *Historical Journal*, lvi (2013), 297-319.

kinge & Parliament'.⁴⁰ Four other parishioners, Richard Ogden, Esther Wilson, John Lort, and Elizabeth Gaskell, all accused Allen of having not instructed his parishioners in his public ministry as to who to support in the current conflict, though Allen had apparently claimed to Gaskell that he had advised them in a sermon (back in 1640 when the Scots had invaded England!) and in a homily, and because they had ignored his advice, 'he would forbear any further to intermedle'.⁴¹

Though Allen had apparently avoided preaching on the topic of the war, various parishioners alleged that he had been more forthright in the private conversations with them, and associated Allen with main ideas within royalist political theory. John Lort testified that:

being a listed souldier vnder Collonell Holland in the service of kinge and parliament [he] went to the said Master Allen and desired him to satisfie him touching the lawfullness of the takeing upp Armes in that waie, wherevpon hee cited severall texts of Scripture such as that in the Romans, Let every soul be subiect to the higher powers, and that in the proverbes, Against the kinge there is noe riseing & where the word of a kinge is there is power, and that in Peters epistle obey every Ordinance of man for the lordes sake.⁴²

Richard Barlow claimed that Allen had told him 'that this kingdome being conquered the kinges had a monarchicalle power to governe at Pleasure, and therefore what the kinge commandes wee ought either to obey or suffer'.⁴³

Thomas Fletcher recalled that he having told Allen 'that the kinge had called a parliament, he [Allen] answered the parliament was noe Parliament without the kinge, and being further tould by this examine that hee had hearde the lawe was above the kinge he answered noe, the kinge is the lawe'.⁴⁴ Allen denied that he had made any of these claims.⁴⁵ Rather, Allen:

becometh him to carrie himselfe as a childe, whose father & mother are at variance, who, he contriveth, is to performe all dewty to either of them according to their severall relations, & to praye for their peace & good agreement, but by no meanes to take parte withe either against the other.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 279r.

⁴¹ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fos. 279r-279v., 281v.

⁴² Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 279v.

⁴³ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 281r.

⁴⁴ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 282v.

⁴⁵ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 277v.

⁴⁶ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 277r.

Not all clergymen were quite as stoical as Allen, and there are plenty of surviving examples of clerical opinions about the first civil war. There are problems, though, in interpreting these views. On the royalist side, the historian is hampered by the lack of impartial, contemporaneous evidence. The details of Isaac Allen and George Snell's thoughts come from depositions levelled against them when they were fighting for their clerical careers, and aside from them, the only other contents of sermons preached by a royalist clergyman relate to three sermons preached in Chester when it was a royalist garrison by Richard Johnson, a fellow of the Manchester collegiate church. The thoughts of parliamentary clergymen are equally difficult to analyse. Whilst there are more surviving texts (via the medium of print) by clergymen from Lancashire and Cheshire, those by Charles Herle, Richard Heyrick, John Ley (the vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire) and Samuel Torshell (the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire) were produced in London, sometimes on the basis of sermons preached there, and whilst Herle and Torshell had particularly interesting things to say about the nature of allegiance, as both of them fled to London quite early in the war, it cannot be certain what influence their views had on their adopted counties. The only parliamentary sermons actually preached in the region for which texts survive are the two sermons preached at Lancaster by the intruded minister there, Nehemiah Barnett, both of which date from the end of the first civil war.

It has been observed that whilst parliamentarianism was an allegiance heavily driven by religious zeal, royalism was much less concerned with religion, with concepts such as loyalty and honour prompting adherents to fight for Charles I.⁴⁷ That is not to say that there was not a strong dimension to royalism which urged for the preservation of the Church of England, though Gerald Aylmer has argued that the upholding of the Church was much more of a concern for royalist clerics than for honour-driven royalist gentlemen loyal to the King's person.⁴⁸ However, this loyalty and obedience to the person of the King, which Ann Hughes has identified as being an ultimately fatal flaw to the royalist war effort during the first civil war, is a major issue and point of division amongst the surviving accounts of the thoughts of rival clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire.⁴⁹ Edward Wyrley, who had installed himself as minister at Mobberley in

⁴⁷ G. E. Aylmer, 'Collective Mentalities in mid seventeenth-century England: II. Royalist Attitudes', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, xxxvii (1987), 1-30; P. R. Newman, 'The King's Servants: Conscience, Principle, and Sacrifice in Armed Royalism', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays presented to G. E. Aylmer*, eds. John Morrill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 225-241.

⁴⁸ Aylmer, 'Royalist Attitudes', 14-15.

⁴⁹ Ann Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament, and the Localities during the English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies*, xxiv (1985), 236-263.

Cheshire during the mid-1640s, preached that the Parliament was ‘noe Parliament’.⁵⁰ John Pollett, the curate of Milnrow in Rochdale parish in Lancashire (and previously Allen’s curate at Prestwich), was accused before the Bury classis in February 1648 of ‘saying the parliament was a body without a head’, referring to the absence of the King’s person.⁵¹ This attitude is perfectly illustrated by the differing interpretation of the story of Mordecai and Haman in the Old Testament Book of Esther.⁵² According to John Kerford, in a sermon preached ‘at the beginning of these troubles’, the royalist George Snell had:

affirmed that proud presumptious Mordichaie that would not bow to Haman had by his pride endangered the liues of all the Iewes. And in like manner those that would not stoope to the Lordes anointed were like to bring distruccion vpon them all without God prevent it or words to that effect.⁵³

We do, of course, have to remember that Kerford’s account was necessarily a hostile one, but it is striking how Snell’s alleged sermon differs from the interpretation of the same story by parliamentarian clergymen, which instead focused upon the faithfulness of Esther and Mordecai. Nehemiah Barnett told the county committee at Lancaster on 18 December 1645 that ‘Prayers have a power to undermine all the plots, and break in pieces the power of our enemies; *Esther, Mordecai*, and the Jewes prayed, and they prayed *Hamans* Plot to confusion, and his person to the Gallows’.⁵⁴ Richard Heyrick preached a sermon on the subject of *Queen Esthers Resolves* to the House of Commons on 27 May 1646, claiming God’s favour to Esther and Mordecai as the reason why Mordecai’s life was spared and Haman was hanged, but also, as Haman was ‘by birth an *Agagite*, of that Nation which God cursed, and with whom the *Jews* were to have perpetuall Hostility; this was one reason why *Mordecai* refused to bow, he would not stoop to so accursed an Enemy of God and his people’.⁵⁵ Thus, whilst for Snell (or at least in a hostile version of his sermon), Mordecai’s refusal to bow to

⁵⁰ National Archives, SP 24/3, fo. 71r. Wyrley was the son-in-law of his ejected predecessor, Thomas Mallory, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 94.

⁵¹ *Bury Presbyterian Classis 1647-1657*, ed. Shaw, xxxvi. 54.

⁵² Esther’s uncle Mordecai had refused to bow to Haman, a favourite at the court of King Ahasuerus, Esther’s husband, but a dramatic reversal of fortune had culminated in the revelation that Mordecai had himself delivered Ahasuerus from a plot against his life, and Haman being revealed as the King’s enemy, so that Haman was hanged in Mordecai’s place, and the Jewish people (whom Haman had encouraged Ahasuerus to act against) were saved, see Esther 2-8; see also W. R. F. Browning, *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, paperback edition, 1997), pp. 121-122, 163, 256-257.

⁵³ National Archives, SP 23/118, fo. 511.

⁵⁴ Nehemiah Barnett, *Gods Lift-up hand for Lancashire* (London: W. Wilson for John Williams, 1646), p. 38. Italics as in the publication.

⁵⁵ Richard Heyrick, *Queen Esthers Resolves* (London: J. Maccock for Luke Fawne, 1646), pp. 2-7, quotation at p. 7. Italics as in the publication.

Haman was the equivalent of the parliamentarians' refusal to honour and obey their king, for Barnett and Heyrick, Mordecai was a hero, whose loyalty to God had ultimately saved his life.

In Snell's alleged sermon, the significance of the story of Mordecai was that his refusal to obey a personal command from King Ahasuerus had nearly led to the destruction of the Jewish people, and the issue of the King's personal authority is one which recurs in the sermons of this period. Ralph Vernon claimed that Snell had equated resisting the King to resisting Christ.⁵⁶ Regarding Isaac Allen at Prestwich, John Taylor recalled that before the siege of Manchester in September 1642, Allen had told Taylor that he was 'of opinion that vpon the kinges command hee might lawfully fight against Manchester'.⁵⁷ Conversely, Charles Herle, in a response to the royalist clerical polemicist Henry Ferne printed in 1642, had distinguished between the King's person and his legal entity: thus, though royalist armies were raised under the King's personal command, as he had breached with Parliament, those armies were therefore raised contrary to his legal personage, and were effectively illegal.⁵⁸

In the various depositions concerning his case, Isaac Allen seems to have wrestled with the issue of where true authority lay, and to whom did he owe his obedience. According to Peter Seddon, one of the churchwardens of Prestwich, Allen had refused to read Parliament's Vow and Covenant in August 1643 as he believed that to do so would be contrary to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, an accusation denied by Allen.⁵⁹ Discussing the subsequent Solemn League and Covenant, the Manchester clergyman Richard Hollinworth's solution to this problem was to, like Herle before him, distinguish between the King's bodily and legal person. He argued that as the oath of supremacy refers to the law, and the King's person is under the law, the Covenant and the oath of supremacy were thus not in contention.⁶⁰ For a royalist clergyman such as George Snell, there could be no reconciling allegiance to both King and Parliament. Preaching to royalist troops gathered at Guilden Sutton at Candlemas [February] 1643, before their assault on the parliamentarian garrison at Norton, he used as his

⁵⁶ National Archives, SP 23/190, fo. 648.

⁵⁷ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 279r.

⁵⁸ Anon., *A fuller answer to a treatise written by Doctor Ferne, entituled The resolving of conscience upon this question* (London: for John Bartlet, 1642), passim, but especially p. 10. George Thomason, who acquired his copy of the pamphlet on 29 December 1642, identified Charles Herle as the author. For Ferne's treatise, see Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 142-143.

⁵⁹ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fos. 277r., 281r.

⁶⁰ Anon., *An Answer to a certain writing, entituled, Certain Doubts and Quaere's Upon occasion of the late Oath and Covenant* (London: for Luke Fawne, 11 September 1643). The author is identified by George Thomason as 'Mr. Hollingworthe of Lancashire', p. 5 to the first p. 6 (duplicate pagination).

example the story of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar from the Book of Genesis, arguing that by having sexual relations with Abraham behind the back of his wife Sarah, Sarah's slave Hagar 'was the Parliament as the Strumpett Renniged from her true mistrisse the King'.⁶¹

The only other sermons by a royalist clergyman for which details of their contents survive were three sermons preached at Chester by Richard Johnson, the contents of which were transcribed in February 1659 by the Cheshire antiquarian Peter Leycester from notes made upon the sermons. Leycester's transcriptions survived in a private collection, and were published by F. R. Raines in the late nineteenth century.⁶² Preaching in the context of a garrison town, the first surviving sermon by Johnson dates from 'around 1644', and urged towards a moral reformation. Condemning various heresies and immorality, Johnson concluded by beseeching 'those in authority I would entreat them to consider that they bear the sword for no other purpose but to maintain the laws of God and man'.⁶³ The sense that God was turning against the royalists and their sins as the King's forces suffered setbacks during 1644 (notably the defeat at Marston Moor and the loss of York) was further echoed in two sermons preached by Johnson in 1645. In the first sermon, preached at a fast day in January, he reflected that 'If we will but deyn to sorrow in a godly manner, the way of God doth administer hope that our friends shall not mourn nor our enemies rejoice in our ruin and desolation, for godly sorrow worketh both repentance and salvation, temporal and eternal'.⁶⁴ In June 1645, Johnson implicitly warned against the dangers of a parliamentary victory when he preached about the abuse of spiritual liberty by 'the Anabaptists' and by 'Libertines and Antinomians'.⁶⁵

As has been noted, a study of the attitudes of parliamentary clergy is rather hamstrung by the lack of surviving sermons preached in Lancashire and Cheshire. Instead, the historian has to rely on the printed editions of sermons preached in London by ministers from those two counties, often before one of the houses of Parliament. Studying such sermons, though, is not without profit, representing the views of three clerics, Charles Herle, John Ley and Samuel Torshell, who had, during the early months of the first civil war, fled their livings for what Herle described as the 'Sanctuary' of

⁶¹ National Archives, SP 23/190, fo. 645.

⁶² F. R. Raines, ed. Frank Renaud, *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, Chetham Society, new series, xxi, xxiii (1891), xxi. 129-135. Johnson, it will be remembered from the second chapter of this thesis, was the moderately puritan fellow of the Manchester collegiate church who had clashed with Archbishop Laud over the re-foundation of the college during the 1630s.

⁶³ Raines, ed. Renaud, *Fellows*, xxi. 133.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xxi. 132.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xxi. 130.

London.⁶⁶ Torshell even went so far as to write a justification for clergymen fleeing their livings because of the war, explaining it in terms of precedents from the Bible, the early church, and even as recently as the Marian persecutions of the 1550s, and that ultimately, it was God's will that a particular path in life was set out for them.⁶⁷ This prompts two themes which recur (in slightly different forms) in the sermons preached in London by Herle, Ley and Torshell. The first is that because of their personal situations, they stood to both their congregations and their later readers as very visible embodiments of the impact of the war upon godly ministers. The connotations must have been obvious when, calling on 15 August 1643 for the support of the House of Lords in the pursuit of religious reformation, Herle, speaking in the voice of 'Protestant Religion', told the peers:

is it not enough that (against the Law of Nations) my *Embassadeurs* have not onely beene denied audience, but silenced, sentenced, mangled, imprisoned, banished, my faithfullest servants every where insulted on, reviled, pursued hitherto to their undoing and now mostwheres to the very death, while my sworne and professed enemies have beene generally secur'd, countenanc'd, imploid, advanc'd?⁶⁸

John Ley had adopted similar themes when he had preached to the House of Commons on 26 April 1643. Always more moderate in tone than Herle, Ley also regretted the abuse of ministers, wryly noting that critics of the ministry were claiming that the clergy might be more respected if they *actually* followed Christ's example in casting out demons!⁶⁹ Ley followed the William Perkins tradition of Calvinism in his belief that signs of election could be discerned during one's earthly life.⁷⁰ Ley thus saw suffering and death in the name of true religion as a sign of being amongst the elect, and that like when the elect have been removed by God from the Earth (as when Lot was removed from Sodom in Genesis 19), the reprobate will then be destroyed.⁷¹ Indeed, in contrast to the despair sensed in the royalist Richard Johnson's sermons preached in Chester in 1645, the parliamentary clergy of Lancashire and Cheshire whose thoughts are known had an unerring

⁶⁶ Charles Herle, *Abrahams offer, Gods offering* (London: for Peter Cole, 1644), epistle dedicatory.

⁶⁷ S[amuel] T[orshell], *A Case of Conscience, concerning Flying in Times of Trouble* (London: for John Ballamie and Ralph Smith, 1643), passim.

⁶⁸ Charles Herle, *Davids Song of Three Parts* (London: T. Brudenell for N. A., 1643), pp. 20-21.

⁶⁹ John Ley, *The fvry of warre, and folly of sinne* (London: G. M. for Christopher Meredith, 1643), p. 46.

⁷⁰ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, 'Puritan divinity and spirituality', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, eds. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 194-195.

⁷¹ Ley, *Fvry of warre*, pp. 50-51.

ability to interpret bad situations in the best possible light. Where Ley saw the elect and the reprobate being separated before his very eyes during the course of the war (like in Christ's parable of the sheep and the goats in Matthew 25, which he discussed), Torshell held a similar view, seeing the effects of the war on the Bunbury area as a just punishment of his parishioners' sins and their ignorance of his warnings to them.⁷²

Whilst Torshell adopted a somewhat aloof attitude towards his parishioners, the minister at Lancaster, Nehemiah Barnett, whilst interpreting the tragedies which had befallen the town (it had been burned by the earl of Derby's royalist forces in March 1643) as just punishments from God, adopted a more positive attitude towards his parishioners.⁷³ He saw them as all being potential recipients of God's grace (he praised a former royalist for his recent conversion), and he applauded the corporation's efforts in 'Reforming the Sabbath' and in 'executing Justice on prophane sinners, hath beene a good work, and may prove the onely meanes to turne away the wrath of God from us (which was increased by drunkenness, and prophaneness)'.⁷⁴ Barnett was a young man, having only matriculated as a student at New Inn Hall, Oxford, in 1636, before being appointed as vicar of Lancaster by the House of Commons in October 1643 in succession to Augustine Wildbore, who had fled to royalist quarters.⁷⁵ One wonders if there is indeed a divergence in attitude between older clerics such as Torshell, who saw the war as a sign of God's displeasure with their parishioners, particularly when, as Torshell believed, God had opened new (and presumably more pastorally profitable) paths for their careers, and younger, intruded clerics such as Barnett who, labouring at the pastoral coalface, could see the shoots of recovery and God's renewed favour as Parliament's forces edged towards military victory. Whilst Barnett may have been surreptitiously attacking his predecessor Wildbore, he could also have been making a broader point when Barnett criticised his fellow clergy for neglecting their parishioners.⁷⁶ Richard Heyrick obviously had no sense of irony when on 27 May 1646, whilst chastising the House of Commons for the slow progress of religious reform, he complained that the number of

⁷² Ley, *Fvry of warre*, pp. 50-51; Samuel Torshell, *A Helpe to Christian Fellowship* (London: G. M. for John Bellamy, 1644), epistle dedicatory. George Thomason dated his copy 13 March 1643/44, and interestingly, the imprimatur was granted by Charles Herle.

⁷³ For the burning of Lancaster, see Stephen Bull, "*A general plague of madness*": *The Civil Wars in Lancashire, 1640-1660* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2009), pp. 136-138.

⁷⁴ Barnett, *Gods Lift-up hand for Lancashire*, epistle dedicatory. Barnett, as the title suggests, also explored similar themes in his *The Regenerate mans growth in Grace* (London: John Dawson for John Williams, 1646), passim. This latter pamphlet was granted its imprimatur by Charles Herle.

⁷⁵ *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, eds. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (8 vols., London: University of London, 1906-1914), viii. 29. For Barnett's appointment at Lancaster, see *Commons Journal*, 9 October 1643.

⁷⁶ Barnett, *Regenerate mans growth in Grace*, pp. 27-31.

ministers in Manchester had reduced from sixteen to one, and ‘he is upon tiptoe, ready to take his flight, scarce having bread... to put into his childrens mouth’.⁷⁷

The theme of religious reformation had been a consistent one throughout the various statements issued by parliamentarian clergy during the war. Barnett and Heyrick were both looking at reformation in the context of imminent military victory, and Samuel Torshell, preaching to the House of Commons on 12 May 1646 on the suggestive topic of Deuteronomy 16:20, told them that the kingdom ‘now is in your hand, and lyes before you in a free view’, and urged them to uphold the Solemn League and Covenant, to not forget their friends (including the Scots), to protect godly ministers, and warned them against restoring the King to his former powers.⁷⁸ Earlier in the war, in June 1643, Charles Herle had, in typically belligerent fashion, compared the *Book of Common Prayer* to ‘*Balaam Sacrifices*’, telling the Lords that ‘that Land that would have true rest must give Idols none’.⁷⁹ The more moderate Ley, in the dedicatory epistle to the printed version of a sermon preached to the Commons in April 1643, praised the members for tackling popery, but nonetheless called for accommodation between the King and Parliament.⁸⁰

Ley’s desire for accommodation ultimately went unheeded, but over the coming three years, Parliament’s military forces established control over most of England. Coupled with this victory were the attempts to implement religious reformation, notably the eradication of use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in services, and the attempts to reform the structures of the church following the collapse of episcopacy during the war.⁸¹ The next section of this chapter will examine the relationship between the clerical personnel in Lancashire and Cheshire with the dynamics of civil war and reformation between 1642 and the execution of King Charles I in January 1649. Needless to say, enforcing reformation would be far from straightforward.

⁷⁷ Heyrick, *Queen Esthers Resolves*, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁸ Samuel Torshell, *The Palace of Justice opened and set to veiw* [sic] (London: T. R. and E. M. for John Bellamy, 1646), pp. 2, 18-20. Deuteronomy 16:20 reads ‘Justice, Justice, or, That Which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee’.

⁷⁹ Herle, *Davids Song of Three Parts*, pp. 3, 12. Italics as in the publication.

⁸⁰ Ley, *Fvry of warre*, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’.

⁸¹ John Morrill, ‘The Puritan Revolution’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, eds. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 70-71.

Clerical personnel in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1642-1649

Between the outbreak of civil war in the summer of 1642 and the regicide in January 1649, the clergy experienced a great deal of disturbance and movement as military mobilisations and urges towards religious reformation both deprived some clergymen and promoted others. Harry Byrch, an Irish captain who had recently landed in Chester to assist the royalist forces, wrote to the secretary of the marquis of Ormond on 12 December 1643, informing him that ‘All the orthodox clergy of Cheshire and Lancashire are either here, in Yorkshire, or in prison. They say that they have lately seized upon some men that would not publish in their churches that we were Irish rebels’.⁸² At least two clergymen in Lancashire were sequestered for residing in the royalist garrison at Lathom House, and clergymen signed the surrender articles of both Lathom House and Chester.⁸³ From the parliamentary perspective, in the early summer of 1644, John Shaw was forced to flee into Yorkshire from his ministry at Cartmel in Lancashire, and John Wigan was similarly forced to flee his ministry at Heapey, because of the incursions of Prince Rupert’s troops in their respective areas.⁸⁴ Around 1654, following the death of their sequestered vicar, Augustine Wildbore, the parishioners of Garstang claimed that they had petitioned for Isaac Ambrose to succeed Wildbore upon his sequestration in 1645, only for ‘Mr. [Christopher] Edmundson (without any call or knowledge of ours) by the meanes of some souldiers enters into the place’.⁸⁵ Some clergymen suffered an even graver fate. Richard Whitfield, the curate of Upholland in Lancashire, ‘was slaine in the

⁸² Quoted in Rupert H. Morris and P. H. Lawson, *The Siege of Chester 1643-1646* (Chester: G. R. Griffith Ltd., 1924), p. 54.

⁸³ The two clergymen at Lathom House were Peter Travers (the pluralist rector of Halsall and Bury) and Edward Rigby (the rector of Brindle), see *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896), xxviii. 3-4, 46. Travers also signed the surrender articles for Lathom House on 2 December 1645, see *The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton*, ed. R. N. Dore, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxiii, cxxviii (1984-1990), cxxviii. 296-297 (Item 924). Thomas Bridge (the rector of Malpas (Upper Mediety)) and Edward Moreton (the pluralist rector of Tattenhall, Cheshire, and Sefton, Lancashire) signed the surrender articles of Chester on 3 February 1645/46, see Morris and Lawson, *Siege of Chester*, pp. 192-195.

⁸⁴ ‘The Life of Master John Shaw’, in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Charles Jackson, Surtees Society, lxxv (1877), 139; *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 251-252.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Henry Fishwick, *The History of the Parish of Garstang in the County of Lancaster*, 2 vols., Chetham Society, civ, cv (1878-1879), cv. 168. The petitioning parishioners were perhaps being a little disingenuous here, as Edmundson did receive a formal presentation to the vicarage from the Committee for Plundered Ministers in April 1645, see *Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 2-3.

service of the Parliament'.⁸⁶ Edward Burghall recalled that at Barthomley in December 1643, when Irish troops were active in Cheshire for the King's cause, 'This cruell Connought cut the Throat of one Mr. John Fowler, a hopefull yong Man, & Minister there'.⁸⁷ David Ellison, the intruded minister at Childwall in Lancashire, must have felt vulnerable when in 1645, the churchwardens spent 2s. 'on 12 souldirs to gard' him.⁸⁸

Before engaging with some of the historiographical debates about the clergy during this period, it is worth first outlining some statistics for the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. I have fully explained my usage of the terms 'ejected', 'royalist' and 'parliamentarian', as well as my sources for the production of these statistics, in the fourth and fifth appendices of this thesis. In Lancashire, twenty-four clerics were ejected from at least one living, of whom eight were either curates, or fellows of the Manchester collegiate church without another living. This figure includes Henry Shaw, whose curacy at Liverpool was subject to annual election by the Mayor and Burgesses, and who appears to have lost office in 1643 despite being otherwise parliamentarian, whilst Richard Jackson appears to have lost his rectory of Halton whilst retaining his rectory of Whittington.⁸⁹ An additional six clerics, all beneficed incumbents, were possibly ejected, though the evidence does not survive to prove so conclusively. There are twenty clergymen in Lancashire for whom evidence of royalism survives, of whom eleven were ejected before the regicide from their parochial livings or curacies, one (Richard Day, the vicar of Prescott) was suspended but was subsequently restored, and one (John Chadwick, the rector of Standish) died in office in 1644. Of this twenty, four were unbeneficed curates, and Samuel

⁸⁶ Lancashire Record Office, Preston, QSP 7/15. Whitfield was still curate at Upholland in November 1644, but had been replaced by Henry Shaw by October 1646, see *Commons Journal*, 25 November 1644; *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, xx. 8.

⁸⁷ *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties*, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and *Providence Improved*, by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889), 95 (from Edward Burghall's 'Providence Improved'). A recent (though, in my opinion, unconvincing) revision of events at Barthomley church on 26 December 1643 can be found in Geoffrey Hudson, 'Northern Civil War Atrocity at Barthomley Church, 1643, Revisited', *Northern History*, xlvi (2009), 329-332.

⁸⁸ Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool, H. 283.1.ALL.

⁸⁹ For Henry Shaw, see *Liverpool under Charles I*, eds. Chandler and Wilson, p. 317; for Jackson, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 31099 (date accessed: 19 June 2014); *Lancashire and Cheshire Commonwealth Church Surveys*, ed. Henry Fishwick, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i (1879), 122, 131. Richard Jackson was described as being 'minister of Whittington neare Kyrby Lonsdale', and as 'a very pious & honest able man', in a letter dated 28 February 1645/46 from Henry Masy, the presbyterian minister at Kendal in Westmorland, to the parliamentarian peer Philip, Lord, Wharton, see Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland: Their Predecessors and Successors* (2 vols., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911), ii. 890.

Rutter was the chaplain to the Stanley family and was active in the defence of Lathom House.⁹⁰ In terms of parliamentarianism, seventy-one clerics are either known to have been actively parliamentarian, claimed to be a parliamentarian, or who received approval from a parliamentary body, ministered in the county in 1642, of whom three were investigated for royalism (including Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, who was ejected). Also, Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick, and Richard Heyrick, the warden of the Manchester collegiate church, both spent much time in London. Of these seventy-one, forty-six were unbeneficed curates or lecturers, and fifteen clergymen who were curates or lecturers in 1642 were promoted to a rectory or vicarage within Lancashire before the regicide (plus William Rathband, the curate at Blackley in Manchester parish, was appointed to Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire by the House of Lords in 1643, and Thomas Johnson, the curate at Ellenbrook in Eccles parish, was appointed to Stockport in Cheshire by the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1643).⁹¹ After the outbreak of civil war, under the same definitions of parliamentarianism, seventy-nine clergymen were appointed to livings before the regicide, though in at least twenty of those cases, it cannot be proven conclusively that they did not minister in the county before 1642. It is clear that conscious efforts were made to recruit new clergymen for Lancashire livings. In October 1643, Isaac Ambrose, the vicar of Preston, wrote on the behalf of Alexander Rigby (the member of Parliament for Wigan) to the famous Yorkshire preacher Elkanah Wales, offering him the living of Rufford, where Rigby was willing to provide him with a salary of £50 per annum, and asking him if he could recommend ministers, ‘six at least’, who would be willing to come to Lancashire.⁹²

In Cheshire, fifty-six clerics were ejected, including seven clerics who held small value livings or informal curacies in Chester whilst it was a royalist garrison, and who disappear after the city’s surrender to Parliament

⁹⁰ J. R. Dickinson, ‘Rutter, Samuel (d. 1662)’, *ODNB*.

⁹¹ William Bourne, a fellow of the Manchester collegiate church, as here been classed as unbeneficed. The unbeneficed clergymen who acquired benefices after 1642 includes William Armistead, who was curate at Kirkham during the 1630s, but who is unlikely to have acquired the vicarage of Lytham before 1642, and is not known to have been at Lytham until 1646. The others are William Alte (promoted at Bury), William Bell (promoted at Huyton), James Bradshaw (curate at Turton to Wigan), Christopher Edmundson (curate at Croston to Garstang), Edward Gee (promoted at Eccleston), John Harper (promoted at Bolton), John Harrison (promoted at Ashton-under-Lyne), John Jacques (perpetual curate at Penwortham to Bolton-le-Sands), Thomas Johnson (curate at Rochdale to Halsall), Ralph Marsden (curate at Middleton to Brindle), Thomas Pyke (curate at Longworth to Radcliffe), John Sumner (curate at Bispham to Poulton-le-Fylde), Joseph Thompson (curate at Liverpool to Sefton), and William Walker (curate at Haslingden to Whalley).

⁹² Quoted in Fishwick, *Garstang*, xv. 164. For a biography of Elkanah Wales, see Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1640* (London: Longmans, 1960), p. 289.

in February 1646.⁹³ There is also evidence of royalism for fifty-six clergymen, including clergymen whose royalism is assumed because they ministered in Chester whilst it was a royalist garrison. Fifty-one of these fifty-six clerics were ejected from some kind of living within Cheshire.⁹⁴ Three of the royalist clerics (George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors; Samuel Shipton, the rector of Alderley; and George Snell, the rector of Wallasey and Waverton) denied their royalism in an ultimately futile attempt to escape ejection, whilst two other royalists were later approved for livings by the House of Lords (Ralph Poole at Bebington in 1647, and John Robinson, who had previously been ejected as rector of Brereton, at Warmingham in 1648).⁹⁵ Of parliamentarians, forty-five ministered in Cheshire on the cusp of civil war, of whom twenty-eight did not hold a rectory or vicarage in 1642 (including Samuel Eaton, who after his return from New England, does not appear to have formally ministered within the Church of England). Of these forty-five, Byrom, Shipton and Snell all claimed their loyalty to Parliament in the process of being ejected for royalism, whilst Ralph Poole, the curate and later incumbent at Bebington, was also investigated for royalism, and Samuel Catherall seems to have been ejected from his rectory at Swettenham, but was still rector of Handley in 1648 when he (and Poole) signed the *Attestation* in defence of the Solemn League and Covenant. Six clerics were absent from their cures for periods (four served as army chaplains, and John Ley of Great Budworth and Samuel Torshell of Bunbury fled to London). Seventy-five clergymen approved by parliamentary bodies or who were otherwise parliamentarian appear to have come to minister in the county after the outbreak of the war, but because of deficiencies in the sources (the lack of surviving Protestation returns outside of the city of Chester being a severe hindrance), all that can be said for some cases is that these men appear as ministers in the county for the first time after 1642.⁹⁶ George Cottingham and Robert Freckleton, ministers in 1648 at Plemstall and Backford respectively, have both been

⁹³ These seven clerics are William Ainsworth, Henry Biddulph, William Clarke, Roger Gorst, Charles Jones, John Pilkington, and William Smyth.

⁹⁴ The five clerics who were apparently royalists but who not ejected from a parochial living in Cheshire were Essex Clarke, Robert Freckleton, Richard Johnson, Christopher Pasley, and Mr. Prichard. Conversely, the five clerics who were ejected from a living in Cheshire without there being evidence of royalism are Gabriel Bordman, Robert Morgan (a prebendary of Chester Cathedral who also held livings on Anglesey), Rowland Haywood, Francis Rowley and John Smith.

⁹⁵ William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640-1660* (2 vols., 1900; New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974), ii. 346, 358. For Poole, see National Archives, SP 23/148, fos. 391-392. For Robinson, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 92, and this chapter, below.

⁹⁶ It should also be noted that the John Pemberton ministering at Whitegate by 1646 may be the cleric of the same name who was curate at Eccleston at the 1630 metropolitanical visitation, and thus, he may have been ministering in Cheshire in 1642.

claimed by historians as previous royalists.⁹⁷ Also, Daniel Sunderland, who signed the *Attestation* in 1648 as ‘pastor of Bunbury’, had petitioned the royalist committee for the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1643, requesting presentation to the vicarage of Giggleswick after the vicar, Anthony Lister, had fled to Manchester.⁹⁸ Additional to the seventy-five (but included within the tabulation), Ralph Poole and John Robinson were former royalists who had ministered in the county in 1642, but who later secured parliamentary approval.

Before moving onto other analyses, a word should be said about clerical patronage. In his review of David Underdown’s *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, John Morrill pointed out that tracing the patronage of different ministers could have implications for the religious (and political) messages which they promoted.⁹⁹ However, as Underdown wrote in reply to Morrill, he had attempted such an analysis of ecclesiastical patronage, but no clear patterns had emerged, with ‘puritan’ gentlemen sometimes appointing ‘Laudian Royalist’ ministers.¹⁰⁰ A couple of interesting observations may be made across Lancashire and Cheshire, but alone, they are not sufficient to draw any conclusions. John King, the vicar of Chipping in Lancashire since 1623 and approved by Parliament in 1646 as a member of the Blackburn classis, has the distinction of being the only parliamentarian clergyman in either county to have been appointed to his living by Bishop Bridgeman (assuming that we discount George Snell, who only claimed loyalty to Parliament when he was facing ejection from his livings for royalism).¹⁰¹ Conversely, Archbishop Laud’s only clerical appointment in the two counties, his niece’s husband Robert Bath as vicar of Rochdale in Lancashire in 1636, was approved by Parliament in 1646 to be a member of the Bury presbyterian classis, and he was ultimately ejected from his vicarage in 1662, being licensed as a presbyterian minister at Castleton in Rochdale in 1672.¹⁰² Also, the leading light of Lancashire royalism, James,

⁹⁷ For Cottingham, see M. J. Crossley Evans, ‘The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672’, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 113; for Freckleton, see *Victoria History*, vii. 224.

⁹⁸ Anon., *An Attestation to the Testimony of our reverend Brethren of the Province of London... Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their meeting May 2. and subscribed at their next meeting June 6. 1648* (London: R. Cotes for Christopher Meredith. 1648), p. 55; ‘Royalist Clergy in Yorkshire, 1642-5’, ed. W. Brown, in *Miscellanea*, vol. 1, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, lxi (1920), 154.

⁹⁹ John Morrill, ‘The Ecology of Allegiance in the English Civil Wars’, reproduced in John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 236-238. The subject of Morrill’s review is David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

¹⁰⁰ David Underdown, ‘A Reply to John Morrill’, *Journal of British Studies*, xxvi (1987), 474-475.

¹⁰¹ For John King, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 36705 (date accessed: 13 October 2013).

¹⁰² A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 36.

earl of Derby, had (as Lord Strange) appointed John Broxupp as the vicar of Ormskirk in 1628, but Broxupp would receive £50 from the parliamentary West Derby sequestrators in December 1643 for his salary as a King's Preacher.¹⁰³ In essence, though tracing clerical patronage does sound like a potentially promising line of investigation, I ultimately share Underdown's frustration with the results generated.

Nonetheless, other, more convincing, patterns have emerged. A striking proportion of the parliamentary clergy who ministered in Lancashire and Cheshire in 1642 were unbeneficed curates. Mark Curtis memorably argued that such lecturers and curates, forced into such marginal roles within the Church of England by an oversupply of graduates during the early seventeenth century, formed a distinct class of disaffected clergy who contributed towards radicalisation in the years leading up to 1642, and that this radicalisation was often translated into civil war parliamentarianism.¹⁰⁴ Curtis' work was forcefully challenged by Ian Green, who suggested that the market for positions of all kinds (both beneficed and unbeneficed) within the Church was much more buoyant than Curtis had argued, though equally, it must be said that Green perhaps understated just how marginal curacies and lectureships were within the Church, and how disillusioning it may have been for those clergy who held such positions and who found it difficult to acquire a beneficed position.¹⁰⁵ Whilst I would stop short in arguing as keenly as Curtis that such unbeneficed clergy formed a distinct class within the Church, such clergy may well have been more inclined towards both puritanism, and ultimately towards parliamentarianism. Indeed, some statistics regarding the statuses of clergymen relative to allegiance have just been provided, and it has already been stated elsewhere in this thesis that of the 139 puritan nonconformist clergy identified in official ecclesiastical records in Lancashire and Cheshire between 1625 and 1642, 99 of these clerics were presented at least once for puritan offences whilst holding a curacy or lectureship.¹⁰⁶

In terms of politics, the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire offer instructive contrasts. In Lancashire, parliamentary clergy who ministered in the county in 1642 outnumbered their royalist counterparts, whilst in Cheshire, the opposite situation is the case. Cheshire clerical parliamentarianism, already numerically weaker than its Lancastrian

¹⁰³ National Archives, SP 28/299, fo. 1064r. See also Broxupp's entry in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 32533 (date accessed: 10 October 2013).

¹⁰⁴ Mark H. Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, xxiii (1962), 25-43.

¹⁰⁵ Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', *Past and Present*, xc (1981), 71-115, especially 93-109.

¹⁰⁶ See the second chapter and the second appendix of this thesis.

counterpart, was soon afterwards affected by four clergymen joining the army as chaplains, and by Ley and Torshell fleeing to London. After war broke out, Lancashire royalism soon collapsed, having been undermined by gentry leaving the county to serve the King.¹⁰⁷ Whilst Cheshire royalism gradually became restricted to the city of Chester and its hinterlands, the presence of what was, by the time of its surrender in February 1646, the only significant royalist garrison in northern England ensured that the political situation in the county was dominated by military matters until well into 1646. As Ann Hughes has suggested, the scale and the longevity of active royalism in Cheshire may have ensured that the recriminations against royalists after Parliament's military victory were more zealously pursued than they were in her own county of Warwickshire.¹⁰⁸

In terms of parliamentary organisation, there are striking differences between Lancashire and Cheshire. In Lancashire, the parliamentary committees and (from 1646) the restored magistracy were dominated by men who had come into presbyterianism during the 1640s, and this situation remained the case until the purges which followed the regicide in 1649.¹⁰⁹ In Cheshire, though, by a parliamentary ordinance of 26 March 1644, Sir William Brereton was granted significant powers within the county, including for the ejection of scandalous ministers.¹¹⁰ Pursuant to this ordinance, he appointed hundredal sequestration committees who answered directly to him.¹¹¹ This situation soon brought Brereton into conflict with the deputy lieutenants, many of whom were representatives of the traditional county gentry, whilst Brereton's closest allies were generally parish gentry and army men, some of whom were actively interacting with radical religious ideas.¹¹² In many ways, the situation in Cheshire echoed that which Hughes found in Warwickshire: the deputy lieutenants were not necessarily less committed parliamentarians than Brereton, but their vision of a war effort centred primarily upon the county was radically different from Brereton's view that Cheshire should play a part within a broader, integrated, multi-county war effort.¹¹³

One of the mainstays of John Morrill's arguments about Cheshire is that Brereton's allies in the hundredal sequestration committees vindictively

¹⁰⁷ Hutton, 'Lancashire Cavaliers', 47-62.

¹⁰⁸ Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 161 (fn. 171).

¹⁰⁹ Gratton, *Lancashire*, p. 98. For the post-regicide purges, see Alex Craven, 'The Commonwealth of England and the Governors of Lancashire: 'New Modelised and Cromwellised'', *Northern History*, xlviii (2011), 41-58, especially p. 52.

¹¹⁰ *Acts and Ordinances*, accessed via *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=55928> (date accessed: 10 February 2014).

¹¹¹ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 81.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, ch. 4.

¹¹³ Hughes, *Warwickshire*, ch. 6.

pursued moderate clergy for whom there is little evidence of royalism.¹¹⁴ It must be admitted that the historian largely deals with hostile definitions of royalism: indeed, in the case of George Snell, the Edisbury sequestration committee's report in July 1646 claimed that being 'a Newtrall Minister' (Snell's line of defence) would have 'beene bad enough', but Snell was actually an active royalist.¹¹⁵ Morrill was influenced by two cases in the north-east of the county which he had discovered with his former schoolmaster, Norman Dore. In 1653, John Bretland of Thorncliff, a disillusioned parliamentarian who had subsequently been sequestered on charges of royalism, claimed that Gerard Browne, the vicar of Mottram-in-Longdendale, and Edmund Shalcross, the rector of Stockport, were vindictively ejected early in the first civil war by mobs consisting of Brereton's allies, with Shalcross' ejection essentially being because of a tithe dispute. Bretland, a solicitor, was hired by the deputy lieutenants to prosecute those involved in ejecting Browne and Shalcross, only for him to be himself sequestered by the Macclesfield sequestrators.¹¹⁶ These two cases are quite extreme examples, and seem to predate when Brereton was granted powers at the expenses of the deputy lieutenants in 1644. This new situation rather antagonised the deputy lieutenants (as traditional county governors), who subsequently spent much of the remainder of the first war petitioning Parliament for the curbing of Brereton's individual powers.¹¹⁷ Whilst there is no evidence that Bretland had invented his story, we must remember that his account fits comfortably into a situation which, in the early 1650s, still caused much resentment amongst Cheshire's parliamentarian county gentry, who had lost powers to Brereton and his allies of generally lower status than themselves.

Morrill essentially replicates this model for five other clergymen, claiming that they were willing to conform to the presbyterian system of church government, and were all defended by the deputy lieutenants upon their ejection by the hundredal sequestration committees.¹¹⁸ However, there is no evidence that either of these suppositions is correct; indeed, one of these clergymen, Thomas Mallory, had died in April 1644 whilst resident in the royalist garrison at Chester.¹¹⁹ Another of Morrill's clergymen, George

¹¹⁴ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 166-167. These five clergymen were Thomas Mallory (rector of Davenham and Mobberley and Dean of Chester), Thomas Dod (rector of Astbury and Malpas (Lower Mediety) and Archdeacon of Richmond), George Snell (rector of Wallasey and Waverton and Archdeacon of Chester), George Byrom (rector of Thornton-le-Moors) and William Nicholls (rector of Cheadle).

¹¹⁵ National Archives, SP 23/190, fo. 643r.

¹¹⁶ Morrill and Dore, 'Cheshire Gentry', 67-75. The contemporary papers relating to these incidents are transcribed in J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present* (2 vols., London: self-published, 1877), i. 387, ii. 129-130.

¹¹⁷ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 151-163.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

¹¹⁹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 91.

Byrom, was brought to Nantwich as a prisoner in June 1643, whilst sequestration proceedings were already taking place by September 1643 against William Nicholls, the rector of Cheadle, though the hundredal sequestration committees were not established by Brereton until 1644.¹²⁰

It seems likely that clergymen perceived to be royalist were being ejected from their livings from quite early in the war: Thomas Mallory, the son of the above Thomas Mallory, claimed in 1660 to have been ejected from his rectory at Northenden in as early as 1642.¹²¹ Herein may lie the answer. In 1644, Henry Bate, the intruded minister at Mobberley (where the pluralist Thomas Mallory the elder had been rector), was paid by the sequestrators £39 2s. from the revenues of the parish for his ministry there.¹²² The surplus revenues of the parish were so healthy that in both 1643 and 1644, the sequestrators were able to pay £20 to Warrington garrison.¹²³ As Morrill has argued, the Cheshire parliamentarians were heavily dependent on sequestration revenues, and though he suggests that sequestration was little used during 1643, the records of hundredal sequestrators suggest that clergymen were particular targets in the immediate aftermath of the passage of the ordinance in March 1643.¹²⁴ Clergymen would have provided an easy means for obtaining money, as well as providing the dual advantage of also removing potentially influential and disaffected men from those parishes, particularly when clerical parliamentarians in the county were at such a numerical disadvantage early in the war. In contrast, in Lancashire, whilst Augustine Wildbore was ejected in 1643 from his vicarage at Lancaster (a parliamentarian garrison for much of the first war), clerical ejections only really seem to have gained momentum from 1645 (when Wildbore was ejected from his other vicarage at Garstang). The two probable factors for this are that (in two contrasts with Cheshire), firstly, clerical royalists were at a numerical disadvantage to their parliamentarian counterparts, so the Lancashire parliamentarians may have felt less threatened by them: Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, was even acquitted by a committee of local parliamentarians when he was first charged with royalism in the autumn of 1643.¹²⁵ Secondly, the Lancashire parliamentarian administration was much less dependent on sequestration revenues than their Cheshire counterparts (as well as not having the siege of

¹²⁰ *Memorials*, ed. Hall, 61 (from Thomas Malbon's 'Memorials'); British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fo. 4r.

¹²¹ Parliamentary Archives, London, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/290.

¹²² British Library, Harley MS, 2137, fo. 124r.

¹²³ British Library, Harley MS, 2137, fos. 121v., 124r.

¹²⁴ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 99, 101. For the sequestration of clergymen in Macclesfield Hundred during 1643, see British Library, Harley MS, 2130.

¹²⁵ When Allen was investigated again in 1645, Richard Heyrick (the warden of the Manchester collegiate church) referred to Allen's earlier acquittal in his testimony, see National Archives, SP 23/158, fo. 339.

a major city to fund), and indeed, sequestrations of all kinds in Lancashire only become statistically noticeable from December 1645 onwards, following the surrender of Lathom House, the last royalist garrison in the county.¹²⁶

In Cheshire, Morrill also makes a great deal about a growing split amongst the county's parliamentarians along the lines of presbyterian / deputy lieutenants versus religious Independent / sequestrators.¹²⁷ I am not convinced that this is really the case. Testimonies from members of the Northwich Hundred sequestration committee was amongst the evidence produced when in support of John Robinson when the Committee for Plundered Ministers suspended his sequestration as rector of Brereton on 9 October 1646, though, when that order was subsequently revoked on 4 March 1647, the committeemen had disavowed him.¹²⁸ The presbyterian Nathaniel Lancaster served as a chaplain to Sir William Brereton's troops during the siege of Chester, and in February 1647, he received a grant towards the repairs of his house in the Abbey Court in Chester, with one of the signatories of the grant being the congregationalist army colonel, Robert Dukinfield.¹²⁹ In December 1645, Brereton attended a meeting with both Eaton and Thomas Langley, the lecturer at Middlewich who in 1637 had opposed the New England congregationalism of which Eaton was an adherent.¹³⁰ Also, in her will dated October 1646, the Chester widow Mary Reynalds left bequests to both Eaton and Langley, as well as to Lancaster and John Glendole.¹³¹ The one hundred where a deliberate policy of clerical patronage seems to have been pursued was Macclesfield, where the sequestration committee was dominated by William Barrett, a member of Samuel Eaton's congregation at Dukinfield.¹³² Under his watch, the committee provided payments to congregationalists such as Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor at Dukinfield, Henry Root at Northenden, and John

¹²⁶ William Cliftlands, 'The 'Well Affected' and the 'Country': Politics and Religion in English Provincial Society, c. 1640-c. 1654' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Essex, 1987), pp. 91-92; see also Gratton, *Lancashire*, p. 20.

¹²⁷ Morrill, *Cheshire*, ch. 4.

¹²⁸ *Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 169, 176-177.

¹²⁹ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 144-145; National Archives, SP 28/224, fo. 231r. Furthermore, Nathaniel Lancaster's 'Chesters enlargement after three yeares bondage', appended to *Sir William Brereton's Letter... Concerning all the Passages and Treaties Of the siege and taking of the City of Chester* (London: Edward Husband, 1645/[46]), pp. 17-42, gives a hardly flattering portrayal of Brereton's military capabilities, emphasising the earlier good work done by others whilst Brereton was absent attending Parliament.

¹³⁰ *Sir William Brereton*, ed. Dore, cxxviii. 378 (Item 1037). For Langley's anti-congregationalism in 1637, see Nicholas Tyacke, *The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-1640* (London: Dr. Williams' Library, 1990), pp. 18-19.

¹³¹ Cheshire RO, WS 1647, Mary Reynalds of Chester.

¹³² *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M. A.*, ed. Richard Parkinson, Chetham Society, xxvi, xxvii (1852), xxxvi. 36.

Jones at Marple.¹³³ Barrett, though, also provided funding to Ralph Stringer, a presbyterian associate of Henry Newcome (the minister at nearby Gawsworth), though this had its own consequences when in 1652, Stringer felt obliged to allow Barrett to preach at Macclesfield, to Newcome's disgust.¹³⁴ Also, William Shaw identified the Mr. Benson paid £8 for ministering at Norbury chapel in Stockport parish in June 1645 as Richard Benson, the minister at Chorlton-with-Hardy in Lancashire in October 1647 when he officiated at an ordination by the Manchester presbyterian classis.¹³⁵

Perhaps indicative that relations (on religious matters at least) between the deputy lieutenants and Brereton and his allies were not as dire as Morrill suggests is the case of Henry Bate, the intruded minister at Mobberley, a parish in Macclesfield Hundred. Brereton had evidently received complaints from Bate that he was being harassed in the parish, and he had obviously implicated Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, whom Morrill has depicted as being the leading members of the moderate deputy lieutenants, and thus broadly opposed to Brereton.¹³⁶ Brereton had thus written to Booth to ask for his views. Enclosing some depositions which suggested that the issue had arisen from Bate otherwise disposing of money intended for the poor of the parish which had been collected at fast days, Booth replied on 20 April 1645 that 'I only desire you to advise him that, when he is in the pulpit preaching the word of God, he would have regard thereunto, and not clamour and envy so publicly against particular men that neither wish nor do him harm'. Booth indicated that he was willing to leave the matter to Brereton's judgement, and signed it as 'your very loving father-in-law'.¹³⁷

I believe that historians have fundamentally misunderstood the situation in Cheshire by reading backwards from the religio-political differences of the mid-1640s. In Macclesfield Hundred, congregationalism originated as a practical pastoral response. In an area with large parishes, upland in nature towards its eastern side, and a high proportion of clergymen having recently been ejected, it enabled the godly from across a wide area to join together and receive the sacraments.¹³⁸ After Samuel Eaton

¹³³ British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fos. 93v., 106r., 134r., 209r., 243r-246r. For Jones and Root, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 302, 417.

¹³⁴ See, for example, British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fos. 95r., 137r. For Barrett's preaching at Macclesfield, see *Henry Newcome*, ed. Parkinson, xxxvi. 36-37.

¹³⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fo. 106r.; *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 55.

¹³⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 83. Morrill seems surprised to find Booth writing letters on Brereton's behalf, see p. 147.

¹³⁷ *Sir William Brereton*, ed. Dore, cxxiii. 262-263 (Items 302-303).

¹³⁸ Whilst the relative situations do not overlap precisely, there are nonetheless some similarities in eastern Cheshire to the situation which Susan Hardman Moore has observed

and his associate Timothy Taylor had established their gathered church at Dukinfield (under the protection of the parliamentarian army colonel, Robert Dukinfield) in either late 1643 or early 1644, in what was probably the first congregation in England to be founded according to New England practice, they insisted that their congregation was a practical response to such problems, and that his congregation and its covenant would be dissolved once a godly parochial system was properly established.¹³⁹ Indeed, all of the ministers in Lancashire and Cheshire whose views are known were all committed to some form of national church built along parochial lines, and many of them recognised godliness amongst ministers whose ecclesiological preferences differed from their own. Adam Martindale, the minister at Gorton in Manchester parish during the mid-1640s, recalled that John Angier (the minister at nearby Denton) held cordial relations with Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, ‘praising them for pious men, good scholars, and excellent preachers’. From his own dealings with him, Martindale also praised Taylor’s ‘moderate spirit’, and regretted that the increasing division between the presbyterian and congregationalist parties meant that he could not maintain relations with congregationalist ministers, or else it would ‘render me suspected’.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, the

in Cumberland, see her ‘Pure Folkes’ and the Parish: Thomas Larkham in Cockermouth and Tavistock’, in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100-c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, xii (1999), pp. 496-498. There were twelve ejections in Macclesfield Hundred which were the result of some action by the sequestrators: Thomas Bold (Macclesfield School), Samuel Catherall (Swettenham), William Domville (Bowdon), Philip Holland (Macclesfield), William Hutchings (Gawsworth), Thomas Mallory senior (Mobberley), Thomas Mallory junior (Northenden), William Nicholls (Cheadle), Edmund Shalcross (Stockport), Samuel Shipton (Alderley), Robert Wright (Poynton), and Thomas Wright (Wilmslow). Additionally, Gerard Browne (Mottram-in-Longdendale), Anthony Elcock (Taxal), John Smith (Bowdon) and Edward Wyrley (Mobberley) seem to have fled their positions at some point during the first civil war.

¹³⁹ Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, *The Defence of Sundry Positions & Scriptures, for the Congregational-Way Justified* (London: Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, 1646), pp. 19-21. This observation was made in Susan Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers and the Call of Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 138-139. The dating for the foundation of the Dukinfield congregation has been ventured by Joel Halcomb, ‘A Social History of Congregationalist Religious Practice during the Puritan Revolution’ (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009), p. 35. I would like to thank Dr. Halcomb for supplying me with a copy of his thesis, and for discussing with me many of the ideas detailed in this chapter and throughout this thesis. Timothy Taylor was the former vicar of Almeley in Herefordshire who, like Eaton, had been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities during the 1630s, see *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in The County Palatine of Chester*, ed. William Urwick (London: Kent & Co., 1864), pp. 342-343.

¹⁴⁰ *The Life of Adam Martindale, Written by Himself*, ed. Richard Parkinson, Chetham Society, iv (1845), 64. A further example is that in the early eighteenth century, Edmund Calamy admired John Jones, the congregationalist minister at Marple, for his good carriage towards ministers of varying ecclesiological persuasions, and for rejecting notions of outright separatism, see Edmund Calamy, *An abridgement of Mr. Baxter’s History of his life and times. With an account of the ministers, &c. who were ejected after the Restoration, in 1660* (2 vols., London: for John Lawrence et al, second edition, 1713), ii. 131-133.

region's most vehement early critic of congregationalist practice in print was the Manchester cleric Richard Hollinworth.¹⁴¹ He was an admirer of William Bourne (who had died in 1643) and William Rathband, both of whom were critics of New England-style congregationalism.¹⁴² By 1646, Hollinworth, alongside John Harrison (the minister at Ashton-under-Lyne) and Thomas Johnson (the minister at Stockport), was regularly using the weekly lecture at Manchester to criticise religious Independency, a position which many congregationalists (including Eaton and Taylor) resented being associated with.¹⁴³

To explain this position further, in their own view, early congregationalist pastors differed from other non-congregationalist but 'godly' ministers in terms of degrees rather than fundamentals. The Dukinfield pastors Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor believed in a New England-style system of church governance, whereby the godly would covenant together to form a gathered church which would receive the sacraments. They maintained that ministers did have a broader duty to preach to (and hopefully prompt repentance amongst) the broader local population, but with admission to the sacraments being restricted to those who were covenanted members of the gathered church.¹⁴⁴ For example,

¹⁴¹ Richard Hollingworth, *An examination of sundry scriptures alleadged by our Brethren, In Defence of some Particulars of their Church-Way* (London: J. R. for Thomas Smith, 1645). Thomas Smith was a Manchester bookseller, in trouble in the diocese of Chester's consistory court in 1638 for distributing 'diverse Scottish, and other schismaticall bookes', see Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/113. Hollinworth's book was printed 'to be sold at his [Smith's] shop in Manchester'.

¹⁴² Richard Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis; or, A History of the Town of Manchester, and what is most memorable concerning it* (Manchester: William Willis, 1839), p. 106. William Rathband, who had ministered at Blackley in Lancashire during the 1630s and the early 1640s, and who was a noted anti-congregationalist writer during the mid-1640s, had been appointed by the House of Lords in 1643 as minister at Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire, see *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, iii. 444; see also Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 49. For Bourne and Rathband's position, see Simeon Ashe and William Rathband, *A Letter of Many Ministers in Old England* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1643), 'The Letter of Those Ministers in England'; Tyacke, *Fortunes of English Puritanism*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴³ Adam Martindale, ed. Parkinson, p. 63; Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, *A Just Apologie for the Church in Duckenfeild in Cheshire* (London: M. S. for Henry Overton, 1647), 'To the Christian Reader'; Halcomb, 'Congregational Religious Practice', pp. 7-8. The relationship between congregationalism and Independency is well explained in Francis J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston, Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1994), pp. 139-143.

¹⁴⁴ Good explanations of how a congregationalist system operated in respective New English and English contexts can be found in Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, chs. 2, 7. For an English focus, see also Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way 1640-1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), ch. 4. A new parliamentary ordinance of October 1645 outlined new regulations for the administration of the Lord's Supper by the parish ministry only to those approved by the minister and eldership, though congregationalist ministers often also restricted the sacrament of baptism to the children of members, whereas many of their parochial counterparts would administer baptism to all but would

Timothy Taylor was co-pastor to the gathered church at Dukinfield (which was non-parochial), but during the mid-1640s he also seems to have undertaken some parochial duties at Stockport, which he would presumably have restricted (like Thomas Weld at Gateshead in Durham in the 1650s) to preaching and visiting the sick, whilst his administration of the sacraments would have been limited to members of the Dukinfield congregation.¹⁴⁵ In the congregationalists' own perception, this commitment to the parochial *preaching* ministry was what distinguished them from religious Independents, though this distinction was frequently lost on critics.¹⁴⁶ In some ways, the main difference between Eaton and Taylor on the one hand and the majority of other ministers who would come into presbyterianism was a belief that a gathered church which drew members from across a wide geographical area (such as that at Dukinfield) served to undermine the parochial system, which even Eaton and Taylor claimed that they wanted to see flourish. In Joel Halcomb's useful phrase, such pastors pursued 'a congregational platform for parish reform'.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, it may be the case that clerical opposition to congregationalism was not initially widespread, for as Adam Martindale noted, it was only after their pastors Samuel Eaton, Timothy Taylor and (at Birch) John Wigan had left them in the early 1650s that 'The churches of Duckenfield and Birch ceased to be so amiable in the eyes of prudent Christians', as preaching 'by gifted persons' took root.¹⁴⁸

If the situation circa 1645 in Lancashire and Cheshire is to be summarised, it is one where a mutually recognisable godliness was a cornerstone of relations between ministers. Charles Herle, for example, maintained cordial correspondence with Richard Mather and William Tompson, both of whom had fled Lancashire for New England during the 1630s (and Tompson had formerly been curate at Newton-in-Makerfield chapel in Herle's parish of Winwick).¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, despite this cordiality, it was the printing of Herle's *The Independency on Scriptures of the*

restrict admission to the Lord's Supper based upon a parishioner's moral conduct. For further details about the presbyterian position, see Elliot Vernon, 'A ministry of the gospel: the Presbyterians during the English Revolution', in *Religion in Revolutionary England*, eds. Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 125-127. For an example of some contention about the presbyterian Adam Martindale's restrictions for administering the Lord's Supper at Rostherne in Cheshire during the 1650s, see *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 114.

¹⁴⁵ British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fo. 245v. For Thomas Weld's example, see Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁴⁶ Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁷ Halcomb, 'Congregationalist Religious Practice', p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 74.

¹⁴⁹ Charles Herle, *The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches* (London: Thomas Brudenell for N. A., 1643). In Richard Mather and William Tompson's *A Modest & Brotherly Answer to Mr. Charles Herle, his Book, against the Independency of Churches* (London: for Henry Overton, 1644), preface, the pair thank Herle for entering into debate 'without passion and bitterness, in a spirit of meeknesse and love'. For details about Mather and Tompson, see Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims*, p. 187.

Independency of Churches in 1643 (which, from their response, had evidently been directed towards Mather and Tompson) which had effectively broken the so-called ‘Aldermanbury accord’, where clergymen in London inclined variously towards presbyterianism and congregationalism, meeting at Edmund Calamy’s house in late 1641, ‘pledged themselves neither to speak nor write, nor take any other action against the views of the other side’.¹⁵⁰ One could say that Herle’s actions opened the polemical floodgates, though it was perhaps only a matter of time before the truce was broken. Nonetheless, despite firing the first polemical shot towards the New England congregationalists, it was Herle who famously licensed for the press the congregationalist manifesto, *An Apologeticall Narration*, printed in early 1644, and he sometimes sided with the congregationalist-inclined representatives at the Westminster Assembly.¹⁵¹ By 1645, Mather and Tompson were again in correspondence with ministers in Lancashire, and one wonders if this contributed towards a local deepening of a situation which, nationally, was becoming more politically charged as thoughts turned towards a post-war religious settlement.¹⁵² Indeed, Mather and Thompson’s effort (later printed in 1650) should perhaps be seen, like *An Apologeticall Narration*, as being part of a broader congregationalist campaign to win support amongst moderate puritans, a campaign which would ultimately prove to be highly divisive.¹⁵³

Religious reform after the first civil war, 1646-1649

Something which I hope has become clear during the preceding section is that in Cheshire, other than perhaps in Macclesfield Hundred, there is little evidence that Brereton’s sequestrators pursued a distinct policy of clerical patronage. After Parliament’s forces had attained military victory in England during 1646, a settlement needed to be agreed with the King. The Westminster Assembly, which had been meeting since 1643 with a brief to settle the church and its discipline and worship, contained a presbyterian majority who were often influenced by the Scottish representatives who had publicly declared that congregationalism within a national church was unacceptable.¹⁵⁴ In January 1645, Parliament itself had pointed towards a presbyterian church settlement with the issuing of the

¹⁵⁰ Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, pp. 132-133. I owe this observation about Herle to Dr. Elliot Vernon.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136, 143, 187-188; see also Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge, *An Apologeticall Narration* (London: for Robert Dawlman, 1643/[44]).

¹⁵² Richard Mather and William Tompson, *A Heart-Melting Exhortation... Presented in a letter from New England, to their dear Countreyemen of Lancashire* (London: A. M. for I. Rabwell, 1650), ‘A Postscript to the Reader’.

¹⁵³ Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, pp. 150-151.

¹⁵⁴ Morrill, ‘Puritan Revolution’, pp. 71-72.

Directory for Public Worship to replace the now banned *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁵⁵ Over the coming year, though, the politics of the soldiery meant that pressure was coming to bear upon Parliament from men who were often in arrears of pay, some of whom had come into contact with radical religious ideas during their time fighting for Parliament. They thus wanted any religious settlement to reflect this situation, something which provoked concern amongst clergymen who believed in the idea of a settled national church.¹⁵⁶ In Lancashire and Cheshire after 1646, presbyterianism was established with relative success (formally in the former, informally in the latter), but this does not mean that the clergymen involved were convinced anti-episcopalians when Parliament abolished that system of church government in 1646. Rather, it will here be suggested that the establishment of presbyterianism was essentially a negative construct by clergymen committed to ideas of godly reform and fearful of the consequences of teeming liberty. They may not have been ecclesiological presbyterians *per se*, but such a settlement represented their best opportunity in 1646.¹⁵⁷

In this section, I particularly want to challenge the ideas of Ann Hughes about provincial activism in Lancashire and Cheshire between 1646 and 1648. Hughes' ideas were published in her account of the politics of the London presbyterian minister Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena*, printed in three parts between February and December 1646, and which presented a sensationalist account of the activities of various Independent religious groups, assimilating congregationalists into such patterns. Writing with regards to Lancashire, Hughes suggests that 'It is unlikely that the independent Samuel Eaton and a few companions had caused such alarm in the county, more likely that news from London spread by Edwards and

¹⁵⁵ Christopher Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution, 1645-1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, eds. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 211.

¹⁵⁶ For overviews of the New Model Army's political involvements, see Ian Gentles, 'The Impact of the New Model Army', in *The Impact of the English Civil War*, ed. John Morrill (London: Collins and Brown, 1991), pp. 84-103, and more recently, Philip Baker, 'Rhetoric, Reality and the Variety of Civil-War Radicalism', in *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640-49*, ed. John Adamson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 218-219. An interesting account of the relations between London and the provinces in presbyterian politics during this period can be found in Hughes, *Gangraena*, ch. 5.

¹⁵⁷ It should be pointed out that in this section, I will be focusing tightly upon clerical politics, and thus, as interesting as they are, issues at the parochial level will be largely unconsidered unless they contribute towards a broader point about clerical involvement with, and reactions to, religious reformation. Two useful articles by Alex Craven cover aspects of Lancashire presbyterianism which are here omitted, firstly the implementation of presbyterian practice at parochial level, and secondly the drives towards augmenting clerical salaries and parochial reorganisation, see Craven's 'Contrarie to the Directorie': Presbyterians and People in Lancashire, 1646-53', in *Discipline and Diversity*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, *Studies in Church History*, xliii (2007), 331-341; 'Ministers of State: The Established Church in Lancashire during the English Revolution, 1642-1660', *Northern History*, xlv (2008), 51-69.

others had intensified the fears of Lancashire Presbyterians'.¹⁵⁸ In a sense, Hughes' interpretation of the Lancashire situation has a certain circularity: the broad thrust of her argument is that Edwards' *Gangraena* helped to both define how religious Independents and congregationalists differed from presbyterians, and helped to perpetuate these divisions, before exporting them from London into the provinces. In essence, Hughes privileges the possible role of *Gangraena* at the expense of a detailed study of the local religious politics in Lancashire and other regions.¹⁵⁹

The first point that should be made is that, by Hughes' own reckoning, and despite the existence of congregationalist churches such as Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor's at Dukinfield and John Wigan's at Birch, not one example from either Lancashire or Cheshire was included in Edwards' first two parts of *Gangraena*, printed respectively in February and May 1646. It would not be until the third part, printed in December 1646, that cases from Lancashire and Cheshire appeared in *Gangraena*.¹⁶⁰ It is evident that the first two parts had some impact on the region. The Manchester cleric Richard Hollinworth and the Manchester bookseller (and Hollinworth's ally) Thomas Smith both contributed to the third part of *Gangraena*, with Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor writing their *Just Apologie for the Church in Church in Duckenfeild* (printed in 1647) in response to what they saw as Smith's malicious misrepresentation of the Dukinfield congregation.¹⁶¹ However, Hollinworth had attacked Eaton and Taylor in print back in December 1644, and attacked them again even more directly in January 1646, both before Edwards' *Gangraena* had been printed.¹⁶² It has already been noted that alongside his fellow clerics John Harrison and Thomas Johnson, Hollinworth had attacked religious Independency in sermons preached in Manchester.¹⁶³ Whilst Adam Martindale is sadly not precise enough in his contextualising of these sermons to date them in relation to *Gangraena*, it is perhaps the case that it was more the local growth of congregationalism which alarmed local clerics than Edwards' collections. John Wigan had failed to establish a congregational church at Gorton, but was much more successful after

¹⁵⁸ Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 370.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, ch. 5. Hughes does admit that her book 'inevitably risks crediting it [*Gangraena*] with too great an influence on contemporary events' (p. 321).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 188 (Table 3.1).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150, 208.

¹⁶² Hollinworth, *Examination of sundry scriptures*, passim (this pamphlet was granted an imprimatur on 17 December 1644, and George Thomason acquired his copy on 8 January 1645); Richard Hollinworth, *Certain Queres Modestly (though plainly) Propounded to such as affect the Congregational-way, And specially to Master Samuel Eaton and Mr. Timothy Taylor* (London: Ruth Raworth for Luke Fawne, 1646), passim (George Thomason acquired his copy on 17 January 1645[46]).

¹⁶³ Adam Martindale, ed. Parkinson, p. 63.

coming to Birch in late 1644, via a brief spell as minister at Heapey chapel in Leyland parish.¹⁶⁴

Turning now to Cheshire, the presbyterian petition from that county was drawn on 6 July 1646.¹⁶⁵ There are two contexts to this petition: the local and the London. Locally, the petition was organised by the deputy lieutenants, who by 1646 were actively and consistently petitioning for the restraint of Sir William Brereton's personal powers within the county.¹⁶⁶ As we have seen in Macclesfield Hundred, the sequestrators (who since 1644 had been answerable directly to Brereton) had been involved in funding congregationalist ministers such as Eaton, Taylor, Henry Roots and John Jones. The London context is perhaps the most revealing, and we once again meet John Ley, the vicar of Great Budworth and now a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly. After being forced to back down in March 1646 with a previous campaign to Parliament (who were increasingly divided over various inter-linked issues including religious settlement and attitudes towards the Scots), on 14 April 1646, the broadly pro-presbyterian London Common Council voted to formulate a Remonstrance, which would outline their loyalty to the Solemn League and Covenant, calling for a strong church in response to the growing threat of the sectaries.¹⁶⁷ John Ley was an ally of Thomas Edwards, and was 'frequently commended' by him in the first part of *Gangraena*.¹⁶⁸ On 1 May 1646, the Westminster Assembly granted Ley permission 'for a month is allowed of to visit his people in Cheshire after 4 yeares absence'.¹⁶⁹ Given that Ley had not returned to Cheshire for so long, it is highly suggestive that he should decide to return just as the London presbyterians were getting ready for another for another campaign in Parliament, and that on 6 July 1646, a petition from Cheshire would be produced. Indeed, the petition made explicit links to the developments in London, and as well as calling for the suppression of 'separate congregacions', asked that a Scottish-style presbyterian system of church government, with powers of ordination, be

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61. For Wigan's spell at Heapey, see *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 251-252.

¹⁶⁵ The text of the petition only survives in an eighteenth century antiquary's notebook, see John Rylands Library, Manchester, English MS, 745, fos. 25-27. Tantalisingly, the version which the antiquary transcribed was complete with subscriptions, but they only noted the signature of their primary subject, Henry Bradshaw of Marple (the brother of John Bradshaw, who would later be the presiding judge at the trial of Charles I in January 1649). This petition is not discussed in Hughes' *Gangraena*, but is briefly discussed in Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 264.

¹⁶⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 154-163, 170-174.

¹⁶⁷ Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 346-347. What Hughes describes as 'slightly different versions' of the Remonstrance were presented to both houses of Parliament on 26 May 1646.

¹⁶⁸ Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 315.

¹⁶⁹ *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652*, ed. Chad van Dixhoorn (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), iv. 99.

established in Cheshire. They hoped that with the English church reformed, ‘our Bretheren of Scotland... would returne home a people contented’.¹⁷⁰

Linked to this context are the attempts in 1646 to save from sequestration George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors, and to secure the restoration of John Robinson, the rector of Brereton, who had been sequestered in July 1644.¹⁷¹ A petition which robustly defended Byrom as ‘a godly, industrious, constant preacher of Godes word’ was dated 27 April 1646, and signed by eighteen ministers.¹⁷² The signatures were headed by the Westminster Assembly members John Ley and Charles Herle, and the handwriting of the petition’s text leads me to suspect that Ley was its author. Given that Ley was not granted permission to leave for Cheshire until 1 May 1646, Ley may have drafted the petition before his return to Cheshire, where he then gathered further signatures from Cheshire and Lancashire ministers, royalist and parliamentarian alike.¹⁷³ A further signatory was Samuel Clarke, who, though now a minister in London, had previously served as Byrom’s curate at Thornton-le-Moors.¹⁷⁴ This petition was followed by a further petition in defence of Byrom signed by London ministers dated 31 July 1646, who stated that they had heard Byrom preach and were satisfied of his ‘good affection unto the parliament & to the present Church gouernement now established’.¹⁷⁵ By the time that this petition was gathered, Ley had presumably returned to London, and intriguingly, the signatures were headed by William Gouge, Ley’s close associate at the Westminster Assembly.¹⁷⁶ Though the petitioners did not save Byrom’s position in Cheshire, the Committee for Plundered Ministers admitted him to the rectory of Chingford in Essex in December 1646.¹⁷⁷

The involvement of former royalists in Ley’s campaign to save Byrom is interesting, as the Cheshire petition of July 1646 also called for the punishment of ‘Delinquents’.¹⁷⁸ Using the case of the Cheshire royalist cleric George Snell as an example, Rachel Weil has interpreted the

¹⁷⁰ John Rylands Library, English MS, 745, fo. 26.

¹⁷¹ For the dating of Robinson’s sequestration, see British Library, Harley MS, 2144, fo. 169r.

¹⁷² National Archives, SP 23/201, fo. 757. Reasons why Byrom should not be ejected were given in fo. 759.

¹⁷³ The four ejected ministers who signed this petition were Thomas Bridge, Henry Bridgeman, Richard Hunt and George Snell, see Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 88-94. Alongside Herle (Winwick), the Lancashire signatories were William Dunn (Ormskirk) and Edward Gee (Eccleston).

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1683), pp. 3-4; see also Ann Hughes, ‘Clarke, Samuel (1599-1682)’, *ODNB*, though Hughes does not mention Clarke’s time in Cheshire.

¹⁷⁵ National Archives, SP 23/201, fo. 765 (‘vera copia’).

¹⁷⁶ *Westminster Assembly*, ed. van Dixhoorn, i. 126.

¹⁷⁷ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 89.

¹⁷⁸ John Rylands Library, English MS, 745, fo. 26.

processes of sequestration and composition (the fine paid to release delinquents from their sequestration) in terms of penance and reconciliation, concluding with the restoration of former royalists as members of civil society.¹⁷⁹ Snell even did his part by printing in April 1646 a justification for his reconciliation with Parliament.¹⁸⁰ Ejected royalist clergy may have partaken in the campaign as part of such a process, but also, in a county where congregationalism had gained ground in its eastern parts, and with the future of episcopacy now looking bleak, presbyterianism had now emerged as a conservative position fighting for a parochial-based, settled, national church, against the perceived threat of the separated churches.¹⁸¹ It is certainly feasible that in the context of such a threat, and despite their differing attitudes towards the civil war, a mutually recognisable godliness may have contributed towards bringing such clerics together in the face of what they saw as a dark threat.¹⁸² It is also perhaps the case that, despite any misplaced allegiance during the war, former royalist clergymen were perhaps seen as the type of clergymen who would conform to a presbyterian system, and having been restored to their preferments, would not seek to disrupt the system. On 9 October 1646, when the Committee for Plundered Ministers suspended the sequestration of John Robinson, it was noted that they had received testimonies of Robinson's good ministry from 'severall members of the Assembly of Divines'.¹⁸³ Given the date, it would seem that Robinson's case emerged as part of the same dynamic as Byrom's case, and suggests that John Ley was attempting to build coalitions of support for the proposed presbyterian system in Cheshire. Robinson's later career suggests a continued process of building bridges with presbyterians. In May 1647, he joined the ministers and elders of the Warrington classis in Lancashire in petitioning the magistrates for the suppression of 'superflous' alehouses, and 'alsoe Ales, merrinights, Bearbaitings, and other disorders'.¹⁸⁴ On 11

¹⁷⁹ Rachel Weil, 'Thinking about Allegiance in the English Civil War', *History Workshop Journal*, lxi (2006), 183-191, especially 186-187.

¹⁸⁰ George Snell, *A Looking-Glasse for England* (London: for Robert Wood, 1646), passim.

¹⁸¹ Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 349-350. It should be noted that at various points in her account (for example, pp. 21-22, 409), Hughes is at pains to stress that whilst presbyterians campaigned for a conservative vision of a united national church with no toleration of dissent, in terms of their methods of campaign, such as in their use of print to mould public opinion, and of mass subscription petitions, presbyterians were actually quite 'radical'.

¹⁸² The importance of a mutually recognisable godliness operating within the clerical politics of the 1640s and the 1650s is due to be elaborated upon in a forthcoming University of Kent Ph. D. thesis by Ms. Rebecca Warren.

¹⁸³ *Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 169. The order of 9 October 1646 was revoked on 4 March 1647 (xxviii. 176-177). John Robinson was one of the Cheshire ministers alleged to have been bound to Bishop Bridgeman through swearing the *et cetera* oath in 1640, which may have allowed for Robinson to present himself as an unwitting dupe of episcopal power, or for others to present him as such, see British Library, Harley MS, 4931, fo. 119r.

¹⁸⁴ Lancashire RO, QSB 1/288/22.

July 1648, the House of Lords presented Robinson as the minister at Warmingham in Cheshire.¹⁸⁵

On 18 August 1646, the London bookseller George Thomason acquired a copy of a pamphlet which recorded an alleged petition from Lancashire (which Thomason recorded as ‘a false copie’), together with a commentary which disparaged the petition. The alleged petition shared many of the same aims as the Cheshire petition, calling for the establishment of presbyterianism, the suppression of separatist congregations, and the punishment of delinquents.¹⁸⁶ The commentary (allegedly written by John Lilburne) attacked the manner of the gathering of signatures for the petition, with Richard Hollinworth claiming in a sermon at Manchester ‘that none refused to subscribe but Malignants, or Covenant-breakers’, whilst William Alte (the co-minister at Bury) had disingenuously ‘professed it was not against Independents’.¹⁸⁷

There is no evidence that the Cheshire petition were ever presented to Parliament, though the Lancashire petition was presented to the Lords on 27 August 1646, and (at the Lords’ order) was presented to the Commons on 15 September 1646, the same day that the bill for the establishment of classical presbyterianism in Lancashire was introduced to the Commons.¹⁸⁸ I would like to propose that the Lancashire petition and the abortive Cheshire petition were the product of the same machinations which had begun with John Ley’s return to Cheshire from London. One of the signatories of the petition which Ley had organised in defence of George Byrom was Edward Gee, the minister at Eccleston in Lancashire. The author of the commentary to the Lancashire petition had obtained a letter sent by Gee to an anonymous minister dated 26 June 1646, in which Gee requested that the subscriptions be returned to him by 6 July 1646.¹⁸⁹ The ultimately abortive Cheshire petition was also drawn on 6 July 1646.¹⁹⁰ It seems evident that the two petitions were prepared in tandem thanks to promptings

¹⁸⁵ Shaw, *History of the English Church*, ii. 358.

¹⁸⁶ Anon., *A New Birth of the City-Remonstrance: or, A Lancashire [sic] Petition* (London: for John Pounset, 1646), pp. 1-3.

¹⁸⁷ Anon., *New Birth*, pp. 5-6. John Tilsley, the minister at Deane in Lancashire, implied that the author of the commentary was John Lilburne, see Tilsley’s *A true Copie of the Petition of Twelve thousand five hundred and upwards of the Well-affected Gentlemen, Ministers, Free-holders and others of the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: John Macock for Luke Fawne, 1646), pp. 9-10. To give an example of Tilsley’s glosses, he claims that Alte’s statement was not made in a public congregation, but rather, in private correspondence to a minister in London, see p. 18.

¹⁸⁸ This chronology is established by *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 1. For the text of this petition (identical to that in the *New Birth*), see Tilsley, *Petition*, pp. 1-4. George Thomason acquired his copy of this pamphlet on 31 August 1646.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., *New Birth*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ John Rylands Library, English MS, 745, fo. 25.

from John Ley, but why only the Lancashire petition made it through to Parliament is mysterious.

From the commentary to the ‘false copie’ of the Lancashire petition, it seems that the Lancashire petition had already been circulating in London, and that ‘by a providence’ a copy had come into the commentator’s hands.¹⁹¹ One wonders if contacts in London were involved in the management of the Lancashire petition: a letter from John Ley’s associate Edward Gee had found its way to London, and John Tilsley, the minister at Deane who authored the commentary to the Lancashire presbyterians’ ‘official’ version of the petition, was evidently at Westminster on 27 August 1646, the date when the petition was presented to the Lords.¹⁹² It is plausible that after the London presbyterian ministers had decided after a meeting at Sion College on 19 June 1646 to broadly accept Parliament’s proposals of 9 June 1646 for the establishment of a presbyterian system of church government in London, the pursuit of the Lancashire petition into Parliament became in effect a stalking horse towards the aim of a presbyterian settlement for London devised by presbyterian clerics, rather than simply accepting a compromise with Parliament.¹⁹³ Indeed, in its edition of 9-16 September 1646, *The Scottish Dove* newsbook praised the proposed Lancashire system as ‘a good example to all the Kingdome’.¹⁹⁴ In an undated later, but probably dating from August or September 1646, the Scottish presbyterian cleric Robert Baillie wrote to a member of Parliament, Zouch Tate, asking that ‘The pious and honest petition of Lancashire, deserves a speedie hearing and favourable answer: it’s the work of some to have it slighted and disgraced’. Interestingly, in the same letter, Baillie suggested that one ‘Mr. Lee’, presumably John Ley, be a suitable candidate for ‘the Deanerie of Christ’s Church’ (Ley’s college at Oxford), as reward ‘for his zeal against Independents’.¹⁹⁵ One wonders why (if John Tilsley’s implication is correct) the London-based anti-presbyterian John Lilburne took so much interest in a petition from Lancashire, unless he saw it as being part of a broader picture, at least partly influenced by the Scottish

¹⁹¹ Anon., *New Birth*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹² Tilsley, *Petition*, p. 21. A very full and interesting account of Tilsley’s life by Robert Walmsley is available via: <http://www.deanechurch.co.uk/tilsley/tilsley.pdf> (date accessed: 22 October 2013). Tilsley also has an *ODNB* entry by C. W. Sutton, revised by Catherine Nunn.

¹⁹³ For example, there was continued disquiet amongst London presbyterian ministers towards Parliament’s directives for the administration of the Lord’s Supper, see Anon., *Certain Considerations and Cautions, Agreed upon by the Ministers of London, Westminster, and within the Lines of Communication, June 19. 1646*. (London: T. R. and E. M. for Ralph Smith, 1646).

¹⁹⁴ Anon., *The Scottish Dove* (9-16 September 1646), p. 40. This reference was noticed by Shaw, *History of the English Church*, ii. 11 (fn. 1).

¹⁹⁵ *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A. M., Principal of the University of Glasgow*, ed. David Laing (3 vols., Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1841-1842), ii. 393; Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 383.

presbyterians.¹⁹⁶ It is perhaps not without significance that Michael Mahony has demonstrated that the signatories of the two London citizens' petitions in support of presbyterianism dated 12 November 1645 and 9 March 1646 were dominated by inhabitants of parishes towards the west of the City of London ministered to by close clerical allies of Baillie.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore in suggesting such a change of London presbyterian activism towards the Lancashire scheme, it may not be without significance that between 1644 and 1646, the two presidents of the Sion College conclave of London clergy were consecutively John Ley and then George Walker, who respectively had Cheshire and Lancashire connections.¹⁹⁸ Walker had even, in 1641, attempted to persuade London-based Lancastrians to agree to an annual levy towards the payment of godly preachers in their native county.¹⁹⁹ Ann Hughes has argued that the London presbyterian campaign in effect died with the June 1646 agreement, then arose again with the printing of the third part of Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* in December 1646, spurred into action by Edwards' vilification of sectaries.²⁰⁰ If my interpretation (starting from the provincial perspective) is correct, then this may mean that there is more continuity between the two parts of London presbyterian activism than is sometimes suspected, with the London presbyterians' focus having turned in the meantime towards the Lancashire scheme.

The Lancashire classis bill, having passed through the Commons, was passed into statute by the Lords on 2 October 1646.²⁰¹ A week later, on 9 October 1646, episcopacy was abolished.²⁰² I earlier suggested that the establishment of classical presbyterianism in Lancashire was essentially a conservative manoeuvre, and I want to now explore that idea further. Adam Martindale identified three ministers as being the driving forces behind the Lancashire presbyterian petition: John Harrison of Ashton-under-Lyne, Richard Hollinworth of Manchester, and John Tilsley 'of Dean, but then living in Manchester also'. Despite claiming 12,578 subscriptions, Martindale was rather cynical about the petition, pointing out that many subscribers had simply followed the example of others, and that it had also

¹⁹⁶ Andrew Sharp, 'Lilburne, John (1615?-1657)', *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁷ Michael Mahony, 'Presbyterianism in the City of London, 1645-1647', *Historical Journal*, xxii (1979), 93-114, especially 99-114.

¹⁹⁸ E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), Appendix A.

¹⁹⁹ George Walker, *An exhortation to his Dearely beloved Countrymen, all the Natiues of the County of Lancaster, inhabiting in and about the Citie of London* ([London?]: no printer, 1641), passim. George Walker, the rector of St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street, London, was born at Hawkshead in Lancashire, and in his will left a significant bequest to the parish, see David R. Como, 'Walker, George (bap. 1582?, d. 1651)', *ODNB*.

²⁰⁰ Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 359-364, 385.

²⁰¹ *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 2.

²⁰² Peter King, 'The episcopate during the Civil Wars, 1642-1649', *English Historical Review*, lxxxiii (1968), 523.

prompted ‘an anti-petition’.²⁰³ Martindale described Harrison, Hollinworth and Tilsley as being ‘very zealous (usually called Rigid) presbyterians, that were for the setting up of the government of the Church of Scotland amongst us, (some few circumstances excepted,) and the utter extirpation of Independencie, root and branch, as schismaticall and inconsistent with the covenant’.²⁰⁴

In his discussion of the machinations behind the Lancashire presbyterian petition, Martindale only mentioned four ministers by name: Harrison, Hollinworth, Tilsley and Thomas Johnson (the minister at Stockport in Cheshire).²⁰⁵ From John Tilsley’s account, two further clergymen are named, William Alte at Bury and Edward Gee at Eccleston, together with a Mr. Smith, presumably the Manchester bookseller Thomas Smith.²⁰⁶ Similar to George Byrom and John Robinson’s cases in Cheshire, a hardcore of presbyterians may have attempted to build support amongst former royalists. Richard Heyrick claimed in 1645 that Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, was ‘indifferent’ about the matter of episcopacy, and on

²⁰³ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 62.

²⁰⁴ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 63. Something should be said about when Richard Hollinworth may have moved to an anti-episcopal position. On Sunday 18 July 1641, a stir was caused by a sermon preached by a ‘Mr. Hollingworth’ at St. Margaret’s church in Westminster, resulting in the Commons issuing a summons on Friday 23 July 1641 for Hollingworth to appear before them. The only parliamentary diarist who recalls anything of what Hollingworth may have said is Sir John Holland, who noted that Hollingworth had described Parliament as being ‘sacrilegious shavers’, see *Proceedings in the Opening Sessions of the Long Parliament: House of Commons*, ed. Maija Jansson (7 vols., Rochester, New York, and Suffolk, UK: Rochester University Press, 2000-2007), vi (19 July – 9 September 1641), 63, 66, 69. There are no subsequent references to this case. It is unclear if Hollingworth was attacking Parliament’s religious reforms for going too far, or, with the use of the term ‘shavers’, for not going far enough. However, Richard Hollinworth, by 1641 curate of Salford in Manchester parish, had previously served as curate at Middleton, a rectory whose advowson was held by the Assheton family of Middleton, a member of whom, Ralph Assheton, had presented the Lancashire Root and Branch petition to the Commons on 21 April 1641, see British Library, Harley MS, 163, fo. 80r. It is intriguing to wonder if a connection to Assheton had brought the Lancashire Richard Hollinworth to London in the summer of 1641, but it will probably never be certain who the ‘Mr. Hollingworth’ at St. Margaret’s was. For details about Richard Hollinworth, see C. W. Sutton, revised R. C. Richardson, ‘Hollinworth, Richard (bap. 1607, d. 1656)’, *ODNB*. Aside from national politics, some sources regarding John Harrison provide a rare glimpse into his parochial ministry at Ashton-under-Lyne. Entries in the churchwardens’ accounts for the year 1644-1645 record payments for drawing up the subscriptions to ‘the first vow and covenant’ and to ‘the Nationall covenant’, see Lancashire RO, MF 1/26 (original MS in Manchester Central Library). Furthermore, and rarely, the subscriptions survive for the administration of the Solemn League and Covenant at Ashton-under-Lyne. Sadly undated, John Harrison is the lead signatory, with the rector, Henry Fairfax, being a noticeable absentee, and indeed, Fairfax (the uncle of Sir Thomas Fairfax) protested to Prince Rupert at York in 1644 that he had not taken the Covenant, see Lancashire RO, DDB 42/2; Andrew J. Hopper, ‘Fairfax, Henry (1588-1665)’, *ODNB*. Harrison was later involved in liaising in November 1645 with Sir George Booth, the patron of the living, in recruiting parishioners to join the parliamentary forces besieging Chester, see *Sir William Brereton*, ed. Dore, cxxviii. 235 (Item 846)

²⁰⁵ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 62-63.

²⁰⁶ Tilsley, *Petition*, p. 17.

3 March 1646, Heyrick was joined in subscribing a certificate defending Allen's ministry by William Assheton (the rector of Middleton), as well as by Hollinworth, Johnson, and Heyrick's fellow Westminster Assembly member Charles Herle.²⁰⁷ Hollinworth and Johnson were at the heart of the petitioning campaign, whilst Assheton, Heyrick and Herle would all play a role within the Lancashire presbyterian classes.²⁰⁸

Heyrick's case is interesting, as at a fast day in Manchester during the establishment of the classis system, he proclaimed in a sermon that he was 'so perfect a Latitudinarian as to affirme that the episcopall presbyterians and independents might all practice according to their owne judgements, yet each by divine right'.²⁰⁹ Immediately afterwards, John Harrison preached a sermon attacking the Independents.²¹⁰ One wonders if Heyrick (as the town's senior cleric) was perhaps trying to cool the polemical temperature in Manchester, only for Harrison to undo any good work which he was trying to achieve. It appears that Richard Hollinworth and his allies had won the pulpit battles in the parliamentary heartland of south-eastern Lancashire during the summer of 1646. The anonymous commentator (possibly John Lilburne) may have chastised Hollinworth for attacking non-subscribers as 'Malignants, or Covenant-breakers', but as John Tilsley pointed out, anyone who had sworn the Covenant and had subsequently refused to sign the petition was in breach of the Covenant.²¹¹

A combination of covenanting pressure and repeated warnings of the threat of sectaries contributed towards an apparent groundswell of support for the Lancashire presbyterian petition. Indeed, it is perhaps fair to suggest that whilst Hollinworth and his allies were, Thomas Edwards-style, creating their own polemical divisions of presbyterian versus Independent (a definition which included congregationalists), they were not so much influenced by *Gangraena* as by their own desires for a Scottish-style church settlement, encouraged by London contacts including John Ley.²¹² It is perhaps significant that Hollinworth and Thomas Smith only contributed to the third part of *Gangraena*, printed in late December 1646, and that these timely contributions may have been part of a retrospective campaign to justify to a national audience the necessity of a strong presbyterian system in Lancashire.²¹³ Indeed, if there is a link between *Gangraena* and developments in Lancashire, it may be via the Lancashire presbyterian

²⁰⁷ National Archives, SP 23/158, fo. 339; Bodleian, MS J. Walker, c. 5, fo. 285r. ('vera copia')

²⁰⁸ For William Assheton, see *Bury Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, passim.

²⁰⁹ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 63.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²¹¹ Anon., *New Birth*, p. 5; Tilsley, *Petition*, p. 15.

²¹² Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 324-325.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

ministers' *Deliberate Resolution*, agreed at Preston on 17 November 1646. Whilst thanking Parliament for the religious reformation enacted so far, the *Resolution* asked that presbyterian classes be granted additional powers regarding barring individuals from the sacraments, and with regards to ordination. Pointedly, the clergymen highlighted their belief that 'all the Officers of the Church do hold their Office and Authority immediately from Jesus Christ as Mediator', a rebuke of Parliament's concern to hold the upper hand over certain ecclesiastical issues, such as being the court of appeal for cases of denial of the sacraments (as per an ordinance of 5 June 1646). Interestingly, George Thomason did not obtain his copy of the *Resolution* until 14 January 1647, and one wonders if printing was delayed to make the most capital out of the third part of *Gangraena*, and its inclusion of Lancastrian cases.²¹⁴

The success of the polemical campaign by Hollinworth and his allies is testified by their securing a system more rigidly presbyterian than some ministers, including Adam Martindale, felt comfortable with. Martindale later outlined in his autobiography his points of opposition to the Lancashire classis system, which included his discomfort that by the power of excommunication becoming the preserve of the classis, it undermined a minister's own personal authority within his cure.²¹⁵ There is certainly an impression that the Lancashire classical system was one which clergy fell into conformity without perhaps being entirely satisfied with it, either for conservative reasons (due to the success of Hollinworth and his allies' sermons), or for (like Martindale) precisely the vision of religious reformation that it implied. There is a revealing entry in the minutes of the newly-established Bury classis, dated 19 August 1647:

That the busines of repaying some part of Mr. Hollingworth and Mr. Tilsley there disbursement about settling Church Government should be taken care of *by such of us as have done nothing in it formerly*, vizt. Mr. Alte, Mr. Bath, Mr. Goodwin,

²¹⁴ Anon., *The deliberate Resolution of the Ministers of the Gospel within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: Luke Fawne, 1646[47]), passim, quotation at p. 6. For the ordinance, see *Acts and Ordinances*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56134> (date accessed: 20 March 2014). The *English Short Title Catalogue* lists an edition printed by Luke Fawne for sale by Thomas Smith at his shop in Manchester, but it is unclear if the date of that edition differs from Fawne's other edition, see: http://estc.bl.uk/F/R3K9VBQNB7YP5U4M96DGYEQML8D9L2KYA38JBDB9YU9JISV2DE-06567?func=full-set-set&set_number=021425&set_entry=000001&format=999 (date accessed: 20 March 2014). For an interesting account of the *Resolution* which has influenced my own thinking, see A. D. Meikle, 'The Lancashire Presbyterian Ministers, 1640-1662' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1990), pp. 187-194.

²¹⁵ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, pp. 67-68.

Mr. Gilbody, Mr. Scholefield, Mr. Ashton, and that account be given of itt att the next meeting.²¹⁶

Whilst the dialogue between the anonymous critic and John Tilsley suggests that William Alte played some role in the petitioning campaign, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the other five clergymen named above were involved, and the distinct impression given is that it was Hollinworth and Tilsley who did all of the running. It is possible, of course, that they may have subscribed in order to avoid breaching the Covenant (a rhetoric which was strongly pursued), but this does not necessarily imply enthusiasm for the proposed system. Something of the complexities of the situation can be glimpsed in the case of Robert Gilbody, the minister at Holcombe mentioned in the above order, who was suspended having been accused before the classis in September 1648 of going bowling, of ‘trifleing in the ale house among the crowde att Rushbeare’, as well as of more overtly anti-presbyterian behaviour such as conducting clandestine marriages ‘contrary to the Directory and Ordinance of parliament’, and of admitting ‘divers persons to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper without the consent of his eldershipp’.²¹⁷ From the other side of the spectrum, the parish of St. Michael’s-on-Wyre was omitted completely from the classis ordinance. According to the presbyterian polemicist John Vicars (posthumously printed in 1660), the vicar, Nicholas Bray, only turned ‘Independent’ after the regicide, but his parish’s omission from the classis system proposed in 1646 perhaps suggests that he was at this point having Adam Martindale-style doubts about the precise nature of the Lancashire classis model, particularly as he is known to have administered the Covenant to a parishioner as recently as 20 September 1646.²¹⁸ Given that many more ministers entered the classis system of which Bray remained outside, this further supports my contention that conservative ministers who were perhaps theologically indifferent about presbyterianism nonetheless entered into the classis system, perhaps in response to the pressure placed upon them by other ministers concerned by the growth of extra-parochial congregations. As Adam Martindale later wrote, he personally had good relations with local congregationalists, and ‘I would have kept communion with all these good and learned men, but... to be familiar with them of one partie was to render me suspected to the other’.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ *Bury Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xxxvi. 34-35. The italics are mine. These ministers are William Alte (Bury), Robert Bath (Rochdale), Richard Goodwin (Bolton), Robert Gilbody (Holcombe), Jonathan Scholefield (Heywood), and William Assheton (Middleton).

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 77-78. Gilbody’s case dragged on for nearly a year before he was finally suspended on 9 August 1649, see xxxvi. 104-105.

²¹⁸ *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, xx. 1-12; John Vicars, *Dagon Demolished* (London: T. Mabb for Edward Thomas, 1660), p. 8; National Archives, SP 23/197, fo. 620.

²¹⁹ *Adam Martindale*, ed. Parkinson, p. 65.

We have already seen that the presbyterian petition drawn in Cheshire in 1646 never came before Parliament, but a comparison with Lancashire is especially instructive. In Cheshire, presbyterian governance was never formally established, but nonetheless, groups of clergy gathered together to form informal classes. Henry Newcome, then ministering as an assistant to John Ley in Astbury parish, was, after examination, ordained at Sandbach on 22 August 1648 in a ceremony led by Ley.²²⁰ Additionally, before the regicide, four clergymen were ordained by the Manchester classis with titles to Cheshire cures.²²¹ The minutes of the Manchester classis reveals quite elaborate procedures for the examination and ordination of ministers, and Adam Martindale became so frustrated by the Manchester classis' delay in ordaining him after legal issues arose about his presentation to Rostherne in Cheshire in 1648 that he instead sought ordination in London.²²² We have already noted some of Martindale's objections to the Lancashire system, but the voluntary Cheshire system established in 1653 was much more to his liking precisely because membership was voluntary, and in his view, did not undermine a minister's personal authority within his cure like the Lancashire system did.²²³ The Cheshire association was formed as a response to the increasingly radical extra-parochial congregations in the county. Though Samuel Eaton (whom Martindale had some respect for) had returned from Ireland to his congregation at Dukinfield, and tried to rein his congregation, as Martindale noted, 'they would doe what they listed, and one of these famous preachers being restrained, flew off and presently turned Anabaptist'.²²⁴ To Martindale, the developments in Lancashire in 1646 were the product of an over-reaction by a small group of clerics determined to see the establishment of a Scottish-style presbytery in the county, who through contentious preaching, were able to win the support necessary to convince Parliament to permit the establishment of such a system. By 1653 in Cheshire, though, there was a discernible threat from radical lay preaching against which it was wise for godly clergy to gather together.

Whilst the classis system in Lancashire became increasingly ineffective after the regicide, it seems that in its early years, efforts were

²²⁰ Henry Newcome, ed. Parkinson, xxvi. 11.

²²¹ These four clergymen were Randle Guest to Pulford (February 1648), John Murcott to Astbury (February 1648), Nehemiah Pott to Swettenham (April 1647), and John Swan to Baddiley (October 1647), see *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 34. 53-55, 76-78.

²²² Adam Martindale, ed. Parkinson, pp. 82-85. An introduction to the process of examining ministers can be found in Joel Halcomb, 'The examination of ministers', in *Westminster Assembly*, ed. van Dixhoorn, i. 217-226 (Appendix 15).

²²³ Adam Martindale, ed. Parkinson, pp. 112-113.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

made to tackle religious conservatism amongst the clergy.²²⁵ We have already encountered the Bury classis' consideration of the case of Robert Gilbody at Holcombe. Thomas Blackburn, the minister at Rivington in Lancashire, was ejected by the Bury classis in May 1647 after receiving complaints from Blackburn's congregation that he had not taken the Covenant, had kept profane company, had neglected his cure, and had knelt during services. It was also discovered that Blackburn had recently been episcopally ordained.²²⁶ Robert Simmonds, the curate of Middleton who later received an entry in John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* and was appointed as rector there in 1662, was suspended by the Bury classis in June 1648 after his appearance before them 'tended much to the affront and contempt of the classis, as also of that civill authority with which they are backed'.²²⁷ To the frustration of the classis, Simmonds was well supported within the parish, with a petition being gathered in his defence, and then a second petition was sent to the classis attacking the new curate appointed by the rector, William Assheton.²²⁸ From the opposite side, Robert Hill was suspended as minister at Edenfield by the Bury classis in October 1647, having been accused of scandalous conduct, religious Independency, and of saying that he 'would preach in despite of any classis in England', and that 'the presbyterian government was antichristian'.²²⁹ In Cheshire, by contrast, with the absence of a formal classis system, complaints against clergymen were heard by other bodies. Gabriel Bordman was ejected as the curate of Bidston by the Committee for Plundered Ministers in August 1647 for being 'a common frequenter of alehouses & oftentimes drunck & a singer of lewd & idle songs'.²³⁰

John Morrill found that in the mid-1640s, six Cheshire parishes witnessed the 'reintrusion' of ejected royalist ministers.²³¹ Morrill places

²²⁵ For the later ineffectiveness of classical presbyterianism in Lancashire, see *Materials for an account of the Provincial Synod of the County of Lancaster 1646–1660*, ed. William A. Shaw (Manchester: Manchester Press Company, 1890), p. 76.

²²⁶ *Bury Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xxxvi. 9-10, 18, 24. Thomas Blackburn(e) was ordained as deacon on 22 December 1644, and as priest on 21 September 1645, both by Robert Skinner, the bishop of Oxford, so in both cases before Parliament's abolition of the episcopal office in October 1646, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 9264 (date accessed: 3 November 2014).

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 67. For Simmonds, see John Walker, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, & c. who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, & c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (2 vols., London: J. Roberts, 1714), i. 40, ii. 366; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 230; *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Clergy ID: 77333 (date accessed: 23 October 2013).

²²⁸ *Bury Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xxxvi. 73-75, 80-82.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 40-41.

²³⁰ *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 185.

²³¹ John Morrill, 'The Church in England, 1642-1649', in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 171-172. These Cheshire incidents are discussed, with some questioning of Morrill's interpretation, in Cliftlands, Ph.

these reintrusions into the context of a broader conservative reaction against religious reformation, which he calls both the ‘militant resurgence of Anglicanism’ and ‘the Prayer Book rebellion of 1647’, which forced Parliament to issue an ordinance on 23 August 1647 condemning such reintrusions.²³² There are problems with Morrill’s interpretation, not least that Morrill only names two of the parishes involved, and that there are potentially five additional parishes which could constitute his other four parishes.²³³ In only one of the cases, that of John Robinson at Brereton, was the former minister actually restored to his clerical function.²³⁴ Two cases are too early to be placed within the context of a conservative reaction.²³⁵ Of the five cases which are correct in date, in one of these cases, the Committee for Plundered Ministers heard in September 1647 that the sequestered rector of West Kirby, Thomas Glover, had forcibly repossessed the parsonage, with no parishioners being mentioned in relation to the case.²³⁶ This leaves four parishes, Brereton, Bebington, Astbury and Tattenhall, where parishioners were involved in attempting to oust their new incumbent. I have already explored the attempt to restore John Robinson as rector of Brereton, and have placed it within the context of the presbyterian petitioning campaign of 1646. Like Robinson at Brereton, Hugh Poole, the sequestered rector of Bebington, had local support in his campaign throughout the summer of 1647 against the intruder, Josias Clarke.²³⁷ At Tattenhall, the Committee for Plundered Ministers heard in September 1647 that four parishioners had presented to Francis Smith, the intruded minister, a false proclamation from Sir Thomas Fairfax urging parishioners to act against intruded ministers.²³⁸ At Astbury, the day following the ordinance of 23 August 1647, John Ley obtained an order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers for him to be paid the tithes denied him ‘by some malignant & ill advised persons’ in his new rectory of Astbury. Similarly to

D. thesis, pp. 165-178. Clifflands is also sceptical about incidents in Essex in 1647 amounting to a ‘Prayer Book rebellion’, for similar reasons to my challenge of Morrill’s interpretation of the Cheshire incidents, see pp. 178-193.

²³² Morrill, ‘Church in England’, p. 173.

²³³ Morrill only names Tattenhall and Bebington. From a study of *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii., it seems that there are actually five further parishes which Morrill may be referring to: Woodchurch, Cheadle, Brereton, Astbury and West Kirby.

²³⁴ *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 176-177.

²³⁵ At Woodchurch, George Burches was intruded into the living by royalist troops, thus placing this event during the first civil war. At Cheadle, after William Nicholls had fled the living before September 1643, one Captain Buckley had, during the subsequent vacancy, had taken possession of the parsonage house, and had then refused to surrender it to the new minister, Thomas Gilbert, ultimately resulting in the sheriff being ordered in October 1647 to forcibly take possession of the parsonage, and to take Buckley into custody, see *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 156, 180, 182, 184, 189-190. For Nicholls fleeing his living, see British Library, Harley MS, 2130, fo. 144r.

²³⁶ *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 187.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 182-183, 185, 188-189.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 186-188.

the parishioners at Tattenhall, they too claimed to be in possession of a royal proclamation to deny tithes to their new minister.²³⁹

Morrill has attempted to place these events into a conservative religious context, but unlike the disturbances in Kent in late 1647 and early 1648, there is no evidence in Cheshire of support for the *Book of Common Prayer* or for suppressed festivals such as Christmas.²⁴⁰ Rather, whilst the brief restoration of John Robinson at Brereton in 1646 fits into the broader presbyterian campaign of 1646, the 1647 cases strike me as being much more opportunistic. The only case where the restoration of a specific minister was targeted was that of Hugh Poole at Bebington, who had been rector there since 1602, and presumably had a long-standing relationship with his supporters within the parish.²⁴¹ Even then, the Committee for Plundered Ministers attributed his support to ‘divers ill affected to’ the intruded minister, Josias Clarke.²⁴² In November 1647, Hugh Poole’s son Ralph (who had served as his father’s curate) was presented to the rectory, though the following month, the parliamentarian William Peartree received a rival presentation.²⁴³ At Tattenhall, only four disaffected parishioners were named, and at Astbury, there is nothing to suggest that John Ley’s opponents were particularly numerous.²⁴⁴

A clue to this opportunism is the Committee for Plundered Ministers’ attribution of the timing of the opposition to Ley to ‘the late distractions’, and noted that the royal proclamation which they used to defend themselves dated from ‘whilst his maiestie was in acts of hostilitie against his parliament’.²⁴⁵ On 3 July 1647, unpaid parliamentarian troops at Chester had marched to Nantwich, seized fifteen deputy lieutenants meeting there, and had taken them to Chester where they were held as prisoner until

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 185-186. Additional to the seven cases described above, John Key, a parishioner at Mobberley, successfully petitioned the Committee for Indemnity to quash the proceedings brought against him at the Stafford Assizes in 1648 by Edward Wyrley, an alleged royalist who had intruded himself as minister at Mobberley (where his now deceased father-in-law Thomas Mallory had been rector) without parliamentary approval, and whom Key had subsequently harassed out of the living, see National Archives, SP 24/3, fos. 56r., 71r.; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 94.

²⁴⁰ Jacqueline Eales, ‘So many sects and schisms’: religious diversity in Revolutionary Kent, 1640-60’, in *Religion in Revolutionary England*, eds. Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 237-238; see also Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp. 231-235.

²⁴¹ George Ormerod, rev. Thomas Helsby, *The History of the City and County Palatine of Chester* (3 vols., London: George Routledge and Sons, second edition, 1882), ii., pt. 2, 439.

²⁴² *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 183.

²⁴³ For the rival presentations, see *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk (date accessed: 23 October 2013), Clergy IDs: 30083 (William Peartree), 79150 (Ralph Poole). For Peartree’s parliamentarianism, see Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p. 160.

²⁴⁴ *Committee for Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 185-188.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 185-186.

their release on 30 July 1647, by when the gentlemen had managed to raise sufficient funds to pay the troops.²⁴⁶ The cases at Astbury, Bebington, Tattenhall, and also Thomas Glover's actions at West Kirby, coincide with this impasse within Cheshire parliamentarianism, and suggest opportunistic responses to events taking place around them, be that the restoration of a favourite clergyman or tithe relief at a time of harvest crisis, rather than committed religious conservatism.²⁴⁷

As we have seen, committed presbyterian clerics in both Lancashire and Cheshire had, in 1646, attempted to construct links between themselves and former royalist clerics, with (at least in the case of John Robinson in Cheshire) at least some success. By mid-1647, though, the situation was changing. In the presbyterian imagination, troops were increasingly associated with radical religious sectarianism, and events in Cheshire in July 1647, where soldiers had quite literally held the deputy lieutenants to ransom, could hardly have quelled fears about the soldiery.²⁴⁸ Simultaneously, on 16 July 1647, the General Council of the Army, meeting at Reading, produced the *Heads of the Proposals*, a basis for negotiation with Charles I which offered him the prospect of the establishment of an episcopal religious settlement, though without 'all coercive power, authority and jurisdiction', and with the restoration of the *Book of Common Prayer* for use on a voluntary basis.²⁴⁹ Over the coming year or so, there is some limited (and hostile) evidence, such as that alleged in Cumberland, of seemingly unlikely informal anti-presbyterian alliances between Independents of various shades and supporters of the suppressed Church of England.²⁵⁰

On 6 August 1647, with Parliament and the City of London attempting to gather a presbyterian militia as a counter to the New Model Army, the Army marched into London and secured the capital, with as prominent a presbyterian cleric as Thomas Edwards fleeing to

²⁴⁶ John Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies, 1645-1647', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 345-346; see also Morrill, *Cheshire*, pp. 200-202.

²⁴⁷ For the harvest crisis of 1647, see Steve Hindle, 'Dearth and the English revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647-50', *Economic History Review*, lxi (2008), 64-98.

²⁴⁸ For example, in the third part of his *Gangraena*, printed in December 1646, Thomas Edwards had drawn particularly strong links between radical religious sects and the New Model Army, see Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 360-363.

²⁴⁹ Quotation from *The Heads of the Proposals*, discussed in Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), pp. 499-501.

²⁵⁰ David Scott, 'The Barwis Affair: Political Allegiance and the Scots during the British Civil Wars', *English Historical Review*, lxxv (2000), 843-863, especially pp. 844, 847, 863. The situation in Cumberland is complex, as exemplified by the evidence for this situation coming from John Musgrave, another Independent.

Amsterdam.²⁵¹ On 14 December 1647, London presbyterian ministers issued their *Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, And to Our Solemn League and Covenant*, which was a vociferous attack on the spread of religious heresy.²⁵² In addition to thirty-nine ministers who gave it their wholehearted support, it received qualified support from thirteen members of the Westminster Assembly, who felt that they had to declare an interest over some of its points. Once again, there is a Lancashire connection. Amongst this latter group of signatories was Thomas Case, a close friend of the Manchester cleric Richard Heyrick, and a fellow Westminster Assembly member.²⁵³ Indeed, after leaving his rectory in Norfolk under pressure from the then bishop, Matthew Wren, and joining Heyrick in Manchester, Case had subsequently come into trouble for his pro-Scottish preaching at Manchester in Christmas Day 1638.²⁵⁴ As the lead signatory, Richard Heyrick is usually credited as the author of the Lancashire equivalent to the London petition, the *Harmonious Consent*, subscribed on 3 March 1648, with George Thomason dating his printed copy on 30 March 1648.²⁵⁵ It is studiously presbyterian, warning of the dangers of the heresies which had come to fruition during the 1640s, whilst reminding the reader of the situation during the 1630s, so in essence covering both anti-presbyterian bases. It also recorded the signatories' approval of the Westminster Assembly's *Confession of Faith*, issued in 1647. There is nothing in its content to suggest that Heyrick was the author, and as we saw in the fourth chapter of this thesis, Heyrick was hardly a convinced anti-episcopalian. It is more likely that Heyrick's signature was given the top position as the most senior cleric in Lancashire, and that the author was the second signatory, Richard Hollinworth, possibly assisted by other ministers, such as his allies John Harrison and John Tilsley. Indeed, the London publisher was Luke Fawne, who had published several of Hollinworth's works, as well as Tilsley's 'official' Lancashire version of the 1646 petition.²⁵⁶

It is revealing that in the new post-August 1647 political situation (when Parliament had been purged of leading presbyterian members), neither Lancashire's *Harmonious Consent* nor Cheshire's *Attestation* appear to have ever been intended to be presented to Parliament (unlike their 1646 predecessors), and instead appealed to a broader audience accessible via

²⁵¹ Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 384-385.

²⁵² This text is discussed in Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 373-374.

²⁵³ Anon., *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, And to Our Solemn League and Covenant* (London: A. M. for Thomas Underhill, 1648), p. 38. George Thomason dated his copy 18 January 1647/48.

²⁵⁴ Michael Mullett, 'Case, Thomas (bap. 1598, d. 1682)' and 'Heyrick, Richard (1600-1667)', both *ODNB*; Cheshire RO, EDC 5/1638/112.

²⁵⁵ Anon., *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: J. Maccock for Luke Fawne, 1648). This text is briefly discussed in Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 376.

²⁵⁶ Hughes, *Gangraena*, p. 150.

print.²⁵⁷ Also, given the polemical boundaries which the author gave the Lancashire pamphlet, it is suggestive that in contrast to its Cheshire counterpart, no former royalists subscribed to it.²⁵⁸ As Ann Hughes has observed, the Cheshire petition, subscribed at a meeting on 6 June 1648, was more moderate in tone than its Lancashire predecessor, and in terms of tone and the author's evident familiarity with church history, John Ley, the lead signatory who is usually credited with writing the *Attestation*, does seem a plausible candidate.²⁵⁹ With another war imminent, the *Attestation* made a tactical appeal to 'Independents', acknowledging 'divers of our brethren of the *Independent* way, to be learned, godly, charitable and kind even to their *Presbyterian* brethren', and claiming that differences could be settled via 'an Assembly of Divines'.²⁶⁰ This was a marked change in tone from the abortive petition in 1646, and one wonders if it was too much for Thomas Johnson, the minister at Stockport. He was a close ally of Richard Hollinworth in promoting the Lancashire petition via preaching sermons at Manchester, and as Stockport parish included Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor's congregation at Dukinfield, he would have dealt with such 'Independents' at first hand. Whilst one should be wary of reading too much into omissions, he is a notable absentee amongst the *Attestation's* signatories.²⁶¹

On 26 December 1647, Charles I, then a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, had agreed the Engagement with Scottish commissioners, whereby, in return for a limited commitment towards the establishment of presbyterianism in England, the Scots would provide military assistance to restore Charles to his throne. In response, having passed through the Commons, on 17 January 1648, the Lords passed the Vote of No Addresses, effectively putting an end to further negotiations with Charles. This was followed with the publication in February 1648 of the *Declaration*, a parliamentary sponsored account of Charles' ill dealings and duplicity, even claiming that Charles had colluded with the duke of Buckingham to murder his father, James I. With parties in Scotland surrounding the duke of Hamilton actively preparing an invading force, and with supporters in England rallying to their aid, war in the two kingdoms seemed increasingly likely.²⁶² On 9 May 1648, 'the officers and souldiers of

²⁵⁷ Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, pp. 502-503.

²⁵⁸ Anon., *Harmonious Consent*, pp. 25-30; Anon., *Attestation*, pp. 55-56. Samuel Catherall (Handley), Robert Freckleton (Backford), and Ralph Poole (Bebington) all had previous connections to the royalist cause, and Catherall had even been sequestered. For Catherall, see British Library, Harley MS, 2144, fo. 139v.; for Freckleton, see *Victoria History*, eds. Farrer and Brownbill, vii. 224; National Archives, SP 23/148, fos. 391-392.

²⁵⁹ Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 376-377.

²⁶⁰ Anon., *Attestation*, pp. 13, 30-31.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

²⁶² Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, pp. 523-525, 529.

the county palatine of Lancaster', headed by Nicholas and Ughtred Shuttleworth, two sons of Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe (the member of Parliament for Clitheroe), issued a declaration to be read in churches that, being loyal to the King and to the Covenant, they would not join the forces being raised by two other Lancashire members, Ralph Assheton and Alexander Rigby, to resist the invading Scots.²⁶³

By 10 August 1648, Hamilton's forces were gathered at Hornby, in the Lune valley outside of Lancaster. Then, a remarkable exchange took place which would be 'Published by Authority' on 25 August 1648 by Edward Husbands, the printer to the Commons. With the local ministers having fled to the safety of Lancaster, Hamilton wrote to them, beseeching them to return to their cures, promising his army's good conduct towards them, and informing them 'that none shall study more [than him] the happiness and preservation of this Church according to the *Covenant*'. Ten ministers signed the reply to Hamilton, that though 'We have all taken the Covenant and are zealous for re-establishing His Majesty', they nonetheless 'doubt not of the intentions of the two Houses of Parliament, according to their late Declarations, nor yet of the settling of *Presbyterian Government*, whereof we have lately had good assurance in this county'.²⁶⁴

In the light of the printing of this exchange in the aftermath of Hamilton's disastrous defeat at Preston on 17 August 1648, it is difficult to give it an exact context.²⁶⁵ On the one hand, faced with an invading Scottish army with a distinct covenanting rhetoric, the ministers at Lancaster gave a resounding rejection of Hamilton's army, preferring to place their trust in a Parliament who had, after all, granted to Lancashire a presbyterian church settlement. On the other hand, though, from Parliament's perspective, the exchange gave them a resounding propaganda victory, as ten ministers (eight of whom had signed the *Harmonious Consent* earlier in the year) effectively backed Parliament's course of action, reminding the reader of Parliament's commitment to presbyterianism in Lancashire, with the reference to Parliament's 'Declarations' being an all too ambiguous hint towards the *Declaration* and its portrayal of the murderer Charles I.²⁶⁶ Throughout the 1640s, we know too little about the politics of the clergy in

²⁶³ Anon., *The Engagement or Declaration of the Officers and Souldiers of the County Palatine of Lancaster* (no place, no printer, 1648). George Thomason dated his copy 19 May 1648, the date of printing. See also Gratton, *Lancashire*, p. 124.

²⁶⁴ Anon., *The Copy of a Letter from Duke Hamilton, to the Ministers at Lancaster, With their Answer to the same* (London: Edwards Husbands, 1648). Italics as in the publication. The ten ministers who subscribed to the reply were Thomas Whitehead (Halton), James Scholcroft (Caton), John Jacques (Bolton-le-Sands), Peter Atkinson (Ellel), John Sill (Gressingham), Edward Aston (Claughton), Thomas Denny (Over Wyresdale), John Smith (Melling), Samuel Elwood (unidentified), and Thomas Fawcet (Overton).

²⁶⁵ For this defeat, see Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, pp. 543-545.

²⁶⁶ Only Samuel Elwood and John Sill had not signed the *Harmonious Consent*.

Lancashire north of the River Ribble, and how this exchange came into the hands of Edward Husbands is an intriguing question, in that whether it was found amongst Hamilton's papers after Preston, or if it was perhaps sent to London by the ministers themselves. Given that (as William Shaw pointed out) presbyterianism in England never really recovered from its association with an invading Scottish army in 1648, the submission of the exchange to Parliament (if that is indeed what happened) may well have been an early attempt by ministers in Lancashire to separate Lancashire (and broader English) presbyterianism from the Scottish invaders in the minds of members of Parliament and peers.²⁶⁷ Such agency may not have been entirely without effect, as on 24 August 1648, Parliament repealed the Vote of No Addresses, paving the way for further negotiations with Charles I.²⁶⁸

Chapter conclusion

On 7 February 1649, in a state of shock, the Lancashire provincial assembly met at Preston. The events of the previous month, whereby Charles I had been tried for treason and executed on 30 January 1649, had forced Lancashire's presbyterian clergy to critically assess their current position. The regicide, in their view, was a punishment from God. The result was the production of *A Solemn Exhortation*, printed for the Manchester group's favourite London publisher, Luke Fawne, and including a wide-ranging call for moral reformation and commitment to the presbyterian church structure. Perhaps tellingly, no reference was made to the current, post-regicide political situation, though they surely hoped that when reformation was complete, God would see to the rest.²⁶⁹

Since the first civil war had broken out in 1642, dramatic changes had taken place amongst the religious structures in Lancashire and Cheshire, with frequent movements of personnel, the growth of the gathered churches, and the religious changes enacted concurrently with Parliament's military victory, with a new liturgy introduced in 1645, and episcopacy abolished and a presbyterian church structure established in Lancashire in 1646. Clergy who, in 1642, had served as curates and lecturers (who, as we saw in the second chapter of this thesis, formed the bedrock of pre-civil war clerical puritanism in the two counties) subsequently came to new prominence, with John Harrison, Richard Hollinworth, Thomas Johnson and John Tilsley all being striking examples. Yet, one should not go too far in stressing the discontinuities. As my account of the presbyterian petitioning

²⁶⁷ *Provincial Synod*, ed. Shaw, p. 76.

²⁶⁸ Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, p. 553.

²⁶⁹ James Hyett, Thomas Johnson and Edward Gee, *A Solemn Exhortation made and published to the several Churches of Christ within this Province of Lancaster* (London: for Luke Fawne, 1648[49]).

campaign in Cheshire has shown (a campaign which had at least some influence upon its ultimately successful Lancashire counterpart), coalitions were built involving royalist clergymen whose godliness and abilities were recognised by clerics who had supported Parliament during the first civil war. Furthermore, in the crucial linkages between the London scene and the north-west, the figure of John Ley is once again frequently central, as he had so often been during the 1630s and the early 1640s. What I hope that I have demonstrated is that north-western presbyterianism was not prompted into action simply by the appearance of Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* in 1646, but rather, its political dynamic was driven by conservative reactions to the perceived threat of local congregationalism, which were managed by John Ley, with his links to London contacts with mutual presbyterian ambitions.

Conclusion

The reign of Charles I represented a dramatic point in the religious history of England, climaxing in its final decade in wars throughout Charles' three kingdoms, the collapse of the Church of England, and ultimately, the execution of the King himself. Despite the importance of the reign, the involvement of the clergy of Lancashire and Cheshire in participating in the politics of the time has been somewhat neglected, despite the region being home to the parish livings of clergymen such as Charles Herle and John Ley, who would both play important roles in national religious politics during the civil war years. This concluding chapter will seek to briefly highlight the main findings of this thesis, and why those findings might have broader implications. For convenience, I will follow the same sub-headings as utilised in my introductory chapter, where I explained what I thought the main historiographical issues were.

(i). Puritanism:

This thesis has not attempted to repeat Roger Richardson's work on puritan piety in the diocese of Chester, but rather, has sought to fill the big gap in Richardson's work, in that he was rather neglectful of the political activities of puritans, and indeed, their reactions to Laudianism during the 1630s, something which is part of the broader issue with Richardson's book in that it does (in my opinion) somewhat run out of vigour as it approaches its concluding date of 1642.¹

With regards to puritan dynamics in the 1630s, there have been two significant findings in my research. The first is the widespread compliance by parishes held by puritan nonconformist incumbents with at least the Laudian innovations regarding church fabric, though there does seem to have been some resistance towards reading the *Book of Sports* and the renewed enforcement of bowing at the name of Jesus, but the sources for these two latter aspects of Laudianism are too patchy to point towards anything more than a tentative conclusion. More surprising than the fact that puritan clerics complied with at least some of the innovations was that one time puritan nonconformists nonetheless found their way into administrative positions within the diocese of Chester during the 1630s. One such puritan nonconformist turned administrator (as sub-dean of Chester Cathedral) was John Ley. Whilst Ley was consistently concerned about the proper (puritan) observation of the Sabbath, his attitude towards the position and railing of the communion table was somewhat more complex, and we perhaps need to

¹ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), *passim*.

revisit the careers of at least some opponents of Laudianism in the light of Anthony Milton's argument about the desire of clerics during the early 1640s to hurriedly distance themselves from Laudianism, of whom Ley seems to have been a prime example.² Elsewhere, at the Manchester collegiate church, one of the fellows, Richard Johnson, a puritan nonconformist, was drawn into a close (if sometimes tense) working relationship with William Laud in attempting to secure a new charter for the college.

If puritan nonconformist clerics were drawn into working relationships with Laudianism, then vocal clerical opposition can be shown to have largely arisen outside of puritan nonconformity (here, it should be remembered that the likes of Samuel Eaton, Richard Mather, and George Moxon, who might have otherwise opposed Laudianism, had instead chosen to leave the diocese for abroad). When vocal opposition to Laudianism did stir in the diocese from 1637 onwards (rather than simply what the diocesan authorities treated as omissions, such as failure to read the *Book of Sports*), it is notable that these opponents had no history of puritan nonconformity, with William Ellison, the curate of Arkholme in Lancashire who in 1637 was accused of nonconformity and of providing for Henry Burton's wife when he was imprisoned at Lancaster, being the one exception, having been suspended after the 1633 metropolitanical visitation. In thus inspiring a coalition of opponents, Laudianism can in some ways be seen as provoking into being the sort of puritanism which it feared, of a resolute nonconformity alongside vocal opposition to ecclesiastical policy, and which could ensnare even hitherto conformable clerics.

My research has shown that relations between 'puritan' clerics (including those with histories of nonconformity) and the Laudian ecclesiastical policies of the 1630s are much more complex than have sometimes been suggested. It cannot now be assumed that puritans were resolutely opposed to Laudianism. Whilst it is perhaps fair to assert that puritan clergymen would perhaps have preferred the Laudian innovations not to have been introduced, certainly with regards to the better recorded church fabric aspects of Laudianism, their parishes and chapelries broadly complied. Samuel Torshell, the preacher at Bunbury in Cheshire, later lamented his compliance with Laudianism as being 'among the *errata* of my life'.³ Indeed, as I have also demonstrated, early vocal opposition to Laudianism emerged from amongst clergymen with no prior records of

² Anthony Milton, 'Anglicanism and Royalism in the 1640s', in *The English Civil Wars: Conflicts and Contexts, 1640-49*, ed. John Adamson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 65.

³ Samuel Torshell, *The Hypocrite Discovered and Cvred* (London: G. M. for John Bellamy, 1643), 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'. Italics as in the publication.

nonconformity, something which in itself suggests that the development of opposition towards Laudianism needs revisiting.

(ii). *Laudianism:*

My research has sought to re-examine the nature of the enforcement of Laudian policies in Lancashire and Cheshire under the episcopate of the bishop of Chester, John Bridgeman. In doing so, I have revealed some interesting developments within Bridgeman's attitudes towards Laudianism which help to contextualise the famous (but little studied) visit of the anti-Laudian polemicist William Prynne to Chester in the summer of 1637. In essence, it is clear that from soon after the metropolitan visitation in 1633, Bridgeman was enforcing both the railing of communion tables on an 'altarwise' (north-south) axis at the east ends of churches, and also the reading of the *Book of Sports*. Bridgeman, though, was long reputed as being sympathetic towards puritans, and an aberration in his broad attitude of compliance is his consecration of Ringley chapel in late 1634, a puritan enclave with (significantly) a communion table placed in an Elizabethan-style east-west axis. However, by 1635, Bridgeman had commenced a renovation of Chester Cathedral, including the restoration of St. Werburgh's shrine which so concerned John Ley, and the grand scale of his renovation (including a new stained glass east window depicting scenes from the life of Christ) provided the backdrop for Prynne's visit to Chester in 1637, just at the time when aspects of Bridgeman's episcopate seemed to be replicating the move towards popery which Prynne's subject, Matthew Wren, was alleged to be instigating in the diocese of Norwich. This impression would be seemingly confirmed by Bridgeman's role in prosecuting the laymen who had been involved in entertaining Prynne at Chester, and also, after 1637, prosecuting clergymen such as William Ellison and Edward Fleetwood in Lancashire for their opposition to Laudianism.

My findings offer some valuable support from the local level for Anthony Milton's argument (largely based upon polemical writings) that Laudianism as an ideology developed throughout the 1630s, with its promoters becoming more ambitious in their claims as the tenor of the opposition increased.⁴ Much historiography, particular that written by historians viewing Laudianism backwards from the civil war period, has tended to see Laudianism as being a stable body of ideas put into practice between late 1632 and 1640, opposed by puritans, whereas I have argued that the keenest opponents of Laudianism during the 1630s were not

⁴ Anthony Milton, 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 162-184.

necessarily puritan nonconformists *per se*, and in any case, concerted opposition to Laudianism only really develops in the diocese from perhaps 1637 onwards, in response to Bishop Bridgeman seemingly pursuing Laudian ideals with greater enthusiasm. In this context, I have some reservations about Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke's characterisation of parishes which demonstrated enthusiasm for Laudianism, as their Lancashire example of Prescott is problematic as the parishioners there were obviously responding to promptings from Bishop Bridgeman himself.⁵ If the Prescott example is typical (and aside from Chester Cathedral and the Chester city churches, from the surviving records, only the churches at Prescott and at Prestbury in Cheshire seem to have undergone such grand renovations), then this again demonstrates the responsiveness to promptings for compliance from diocesan bishops, and fits puritan compliance into a broader picture of obedience to the ordinary, only unsettled when rumours of an episcopal-cum-popish plot began to appear to have some grounding (at least in the diocese of Chester) from 1637 onwards. Furthermore, as I have suggested with regards to St. Peter's parish at Chester, compliance with Laudian initiatives for the repair and rebuilding of churches were not necessarily undertaken for Laudian reasons, but rather, a reordered church building could also provide a more effective preaching house. Whilst it should be evident that my interpretations by no means undermine the idea (advanced by the likes of Nicholas Tyacke and Peter Lake) that Laudianism was inherently controversial and destabilising to the Church of England, I do believe that the complex nexus between Laudianism, puritanism and preaching does require some re-evaluation.⁶ Whilst Laudian ideology certainly saw preaching as both secondary to the sacraments, and in the wrong hands, potentially subversive, compliance to the aspects of Laudianism relating to church fabric offered puritan parishes opportunities to build churches better equipped for preaching, but including the due nods to Laudianism, such as a railed east end communion table. If this subject can be broached, we may get somewhere nearer to understanding why so many parishes with ostensibly puritan incumbents (and indeed, puritan parishioners) could nonetheless comply with at least the church fabric dimensions of Laudianism.

⁵ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 265, 273.

⁶ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 119-143; Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the 'Beauty of Holiness' in the 1630s', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 161-185.

(iii). *Petitioning*:

Whilst impressive in its coverage and its linkage of the various petitions submitted between late 1640 and 1642 from different English (and Welsh) towns and counties to the King or Parliament calling for the reform or preservation of the Church of England, or later, for accommodation between the King and Parliament, one of the unintended consequences of Anthony Fletcher's magisterial account was to subsume local dynamics into a national picture.⁷ This is ironic given Fletcher's earlier account of the local politics which lay behind the petitioning in Derbyshire.⁸ In my account of the petitions gathered in Lancashire and Cheshire, I have returned to these local dynamics, which, even in accounts ostensibly about the Cheshire petitions, have been subsumed within apparently national trends, such as a fundamental loyalty to episcopacy or to the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁹ Peter Lake rightly pointed to the developments in London which Sir Thomas Aston, the organiser of Cheshire's conservative religious petitions, responded to in drafting his petitions, but again, the local context was played down.¹⁰ As I hope that I have demonstrated, whilst they undoubtedly interacted with issues of national significance, the well documented Cheshire petitions can be seen as being prompted by issues of local interest, such as Bishop Bridgeman's episcopate, and Samuel Eaton's congregationalism, and what may be witnessed in the anti-episcopacy petitioning are trade-offs between supporters of congregationalism and opponents of Bishop Bridgeman, moulding together two potentially very different factions into a degree of co-operation.¹¹ Aston's first petition in defence of the Church in February 1641 can be seen as responding to these developments within Cheshire. In Lancashire, with a weaker source base than the Cheshire petitions, I have produced the first account of the petitioning of the early 1640s in that county, demonstrating some of the ways in which petitioning, iconoclasm and anti-popery interacted. I have suggested that factors such as the apparent success of the disarming of recusants in early 1641, gentry control and leadership of the anti-episcopal campaign, and the rather late formation of active pro-episcopal campaigning in the county, meant that Lancashire did not witness the open tensions which surrounded the Cheshire petitions, with, for example, iconoclasm not

⁷ Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: Edward Arnold, paperback edition, 1985), passim, but especially chs. 3, 6.

⁸ A. J. Fletcher, 'Petitioning and the Outbreak of the Civil War in Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, xciii (1973), 33-44.

⁹ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim.

¹⁰ Peter Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions: local politics in national context, Cheshire, 1641', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 259-289.

¹¹ I owe this observation to Dr. Joel Halcomb.

being witnessed in Lancashire until after the House of Commons' order of 8 September 1641, in stark contrast to Cheshire.

Some accounts of pre-civil war English counties have rather ignored the petitioning campaigns. Particularly guilty of this are the civil war allegiance-focused studies by the likes of David Underdown on Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, and by Mark Stoyle on Devon, which, in their search for long-term determinants of allegiance, can, in consequence, see petitions as (like civil war allegiances) the product of those determinants rather than as a staging post in the formation of allegiances. The tendency to play down the petitions is perhaps exacerbated for Underdown and Stoyle's regions as the petition subscriptions do not survive, thus preventing a definite linkage of petition subscriptions to civil war allegiances.¹² It should perhaps be of no surprise that amongst the most successful of the famous breed of county studies produced in the 1970s and 1980s were those which gave their regions' petitioning activities due consideration, such as Ann Hughes on Warwickshire, and Jacqueline Eales on Herefordshire, both of which models, on this issue, followed closely Alan Everitt's pioneering study of Kent in their focus on factors such as petitioning, though both Hughes and Eales' conclusions differed significantly from Everitt's own, rather Kentish-centred, conclusions.¹³ My own work has attempted to re-state the importance of the petitions as a means around which local politics could be structured, and which could be used to bridge local and national issues. I have also been keen to demonstrate that these petitions represented coalitions of opinion, and there was no 'one size fits all' support for or opposition to the Church of England: some one-time puritan nonconformists signed one or both of Aston's two petitions in defence of the Church, whilst a significant group of Cheshire's moderate puritan clergy seem to have remained aside from Cheshire's anti-episcopacy petitioning in early 1641, and instead, awaited the outcome of the efforts in London towards securing a reduced episcopacy, negotiations which John Ley may have played a role within. It was only after the failure of these negotiations and Parliament's decision in the early summer of 1641 to pursue the abolition of episcopacy that such clergymen as Ley and Samuel Torshell can be seen moving towards anti-episcopal positions, and only in 1642 did they become involved in petitioning, calling for an accommodation between the King and

¹² David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), passim; Mark Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), passim.

¹³ Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), ch. 4; Jacqueline Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the outbreak of English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chs. 5-6; Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-60* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), ch. 4.

Parliament, the outcome of which process (if it had been pursued) would probably have produced a reduced episcopacy if not necessarily outright abolition. Some Cheshire clergy followed the petitioning choices of their patrons, which raise questions about the extent to which the petitions can be seen to be genuinely representative of the views of at least some of the clergy who signed them, unless, of course, we assume that patrons appointed clergy who broadly shared their own outlooks. By highlighting such issues with the relatively famous Cheshire petitions, I hope that my work will point to some of the questions which perhaps should be asked of other contemporary petitioning campaigns for which we are fortunate that subscriptions have survived, and for which we can assess the dynamics of those regions' political and religious alliances.

(iv). Clerical allegiances and personnel, 1642-1649:

This thesis has attempted to examine the nature of clerical political (and by association, military) allegiances between 1642 and 1649, a period which witnessed two civil wars, and the appointment of clergy loyal to Parliament as they secured military control of north-western England. Whilst David Underdown and Mark Stoyle have undertaken interesting work on south-western England, demonstrating how 'traditional' and 'puritan' religious cultures could be manifested after 1642 as royalism and parliamentarianism respectively, very little work has been done on the clergy specifically.¹⁴

The first point to be made is that a Laudian / puritan binary as a basis for civil war allegiance simply, in an unreconstructed form, does not stand up to scrutiny with regards to Lancashire and Cheshire. In a region where puritanism was strong, it is perhaps unsurprising to find puritan nonconformists who supported the King after 1642, but more surprising is the extent to which puritan nonconformists complied with Laudianism, several of whom, such as John Glendole, John Ley and Samuel Torshell, made the journey into parliamentarianism. Equally, Samuel Rutter, the first open clerical opponent of Laudianism in the region, followed his Strange family patrons into royalism after 1642. Conversely, at the opposite end of the Laudian spectrum, it is difficult to identify any Laudian enthusiasts, not helped by only William Clarke and George Snell, two clergymen in Cheshire, being known to have received hostile criticism for their compliance with Laudianism, with both supporting the King after 1642. Even with the lack of surviving records about scandalous ministers, one needs to ask whether the extent to which puritans in Lancashire and Cheshire complied with Laudianism perhaps removed the basis for the

¹⁴ Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, passim; Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, passim.

attacking of royalists as Laudians so frequently seen in Lincolnshire and Suffolk, with such hostile (and southern) reports having led to the inherent association in the historiography of royalism with Laudianism.¹⁵

Given the shifting nature of the petitioning movements between 1640 and 1642, I am reluctant to positively identify a single determinant of clerical allegiances, but if I am tentatively to point to one, it would be the numbers of unbeneficed curates and lecturers who supported Parliament. After Ian Green so confidently demolished Mark Curtis' 'alienated intellectuals' thesis, historians have been reluctant to revisit Green's work, despite his main source of A. G. Matthews' *Walker Revised* being both partisan and (following John Walker's own preferences) being biased towards beneficed clergy.¹⁶ Whilst I do not advocate resuscitating the 'alienated intellectuals' becoming parliamentarians thesis *per se*, I do think that if Lancashire and Cheshire are anything to go by, there may be something in Curtis' initial observation of a link between unbeneficed clergy and parliamentarianism that is worth revisiting on a national scale. The particular pastoral situations of Lancashire and Cheshire, where urban centres and geographically large rural parishes meant that there were high numbers of unbeneficed clergy anyway, mean that it is difficult on my evidence alone to extend my argument to elsewhere, but a contrast with another region in southern England, where geographically smaller parishes may have resulted in a closer ratio between beneficed and unbeneficed clergy, would make a very interesting comparison indeed.

If there was a generational issue in that unbeneficed curates were perhaps (as Curtis suggested) younger graduates fresh out of the universities, it would be fascinating to see if my again tentative findings regarding the tone of parliamentarian sermons was perhaps replicated elsewhere. The experienced pastor Samuel Torshell saw the civil war as a just punishment from God for his parishioners' sins at Bunbury, whereas Nehemiah Barnett, newly appointed in 1643 as minister at Lancaster, preferred to see Parliament's impending victory as a sign of promising things to come, with renewed hope of religious reformation. Again, though, the relatively small number of printed sermons by Lancashire and Cheshire clergy, several of whom had fled to London before their sermons were preached, means that this cannot be more than a pointer to a pattern which

¹⁵ *The Royalist Clergy of Lincolnshire*, ed. J. W. F. Hill, reprinted from Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, ii, pt. 1 (1938), 34-127; *The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers, 1644-1646*, ed. Clive Holmes, Suffolk Records Society, xiii (1970).

¹⁶ Mark H. Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, xxiii (1962), 25-43; Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', *Past and Present*, xc (1981), 71-115, especially 93-109.

could potentially be discussed in a bigger, national sample of printed sermons by older and younger parliamentary clergymen.

A final point should be made about clerical patronage, particularly as John Morrill has suggested that investigating the linkage between clerical and patronal allegiances may potentially offer interesting insights.¹⁷ In Lancashire and Cheshire, there is no clear correlation between the allegiances of clergymen and their lay patrons, with David Underdown reporting a similar finding in his region of Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire.¹⁸ Interestingly, John King, the vicar of Chipping in Lancashire, was the only clergyman appointed by Bishop Bridgeman who appears to have supported Parliament after 1642, though given that King retained his living after the restoration of the Church of England in the early 1660s, he may not necessarily have been convinced either by presbyterianism or by the error of episcopacy.¹⁹ Nonetheless, this does raise questions about whether there may be a broader linkage between episcopal patronage and royalism, but a cautionary note is given by the parliamentarianism of Robert Bath, the vicar of Rochdale in Lancashire, who was the only clerical appointment by Archbishop Laud in either of the two counties.

(v). Post-war religious settlement, 1646-1649:

As was noted in the introduction, studies of post-1646 religious reformation have tended to either prioritise London's lead in instigating a presbyterian church settlements, or from the opposite perspective, see presbyterianism as a failure, and pointing to the strength of conservative support for the suppressed Church of England. From the Lancashire and Cheshire perspective, neither position is particularly accurate, with presbyterian clerics in both counties playing a significant role in promoting presbyterian church reforms, and indeed, presbyterianism became in some ways a default conservative position, rather than the loyalty to the Church of England which John Morrill has emphasised.²⁰

To deal with the latter issue firstly, Cheshire can no longer be seen as a bastion of an 'Anglican' religious conservatism during the late 1640s. Though we have argued from slightly different perspectives, both William Cliftlands and I have suggested that Morrill was wrong to join together

¹⁷ John Morrill, 'The Ecology of Allegiance in the English Civil Wars', reproduced in John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 236-238.

¹⁸ David Underdown, 'A Reply to John Morrill', *Journal of British Studies*, xxvi (1987), 474-475.

¹⁹ *Restoration Exhibit Books and the Northern Clergy 1662-1664*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province, xiii (1987), 38.

²⁰ John Morrill, 'The Church in England 1642-1649', reproduced in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1993), pp. 148-175.

some limited evidence from a handful of parishes to suggest that loyalty to the Church of England remained strong after its effective suppression in the mid-1640s.²¹ Rather, what seems to have happened is that presbyterians courted some presumably more moderate ejected royalist clerics, and at least one of Morrill's reintrusions (plus a further call for the reintrusion of George Byrom) stemmed from such political machinations. Interestingly, though, whilst evidence for an 'Anglican' religious conservatism during the late 1640s is limited, there does seem to have been a resurgence in support during the mid-1650s, with St. John's parish in Chester paying known royalist clergymen to preach sermons there in 1656.²²

This analysis links to how presbyterian support in Lancashire and Cheshire developed. There does seem to have been a growing suspicion amongst clergymen of the congregationalism promoted by the likes of Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, and, apparently prompted by the return of John Ley from the Westminster Assembly, a core of clergymen committed to a Scottish-style presbyterianism secured a coalition of support from clergymen who feared what they saw as the development of Independent religious sects. Whilst Ley surely brought with him messages from London presbyterians, my interpretation keenly refutes Ann Hughes' argument that north-western presbyterians were alarmed by Thomas Edwards' scare stories in his *Gangraena*.²³ Rather, I have suggested that there were in Lancashire and Cheshire enough congregationalists, and opponents of congregationalism such as Richard Hollinworth, for local clergy to be able to form their own (broadly negative) opinions of congregationalism / Independency, and in any case, it was not until Edwards' third volume of *Gangraena*, printed in December 1646, that he included any examples from Lancashire and Cheshire.²⁴ My more significant revision of Hughes' work is that she suggests that London presbyterianism hit a polemical lull between the London presbyterians' Sion College resolution in June 1646 and the printing of the third volume of *Gangraena* in December 1646.²⁵ As I have demonstrated, whilst the Lancashire and Cheshire petitions for the establishment of a presbyterian church in the region can be seen within the context of the petitions sent to London from other regions in the early summer of 1646, and which

²¹ William Cliftlands, 'The 'Well Affected' and the 'Country': Politics and Religion in English Provincial Society, c. 1640-c. 1654' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Essex, 1987), pp. 165-193.

²² Cheshire Record Office, Chester, P51/12/1; see also M. J. Crossley Evans, 'The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 117.

²³ Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 370.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188 (Table 3.1).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-364, 385.

culminated in Parliament offering the London presbyterians' a church settlement which was agreed upon by the Sion College resolution, in the case of Lancashire, negotiations between Lancashire and London presbyterians continued during the summer of 1646. Indeed, it seems that the more thorough presbyterianism of the proposed Lancashire model was viewed positively by London presbyterians as a model for the more advanced presbyterianism which they preferred. As such, London presbyterian activism did not, after the resolution of June 1646, largely disappear until revived in December 1646 by Thomas Edwards' third volume of *Gangraena*, but rather, their focus and hopes turned to Lancashire and its proposed presbyterian model, which eventually gained approval by the House of Lords in October 1646, making Lancashire the only county outside of London to secure formal approval for their presbyterian system of church government.

Lancashire's presbyterians remained politically active up to, and beyond, the regicide. Lancashire's *Harmonious Consent* in 1648 viciously attacked religious Independents, a feature noticeably absent in the Cheshire *Attestation*, which the minister at Stockport, the keenly anti-Independent Thomas Johnson, failed to sign.²⁶ In the aftermath of the defeat of the 'Engager' army in support of Charles I at the battle of Preston in August 1648, and the implication of English presbyterian support for the Scottish presbyterians engagers, a group of north Lancashire clerics publicised the duke of Hamilton's overtures to them, and their reply, in which they portrayed the English Parliament as the true representatives of the Solemn League and Covenant.²⁷ Barely six months later, though, Lancashire presbyterians bemoaned the execution of Charles I in January 1649, and a Lancashire pastor, Edward Gee, would be a leading light in the opposition to the Engagement issued early in 1650, which Gee argued represented a breach of the Covenant in its acceptance of the King's execution.²⁸

If anything, the late 1640s witnessed the forming of definite confessional identities. Adam Martindale found problematic the determination of Lancashire's keen presbyterians to castigate ministers such as Timothy Taylor, whom he saw as representing another valid form of

²⁶ Anon., *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: J. Maccock for Luke Fawne, 1648); Anon., *An Attestation to the Testimony of our reverend Brethren of the Province of London... Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their meeting May 2. and subscribed at their next meeting June 6. 1648* (London: R. Cotes for Christopher Meredith. 1648).

²⁷ Anon., *The Copy of a Letter from Duke Hamilton, to the Ministers at Lancaster, With their Answer to the same* (London: Edwards Husbands, 1648).

²⁸ James Hyett, Thomas Johnson and Edward Gee, *A Solemn Exhortation made and published to the several Churches of Christ within this Province of Lancaster* (London: for Luke Fawne, 1648/[49]); Edward Gee, *A Plea for Non-Subscribers* (no place: no printer, 1650).

godliness, and this rigidity led to his own difficulties with the Lancashire presbyterian establishment.²⁹ Taylor and his fellow congregationalist, Samuel Eaton, entered into print to defend their ecclesiological preferences. It is perhaps fair to suggest that it would take the development of Quakerism in the region in the early 1650s, and the growth of a sect which both presbyterians and congregationalists could mutually view as a dangerous and new opponent, before the path began to be laid which culminated in the accommodation agreed between north-western presbyterians and congregationalists in July 1659.³⁰ Even then, this mutual sociability was severely tested only weeks later by Sir George Booth's rebellion centred upon Cheshire.³¹

After the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II in May 1660, Chester was one of the first English dioceses to restore its church courts.³² It is certainly reasonable to speculate that this swift response was a reaction to the changed religious situation which had developed in the diocese since the courts had last sat in the early months of the first civil war, with the restored Church of England surely feeling under threat from the array of nonconformists and religious dissenters who resided in the region after nearly two decades of qualified religious freedom. An indication of the challenge which the diocese's administrators faced is that in the three years after the restoration of the monarchy, three-quarters of Cheshire's parochial livings fell vacant, in many cases because of the resignation or ejection of the incumbent following the various stages of church settlement attempted during those years.³³ Ministers such as John Glendole in Chester, who had been able to comply with the Laudian administration during the 1630s, found himself without a living and ministering outside of the Church of England.³⁴ Robert Bosher famously argued that the religious settlement of the 1660s essentially represented the belated triumph of the Laudians.³⁵ As we have seen, Laudianism under Bishop Bridgeman had accommodated potential puritan opponents into the diocesan administration, and had effectively silenced them through assimilation. In the early 1660s, the

²⁹ *The Life of Adam Martindale, Written by Himself*, ed. Richard Parkinson, Chetham Society, iv (1845), 64

³⁰ *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891), xxiv. 400-401. For a broader exploration of the context of 1659, see Barry Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659, and the restoration of the monarchy', *History*, lxiii (1978), 193-213.

³¹ Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 61.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³⁴ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 224-225.

³⁵ Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians 1649-1662* (London: Dacre Press, revised edition, 1957), *passim*.

removal of otherwise moderate puritans from the Church of England changed the English religious landscape forever, and meant that the established church could never again assume the loyalty of either the English people or of England's protestant ministry.

Appendices

Some general notes about the appendix spreadsheets

The most important thing to say about my spreadsheets is that they are not intended to provide a detailed gazetteer of the clergy who were either puritan nonconformists or who can be identified as being of either royalist or parliamentary allegiance during the civil wars after 1642. They are rather designed to support the purposes to which they are deployed within my thesis, of providing evidence of the extent of both clerical puritan nonconformity and of clerical civil war allegiances. Whilst I have included with each entry some pointers towards the sources used in constructing that entry, I have additionally written a series of essays explaining the general sources which I have used for discovering these particular factors of a clergyman's personality. Furthermore, I have also included a supplement of the references to parliamentary clergy in the various surviving (and unpublished) financial accounts for Lancashire and Cheshire, which I hope will expand knowledge of these clergymen whose careers are often ignored as they fall in the gap between the ejected royalist clergy, the ejected clergy of 1660-1662, and parliamentary army chaplains, all of whom have their gazetteer.¹

In terms of general points, years of institution and patronage details have been derived from a combination of county histories, G. T. O. Bridgeman's edition of his ancestor Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester's ledgers of clerical taxation, and *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, with occasional gaps being filled from other sources, such as entries in parish registers, and, later in the 1640s, the records of the Committee for Plundered Ministers and the Manchester and Bury presbyterian classes, and, particularly for Lancashire, the 1642 Protestation returns and the Lancashire church survey of 1650.² Where a definite date of

¹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948); Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990).

² George Ormerod, rev. Thomas Helsby, *The History of the City and County Palatine of Chester* (3 vols., London: George Routledge and Sons, second edition, 1882); *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Lancashire*, eds. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (8 vols., London: University of London, 1906-1914); 'Loans, Contributions, Subsidies, and Ship Money, paid by the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, in the years 1620, 1622, 1624, 1634, 1635, 1636 & 1639', ed. G. T. O. Bridgeman, in *Miscellanies, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, i, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xii (1885), 45-129; *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896); *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891); *Minutes of the*

appointment is lacking, I have used the earliest date which I can discover that minister to have officiated at that living. Further details about these processes have been included in my explanation of calculating clerical parliamentarianism, as the high proportion of unbeneficed curates who supported Parliament make these clerics more difficult to identify than their beneficed counterparts.

Unless there is a case of retaining such titles in order to emphasise a promotion from curate to incumbent, or if there are other reasons for retaining the historic title related to the circumstances of that appointment, I have generally avoided the use of clerical titles after 1642, as traditional titles such as ‘rector’, ‘vicar’ and ‘curate’ were replaced by more generic titles such as ‘pastor’ or ‘minister’ which did not reflect the historic status of a particular living.

If a minister is listed having been appointed to more than one living before 1642, then he held both (or all) livings at the outbreak of civil war in 1642. However, if a minister holding a living in 1642 later acquired an alternative living, it should be assumed that he had ceded the previous living in order to assume his new living.

In the listing of dates, the year is assumed to have begun on 1 January, unless otherwise stated.

I would like to take this opportunity to apologise for the print quality of the spreadsheets, which, due to the margin size requirements for the print version of a doctoral thesis, have not reproduced as clearly as I had hoped. Needless to say, the spreadsheets are available in a clearer form in the online version of this thesis.

Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657, ed. William A. Shaw, 2 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xxxvi, xli (1896-1898); Lancashire Record Office, Preston, MF 1/26 (microfilm copies of the original returns in the Parliamentary Archives, London); *Lancashire and Cheshire Commonwealth Church Surveys*, ed. Henry Fishwick, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i (1879).

Spreadsheet abbreviations

Clerical titles:

C.: Curate.
F.: Fellow.
L.: Lecturer.
P. C.: Perpetual curate.
R.: Rector.
V.: Vicar.

Sources:

BL:
British Library, London.

BPC:
Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657, ed. William A. Shaw, 2 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xxxvi, xli (1896-1898).

Burghall:
Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889).

Burne:
R. V. H. Burne, *Chester Cathedral: From its Founding by Henry VIII to the Accession of Queen Victoria* (London: S. P. C. K., 1958).

Chandler and Wilson:
Liverpool under Charles I, eds. George Chandler and E. K. Wilson (Liverpool: Brown, Picton and Hornby Libraries, 1965).

CCC:
Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643–1660, ed. M. A. E. Green (5 vols., London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1889-1892).

CCS:

Lancashire and Cheshire Commonwealth Church Surveys, ed. Henry Fishwick, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i (1879).

Clarendon:

The History of the Rebellion in England begun in the year 1641 by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888).

CPM:

Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896).

CR:

A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised, being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).

CRO:

Cheshire Record Office, Chester.

Crossley Evans:

M. J. Crossley Evans, 'The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxviii (1985), 97-122.

CWA:

Churchwardens' accounts.

Earwaker:

J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present* (2 vols., London: self-published, 1877).

Farington Papers:

The Farington Papers, ed. Susan Maria Ffarington, Chetham Society, xxxix (1856).

HLP:

Petitions to the House of Lords for the restoration of ejected ministers (1660), held in Parliamentary Archives, London, HL/PO/JO/10/1/288-291.

JRL:

John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Laurence:

Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-51* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990).

Letter from Duke Hamilton:

Anon., *The Copy of a Letter from Duke Hamilton, to the Ministers at Lancaster, With their Answer to the same* (London: Edwards Husbands, 1648).

Life of Adam Martindale:

The Life of Adam Martindale, Written by Himself, ed. Richard Parkinson, Chetham Society, iv (1845).

Life of John Angier:

Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton, ed. Ernest Axon, Chetham Society, new series, xcvi (1937).

Life of Master John Shaw:

'The Life of Master John Shaw', in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Charles Jackson, Surtees Society, lxxv (1877), 121-163.

LRO:

Lancashire Record Office, Preston.

Malbon:

Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, by Thomas Malbon, of Nantwich, Gent., and Providence Improved by Edward Burghall, Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich, ed. James Hall, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xix (1889).

Marchant:

Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960).

MPC:

Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891).

Nightingale:

Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland: Their Predecessors and Successors* (2 vols., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911).

ODNB:

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, eds. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (60 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Ormerod:

George Ormerod, rev. Thomas Helsby, *The History of the City and County Palatine of Chester* (3 vols., London: George Routledge and Sons, second edition, 1882).

Raines:

F. R. Raines, ed. Frank Renaud, *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, Chetham Society, new series, xxi, xxiii (1891).

RCP:

The Royalist Composition Papers, being the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, A.D. 1643-1660, as far as they relate to the County of Lancaster, extracted from the Records preserved in the Public Record Office, London, eds. J. H. Stanning, then J. Brownbill, 7 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxiv, xxvi, xxix, xxxvi, lxxii, xcv, xcvi (1891-1942).

RCY:

'Royalist Clergy in Yorkshire, 1642-5', ed. W. Brown, in *Miscellanea*, vol. 1, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, lxi (1920), 150-167.

Shaw's list (of clergymen appointed to livings by either of the two houses of Parliament):

William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640-1660* (2 vols., 1900; New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974), ii. 313-358.

TNA:

The National Archives, Kew.

Urwick's list (of plundered parliamentary ministers):

Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in The County Palatine of Chester, ed. William Urwick (London: Kent & Co., 1864), p. xx.

VCH:

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Lancashire, eds. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (8 vols., London: University of London, 1906-1914).

WBLB:

The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton, ed. R. N. Dore, 2 vols., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxiii, cxxviii (1984-1990).

WR:

A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948).

Appendix One:

Church patronage in Lancashire and Cheshire

Attempting to tabulate church patrons does present some difficulties, and the attempt which I have produced should be seen as depicting a broad trend, due to the incomprehensive nature of the surviving evidence. The fullest sources for researching church patrons in the two counties are the *Victoria County History* for Lancashire, and George Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*. Some gaps between these two sources can be filled by using *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (www.theclergydatabase.org.uk).

The statistics here presented are intended to illustrate who would normally present the minister to the rectories, vicarages and perpetual curacies for which information is available (a perpetual curacy being a curacy where the minister had some of the rights of a beneficed clergyman, such as some form of tenure, hence their 'perpetual' nature). This thus means that the patron who would normally present did not necessarily present the minister who occupied that living at the outbreak of the civil war. The prebendaries of Lichfield normally presented to the vicarage of Tarvin in Cheshire, but Sabbath Clarke was presented in 1622 after a local gentleman, John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, had purchased a reversion of the patronage.¹ Similarly, the Crown normally presented to the rectory of St. Peter's in Chester, and in 1627, Charles I presented James Rutherford to the rectory. However, in 1628, for reasons which are unclear, the parishioners presented another candidate, John Glendole, and it is he who remained as rector.² In these two instances, I have recorded the prebendaries of Lichfield and the Crown as being the patrons of these respective livings. Where information is not available, the incumbent of the parish church would normally employ curates in the outlying chapels of his parish, an important web of informal and relatively small scale patronage which my statistics do not take account of.³

It should also be pointed out that the bishop of Chester presented candidates for the five prebendaries of Chester Cathedral, which gave him another form of patronage which is not here recorded.

In terms of the practicalities of patronage, when a living became vacant, through death, resignation, or (in rare cases) deprivation, lay patrons

¹ R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), p. 122.

² Frank Simpson, *A History of the Church of St. Peter in Chester* (Chester: G. R. Griffith, 1909), p. 73.

³ For further details, see the note of explanation for the puritan nonconformity appendix.

and ecclesiastical and lay corporations had six months to make an appointment. Once a candidate had been nominated by a patron, the bishop of the diocese had two months to examine the nominee and to subsequently confirm or reject the nomination. If a lay patron had failed within six months to appoint to a living, the right of presentation lapsed to the bishop of the diocese. If the bishop of the diocese then failed to present to the living within six months, the right of presentation then lapsed to the metropolitan, and then, after a further six months, ultimately to the Crown.⁴

⁴ Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp. 75-78.

Lancashire church living presentations (based upon the patron who normally presented)		
		%
Crown	13	20.63492
Bishops of Chester	6	9.52381
Archbishops of Canterbury	3	4.761905
Dean and Chapter of Oxford	1	1.587302
Dean and Chapter of Worcester	1	1.587302
Dean and Chapter of York	1	1.587302
Prebendaries of Lichfield	1	1.587302
King's College, Cambridge	1	1.587302
Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill (to the vicarage of that parish)	1	1.587302
Lay peer	4	6.349206
Other lay individual(s)	31	49.20635
TOTAL	63	100

Cheshire church living presentations (based upon the patron who normally presented)		
		%
Crown	4	4.938272
Bishops of Chester	13	16.04938
Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield	2	2.469136
Dean and Chapter of Chester	8	9.876543
Dean and Chapter of Oxford	3	3.703704
Prebendaries of Lichfield	1	1.234568
Lay peer	5	6.17284
Other lay individual(s)	43	53.08642
London Haberdashers' Company	1	1.234568
Parishioners	1	1.234568
TOTAL	81	100

Lancashire and Cheshire church living presentations (based upon the patron who normally presented)		
		%
Crown	17	11.80556
Bishop of Chester	19	13.19444
Archbishop of Canterbury	3	2.083333
Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield	2	1.388889
Dean and Chapter of Chester	8	5.555556
Dean and Chapter of Oxford	4	2.777778
Dean and Chapter of Worcester	1	0.694444
Dean and Chapter of York	1	0.694444
Prebendaries of Lichfield	2	1.388889
King's College, Cambridge	1	0.694444
Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill (to the vicarage of that parish)	1	0.694444
Lay peer	9	6.25
Other lay individual(s)	74	51.38889
London Haberdashers' Company	1	0.694444
Parishioners	1	0.694444
TOTAL	144	100

Comparison of church living presentations in the dioceses of Chester and Carlisle

Diocese of Chester (Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire parishes) church patrons						
	Cumberland and Westmorland	Lancashire	Cheshire	TOTAL	%	
Crown	1	13	4		18	11.18012422
Bishops of Chester	0	6	13		19	11.80124224
Other bishops	0	3	2		5	3.105590062
Ecclesiastical corporations	0	4	12		16	9.937888199
Cambridge college	3	1	0		4	2.48447205
Other clergymen	0	1	0		1	0.621118012
Lay peer	0	4	5		9	5.590062112
Other lay individual	13	31	43		87	54.03726708
Lay groups	0	0	2		2	1.242236025
TOTAL	17	63	81		161	100
Note that three of the livings listed under 'ecclesiastical corporations' were held by the Dean and Chapter of Oxford.						
Diocese of Carlisle church patrons (all parishes)						
Crown						
Bishop of Carlisle						
Dean and Chapter of Carlisle						
Oxford university or college						
Other clergymen						
Lay peer						
Other lay individual						
Lay groups						
TOTAL	63	100				

Appendix Two:

The numbers of puritan nonconformists amongst the clergy, 1625-1642

Assessing the numerical extent of clerical nonconformity is a difficult issue. It is perhaps unfair to label a clergyman as puritan when perhaps based upon one presentation at a visitation, as it is feasible that they may well have then conformed and never troubled the diocesan authorities again. However, my calculations are intended to give an indication of the scale of puritan nonconformity about the clergy of Lancashire and Cheshire, and thus, it has been decided to include every clergyman who was presented for a puritan offence at some point between 1625 and the cessation of the diocese of Chester's consistory court records in 1642.

A clergyman has been defined as being a puritan nonconformist if he was presented before the primary or metropolitical visitation, or before the consistory court, for an offence seen as being typical of puritanism: particularly common in Lancashire and Cheshire were the failure to wear the surplice and the administration of communion to those who refuse to kneel, though offences such as refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, failure to observe holy days, and acts of nonconformity when conducting baptisms and funerals also feature in presentments. Offences such as failure to observe perambulations or omitting to read Wednesday and Friday prayers, though potentially part of a broader puritanism, have been omitted if a clergyman has been presented for such an offence alone, as such offences could also be indicative of pastoral neglect rather than puritanism. For example, James Hyett, the rector and vicar of Croston in Lancashire, was accused alongside his churchwardens at the metropolitical visitation of 1630 of refusing 'to go the perambulation... for not provyding a Bible of the new Translation nor a booke of Cannons... neyther is there any bookes of Homilies'.¹ Whilst not undertaking the perambulation could be a sign of puritanism, particularly if Hyett's neglect of the Authorised Version of 1611 was perhaps because he preferred to use another version of the Bible more approved of by puritans, such as the Geneva Bible, there was often a fine line between puritanism and the pastoral neglect which he would be accused of in 1649.² Thus, in the absence of evidence from other visitations, Hyett has not been included as a puritan in my tabulation.

¹ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, V. 1629-30, Court Book, fo. 69v.

² *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers; relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1897), xxviii. 80.

Also excluded from these calculations are clergymen whose known nonconformity was recorded before they ministered in Lancashire and Cheshire (for example, the ‘Grindletonian’ Roger Brearley, Peter Shaw, and Brearley’s opponent in Yorkshire, Thomas Brooke), and clergymen whose nonconformity does not feature in the official records.³

When tabulating the presentations of puritan nonconformist clerics, my statistics are undermined in that I have stuck to only recording definite presentations, something which *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (www.theclergydatabase.org.uk) has made possible to trace. As many as ninety-nine of the clerics that I have recorded between 1625 and 1642 did not hold a formal benefice in the diocese on at least one occasion when they were presented for puritan offences. Thus, for the curates presented for puritan nonconformity, there was usually no formal presentation, but rather, they were generally appointed by the incumbent of the parish; for example, Samuel Clarke, later a famous nonconformist minister in Warwickshire, recorded in his autobiography how when he was a young cleric, he was employed as curate by George Byrom, the rector of Thornton-le-Moors in Cheshire.⁴ This represented an important source of informal and small scale patronage which my statistics do not depict. I have also recorded each presentation for pluralists, and also both patrons when there was a joint presentation: thus, some clerics feature more than once in these calculations.

A final caveat which should be noted is that being a puritan nonconformist does not necessarily mean that a clergyman was perfectly godly in their moral life. Patrick Collinson pointed out that the clerics Richard Kilby, Richard Parker and Thomas Larkham, all frequently labelled by historians as being ‘puritans’, nonetheless led private lives which were at times unconventional by Christian standards.⁵ Thus, being a puritan did not necessarily mean that a cleric was necessarily as entire a saint as the label of ‘puritan’ would perhaps suggest.

³ For Brearley and Shaw, see David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), ch. 8, and pp. 334-348. For Brooke, see Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 234-235.

⁴ Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1683), pp. 3-4.

⁵ Patrick Collinson, ‘The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth Century English Culture’, reproduced in *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 103-107.

Puritan nonconformist clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources

Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCEd Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1630 metropolitan visitation	1633 metropolitan visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (identified from catalogue; old style year of case within the reference)	Other
Acson	John	R. Handley	Cheshire	1600	John Golborne of Golborne	21549				X				
Allen	Isaac	C. Oldham; R. Prestwich	Lancashire	At Prestwich, 1632	Edmund Ashton of Chadderton	22746 X			X					
Ameson	William	R. Brereton	Cheshire	1610	Sir William Brereton of Brereton	23357				X				
Angier	John	C. Denton	Lancashire							X				
Ashall	Thomas	R. Swettenham	Cheshire	1605	James I	23414 X	X							
Aspinall	William	C. Walmsley	Lancashire							X				
Aspinwall	Timothy	C. Bolton-le-Moors; Knutsford	Lancashire; Cheshire	At Bolton 1630; at Knutsford 1633									EDC 5/1630/67; EDC 5/1634/107	
Atkinson	Peter	Preacher at Westhoughton	Lancashire			23554				X				
Bagley	William	C. Backford	Cheshire							X				
Banker	Thomas	C. Goosnargh	Lancashire							X				
Boardman	Samuel	F. Manchester collegiate church	Lancashire			9396				X				
Bourne	William	F. Manchester collegiate church	Lancashire	1603	James I	30988 X				X				
Bowersall	Thomas	C. Blackley	Lancashire							X				
Boyer	Francis	C. Alkerley	Cheshire							X				
Bradwell	Joseph	R. Aldford	Cheshire	1632	William Moreton of Little Moreton, Cheshire	24993				X				
Breares	John	C. Rivington	Lancashire							X				
Bridge	Thomas	R. Malpas (Upper Medley)	Cheshire	1625	Thomas Stafford	25611				X				
Broughton	Richard	C. Farrdon	Cheshire							X				
Brown	Robert	Chaplain of Manchester collegiate church (C. Stretford)	Lancashire							X				
Broxupp	John	V. Ormskirk	Lancashire	1628	James, Lord Strange	32533				X			EDC 5/1637/16; EDC 5/1638/96	
Bruggs	John	C. Blackrod	Lancashire							X				

Puritan nonconformist clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources												
Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of Institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCEd Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1633 metropolitan visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (identified from catalogue; old style year of case within the reference)
Burfoot	Walter	C. Stretton	Cheshire		Dean and Chapter of Oxford				X			
Burrows	Hugh	V. Runcorn	Cheshire	1621		30992	X			X		
Burtonwood	John	C. Prescott	Lancashire				X					
Byrom	George	R. Thornton-le-Moors	Cheshire	1615	Uncertain	31002				X		
Cape	Thomas	Preacher at Manchester collegiate church	Lancashire									
Catherall	Randall	R. Swettenham	Cheshire	1632	John Catherall	31006				X		EDC 5/1638/112
Catherall	Samuel	C. Astbury	Cheshire			35876				X		
Chadwick	John	C. Oldham	Lancashire							X		
Clarke	Sabbath	V. Tarvin	Cheshire	1622	John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford (via a reversion of the patronage)	10894				X		
Clayton	Giles	C. Heywood	Lancashire							X		
Clough	Joshua	C. Gawsworth	Cheshire			36014				X		
Conny	John	C. in Chester	Cheshire			27842				X		
Craig	John	C. Bury	Lancashire							X		
Cunwen	William	C. Over Kellat	Lancashire			32098				X		
Davenport	John	C. Didsbury	Lancashire	There 1620		33194				X		
Dawson	Miles	V. Bolton-le-Sands	Lancashire	1618	Bishop Morton of Chester	33198				X		
Dickinson	Mr.	C. Shaw	Lancashire							X		
Dod	Thomas	R. Astbury; R. Malpas (Lower Medley)	Cheshire	1607; 1623	Ralph Egerton of Ridley; James f	24030				X		
Dunster	Henry	C. Ringley	Lancashire			33264				X		
Eaton	Daniel	C. Grappenhall	Cheshire							X		
Eaton	Laurence	C. Siddington	Cheshire			33274				X		
Eaton	Samuel	R. West Kirby	Cheshire	1628		139440				X		EDC 5/1628/67
Eccles	George	R. Christleton; C. Goostrey (by 1636)	Cheshire				X					
Edwards	Francis	R. St. Mary's, Chester	Cheshire	1623	Richard Bretton	33293				X		
Ellison	Davis	C. Chelford	Cheshire			33329				X		EDC 1/52 (8 September 1635)
Ellison	William	C. Arkholme	Lancashire							X		EDC 5/1637/9

Puritan nonconformist clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources														
Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCEd Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1630 metropolitanical visitation	1633 metropolitanical visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (Identified from catalogue: old style year of case within the reference)	Other
Farrand	Roger	C. Woodplumpton	Lancashire	There 1622		36083					X			
Fleetwood Fletcher	Edward John	V. Kirkham C. Borwick	Lancashire Lancashire	1630 Oxford	Dean and Chapter of Oxford	12688					X		EDC 5/1638/14	
Gatley Gee	James Robert	V. Leigh C. Tabley	Lancashire Cheshire	1620	Sir Richard Urmston	36268				X	X			
Gilbody	Robert	C. Lymm	Cheshire							X				
Glendole	John	R. St. Peter's, Chester	Cheshire	1628	Parishioners	26520				X				
Gore	William	C. Baddiley	Cheshire							X				
Gregg	John	C. Holmes Chapel	Cheshire							X				
Gregg Gregory	William Richard	V. Bolton-le-Moors C. Aldford	Lancashire Cheshire	1630 Bridgeman	Bishop	31887				X				
Hall	James	Manchester area	Lancashire										EDC 5/1639/3	
Halliday (or Halliley)	Robert	V. Middlewich	Cheshire	1616	Sir William Brereton of Brereton	31979			X			X		
Halsall	William	C. Whitegate	Cheshire						X					
Harper	John	C. Bolton-le-Moors	Lancashire							X				
Harwar	Thomas	C. Wrenbury	Cheshire							X				
Herle	Charles	R. Winwick	Lancashire	1626	Sir Edward Stanley	25676					X			
Holford	Thomas	P. C. Plumstall	Cheshire			32019							EDC 5/1637/32	
Hollinshead	Edward	Preached at Swettenham	Cheshire						X					
Holt	Richard	C. Goostrey	Cheshire							X				
Holt	William	C. Sandbach	Cheshire									X		
Hopwood	Edmund	Chaplain of Manchester collegiate church (C. Stretford)	Lancashire								X			
Hopwood	Richard	C. Great Budworth in 1628; C. Whitley in 1630	Cheshire			37144	X							
Horricks	Alexander	C. Deane	Lancashire			25687					X			
Hudson	Christopher	C. Walton-le-Dale	Lancashire			31038					X			

Puritan nonconformist clergyman in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources														
Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCEd Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1630 metropolitan visitation	1633 metropolitan visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (identified from catalogue; old style year of case within the reference)	Other
		Betley (Lichfield diocese); preached at Harthill	Cheshire											
Hulme	Ralph	F. Manchester collegiate church	Lancashire			13648				X			EDC 5/1631/29	
Johnson	Richard		Lancashire							X				
Johnson	Thomas	Preacher at Ellenbrook	Lancashire	There 1620		36977				X				
Johnson	Thomas	C. Rochdale	Lancashire			36980				X				
Jones	John	V. Eccles	Lancashire	1611	James I	36976				X				
Jones	John	C. Tarporley	Cheshire									X	EDC 5/1639/129	
Knott	Charles	R. Tattenhall	Cheshire		Bishop	36655				X				
Knott	James	C. Great Budworth	Cheshire	1625	Bridgeman	36657			X	X				
Lancaster	Nathaniel	C. St. Michael's, Chester	Cheshire			36446				X				
Langley	John	R. Prestwich	Lancashire		James Ashton of 1611 Chadderton	36453	X							
Langley	Thomas	L. Middlewich	Cheshire			36463			X					
Lawton	Thomas	C. Adlington	Cheshire			33208				X				
Lawton	William	R. Church Lawton	Cheshire	There 1592						X				
Lewis	William	V. Childwall	Lancashire		Bishop 1632 Bridgeman Dean and Chapter of Oxford	36542				X				
Lev	John	V. Great Budworth	Cheshire			13711	X			X				EDC 1/52 (7 June 1634)
Lingard	Richard	C. Goostrey	Cheshire	1616		36531	X			X				EDA 3/2, fo. 5 (2 August 1626)
Mallory	George	C. Mobbberley	Cheshire			36338	X			X				
Marion	Robert	C. Hale	Lancashire							X				
Mather	Richard	C. Toxteth	Lancashire							X				
Mather	Richard	C. Wotton	Cheshire							X				
Matthew	William	Preacher at Blackley	Lancashire							X				
Morris	John	V. Blackburn	Lancashire		Archbishop Bancroft of Canterbury									
Moxon	George	C. Chesle	Cheshire	1607		85531	X			X				
Moyle	Richard	C. Astbury	Cheshire							X				
Newton	Laurence	C. Church Minshull	Cheshire			14289				X				
Nicholls	William	R. Cheadle	Cheshire		Charles, Prince of Wales (due to minority)									
Norcott	William	C. Shotwick	Cheshire	1624		31495				X				X

Puritan nonconformist clergymen in Lancashire and Chesire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources														
Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCEd/ Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1630 metropolitanical visitation	1633 metropolitanical visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (identified from catalogue; old style year of case within the reference)	Other
Norman	Thomas	C. Birch	Lancashire			35174				X				
Nowell	John	C. Great Harwood	Lancashire			31504				X				
Osbaldeston	Mr.	C. Samlesbury	Lancashire							X				
Oseley	Richard	V. Weaverham	Cheshire	1623 Warburton	Peter	14404	X			X				
Parks	Mr.	Preacher at Gorton	Lancashire							X				
Pendlebury	James	V. Deane	Lancashire	There 1592		30102				X				
Pollitt	John	C. Prestwich	Lancashire							X				
Poole	Hugh	R. Bebington	Cheshire	1602 John Egerton		29248				X				
Barthand	William	C. Cockey	Lancashire							X				
Redman	Richard	C. Kirkby	Lancashire						X					
Ridgely	John	C. Westhoughton	Lancashire			35014				X				EDA 3/2, fo. 20v (13 November 1627)
Roades	Mr.	C. Ashworth	Lancashire							X				
Root	Mr.	Preacher at Cheadle	Lancashire							X				
Root	Henry	Preacher at Gorton	Cheshire							X				
Rowley	Francis	R. Copenhall	Lancashire	Perhaps 1630		34916				X				
Saring	John	C. Nantwich	Cheshire							X				
Shaw	Robert	V. Cockerham	Lancashire	1631	Roger Downes	24079				X				
Shaw	Thomas	R. Aldingham	Lancashire		Charles Revil /					X				
Shenton	William	V. Rosethorne	Cheshire	1625	Charles I	24103				X				
Smithson	Joseph	C. Whitgate	Cheshire	There 1624		24106		X						
Snell	George	R. Wallasey; R. Waverton	Cheshire	1619; 1633	Both by Bishop Bridgeman	17073				X				
Spradwell	Samuel	C. Over Peepier	Cheshire							X				
Sturropp	Ralph	C. Knutsford	Cheshire			29076	X							
Stringer	Ralph	C. Macclesfield	Cheshire							X				
Swan	John	C. Bunbury	Cheshire											
Thompson	William	C. Newton-in-Makerfield	Lancashire											
Tilson	Henry	V. Rochdale	Lancashire		Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury London	48357				X				
Torshelf	Samuel	Preacher at Bunbury	Cheshire	There 1630	Haberdashers' Company	34691					X			

Puritan nonconformist clergymen in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1625-1642, listed in official sources														
Surname	Forename	Living	County	Date of institution	Patron(s) (where known)	CCED Database	1625 triennial visitation	1628 triennial visitation	1630 triennial visitation	1630 metropolitanical visitation	1633 metropolitanical visitation	1634-1635 triennial visitation	Consistory court case files (identified from catalogue: old style year of case within the reference)	Other
Travers	Peter	R. Bury	Lancashire	1633	William, Earl of Derby	34631					X			
Walkden	Robert	R. Radcliffe	Lancashire	1624	Robert Holt, John Greenhalgh and Robert Heywood	30604					X			
Walls	George	C. Broughton-in-Amounderness	Lancashire							X				
Waish	Edward	C. Blackburn	Lancashire			34325	X							
Whitfield	Richard	C. Church Minshull	Cheshire					X						
Willan	Brian	C. Colton	Lancashire			30575							EDC 5/1639/83	
Wright	Andrew	C. Malpas	Cheshire			23956					X			
Yate	Thomas	C. Runcorn in 1630; C. Thornton-le-Moors in 1633	Cheshire			*			X					
		Curate of Wigan (possibly Robert Fogg, later R. Hoole)	Lancashire								X			
		Minister of Astbury	Cheshire				X							
		Minister of Congleton	Cheshire											
		Minister of Padham	Lancashire											

NB This table includes only clergymen (a), whose nonconformity is recorded in official sources, and (b), whose nonconformity is recorded whilst they held positions in Lancashire or Cheshire.

Appendix Three: The clerical signatories of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642

The petitioning activities of 1641-1642 are described in the depth in the fourth chapter of this thesis, so this notice will briefly outline the sources consulted. Sir Thomas Aston's two petitions in defence of the Church of England presented to the House of Lords on 27 February and 20 December 1641 are preserved in the House of Lords Main Papers held at the Parliamentary Archives in London.¹ Additionally, two letters of thanks sent, probably in the early summer of 1641, to Sir Thomas Aston and to his ally in the Lords, the earl of Bath, are preserved amongst Aston's papers in the British Library.² Also preserved in the British Library are an accommodation petition of the Cheshire gentry and clergy presented to King Charles I at York on 7 May 1642, and the much more substantial Cheshire Remonstrance organised in the summer of 1642, of which there is no evidence that it was ever presented to its intended recipients, the House of Commons.³

This spreadsheet is intended to illustrate which clergymen signed which petitions, as well as providing an indication of their political allegiances (so far as they are known) after 1642. It should be noted that although every effort has been made to identify clerical signatories to these two petition, its comprehensiveness cannot be guaranteed, as given that the original location of each sheet is not always stated, I was sometimes reliant on a clergyman identifying themselves by way of signing their name as 'clericus' or some other synonym, or by their signature being placed in a prominent location, such as at the head of the sheet.

¹ Parliamentary Archives, London, HLP/PO/JO/10/1/53; HLP/PO/JO/10/1/74.

² British Library, London, Additional MS, 36914, fos. 222r-225v.

³ British Library, Additional MS, 36913, fos. 60r-61v.; Harley MS, 2107.

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642									
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)
Acson	John	Handley (in 1633)	X					X	
Adams	Charles	Woodchurch					X		Parliamentarian
Anderton	William						X		Parliamentarian
Arnton	George	Adlington			X				
Bagley	William	Backford (in 1633)	X					X	Parliamentarian
Banner	Richard	Frodsham	X		X				
Barker	Arthur	Over	X		X		X		
Benson	Richard						X		Parliamentarian
Bentley	Thomas		X						
Birch	Edmund				X				
Bispham	William	Eccleston	X	X	X				Royalist
Bold	Ed.					X			
Bostock	George		X						
Bowry	Andrew						X		
Bowyer	Richard	Guiliden Sutton			X				
Bradshall	Robert		X						
Bridge	Thomas	Maipas (Upper Mediety)	X		X			X	Royalist
Bridgeman	Henry	Barrow	X						Royalist
Bridges	William	Grappenhall	X						Parliamentarian
Brookes	Thomas				X				Parliamentarian
Broughton	Richard	Fardon (in 1633)	X					X	
Browne	Gerard	Mottram-in-Longendale	X				X		Royalist
Burches	Peter				X				
Burghall	Edward	Bunbury			X		X		Parliamentarian
Bushell	Ghon [John?]				X				
Byrom	George	Thornton-le-Moors					X		Royalist
Carrington	Samuel	Davenham	X						Royalist
Catherall	Randall	Handley	X		X			X	

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642										
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)	
Catherall	Samuel	Appointed R. Swettenham in 1642	X		X		X	X	Turncoat (royalist to parliamentarian)	
Clarke	Essex	Tilston	X		X				Royalist	
Clarke	William	St. Martin's and St. Bridget's, Chester	X		X				Royalist	
Colly	Jonathan	Puiford			X		X			
Conny	John	St. John's and St. Oswald's, Chester	X	X	X	X		X	Died 1642	
Corpe	John		X							
Dentley	Thomas				X					
Dod	Thomas	Archdeacon of Richmond; Malpas (Lower Mediety); Astbury	X		X			X	Royalist	
Dorville	William	Bowdon	X		X				Royalist (though had probably left Cheshire by the outbreak of war)	
Du Moulin	Peter		X						Royalist	
Duckworth	Charles	Dodleston			X				Royalist	
Eaton	Laurence	Aldford			X			X	Royalist	
Eaton	Richard	Audlem				X			Parliamentarian	
Elcock	Anthony	Taxal			X				Royalist	
Fowler	John	Barthomley					X		Parliamentarian	
Fowler	Thomas	Whitchurch (Shropshire)	X						Royalist	
Frogge	John	Whitegate	X		X					
Gill	John	Plemstall			X		X			
Glegge	William	Heswall	X		X				Parliamentarian	

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642									
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)
Glendole	John	St. Peter's, Chester				X		X	Parliamentarian
Glover	Peter	Aldford			X				
Glover	Thomas	West Kirby	X		X				Royalist
Gorse	Roger	St. Michael's, St. Olave's, and St. Giles-without-Spitaelfield, Chester	X		X				Royalist
Gower	William						X		
Greene	Ed.	Wilmslow	X		X				
Greene	Francis	Neston	X		X				Royalist
Gregory	Richard	Aldford (in 1633)	X					X	
Guest	Randle	Little Budworth			X				Parliamentarian
Halliley	Robert	Middlewich					X	X	
Halsall	William	Siddington			X			X	
Harding	Randle		X						
Harrison	Richard	Warringham?			X				
Harwar	Thomas	Little Budworth?	X		X			X	
Hatton	Robert	Lymm					X		
Haughton	Thomas	Middlewich			X				
Hayes	James	Bromborough	X		X				Parliamentarian; ejected from Taxal, 1662, but later conformed
Hayhurst	Bradley		X						Royalist
Haywood	Rowland	Frodsham	X		X				
Holford	Richard	Northwich					X		
Holford	Thomas	Plenstall				X	X	X	Parliamentarian
Holland	Philip	Macclesfield			X		X		Royalist
Holt	Richard		X						
Horkenshuil	Joseph				X				

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642									
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)
Houghton	Aylmar	Barrow	X				X		
Hunt	Richard	Acton			X	X			Royalist
Ince	Peter	Christleton					X		
Jackson	Peter	Toft			X				
Johnson	John	Appointed R. Ashton-on-Mersey in June 1642			X				
Joynton	Thomas	Prestbury	X		X				Parliamentarian
Lancaster	Nathaniel	Tarporley				X	X	X	Parliamentarian
Lawton	Thomas	Adlington (in 1633)	X					X	
Leigh	Robert	Aldford			X				
Ley	John	Great Budworth				X	X	X	Parliamentarian
Lightfoot	Josiah	Davenport	X				X		
Mainwaring	George					X			Parliamentarian
Mallory	Thomas	Dean of Chester; Davenham;							
Mallory	Thomas	Mobberley	X		X				Royalist
Martin	Robert	Northenden	X		X				Royalist
Masterson	Henry	Aston	X		X				
Moreton	Edward	Tattenhall	X			X			Royalist
Mostyn	William	Archdeacon of Bangor; Christleton	X				X		Royalist
Newton	Laurence	Church Minshull	X		X			X	Royalist
Nicholls	William	Cheadle	X		X			X	Royalist
Normansell	Thomas		X						
Packe	John				X				
Parry	John	Dodleston?			X				

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642										
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)	
Peartree Perry	William William	Norton			X	X	X		Parliamentarian	
Pilkington Poole	John Hugh	St. John-without-the-Northgate, Chester Bebington	X		X			X	Royalist Royalist	
Poole	Ralph	Bebington			X				Turncoat (royalist to parliamentarian)	
Robinson	John	Brereton	X		X				Royalist	
Rowlandson	James	Middlewich			X				Royalist	
Rowley	Francis	Coppenhall			X		X	X	Royalist	
Sande	William									
Saring	John	Nantwich					X	X	Royalist	
Seddon	William	Eastham			X				Royalist	
Shelmerdine	Francis		X		X		X		Parliamentarian	
Shenton	William	Rostherne			X		X	X	Parliamentarian	
Sherlock	Richard	Woodchurch	X				X		Royalist	
Shipton	Samuel	Alderley			X				Royalist	
Smallwood	Matthew	Barrow, then Gawsworth	X		X				Royalist	
Smith	John	Bowdon	X				X		Apparently ejected 1643, but no explicit evidence of royalism.	
Smyth	Mr.	Waverton	X							
Smyth	William	Tattenhall?			X					
Snell	George	Archdeacon of Chester; Wallasey;								
Steer	Nicholas	Waverton	X		X		X	X	Royalist	
Stringer	Ralph	Eccleston					X	X	Parliamentarian	
		Macclesfield					X	X	Parliamentarian	

Clerical signatures of the Cheshire petitions, 1641-1642										
Surname	Forename	Living (in 1641 unless otherwise stated)	Episcopacy petition, February 1641	Thanks to Sir Thomas Aston and Lord Bath, c. summer 1641	BCP petition, December 1641	Accommodation petition, c. spring 1642	Attestation, August 1642	Puritan nonconformist during Charles I's reign	Political allegiance after 1642 (as far as can be discerned)	
Swann	John	Weaverham					X	X		
Thornton	Robert		X							
Torshell	Samuel	Bunbury					X	X	Parliamentarian	
Trafford	Henry		X		X					
Tudman	Thomas	Sandbach	X		X				Royalist	
Vaughan	Richard				X					
Wakefield	Roger	Kiddington, Oldcastle, Choriton, and Newton	X							
Wood	Andrew	Warringham			X					
Worthington	Robert	Mottram-in-Longdendale					X		Parliamentarian	
Williams	Robert	Tattenhall?			X					
Wilson	John		X							
Wilson	Richard	Holy Trinity, Chester	X	X					Royalist	
Wright	Ralph	Harthill	X		X				Royalist	
Wright	Robert	Poynton	X		X				Royalist	
Wright	Thomas	Wilmslow	X		X		X		Royalist	

Appendix Four: Clerical ejections and clerical royalism in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1642-1649, with notes on scandal and religious disaffection

In many ways, calculating the scale of clerical royalism is an easier exercise than calculating the scale of clerical parliamentarianism. A. G. Matthews' gazetteer of clergy ejected from their livings during the 1640s and the 1650s provides an excellent starting point, and only generally omits ejections which are uncovered after much traipsing through local records.¹ Two of Matthews' primary sources, John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and Walker's manuscripts preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, also contain useful details, though they may not always be accurate (and as such, claims in the tabulations which come solely from either Walker or his manuscripts are highlighted).² In his account sent to John Walker in October 1705, Griffith Vaughan reported the great pains which had been inflicted upon Francis Rowley, his predecessor as rector of Coppenhall in Cheshire, when he was ejected by his parishioners. With 'the greater part of the parish being on the parliament side', after 'the parliament began to get the better they still more barbarously abus'd and insulted him', including mutilating his horses, and setting fire to the parsonage house with him asleep inside. In the light of these abuses, Rowley 'was forc'd to quitt the living, and went afterwarde to Madeley in Staffordshire and taught a small school'.³

Whether to take Vaughan's account at face value is a problem which historians have to confront when dealing with the claims of Walker's correspondents. Certainly to Vaughan, Rowley's abusers seem to have had an iconoclastic dimension to their activities inspired by a popular puritanism, for after his ejection, 'they broke the Church windows all pieces, which were very fine painted Glass, they danc'd a Jigg in the Church yard with the Surplice, pull'd down the stone cross in the Church yard, and cutt down a good part of the Timber growing upon the Glebe'.⁴ Other evidence, though, suggests that Rowley had long had tense relations with his parishioners, and raises the issue of whether there were ulterior motives for the parishioners in pursuing his ejection. At Archbishop Richard Neile of York's metropolitanical visitation of the diocese of Chester in 1633, whilst in

¹ A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948).

² John Walker, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, & c. who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, & c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (2 vols., London: J. Roberts, 1714); Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS J. Walker.

³ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 3, fo. 269.

⁴ Bodleian Library, MS J. Walker, c. 3, fo. 269.

most parishes the visitors dealt with cases of decayed church buildings, minor acts of clerical puritanism, and reports of fornicating parishioners, at Coppenhall it seems clear that the visitors came across a serious case of strained lay-clerical relations. Rowley was accused of having assaulted the sexton, of not giving his parishioners the required week's notice that he was going to administer communion, and of various liturgical offences, with his alleged omission of the Gospel reading from some Sunday services suggesting that these offences were not necessarily inspired by puritanism. Revealingly, the visitors also heard 'that he is very contentious with his neighbours'.⁵ Whilst it may be true that many parishioners in Coppenhall came to support Parliament after 1642, that does not in itself mean that Rowley was an active royalist. It may be the case that he did not share his parishioners' enthusiasm for Parliament, but neither did he necessarily contribute to the royalist cause either. It could be the case that the ensuing conflict provided Rowley's parishioners to rid themselves of a minister with whom they had long been disillusioned.

Further details about clerical ejections and royalism can be uncovered from other sources, such as M. A. E. Green's calendar of the committee for compounding with delinquents, and also in the original records of that committee, found in the series SP 23 at the National Archives at Kew.⁶ For Cheshire, the sequestration accounts in the British Library contain much detail about clerical sequestrations.⁷ For Lancashire and Cheshire, Matthews' gazetteer entries are embellished by (and indeed, he made much use of) the work of William Shaw, particularly his two volume edition of the minutes and orders of the Committee for Plundered Ministers concerning Lancashire and Cheshire, his three volume edition of the minutes of the Manchester presbyterian classis, and a further two volumes of the minutes of the Bury presbyterian classis.⁸ Further details are also gleaned from Henry Fishwick's edition of the Lancashire church survey of 1650 (often regarded as the fullest of the county church surveys

⁵ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, V. 1633, Court Book 2, fos. 510v.-511r.

⁶ *Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643 – 1660*, ed. M. A. E. Green (5 vols., London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1889-1892).

⁷ British Library, London, Harley MS, 1943, 1999, 2018, 2126, 2128, 2130, 2136, 2137, 2144, 2166, 2173, 2174.

⁸ *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896); *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891); *Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657*, ed. William A. Shaw, 2 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xxxvi, xli (1896-1898).

attempted during the 1640s and the 1650s), which also included the fragments of a partial church survey in Cheshire undertaken in 1655.⁹

The official records of ejections generally make a point of the royalism of the ejected cleric, through the use of terms such as ‘malignant’ or ‘delinquent’. John Morrill and Norman Dore have argued that some ejections in Cheshire may be more a result of intra-parliamentarian tensions than of royalism, with the ejections of Gerard Browne at Mottram-in-Longdendale and of Edmund Shalcross at Stockport being highlighted. However, Morrill and Dore’s argument is unpersuasive, being based on evidence created some ten years later by a disgruntled (and somewhat victimised) former parliamentarian, so clerics such as Browne and Shalcross have been included as royalists in my calculations.¹⁰

I have also decided to include as royalists those clergymen who are known to have had connections with the city of Chester whilst it was a royalist garrison. This does present some problems. Essex Clarke, the rector of Tilston in Cheshire, continued to collect the revenues from his prebend from the Cathedral treasurer whilst the city was in royalist hands, and has thus been included as a royalist, though he was ultimately only ejected from his prebend and not from his rectory. In contrast, the parliamentarian John Ley, who had fled to London, did not collect the revenues of his prebend.¹¹ Very little is known about many of the city clergy, and in most cases, they simply disappear from the records after the surrender in February 1646 rather than being subjected to formal ejection proceedings, perhaps because their livings were of such small value. Also, I have included clergy who have been claimed in secondary literature to have been resident in Chester garrison, though sadly, references have sometimes not been given in such works to check the accuracy of such claims.¹²

Ministers who were investigated by the Committee for Scandalous Ministers have been included as royalists, as this committee often investigated suspected royalists. However, investigations for ‘scandalous’ behaviour have not been included, though royalism could potentially have

⁹ *Lancashire and Cheshire Commonwealth Church Surveys*, ed. Henry Fishwick, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i (1879).

¹⁰ John Morrill and R. N. Dore, ‘The Allegiance of the Cheshire Gentry in the Great Civil War’, *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxxvii (1967), 67-75.

¹¹ See the accounts for between 1642 and 1646 in Cheshire Record Office, Chester, EDD 3913/1/4.

¹² See, for example, M. J. Crossley Evans, ‘The Clergy of the City of Chester, 1630-1672’, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, lxxviii (1985), 113-114. Crossley Evans’ article contains several biographical details of Chester clergy which I have included in my spreadsheets.

fallen under this label. However, for reference purposes I have provided separate tabulations of ministers accused of either scandal or of religious disaffection. It should be noted, though, that in the latter category, whilst there was sometimes some overlap with royalism, some of those accused of disaffection towards presbyterianism were distinctly anti-royalist, such as the Irish congregationalist and sometime army chaplain, Michael Briscoe.¹³

I have also included a separate tabulation of clerical ejections between 1642 and 1649. This is to take account of several cases, particularly in Lancashire, where it is possible that an ejection had taken place, but there is no definite evidence to confirm this.¹⁴ As it would be misleading to assume automatically that such clerics were royalists, it has thus been decided to create a separate tabulation; indeed, there is one case in the two counties where a parliamentary cleric seems to have given up a living due to pluralism.¹⁵ Conversely, not all clerics suspected of royalism were ejected, so tabulating royalist and ejected clergy separately allows for such disparities to be taken account of, plus there are a number of cases (particularly in Lancashire) where an ejection seems likely but cannot be proved definitively. Also, I have included as ejected Robert Morgan, a prebendary of Chester Cathedral who held livings outside of Cheshire, but I have excluded Essex Clarke and John Ley, two clergymen who, whilst losing their prebends, retained their parish livings (and in any case, Ley was granted dispensation by the Committee for Plundered Ministers in June 1646 to retain the revenues of his former prebend).¹⁶ The two other deprived prebendaries, Charles Duckworth and Edward Moreton, are included as ejected anyway due to them having also lost their parochial livings.

A brief point should be made about ‘turncoats’, of whom there has been recent work (on gentry turncoats) by Andrew Hopper.¹⁷ The main form of ‘turncoat’ that is witnessed in Lancashire and Cheshire are clergy who claimed their loyalty to Parliament when under threat of ejection for alleged royalism, and even then, what we witness is perhaps more of a disavowal of an earlier royalism rather than a genuine conversion from one form of activism to another. After the regicide, there is also witnessed the phenomenon of ‘presbyterian royalism’ amongst some clergymen who felt

¹³ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 76-77.

¹⁴ William Bourne, vicar of Whalley; Robert Broadbelt, vicar of Lytham; Richard Collingwood, vicar of Bolton-le-Sands; Robert Freckleton, curate of Bispham; Richard Hardy, vicar of Deane; Peter Shaw, rector of Radcliffe.

¹⁵ Richard Jackson in Lancashire, who appears to have given up his rectory of Halton whilst retaining his rectory of Whittington.

¹⁶ *Plundered Ministers*, ed. Shaw, xxviii. 150-151.

¹⁷ Andrew James Hopper, ‘The Self-Fashioning of Gentry Turncoats during the English Civil Wars’, *Journal of British Studies*, xlix (2010), 236-257.

alienated from the Rump Parliament's regime via the execution of Charles I as they believed that the regicide represented a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant.¹⁸ However, given the post-regicidal nature of 'presbyterian royalism' (we have already seen in the fifth chapter of this thesis the attempts of Lancashire clergymen to distance themselves from the Duke of Hamilton's invasion force defeated at Preston in August 1648), this phenomenon is not explored in this thesis.

¹⁸ For one example (via a criticism of the Engagement) by Edward Gee, the minister at Eccleston in Lancashire, see his *A Plea for Non-Subscribers* (no place: no printer, 1650), passim.

Lancashire: Clerical ejections, 1642-1649

Lancashire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources
Allen	Isaac	R. Prestwich	1632	Edmund Ashton of Chadderton	Investigated twice, in 1643 and 1645. After second investigation, ejected for royalism and liturgical conservatism by county committee, before September 1646; ordered to vacate living by 1 May 1647.	County committee	Restored 1656, died February 1660	22746	Substantial collections in Bodleian, MS J. Walker, cs. 3, 5; TNA, SP 23/158; other relevant entries in CPM; M/PC; WR
Blackburn	Thomas	C. Rivington	Mid-1640s		Ejected by Bury classis, May 1647	Bury classis	C. Newton-in-Makerfield, 1650		B/PC; WR
Boardman	Samuel	Fellow of Manchester collegiate church	1629	Richard Murray (warden)	Abolition of college, 1645	Walker says that he afterwards complied with the times. The list of vicars in Whalley church claims that Bourne's successors were intruders, though I have found no substantiating evidence.	CCED conflates together two William Bournes. The Whalley Bourne was in conflict with the Ashteton family (parliamentarian gentry) during the 1630s.	9396	FMCC; WR
Bourne	William	V. Whalley	1632	Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury	POSSIBLE. Successor in place 1644, no evidence in parish registers of Bourne having died			30988	Staffordshire RO, D1287/18/2 (1006/3)
Brideoak	Ralph	R. Standish	Predessor died 1644		1644, according to HLP in 1660				WR
Bridgeman	John	R. Wigan	1616	James I	Sequestered 1643; successor in place by 1644.		Bishop of Chester. Resident in Chester when a royalist garrison, but fled to Conwy before the end of the siege. Episcopacy abolished 1646.	21324	ODNB; WR; Clarendon
Broadbelt	Robert	V. Lytham	There 1639	Possibly Clifton family of Lytham	POSSIBLE. Successor in place pre-11 November 1646. Parish registers do not survive.	Speculated by VCH, though was certainly absent c. 1646-1660	Broadbelt minister again after 1660, will proven 1674	30957	VCH
Clare	Andrew	R. Walton-on-the-Hill	1639	Molyneux (minor) / Charles I	Sequestered by CPM, 18 March 1645	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Also R. Ickenham, Middlesex; preached in Paris, 1652	85279	SP 29/12, fo. 81r.

Lancashire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Collingwood	Richard	V. Bolton-le-Sands	1641	Bishop Bridgeman	POSSIBLE. VCH says that his successor, John Jacques, was 'put in' by Parliament c. 1644. Parish registers do not survive.		Parish registers do not survive.		VCH
Day	Richard	V. Prescott	1643	King's College, Cambridge	Suspended 1646-1647 on suspicion of royalism, but restored.	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Died at Prescott, 12 April 1650	33961	CPM
Fairfax	Henry	R. Ashton-under-Lyne	1619	Thomas, Lord Fairfax (Henry's father)	Claimed as ejected by a correspondent to John Walker; in York when a royalist garrison.		Prebendary of York Minster	33337	ODNB; WR
Freckleton	Robert	C. Bispham; V. Poulton-le-Fylde	At Poulton, 1645	John Browne	POSSIBLE. Resided in Chester when a royalist garrison; John Summer minister at Poulton in 1646.	Minister by 1648 at Backford, Cheshire, where he signed the Attestation			VCH
Hardy	Richard	V. Deane	1637	Charles I	POSSIBLE. John Tilsley appointed as vicar, August 1643. No burial record - parish registers only partially complete 1642-1644.	Speculated by VCH, but is the Christopher Anderton listed at Deane by John Walker (actually the lay rector) perhaps a mistake for Hardy?		30768	VCH; WR
Hill	Robert	C. Edenfield	There 1647		Inhibited by Bury classis in October 1647, for independency rather than conservatism.	Bury classis			BPC
Jackson	Richard	R. Halton	1635	Charles I	Seems to have given up living by 1646, and restored by 1662. Also R. Whittington, which he retained. PARLIAMENTARIAN.	Ejection not formally recorded - perhaps a resignation		31099	VCH; CCS
Johnson	Richard	Fellow of Manchester collegiate church	1632	Richard Murray (warden)	Resident in Chester garrison, transcripts of three sermons, preached 1644-1645; in Raines.	College abolished 1645	Master of the Temple, London, 1647-1658.	13648	FMCC; WR
Langley	William	Edenfield	There by 1648 (C. Oldham in 1642)		In dispute with the Bury classis during 1648, ignored their inhibitions.	Bury classis			BPC

Lancashire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources
Lewis	William	V. Childwall	1632	Bishop Bridgeman	CWA show that David Ellison had been intruded by 1643.		Buried at Childwall, 6 January 1660.	36542	CWA; WR
Marshall	Nicholas	V. Urswick	1621	Christopher Gardner, Thomas Fell, Thomas Marshall	Already sequestered by CC when CPM ordered for his removal, 4 December 1646.	County committee	Still vicar in 1650 church survey, when 'scandalous in life and negligent'.	8765	CPM; CCS; WR
Moreton	Edward	R. Sefton	1639	Richard, 2nd Lord Molyneux (minor) / Charles I	Pre-September 1645, when compounded with his father, William Moreton of Little Moreton, Cheshire.		Also R. Tattenhall, Cheshire; prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1645.	32174	CCC; WR
Nelson	Gilbert	R. Tatham	1629	Henry Parker of Hornby Castle	Pre-18 September 1646, when his wife was granted fifth		Master of Sedbergh School, Yorkshire, 1623-1646, when sequestered by county committee; buried at Tatham, 26 June 1648.	31486	CPM; WR
Parr	Richard	R. Ecclestone	1628	Charles I	Edward Gee (Parr's curate) had succeeded Parr by 1643.		Bishop of Sodor and Man; died 1644.	28547	ODNB; WR
Rigby	Edward	R. Brindle	1640	William, Earl of Devonshire	Pre-7 December 1646, when Thomas Cranage referred to Westminster Assembly for admission.	County committee			CPM; WR
Shaw	Henry	C. Liverpool	1630	Elected by Mayor and burgesses	Elected every year until 1643, when Joseph Tompson was elected.	Perhaps voted out of office (Liverpool = parliamentarian)	Still listed as a burgess in January 1645. Probably the Henry Shaw who was minister at Upholland by 1646 (listed in classis ordinance).	34860	Chandler and Wilson
Shaw	Peter	Fellow of Manchester CC; R. Radcliffe	c. 1631-1634; 1638	At former, Richard Murray (warden); at latter, Ralph Assheton of Middleton	POSSIBLE. Thomas Pyke minister there in 1646. No evidence in parish registers.		Died c. 1657	26047	FMCC; WR

Lancashire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources
Simmonds	Robert	C. Middleton	1640s (C. Manchester in 1642)		Suspended by Bury classis, June 1648	Bury classis	John Walker gives an account of his imprisonment at Manchester. C. Shaw, 1648; R. Dalbury, Derbyshire, 1652.	77333	BPC; WR
Starkie	Laurence	V. Huyton	1615	Sir Richard Molyneux	Starkie still vicar in 1648, William Bell minister there by 1650; Starkie buried at Huyton in March 1654 (PR).			32531	PR
Travers	Peter	R. Bury; R. Halsall	1633; 1634	At former, William, Earl of Derby; at latter, possibly Sir Charles Gerard	Sequestered at former, 24 April 1645; pre-13 December 1645 at latter, when successor admitted.	Committee for Plundered Ministers at Bury	Died c. 1654	34631	CPM; CCC; WR
Warriner	Thomas	C. Colne	c. 1636	According to John Walker, nominated by Archbishop Laud of Canterbury	John Walker received an account of him being driven from the living by two soldiers; parishioners prevented them from killing him.		Buried at Otley, Yorkshire, 21 April 1646.		WR
Wildbore	Augustine	V. Garstang; V. Lancaster	1621; 1630	At former, James I; at latter, Thomas Farington and Charles I	Pre-9 October 1643 at latter, pre-10 April 1645 at former, when successors admitted.		Buried at Duffield, Derbyshire, 19 April 1654. Compounded 1649.	23981	Shaw's list; CCC; WR

Lancashire: Clerical royalists, 1642-1649

Lancashire: Royalist clergy, June 1642 - January 1649																		
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable and known)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (from contemporary sources unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching advice	Private royalist quarters	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Unspecified Investigation	Possible parliamentarianism?
Allen	Isaac	R. Prestwich	1632	Chadderton	Investigated twice, in 1643 and 1645. After second investigation, ejected for royalism and liturgical conservatism by county committee, before September 1646; ordered to vacate living by 1 May 1647.	County committee	Restored 1656, died February 1660	22746	CPM, MPC		X	X	X			X (money)		X (denied being a royalist)
Blackburn	Thomas	C. Rivington			Ejected by Bury classis, May 1647	Bury classis	C. Newton-in-Makerfield, 1650	BPC			X							
Brideau	Ralph	R. Standish			1644, according to HLP in 1660		Bishop of Chester. Resident in Chester when a royalist garrison, but fled to Conwy before the end of the siege. Episcopacy abolished 1646.	WR	X					X				
Bridgeman	John	R. Wigan	1616	James I	Sequestered 1643; successor in place by 1644.			ODNB; WH; 21324	Ciarendon	X				X		X (leadership)		
Brooke	John	C. Carmel Fell	There 1637		Had been replaced by the late 1650s, had possibly died.			CCS	X									

Lancashire: Royalist clergy, June 1642 - January 1649																
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Paron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable and known)	Other	CCEd Database ID Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (from contemporary sources unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching advice	Private royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Unspecified investigation	Possible parliamentarianism?
Chedwick	John	R. Standish	1640	Wise man of Maylands and Henry Herys Richard, 2nd Lord Molyneux (minor) / 1639 Charles I	Died 1644, not ejected	Not ejected	Also R. Ickenham, Middlesex; preached in Paris, 1652	Farrington 106307 Papers						X (read royalist declaration)		
Clare	Andrew	R. Walton-on-the-Hill			Sequestered by CPM, 18 March 1645	Committee for Plundered Ministers		85279 81r.		X						
Day	Richard	V. Prescott	1643	King's College, Cambridge	NOT ROYALIST. Suspended 1646-1647 on suspicion of royalism, but restored after investigation.	Committee for Plundered Ministers (suspended, but restored after investigation).	Died at Prescott, 12 April 1650	33961 CPM			X					X (denied being a royalist)
Fairfax	Henry	R. Ashton-under-Lyne		Thomas, Lord Fairfax (Henry's 1619 father)	Claimed as ejected by a correspondent to John Walker, in York when a royalist garrison	According to Walker correspondent, ejected by soldiers.	Prebendary of York Minister	33337 ODNB; WR					X (ODNB)			
Freigate	Samuel	C. Bredshaw	There 1648		Accused of royalism by parishioners at Middleton after Bury classis suggested him as a possible minister, October 1648.			BPC	X							
Freckleton	Robert	C. Bispham; V. Poulton-le-Fyde		At Bispham c. 1634; At Poulton, John Browne 1645	In Chester when it surrendered, February 1646. Minister at Backford, Cheshire, by 1648.	Possibly, but no definite evidence of ejection	Son-in-law to predecessor, Peter White	VCH					X (Chester, see VCH)			

Lancashire: Royalist clergy, June 1642 - January 1649																		
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable and known)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency	Loyalty to King (1660 petition)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Private advice	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Unspecified investigation	Possible parliamentarianism?
Heblethwaite	Robert	V. Welling	1633	Charles I	Articled against before the Lancashire Committee of Scandalous Ministers, July 1645.	No evidence of ejection	Probate granted 1647	25668	CPM								X	X (administered the Covenant, 1645)
Kempe	William	Minister at Hawkshead	There 1646		Ejected as R. Podimore, Somerset, for royalism, 1645. Again ejected as minister of Windermere, Westmorland, 1657.	Not ejected at Hawkshead	Named in Presbyterian classis ordinance, October 1646.	57957	WR; Nightingale, 1039-1045	X	X				X (in Somerset)			X (named in classis ordinance, 1646)
Lewis	William	V. Chibwell	1632	Bishop Bridgeman	CWA show that David Ellison had been intruded by 1643.		Tattenhall, Cheshire; prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1645.	36542	CWA; WR	X								
Moreton	Edward	R. Serton	1639	Charles I	Pre-September 1645, when compounded with his father, William Moreton of Little Moreton, Cheshire.	County committee	Compounded 1645.	32174	CCC; WR	X	X				X			
Polett	John	C. Chorlton; C. Milnrow	At Chorlton in 1639; at Milnrow in 1647		Accused of royalism by Bury classis in 1648, but no evidence of ejection. Had taken the Solemn League and Covenant.	No evidence of ejection			BPC	X		X						X (administered the Covenant, 1645)
Rigby	Edward	R. Brindle	1640	William, Earl of Devonshire	Pre-7 December 1646, when Thomas Crenage referred to Westminster County committee for admission.	County committee			CFM; WR						X	X (bore arms)		

Lancashire: Royalist clergy, June 1642 - January 1649																	
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable and known)	Other	CCEd Database ID Sources	Malignancy / delinquency	Loyalty to King (1660 petition)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching advice	Private royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Unspecified investigation	Possible parliamentarianism?	
Rutter	Samuel	Chaplain to the Stanley family	Not applicable		Present in the garrison at Lathom House		CCEd conflates together two Samuel Rutters	31549 ODNB					X	X (leadership)			
Travers	Peter	R. Bury, R. Halsall	1633; 1634	At former, William, Earl of Derby; at latter, possibly Sir Charles Gerard	Sequestered at former, 24 April 1645; pre-13 December 1645 at latter, when successor admitted.	Committee for Plundered Ministers at Bury	Died c. 1654	34631 CCC, WR	X		X (Walker)		X				
Wildbore	Augustine	V. Garstang, V. Lancaster	1621; 1630	James I at former; Thomas Farrington and Charles I at latter	Pre-9 October 1643 at latter; pre-10 April 1645 at former; when successors admitted.	Sequestered	Buried at Duffield, Derbyshire, 19 April 1654. Compounded 1649.	Shaw's list; 23981 CCC, WR	X				X				

Lancashire: Allegations of religious misconduct, 1645-1649

Lancashire: Chronology account of religious misconduct, all post-1645																	
Surname	Name	Living(s)	CCEd database	Year of institution	Details, including election (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	Sources	CCEd Database ID	Religious reasons (after 1645)	Verbal criticisms of reform	Ceremonialism	Recent episcopal ordination	Churchwide marriage	Neglect of facts	Irregular administration of sacraments	Independency
Allen	Isaac	R. Priestwhitch	22746	1632	Investigated twice in 1643 and 1645. After second investigation, ejected for royalism and liturgical conservatism by county committee, before September 1646; ordered to vacate living by 1 May 1647.	County committee	Restored 1656, died February 1660	CNVI; MPC	22746	X	X	X	X				
Blackburn	Thomas	C. Rivington		1647	Ejected by Bury classis, May 1647	Bury classis	C. Newton-in-Makerfield, 1650	BPC; WR				X					
Bray	Nicholas	V.S. Michael's-on-Wyre	23117	1628	John Vicars, Dagon Denonfield (1668) claimed that Bray was an Independent; neither Bray nor his parish included in 1646 classis ordinance.	Not ejected		John Vicars, Dagon Denonfield (1660)	23117								X
Briscoe	Michael	Walmsley		There 1648	Reported to the Bury classis August 1648, on suspicion of competition to presbyterianism.	Not ejected		BPC									X
Gilbody	Robert	Holcombe		There 1647	Suspended by Bury classis, August 1645.	Bury classis	C. Haslingden, 1650	BPC		X				X			
Hill	Robert	Ederfield		There 1647	Inhibited by Bury classis in October 1647, for independency and scandal.	Bury classis		BPC			X						X
Langley	William	Ederfield		At Ederfield in 1648; C. Oldham in 1642	In dispute with the Bury classis during 1648, had usurped minister's place, ignored the classis' inhibitions.	Bury classis		BPC									
Pollatt	John	C. Chorlton; Millinow		At Chorlton in 1638; at Millinow in 1647	Accused of royalism by Bury classis in 1648, but no evidence of ejection.	No evidence of ejection		BPC		X							
Simmonds	Robert	C. Middleton	77333	1640s	Suspended by Bury classis, June 1648	Bury classis	John Walker gives an account of his imprisonment at Manchester, c. Shaw, 1648; R. Dalbury, Derbyshire, 1652.	BPC	77333		X						
Woolmer	Edward	R. Flinton	16236	There 1622	Reported to the Manchester classis in 1647 for performing 'illicit' marriages, but not ejected.	No other evidence of any conservatism, and no evidence of any prosecution by the rector, buried at Manchester classis; Flinton 8 May 1660.	Manchester classis; Flinton 8 May 1660.	MPC	16236					X			

Lancashire: Allegations of scandalous conduct, 1642-1649

Lancashire: Clergymen accused of scandal, August 1642 - January 1649																
Surname	Name (Living?)	Year of institution	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body (if applicable)	Other	Sources	CCEd Database ID	Unspecified scandal	Scandalous conduct	Neglect of cure	Drunkenness	Festive culture	Profane company	Swearing	B blasphamy	Also accused of royalism
Blackburn	Thomas	Still a fellow of Brasenose, Oxford, in 1643	Ejected by Bury classis, May 1647	Bury classis	C. Newton-in-Makerfield, 1650	BPC, WR		X		X			X			X
Core	Francis	There 1647	Accused of scandal in 1650		At Tockholes by December 1650	CCS		X								
Dewhurst	Robert	There 1646	Accused of 'gross scandals' in 1647, but still there in 1650.			CPM		X								
Furness	Toby	Prestwich	Investigated by Manchester classis, 1647-1648, but acquitted.	Acquitted	Also accused of refusing to administer the sacraments.	MPC				X						
Gilbody	Robert	Holcombe	Suspended by the Bury classis, August 1649	Bury classis	C. Haslingden by 1650	BPC				X						
Hill	Robert	Ederfield	Inhibited by Bury classis in October 1647, for independency rather than conservatism.	Bury classis		BPC									X	
Lumley	John	C. Pilling	Reported in the 1650 CCS as 'silenced for several misdemeanors'.			CCS			X (CCS, 1650)							
Marshall	Nicholas	V. Urswick	Already sequestered by CC when CPM ordered for his removal, 4 December 1646.	County committee	Still vicar in 1650 CCS, when 'scandalous in life and negligent'.	CPM; CCS; WR										
Pollett	John	C. Choriton; Milnrow	Accused of royalism by Bury classis in 1648, but no evidence of ejection.	No evidence of ejection		BPC				X		X	X	X	X	X
Tomlinson	Richard	V. Dalton-in-Furness	Reported by other ministers to CPM for 'several grosse 1651 scandals', February 1647.	No evidence of ejection		CPM										34716; X

Cheshire: Clerical ejections, 1642-1649

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Alnsworth	William	Lecturer in Chester	1644	Chester Corporation	Resident in Chester garrison, no longer there minister after surrender, February 1646.	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison	Previously ministered in Yorkshire. Petition and order for payments as lecturer in 1644 recorded in CRO, Z AB/2, fos. 66r, 67v.	22726	CRO, Z AB/2; Crossley Evans; Marchant
Biddulph	Henry	Minor canon of Chester Cathedral			Received payment from Cathedral treasurer, 1643. Lost office with abolition of episcopacy, 1646.	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison	Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CPM.		CRO, EDD 3913/1/4; Crossley Evans; WR; CPM
Bispham	William	R. Lymm (Warburton Mediety); R. Eccleston	Lymm 1627; at Eccleston by 1636	Charles I at Lymm (minority of Peter Warburton)	At Lymm by June 1643; pre-2 July 1644 at Eccleston, when successor appointed.		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral	23577	WR; CCC
Bold	Thomas	Master of Macclesfield School	1631		Listed as sequestered in 1645				BL Harley MS 2130; WR
Bordman	Gabriel	C. Bidston	c. 1632	Bishop Bridgeman	Ejected 17 August 1647	Committee for Plundered Ministers			Ormerod; CPM; WR
Bridge	Thomas	R. Malpas (Upper Medlety)	1625	Thomas Stafford	Ejected by June 1648, when successor signed Attestation. Signed surrender articles of Chester, February 1646.		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1649.	25611	Urwick; Morris; WR; CCC
Bridgeman	Henry	R. Barrow (Cheshire); R. Bangor (Flintshire)	1639; 1641	Orlando Bridgeman; James, Lord Strange	Ejected by June 1648, when successor signed Attestation. Signed surrender articles of Chester, February 1646.	Sir William Brereton at Barrow; county committee at Bangor	Son of Bishop John Bridgeman	9735	Urwick; WR

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Bridgeman	John	Bishop of Chester	1619	James I	Resided in Chester when a royalist garrison, but fled to Conwy before the end of the siege; episcopacy abolished 1646.	Parliamentary ordinance	Also R. Wigan, Lancashire	21324	ODNB; Crossley Evans
Browne	Gerard	V. Mottram-in-Longendale	1637	Bishop Bridgeman	Ejected 1643	Pursued out of living by six men, five of whom were parishioners.	Approved by Bury classis as minister of Blackrod, Lancashire, November 1647.		Ormerod; CPM; WR; BPC; Earwaker
Burches	George	R. Woodchurch; also at St. John's, Chester, when the city was a royalist garrison	Not recorded, but early 1640s	Not recorded	Pre-9 May 1646, when wife was granted fifth		Also ministered at St. John's, Chester, when city was a royalist garrison; C. Witton, Cheshire, by c. 1648.		CPM; WR; St. John's CWA
Byrom	George	R. Thornton-le-Moors	1615	Probably Peter Warburton	Pre-3 July 1646, when successor appointed	County committee	Appointed R. Chingford, Essex, by CPM, 3 December 1646.	31002	Ormerod; WR
Carrington	Samuel	C. Davenham		Curate to Thomas Mallory	Pre-1648, when on list of sequestered		V. Reighton, Yorkshire, by time of 1660 petition.		WR; TNA SP 29/36, fo. 84r.
Catherall	Samuel	R. Swettenham; R. Handley	Both 1643	John Davenport; Margaret Catherall	Pre-1648, when on list of sequestered	Possibly only ejected from Swettenham; signed Attestation at Handley in 1648	Petitioned House of Lords in 1660 for restoration to Swettenham only.	31007	WR; CCC
Clarke	William	R. St. Martin's; St. Bridget's, both Chester; also minor canon of the Cathedral	1637; 1638	Both rectories by Bishop Bridgeman	Resident in Chester garrison, no longer minister there after surrender, February 1646. Received payment from Cathedral treasurer, 1643.	Surrender of Chester garrison - ordered to leave his house in Abbey Court, Chester	Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CPM.		CRO, EDD 3913/1/4; Crossley Evans; Ormerod; WR; CPM

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Dod	Thomas	Archdeacon of Richmond; R. Astbury; R. Malpas (Lower Medley)	1607; 1607; 1623	At Astbury, Ralph Egerton of Ridley; at Malpas, James I	From Astbury, pre-27 August 1646, when successor appointed; from Malpas, by June 1648 when successor signed <i>Attestation</i> .	County committee at Astbury; deputy-lieutenants at Malpas	Received second presentation at Malpas from Edward Wright, John Dod and John Stockton. Petitioned 20 December 1647, but buried at Malpas 10 February 1647/48.	24030	Unwick; CPM; WR
Domville	William	V. Bowdon	There by 1639	Not recorded, but probably Bishop Bridgeman	By June 1643, when listed as sequestered	County committee		35933	Ormerod; CPM; WR
Duckworth	Charles	R. Dodleston	1635	William Glegg	Pre-8 October 1646, when successor appointed. Resident in Chester when a royalist garrison; received payment for prebendary, 1643.		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1649.	12838	CRO, EDD 3913/1/4; CPM; WR; Crossley Evans
Eaton	Laurence	R. Aldford	1639	Possibly William Moreton of Little Moreton	Pre-21 December 1646, when successor appointed	County committee; John Walker claimed that he was ejected by soldiers			CPM; WR
Edwards	Francis	R. Heswall	1624	John Edwards	Pre-21 November 1646, when successor appointed. Resident in Chester garrison, but went to Conwy with Bishop Bridgeman.	County committee	Fled to Chester and then Anglesey, but later returned to Heswall, buried there 20 November 1653.	33293	CPM; WR ; Crossley Evans
Elcock	Anthony	R. Taxal R. Whitchurch	1633	Edmund Downes	Ejected by 1644, when successor was in place.		Minister at Methley, Yorkshire, by c. 1650.	12466	WR
Fowler	Thomas	(Shropshire, but parish extended into Cheshire)	1631	Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby	Pre-9 July 1645, when order for fifth granted to his wife	Shropshire and Cheshire county committees			
Glover	Thomas	R. West Kirby	1631	Charles I	1643, according to HLP in 1660		Compounded 1649.	26084 31931	WR; CCC WR; HLP

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Gorst	Roger	P. C. St. Michael's; C. St. Olive's; C. St. Giles-without-Spitafield, all Chester	1617; 1617; pre-1616	Two rectories possibly by Bishop Morton	Resident in Chester garrison, no longer there minister after surrender, February 1646. Articled against before CPM, 22 September 1646; resigned on account of his age, 22 September 1647.			31937	Crossley Evans
Greene	Francis	V. Neston	1605	William Clegg and Robert Whitby		Resigned		26226	CPM
Haywood	Rowland	V. Frodsham	By 1632	Probably Dean and Chapter of Oxford	Successor in place by 1648	Claimed as ejected by John Walker, harassed out of living by parishioners.	Walker claimed that Haywood declined restoration after 1660.	13227	WR
Holland	Phillip	C. Macclesfield	There by 1620		By 1643, when successor in place. Resident in Chester garrison.	Deserted cure	Buried at Macclesfield, 8 October 1648		Ormerod; Crossley Evans; WR
Hunt	Richard	R. St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester	There by 1642	Not recorded	c. February 1646	Surrender of Chester garrison	R. Warringham, 1647; also Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral	27364	WR; HLP
Hutchings	William	R. Gausworth	1630	Thomas Drinkwater of Chester	Sequestered 28 September 1644; successor in place by 2 February 1645.			13497	WR; CCC
Jones	Charles	C. St. Oswald's, Chester	1637		Resident in Chester garrison, no longer there minister after surrender, February 1646.	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison			Crossley Evans
Mallory	Thomas	Dean of Chester; R. Mobberley; R. Davenham	Dean 1607; 1601; 1621	Possibly Savage family at Mobberley; John Moygell at Davenham	Died in Chester, 3 April 1644; sequestered lands returned to his widow Elizabeth.			36348	WR; Burne

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Mallory	Thomas	R. Northenden	1635	Richard Mallory and William Forster	1642, according to HLP in 1660	Sir William Brereton		36349	WR; HLP
Moreton	Edward	R. Tattenhall	1636	Probably Bishop Bridgeman	Pre-September 1645, when compounded with his father, William Moreton of Little Moreton. Signed surrender articles of Chester, February 1646.	County committee	Also R. Sefton, Lancashire, and prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1645.	32174	WR; Morris
Morgan	Robert	Prebendary of Chester Cathedral	1642	Bishop Bridgeman	Lost Cathedral prebend, but also held livings in Anglesey, which he retained.			32171	WR
Mostyn	William	Archdeacon of Bangor; R. Christleton	1634	R. Christleton, Roger Mostyn of Mostyn	Successor in place by 1648; wife allowed fifth, 28 November 1649.		Archdeacon of Bangor	32176	WR
Newton	Laurence	C. Church Minshull	1633		CPM granted wife fifth, 4 July 1646			14289	CPM; WR
Nicholls	William	R. Cheadle	1624	Charles, Prince of Wales (by virtue of minority)	Listed as sequestered in 1645. In Chester when a royalist garrison, followed Bishop Bridgeman to Conwy.	CPM, 24 September 1646, stated Nichols ejected by Sir William Brereton	Appointed as Dean of Chester, 1644, but not installed. Buried at Northenden, 19 December 1657.	31495	CPM; WR; Crossley Evans
Orpe	Thomas	Schoolmaster at Tarporley			Correspondent to John Walker claimed that Orpe was ejected after refusing the Covenant [c. 1643 or 1644?].		Minister at Stanton-on-Hine-Heath, Shropshire, by 1651.		WR
Pilkington	John	C. St. John-without-the-Northgate, Chester	1639		Resident in Chester garrison	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison	Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CPM.		Crossley Evans; CPM

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Poole	Hugh	R. Bebington	1602	John Egerton	Pre-February 1646	County committee	Died 6 June 1647, buried at Bebington	29248	Ormerod; WR
Poole	Ralph	C., then R. Babington	November 1647	William Glegg Probably Brereton	William Peartree presented in December 1647, patron John Minshall.		As father's curate in 1643, apparently fought against a parliamentary raiding party from Liverpool.	79150	WR
Robinson	John	R. Brereton	1639	family of Brereton	Listed as 'delinquent' in 1644	County committee	At Warmingham by 1652		CPM; WR; CCC
Rowley	Francis	R. Coppenhall	Perhaps 1630, when predecessor took new living	Probably Bishop Morton of Coventry and Lichfield	Successor signed Attestation, June 1648	Successor signed Attestation, June 1648. William Anderton was intruded by Sir William Brereton, according to Walker correspondent.	1633 metropolitical visitation suggests that Rowley had a difficult relationship with his parishioners.	34916	WR
Saring	John	C. Nantwich	There in 1631		Thomas Malbon's account records Saring's ejection in 1643.		Will proven, 27 June 1659, of Sutton-on-the-Hill, Derbyshire.		Malbon; WR
Seddon	William	V. Eastham	c. 1637	Dean and Chapter of Chester	Successor in place by 1649, though it seems that Seddon had vacated the living several years previously.	According to his son, he fled to Chester, where he ministered.	Prebendary of Chester Cathedral	32395	WR
Shalcross	Edmund	R. Stockport	1637	Shalcross of Derbyshire	Sequestered 10 August 1644; objected to county committee hearing case, but committee for sequestrations declined to hear it, 20 November 1644.		Killed by royalist troops whilst travelling to London, June 1645.	34880	WR; Earwaker
Shipton	Samuel	R. Alderley	1630	Sir Thomas Stanley of Alderley	Sequestered 20 August 1644		Supported by John Bradshaw (the future regicide) in his attempt to secure reduction in fine, 1647. Compounded 1647.	15393	WR; CCC

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Smith	John	V. Bowdon	There 1643		Petition from parishioners of Barthomley, 1655, claimed that he had been ejected from Bowdon 12 years previously by Sir George Booth 'for grand offences'.	Had Smith perhaps intruded against William Domville (above), then Booth in turn removed him?	At the centre of a dispute at Barthomley in 1655, where he was then minister - allegedly abused by royalist parishioners.		CR
Smyth	William	C. St. Peter's, Chester			There when Chester was a royalist garrison; last payment in CWA made 21 January 1646.	Surrender of Chester garrison			Crossley Evans
Snell	George	Archdeacon of Chester; R. Wallasey; R. Waverton	1619; 1619; 1633		From Wallasey pre-15 April 1646; from Waverton pre-22 July 1646. Pre-24 September 1646, when successor admitted		Died 5 February 1656, buried at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester. Buried at Stoak, 27 August 1654	17073	WR
Trafford	Henry	C. Burton-in-Wirral	There 1635		Successor signed Attestation, June 1648		Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral; lived at Goostrey, 1651-1657.	34637	CPM; WR
Tudman	Thomas	V. Sandbach		1630 William Leversage	Probably ejected at surrender of Chester, February 1646 (note in parish register); on list of delinquents with lands in Nantwich Hundred, 1648.			29846	WR; CCC
Wilson	Richard	R. Holy Trinity, Chester		1632 William, Earl of Derby	Given as ejected by John Walker; successor there by 1651.	Probably surrender of Chester garrison		29157	Crossley Evans; Ormerod; WR
Wright	Ralph	C. Harthill	Licensed 1639		Sequestered by January 1645, when goods were appraised.			137979	CR; WR
Wright	Robert	C. Poynton							WR

Cheshire: Ejected clergy, August 1642 - January 1649									
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources
Wright	Thomas	R. Wilmslow	1610	Laurence Wright	Wife granted fifth, 12 September 1643; sequestration of living to John Brereton confirmed by CPM, 22 September 1645. Resident in Chester garrison.	Sir William Brereton	On Major-Generals' list of suspects, 1655.	23958	WR; Crossley Evans
Wyrley	Edward	R. Mobberley	1644	Mailory	Held living for a time in 1644, but fled to Chester when Sir William Brereton's troops entered Cheshire. Returned 1647, but opposed by parishioners (see chapter five of this thesis).		A parliamentarian, Henry Bate, was minister at Mobberley in 1644. Wyrley appointed by Triers as R. Aldbury, Hertfordshire, 1655.		WR; TNA SP 24/3, fos. 56r., 71r.

Cheshire: Clerical royalists, 1642-1649

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																				
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CED Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Reading in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism	
Ainsworth	William			Chester 1644; Corporation	Resident in Chester garrison, no longer there minister after surrender, February 1646.	Possibly Chester garrison	Previously ministered in Yorkshire. Petition and order for payments as lecturer in 1644 recorded in CRO, Z AB/2, fol. 65r., 67v.	22736	CRO, ZAB/2; Crossley Evans; 22736 Merchant						X					
Biddulph	Henry				Received payment from Cathedral treasurer, 1643, see CRO, EDD 3913/1/4. Lost office with abolition of episcopacy, 1646.	Chester garrison	Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CDM.		CRO, EDD 3913/1/4; Crossley Evans; WR; CDM						X					
Bispham	William			Charles I at Lymm 1627; at Eccleston by 1636	Minor canon of Chester Cathedral		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral	23577	WR; CCC	X					X	X (equipped man and horse)				
Bold	Thomas				Master of Maclesfield School 1631				WR; BL; Harley MS 2150	X										
Bridge	Thomas			Thomas Stafford 1625	Ejected by June 1648, when successor signed Attestation		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1649.	25611	Unwick, WR; CCC	X					X	X (distributed arms)				
Bridgeman	Henry			Orlando Bridgeman; R. Bangor (Cheshire); R. Bangor (Flintshire) 1639; 1641	Ejected by June 1648, when successor signed Attestation	Sir William liberated at Barrow; county committee at Bangor	Son of Bishop John Bridgeman	9735	Unwick, WR		X									

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																			
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contract with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism
					Resided in Chester when a royalist garrison, but fled to Conwy before the end of the siege; episcopacy abolished 1646.	Parliamentary ordinance	Also R. Wigan, Lancashire	21324 Evans	ODNB; Clarendon; Crossley						X	X (leadership)			
Bridgeman	John	Bishop of Chester	1619	James I		Pursued out of living by six men, five of whom were parishioners.	Approved by Bury diocese as minister of Blackrod, Lancashire, November 1647.		Ormerod; CPM; WR; BPC; Esraker	X		X							
Browne	Gerard	V. Mottram-in-Longendale	1637	Bishop Bridgeman	Ejected c. 1643							X							
Burches	George	R. Woodchurch; at St. John's, Chester, when the city was a royalist garrison	1640s	Not recorded	Pre-9 May 1646, when wife was granted fifth		Also ministered at St. John's, Chester, when city was a royalist garrison, see St. John's CWA; C. Wilton, Cheshire, by c. 1648		CPM; WR; St. John's CWA					X					
Byrom	George	R. Thornton-Hoors	1615	Probably Peter Warburton	Pre-3 July 1646, when successor appointed	Courty committee	Appointed R. Chingford, Essex, by CPM, 3 December 1646.	31002 WR; CCC	Ormerod;	X		X				X (money)			X
Carrington	Samuel	C. Davenham		Curate to Thomas Mallyory, R. Davenham	Pre-1648, when on list of sequestered		V. Reighton, Yorkshire, by time of 1660 petition		WR; TNA SP 25/36, fo. 84r.		X								
Cathrell	Samuel	R. Swettenham; R. Handley	Both 1643	John Davenport; Margaret Caberall	Pre-1648, when on list of sequestered	Possibly only ejected from Swettenham; signed Attestation at Handley in 1648	Petitioned House of Lords in 1660 for restoration to Swettenham only.	31007 WR; CCC		X									

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																			
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (as stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism
Clarke	Essex	R. Tilston	1631	Charles I	Not ejected from parish living, but received payment for prebendary of Chester Cathedral in 1643, suggests that he had contact with the city.	Lost Cathedral office with abolition of episcopacy, 1646.	Buried at Tilston, 5 January 1654/55	31023	CRO, EDD 3913/1/4; WR								X		
Clarke	William	R. St. Martin's; R. St. Bridget's, Chester; also minor canon of the Cathedral	1637; 1638	Both rectories by Bishop Bridgeman	c. February 1646	Surrender of Chester Garrison	Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CPM.	35903	Crossley Evans; Ormerod; WR, CPM						X				
Dod	Thomas	Archdeacon of Richmond; R. Astbury; R. Malpas Lower (Medley)	1607; 1607; 1623	At Astbury, Ralph Egerton of Ridley; at Malpas, James I	From Astbury, pre-27 August 1646, when successor appointed; from Malpas, by June 1648 when successor signed Attestation.	County committee at Astbury; deputy-heritors at Malpas	Received second presentation at Malpas from Edward Wright, John Dod and John Stockton. Petitioned for composition, 20 December 1647, but buried at Malpas, 10 February 1647/48.	24030	Urwick; CPM; WR, CCC							X (money)			
Domville	William	V. Bowdon	There by 1639	Bishop Bridgeman	By June 1643, when listed as sequestrated	County committee		35933	Ormerod; CPM; WR; CCC										X

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																			
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCed Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism
Duckworth	Charles	R. Daddleston		1635 William Glegg	Pre-8 October 1646, when successor appointed. Resident in Chester when a royalist garrison received payment for prebendary, 1643.		Prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1649.		CHO, EDD 3913/1/4; CPM; WR; CCC, Crossley	X					X	X (equipped man and horse)			
Eaton	Laurence	R. Aldford		1639 Little Moreton	Pre-21 December 1646, when successor appointed.	committee: John Walker claimed that he was elected by soldiers			CPM; WR; CCC	X									
Edwards	Francis	R. Heswall		1624 John Edwards	Pre-21 November 1646, when successor appointed	County committee	Fled to Chester and then Anglesey, but later returned to Heswall, buried there 20 November 1653.		33293, CPM; WR						X				
Ecock	Anthony	R. Tazal		1633 Downes	Ejected by 1644, when successor was in place.				12466 WR		X								
Fowler	Thomas	R. Whitchurch (Shropshire, but parish extended into Cheshire)		Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby	Pre-9 July 1645, when order for fifth granted to his wife	Shropshire and Cheshire county committees	Compounded 1649.		26084 WR, CCC	X					X				
Freckleton	Robert	V. Poulton-le-Fyde, Lancashire			Resident in Chester garrison when it was a royalist garrison		V. Backford in 1648		Crossley Eavis; YCH Lancashire						X				
Glaver	Thomas	R. West Kirby		1631 Charles I	1643, according to H.P. in 1660				31931 WR, H.P.		X								

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																			
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 position, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism
Gorst	Roger	P. C. St. Michael's, C. St. Olave's; C. St. Giles-without-Spitafield, all Chester	1617; 1617; pre-1616	Two rectories possibly by Bishop Morton	Resident in Chester garrison, no longer there minister after surrender, February 1646.			31937	Crossley Evans						X				
Greene	Francis	V. Neston	1605	William Clegg and Robert Whiby	Articled against before CPM, 22 September 1646; resigned on account of his age, 22 September 1647.	Resigned		26226	CPM								X		
Holland	Philip	C. Macclesfield	There by 1620		By 1643, when successor in place	Apparently deserted cure	Buried at Macclesfield, 3 October 1648		Omerod, WR						X				
Hunt	Richard	R. St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester	There by 1642		c. February 1646	Surrender of Chester garrison	R. Warringham, 1647; also Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral	27364	WR, HLP	X					X				
Hutchings	William	R. Gawsorth	1630	Thomas Drinkwater of Chester	Sequestered 28 September 1644; successor in place by 2 February 1645.			13497	WR, CCC	X									
Johnson	Richard	Fellow of Manchester collegiate church			Resident in Chester garrison, transcripts of three sermons, preached 1644-1645, in Barnes.	No formal cure in Chester		13648	Barnes				X		X				

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																				
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (Nature of royalism from contemporary sources unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism	
Jones	Charles	C. St. Oswald's, Chester	1637		Resident in Chester garrison, no longer minister there after surrender, February 1646.				Crossley Events						X					
Mallory	Thomas	Dean of Chester, R. Moberley, R. Davenham	1607; 1601; 1621	Possibly Savage family at Moberley; John Moberley returned to his widow Elizabeth	Died in Chester, 3 April 1644; sequestered lands returned to his widow Elizabeth		Dean of Chester	36348	WR; Burne						X					
Mallory	Thomas	R. Northenden	1635	Richard Mallory and William Forster	1642, according to HLP in 1660	Sir William Brereton	Son of Dean Thomas Mallory	36349	WR; HLP; CCC	X					X (Walker MS)					
Moreton	Edward	R. Tattenhall	1636	Probably Bishop Bridgeman	Pre-September 1645, when compounded with his father, William Moreton of Little Moreton	County committee	Also R. Selton, Lancashire, and prebendary of Chester Cathedral. Compounded 1645.	32174	WR; CCC	X					X					
Mostyn	William	R. Christleton, C. Church	1634	Roger Mostyn of Mostyn	Successor in place by 1648; wife allowed fifth, 28 November 1649		Archdeacon of Bangor	32176	WR; CCC	X										
Newton	Laurence	Minschull	1633		CPM granted wife fifth, 4 July 1646			14389	CCC	X										
Nichols	William	R. Cheside	1624	Charles, Prince of Wales (by virtue of 1624 intimacy)	Listed as sequestered in 1645	CPM, 24 September 1646, stated Nichols elected by Sir William Brereton	Appointed as Dean of Chester, 1644, but not installed. Buried at Northenden, 19 December 1657.	31495	CCC	X					X					

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																				
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patrons	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism	
Orpe	Thomas	Schoolmaster at Tarporley			Correspondent to John Walker claimed that Orpe was ejected after refusing the Covenant (c. 1643?) Resident in Chester garrison	No formal cure in Chester	Minister at Stanton-on-Hine-Heath, Shropshire, by 1651.		WR		X (Walker MS)				X					
Pasley	Christopher	R. Hawarden (Flintshire)			Resident in Chester garrison		Possibly ministering again in the city by December 1657, when received a payment from the CPM.	30055	Crossley Evans; WR						X					
Pilkington	John	C. St. John without-the-Northgate, Chester	1639		Resident in Chester garrison	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison			Crossley Evans; CPM						X					
Poole	Hugh	R. Bebbington	1602	John Egerton	Pre-February 1646	County committee	Died 6 June 1647, buried at Bebbington	29248	Ormerod; WR X											
Poole	Ralph	C. then R. Bebbington	November 1647	William Glegg	William Peartree presented in December 1647, patron John Minshall.		As father's curate in 1643, apparently fought against a parliamentarian raiding party from Liverpool, see TNA SP 23/148, fos. 391-392.	79150	WR							X (fought)				X
Prichard	Mr.	Uncertain			Sequestered of an estate at Barrow, 1646, but otherwise unknown.															
Robinson	John	R. Brereton	1639	Brereton family of Brereton	Listed as 'delinquent' in 1644	County committee	At Warmingham by 1652.		CPM; WR; CCC											X

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																			
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of Institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism
Rowley	Francis	R. Copperhall	Perhaps 1630, when predecessor took new living	Probably Bishop of Merton of Coventry and Lichfield	Successor signed Attestation, June 1648. William Anderton was intruded by Sir William Brereton, according to Walker harassed by correspondent.	According to correspondent to that Rowley had a difficult relationship with parishioners.	1633 metropolitan visitation suggests that Rowley had a difficult relationship with parishioners.	34916	Wf; CCC	X	X (Walker)								
Saring	John	C. Namwich	There in 1631		Thomas Malbon's account records Saring's ejection in 1643.	Will proven, 27 June 1659, of Sutton-on-the-Hill, Derbyshire.			Malbon; Wf; CCC	X					X				
Seddon	William	V. Eastham	c. 1637	Dean and Chapter of Chester	Successor in place by 1649, though it seems that Seddon had vacated the living several years previously.	According to his son, he fled to Chester, where he ministered.	Prebendary of Chester Cathedral	32395	WR						X				
Shalcross	Edmund	R. Stockport	1637 Derbyshire	Mary Shalcross of Shalcross, Derbyshire	Sequestered 10 August 1644; objected to county committee hearing case, but committee for sequestrations declined to hear it, 20 November 1644.	Killed by royalist troops whilst travelling to London, June 1645		34880	Wf; CCC	X									

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																					
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless otherwise stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism		
Shipton	Samuel	R. Alderley		Sir Thomas Stanley of 1630 Alderley	Sequestered 20 August 1644		Supported by John Bradshaw (the future regicide) in his attempt to secure reduction in fine, 1647. Compounded 1647.	15393	WR; CCC	X		X				X (money, forced)			X		
Smallwood	Matthew	R. Garsworth	1647		Henry Newcome presented under Great Seal, 15 January 1650. Rival presentation accepted by Smallwood, who vacated living.		Prisoner at the surrender of Lichfield Close, 16 July 1646; R. St Martin Outwich, London, 1652.		WR; CCC						X	X (fought)					
Smyth	William	C. St. Peter's, Chester			There when Chester was a royalist garrison	Possibly surrender of Chester garrison			Crossley Evans		X										
Snell	George	Archdeacon of Chester, R. Wallasey, R. Waverton	1619; 1619; 1633	All by Bishop Bridgeman	From Wallasey pre-15 April 1646; from Waverton pre-22 July 1646	Eddisbury Hundred sequestration committee	Died 5 February 1655/56, buried at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.	17073	WR; CCC	X		X			X	X (man and horse)				X	
Tudman	Thomas	V. Sandbach	1630	William Leverage	Successor signed Attestation, June 1648		Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, lived at Goostrey, 1651-1657.	29846	WR; CCC	X											

Cheshire: Royalist clergy, August 1642 - January 1649																				
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Patron(s)	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Malignancy / delinquency (unless stated)	Loyalty to King (1660 petition, unless stated)	Not taken Covenant	Preaching	Administered oaths	Residing in royalist quarters	Practical contributions	Contact with Chester	Unspecified investigation	Evidence of parliamentarianism	
Wilson	Richard	R. Holy Trinity, Chester	1632	William, Earl of Derby	Probably ejected at surrender of Chester, February 1646 (note in parish register); on list of delinquents with lands in Nantwich Hundred, 1648.	Probably surrender of Chester garrison		29157	WR; CCC	X					X					
Wright	Robert	C. Poynton			Sequestered by January 1645, when goods were appraised.				WR; CCC	X										
Wright	Thomas	R. Wilmstow	1610	Laurence Wright	Wife granted fifth, 12 September 1643; sequestration of living to John Breton confirmed by CPM, 22 September 1645.	Sr William Breton	On Major-Generals' list of suspects, 1655.	23958	WR; CCC	X	X				X					
Wynley	Edward	R. Mobberley	1644	Thomas Malloy	Held living for a time in 1644, but fled to Chester when Sir William Breton's troops entered Cheshire. Returned 1647, but opposed by parishioners (see chapter five of this thesis).		A parliamentarian, Henry Bate, was minister at Mobberley in 1644. Wynley appointed by Triers as R. Aldbury, Hertfordshire, 1655.		WR; TNA SP 2473, fols. 156r., 71r.				X		X					

Cheshire: Allegations of religious misconduct, 1642-1649

Cheshire: Clergymen accused of religious misconduct, August 1642 - January 1649													
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of ejection	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Supporter of 'episcopal' faction	Reasons for ejection (if given by any source)	Ceremonialism	Non-residence	Pluralism
Browne	Gerard	V. Mottram-in-Longendale	1637	Ejected 1643	Pursued out of living by six men, five of whom were parishioners.	Approved by Bury classis as minister of Blackrod, Lancashire, November 1647.		Ormerod; CPM; WR; BPC; Earwaker	X				
Byrom	George	R. Thornton-le-Moors	1615	Pre-3 July 1646, when successor appointed	County committee	Appointed R. Chingford, Essex, by CPM, 3 December 1646.	31002	Ormerod; WR					
Snell	George	Archdeacon of Chester; R. Wallasey, R. Waverton	1619; 1619; 1633	From Wallasey pre-15 April 1646; from Waverton pre-22 July 1646	Edisbury Hundred sequestration committee	Died 5 February 1656, buried at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.	17073	WR	X		X	X	X

Cheshire: Allegations of scandalous conduct, 1642-1649

Cheshire: Clergymen accused of scandal, August 1642 - January 1649												
Surname	Name	Living(s)	Year of institution	Details, including ejection (if applicable)	Ejecting body / circumstances of	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Nature of scandal	Drunkennes	Singing lewd songs	Also accused of royalism
Bordman	Gabriel	C. Bidston	c. 1632	Ejected 17 August 1647	Committee for Plundered Ministers			Ormerod; CPM; WR		X		
Byrom	George	R. Thornton-le-Moors	1615	Pre-3 July 1646, when successor appointed	County committee	Appointed R. Chingford, Essex, by CPM, 3 December 1646	31002	Ormerod; WR	X			X
Robinson	John	R. Brereton	1639	Pre-22 September 1646, when successor appointed	County committee			CPM; WR	X			
Smith	John	V. Bowdon	There 1643	Petition from parishioners of Barthomley, 1655, claimed that he had been ejected from Bowdon 12 years previously by Sir George Booth for grand offences.	Had Smith perhaps intruded against William Donville, then Booth in turn removed him?			CR	X			X
Snell	George	Archdeacon of Chester; R. Wallacey; R. Waverton; Archdeacon of Chester	1619; 1619; 1633	From Wallacey pre-15 April 1646; from Waverton pre-22 July 1646		Died 5 February 1656, buried at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.	17073	WR	X			X

Appendix Five: **Clerical parliamentarianism in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1642-1649**

Identifying clerical parliamentarians is a much more difficult task than identifying clerical royalists, due to the lack of a coherent body of sources such as that generated for ejected clergy, many of whom were royalists. Of course, sometimes such records do provide clues to parliamentarian clerics, such as when the Committee for Plundered Ministers appointed a cleric to succeed an ejected cleric. But, in other cases, the only knowledge of a clergyman's parliamentarianism comes from fortuitous survivals: the only evidence of the parliamentarianism of Richard Eaton, the vicar of Audlem, and Richard Fowler, the rector of Barthomley, is a contemporary list of ministers who suffered at the hands of the royalists which was discovered by William Urwick, but which, unfortunately, he did not cite, and which I have been unable to trace.¹

It will be noticed that an attempt has been made to delineate between parliamentarians who held livings on the cusp of the civil war in 1642, and those who were appointed afterwards who were either approved for the ministry by a body established by Parliament (for example, the Committee for Plundered Ministers, the Westminster Assembly, or the Manchester or Bury presbyterian classes), or whose parliamentarian allegiance is known from other sources. Such an exercise is immediately made more difficult for Cheshire by the lack of surviving Protestation returns (dating from 1642) for the county apart from for the city of Chester, a sharp contrast with Lancashire where returns survive for most of the county. Thus, whereas in Lancashire most of the clergy holding livings in early 1642 can be identified via the Protestation returns, this excellent source is unavailable for most of Cheshire.² With a similar (but not exclusive) bias towards Lancashire, the excellent biographies which William Shaw provided for ministers who appear in the minutes of the Manchester and Bury classes give valuable details about their careers prior to their involvement with classical presbyterianism.³ Furthermore, for Lancashire, five further valuable sources listing parliamentarian clergymen are available: the *Commons Journal* record of the establishment of the committee for appointing to sequestered

¹ William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in The County Palatine of Cheshire* (London: Kent & Co., 1864), p. xx.

² Lancashire Record Office, Preston, MF 1/26 (microfilm copies of the original returns in the Parliamentary Archives, London).

³ *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis 1646-1660*, ed. William A. Shaw, 3 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xx, xxii, xxiv (1890-1891), xxiv, Appendix VI; *Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657*, ed. William A. Shaw, 2 vols., Chetham Society, new series, xxxvi, xli (1896-1898), xli, Appendix VI.

benefices in Lancashire on 9 October 1643 (a committee whose membership, though primarily Lancastrian, also included John Johnson, the rector of Ashton-on-Mersey, Cheshire, and John Waite, the vicar of Gargrave, West Yorkshire); the *Commons Journal* record of the establishment of the committee for the relief of Lancashire on 11 September 1644; the *Commons Journal* record of the appointment of ministers to conduct ordinations in Lancashire on 25 November 1644; the parliamentary ordinance of 2 October 1646 for the establishment of presbyterian classes in Lancashire; and J. H. Stanning and John Brownbill's calendars of the royalist composition papers for Lancashire, which contains details of clergymen who administered the Solemn League and Covenant to compounding royalists.⁴ Whilst it is assumed that the clergymen named in the two Commons' orders of 1644 are parliamentarian, with regards to the classes ordinance of 1646, the parliamentarianism of those clergy named is assumed because (a) though never stated why, several parishes and ministers were not named in the classis ordinance (for example, Tunstall and its vicar, John Leake), and (b) a comparison of the named lay elders with Malcolm Gratton's gazetteer of Lancashire royalist and parliamentarian officers reveals that none of the appointed lay elders are known to have been royalist supporters during the first civil war.⁵ The 1650 church survey sometimes gives clues to allegiance, but these have only been recorded if the survey suggests that such information refers to more than recent allegiance; therefore, ministers recorded as being either conformable or unconformable to the government then established are not included in this tabulation, which focuses on pre-regicide allegiances.⁶ Some general idea of when an individual minister came to a living have been discovered via the many parish registers for the county transcribed and published by the Lancashire Parish Register Society, whilst G. T. O. Bridgeman's edition of his ancestor Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester's clerical taxation records for his diocese is a further valuable source.⁷

⁴ *Commons Journal*, 9 October 1643, 11 September 1644, 25 November 1644; *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 6-12; *The Royalist Composition Papers, being the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, A.D. 1643-1660, as far as they relate to the County of Lancaster, extracted from the Records preserved in the Public Record Office, London*, eds. J. H. Stanning, then J. Brownbill, 7 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxiv, xxvi, xxix, xxxvi, lxxii, xcvi (1891-1942).

⁵ J. M. Gratton, *The Parliamentarian and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651*, Chetham Society, third series, xlviii (2010), Appendix III.

⁶ *Lancashire and Cheshire Commonwealth Church Surveys*, ed. Henry Fishwick, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i (1879).

⁷ 'Loans, Contributions, Subsidies, and Ship Money, paid by the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, in the years 1620, 1622, 1624, 1634, 1635, 1636 & 1639', ed. G. T. O. Bridgeman, in *Miscellanies, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, i, Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xii (1885), 45-129.

Unfortunately, Cheshire lacks surviving sources comparable to those for Lancashire. Henry Newcome recorded his ordination at Sandbach in 1648 by a group of Cheshire ministers (including John Ley), but it seems that in the absence of a formally established classis system in Cheshire, ministers applied for ordination by one of the Lancashire classes, and four Cheshire ministers can thus be identified as having been ordained by the Manchester classis minutes.⁸ Looking back to the outbreak of the war, and lacking Protestation returns for most of Cheshire, it has thus been assumed that in the absence of definite information about their whereabouts in 1642, any clergyman who can be shown to have ministered in the county prior to 1642 and again ministered in the county after that date was resident in the county at the outbreak of civil war, unless there is evidence to the contrary, such as for David Ellison, who was ministering at Otley in West Yorkshire on the cusp of civil war.⁹ Some gaps have been filled through using the online database of Cheshire parish register entries accessible via the *Find My Past* website (www.findmypast.co.uk). Cheshire does also have particularly good surviving accounts from various parliamentary approved committees preserved at the British Library (together with an additional set of accounts for the Wirral sequestrators preserved at the John Rylands Library in Manchester), and there is information for both counties available in various official records preserved in the SP 28 series at the National Archives in Kew, so the names of some clerics have been extracted from those records, as well as from Anne Laurence's valuable gazetteer appended to her *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*.¹⁰ Further biographical evidence has also been obtained from A. G. Matthews' compilation of the biographies of those clergy ejected from livings after the restoration of the Church of England in the early 1660s.¹¹

⁸ *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, M. A., ed. Richard Parkinson, Chetham Society, xxvi, xxvii (1852), xxvi. 11. These four clergymen were Randle Guest to Pulford (February 1648), John Murcott to Astbury (February 1648), Nehemiah Pott to Swettenham (April 1647), and John Swan to Baddiley (October 1647), see *Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, ed. Shaw, xx. 34. 53-55, 76-78.

⁹ All Saints parish church, Otley, West Yorkshire, early 1640s sermon book (I would like to thank Mrs. Margaret Parkin for allowing me to examine this manuscript); William Sheils, 'Provincial preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding fast sermons', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 290-312.

¹⁰ British Library, London, Harley MS, 1943, 1999, 2018, 2126, 2128, 2130, 2136, 2137, 2144, 2166, 2173, 2174; John Rylands Library, Manchester, English MS, 957; The National Archives, Kew, SP 28/128, 224, 225, 299 (fos. 1063-1365), 300 (fos. 211-1163). SP 28/208, an order book of the Cheshire county committee, is now sadly missing. Also, Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990).

¹¹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).

With regards to the post-1642 period, I should clarify my definition of parliamentarian and parliamentary-approved clergymen. Clergymen who are known to have engaged in some form of overt parliamentarianism (for example, swearing or administering the Covenant or ministering as an army chaplain) are listed. These clerics are supplemented by clergymen who I have deemed to have been approved (by way of ordination, appointment or augmentation) either by Parliament or by a body established by Parliament, for example, the Lancashire or Cheshire county committees (though the latter's powers were diminished by the increasing powers of Sir William Brereton), the Committee for Plundered Ministers, the Westminster Assembly, or the Manchester or Bury classes.¹² With regards to augmentation, only ministers given personal augmentations (i.e. in which they personally and not just their cure have been named in the order) have been included. In Cheshire, a parliamentary ordinance of 26 March 1644 gave Sir William Brereton substantial powers to eject and appoint ministers, so ministers appointed by him are also included under this label.¹³ Also, given that John Morrill has suggested that otherwise loyal parliamentarian clergy became caught within intra-parliamentarian politics in Cheshire and were subsequently ejected as royalists, I have decided to include (whilst noting their ejection) ministers who claimed their loyalty to Parliament but who were nonetheless ejected as royalists.¹⁴ Due to the commitment to maintain the *Solemn League and Covenant*, I have also included as parliamentarians ministers who signed one of the pro-presbyterian petitions in 1648, the *Harmonious Consent* and from Lancashire and the *Attestation* from Cheshire.¹⁵ I have excluded from my calculations ministers who received approval or augmentation after the execution of King Charles I on 30 January 1649, even if they are known to have ministered in their cure before that date. I have also excluded from my calculations Richard Moyle,

¹² *Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 1643-1660*, ed. W. A. Shaw, 2 vols., Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, xxviii, xxxiv (1893-1896); William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640-1660* (2 vols., 1900; New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974), ii. 313-358; *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643-1652*, ed. Chad van Dixhoorn (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); see also A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948).

¹³ *Acts and Ordinances*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=55928> (date accessed: 10 February 2014).

¹⁴ J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 166-167.

¹⁵ Anon., *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster* (London: J. Macock for Luke Fawne, 1648); Anon., *An Attestation to the Testimony of our reverend Brethren of the Province of London... Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their meeting May 2. and subscribed at their next meeting June 6. 1648* (London: R. Cotes for Christopher Meredith. 1648).

identified by John Morrill as being in the patronage of the Cheshire deputy lieutenants, but who was actually the minister at Audley in Staffordshire.¹⁶

¹⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 167, fn. 6; British Library, Harley MS, 2144, fo. 58v.

Lancashire: Parliamentary clergy ministering in the county in 1642

Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patrol(s)	Other	CCEP Database ID	Nature of parliamentarianism	Named as an ordaining minister, Lancashire, September 1644	Named in classic ordinance, October 1646	Signed Homonymous Consent, March 1648	Received payments for military Covenant	Taken the military Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Suffragis	Used to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Autorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism
Allen	Isaac	R. Probstich		1633 of Chadderton	Investigated twice, in 1643 and 1645. After second investigation, ejected for royalism and liturgical conservatism by county committee, before September 1646; ordered to vacate living by 1 May 1647.	22746 MPC						X (see Chetham's Library, Manchester, C.6.63 (update))							X
Alte	William	C., then joint minister, Bury	There 1632; appointed B., 1645 (with Andrew Latham)	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Previously L. Halifax, Yorkshire, there 1638. Died 1654.	CPM; BPC; 113086; Marc'art ODNB;			X	X					X				
Amrose	Isaac	V. Preston	c. 1639 or 1640	Lady Margaret Highton		Farrington 19073 Papers		X	X	X			X (1643)						
Anger	John	C. Denton	c. 1632			ODNB; Life of John Anger; Esweiler				X			X (at Mottram, Cheshire)		X (fought)				
Armitstead	William	At Lytham (vicarage) by 1646, but C. Wickham at 1630 metropolitanical visitation	There 1646 - no PR		Robert Broadbent V. Lytham in 1638, and returned after 1660.	CPM													X (1646)
Ausleton	William	B. Middleton	At Hollinre in 1646; C. Coltheth 1630-1635	Ralph Arcton of Middleton (William's brother)		29066 MPC		X	X	X									
Atherton	Henry	C. Hollinre				23550				X									
Atkinson	Peter	C. Totholes; Eile	At Totholes by 1642; at Eile by 1646			Probably 16394 and Cr. Letter from 16354			X	X									

Lancashire Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																					
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Person(s)	Other	CCF/ Database ID	Sources	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefice in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in church ordination, October 1645	Signed Amicable Consens. March 1648	Received payments for military Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Filed to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Barnet	Humphrey		At Newton Heath by 1642; C. Newton Heath, Oldham by 1646								X										
Bath	Robert		1638	Archbishop Laud of Canterbury		35608 BPC		X			X										
Bell	William		Lecturer, then 1633; V. by 1635; Hugon, 1650	As vicar, elected by parishioners, approved by Parliament (CPS)			TNA, SP 28/259				X		X						X (1643, 1648)		
Bibton	Adam		1638	Archbishop of Canterbury			35695 LNO, CDO, 30/25				X			X (1647)		X (Manchester, there 1642)	X (correspondent)				
Bourne	William		1603	James I	Died 1638. CCF conflates two William Bournes, the other V. Whalley.		30588 (1649)										X (Residence)				
Bredshaw	James		1642	At Tunton by 1642; appointed to Wigan, 1644			72505 CPM		X										X (1646)		
Bredshaw	John		There 1642				CPM										X (possibly)		X (1645)		
Bray	Nichols		1629	William Johnson on-Wyre			John Viers, Diagon														
Breares	John		There 1639	William Johnson on-Wyre / Charles I			25117 (1650); RCP				X			X (1647, possibly also 1644)							
Broupp	John		1628	James, Lord Strange	Dead by 1644, when he was succeeded by William Durn		32333 TNA, SP 28/259						X								
Coe	John		There 1635		At Daresbury by 1645, but son Peter was baptised at Warrington in 1646 (PR). No Protestant return survives to confirm location in 1642.		BL HarleyMS 2126; TNA SP 1255888 28/225						X (let Daresbury, Cheshire, 1645)								
Crompton	Thomas		There 1633				Laurance		X		X										X (Army chaplain)

Lancaster Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism	Named in committee for appointhg to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in ordinance, October 1644	Signed Admonition Consent, March 1648	Received payments for military Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Filed to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism
Denny	Thomas	C. Over Wyresdale	There 1638				Letter from Duke Hamilton					X								
Edmondson	Christopher	C. Croston; Garstang	At Croston by 1642; appointed to Garstang in 1645	At Garstang, Committee for plundered Ministers	Parishioners claimed, 1654, that Edmondson had been intruded by soldiers, see Henry Fishwick, <i>History of Garstang</i> .	75128	CPM; Henry Fishwick, <i>History of Garstang</i> .	Named in committee for appointhg to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in ordinance, October 1644	X	X								
Fleethwood	Edward	V. Kibbarn	1650	Dean and Chapter of Oxford		12688	CPM: see A Declaration of A Strange and Wonderful Monster! (1646)				X	X		X				X (1645)		
Page	Robert	R. Hoole (chapelry created into parish, 1641)	There 1639			96139	Laurence										X (chaplain)			
See Goodwin	Edward Richard	C. then R., Eccleston	appointed R., 1643	Parliament			ODNB CR			X	X	X				X				
Hall	James	C. Birch; Blackley	There c. 1639				CPM						X (1646)							
Harper	John	Lecturer, then V. Bolton-le-Moors	1633			36886	RCP		X	X	X	X		X (1646)						
Harrison	John	C., then minister, 1642; Ashton-under-Lyne	Incumbent c. 1645	As Incumbent, Parliament (CCS)		74795	WBLB, Item 846; Earwiler		X	X	X	X					X (preaching committee)			
Hedderhwaite	Robert	V. Mellington	1633	Charles I	Investigated by Committee for Scandalous Ministers, 1645.	25668	CPM; RCP							X (1645)						X
Here	Charles	R. Winwick	1626	Sir Edward Stanley		28276	ODNB; RCP; Westminster Assembly; His 28276 poem publications X		X				X (1646)	X (1646)	X (1646)	X (1646)	X (Westminster Assembly)			

Lancashire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																					
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Pitron(s)	Other	CEG Database ID	Sources	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committees for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in class ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1646	Received payments for ministry Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Heyrick	Richard	Warden of Manchester collegiate church	1635	Charles I			MPC: his publications	X	X	X	X	X		X (Walswater Assembly)							
Hindley	Christopher	V. Ribchester	1638	Bishop Manton	Suspended by Lancashire Provincial Assembly, 1648, subsequently elected.	37094	CPM: WR												X (1646)		
Hollinworth	Richard	C. Salford; Fellow of Manchester collegiate church	1635; 1643	Humphrey Booth; unrecorded, probably Richard Heyrick (warzen)			ODM6: MPC: his publications	X	X	X	X	X		X							
Hornocks	Alexander	C. Deane (at Westrothgton chapel in 1648)	Thence 1620				25887	CPM	X	X	X	X							X (1646)		
Horricks	John	C. Newchurch-in-Pendle by 1639; at Colne by 1646					RCP		X	X	X	X									
Hytt	James	R. & V. Croston	1625	Charles I			27689	RCP; RCP	X	X	X	X					X (friend)	X			
Inglan	William	C. Edenfield; Church by 1646			Intruded at Ribchester in 1650s, retained vicarage after restoration.	72443					X										
Jackson	Richard	R. Halton, R. Whittington	1632; 1651		Both by Charles I (the latter by lapse)		31099				X	X									
Jacques	John	P. C. Penwortham; Bolton (i.e. Sands)	At Penwortham by 1642; at Bolton by 1646				Letter from Duke Hamilton				X	X	X							X (1646)	
Johnson	Thomas	C. Ellinbrook, R. Stockport	Thence 1613		Appointed to Stockport, Cheshire, by CPM in 1646, but remained influential within Lancashire presbyterianism.	36971	180, ODM6 30/15, Acom, 36971 Ellinbrook		X												X (informant)

Lancashire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																					
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCEI Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Received payments for military Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Johnson	Thomas			Committee for Pioneered Ministers at Halsall																	
Jones	John		At Rochdale in 1641; Halsall 1645	1611 James I	Died 1648, succeeded by his son Edmund	36975	CPM			X	X	X							X (1645, 1646)		
Key	Nevill		V. Walton-on-the-Hill	Alexander Molyneux (R. Walton-on-the-Hill)	See LRO, QSP 3739	36564	LRO, QSP 3739					X			X (blundered)						
King	John		V. Chipping	1623 Bridgeman		36705					X										
Langley	James		V. Leyland	Richard Fleetwood	Had recently died at the 1650 CCS	36452	RCP				X			X (1646)							
Leigh	William		C. Blackrod; Culbreth by 1645	At Blackrod by Culbreth by 1645			CPM				X	X							X (1645)		
Marsden	Ralph		C. Middleton; R. Brindle	At Middleton by 1642; at Brindle by 1646	Previously C. Coley, Halifax, 1617-c.1624. Probably the same Ralph Marsden appointed by CPM to West Kirby, Cheshire, in 1646		CPM; Merchant				X										
Marsden Morris	Robert Henry		C. Clitheroe; There 1638	Licensed 1640, but there by 1630		62249	CPM, RCP				X			X (1648)					X (1645)		
Norman	Thomas		C. Newton-in-Makerfield	There 1642	Died 1649		CPM				X	X							X (1645)		
Polett	John		C. Chorlton; Milnrow by 1647	At Chorlton by 1639; at Milnrow by 1647	Accused of royalism before the Bury classis in 1648 - alleged that he had violated the Covenant.		MPC; CPM														
Page	Thomas		C. Longworth; Redcliffe by 1646	At Longworth by 1642; at Redcliffe by 1646		86934	MPC, RCP				X	X							X (1650)		X

Lancashire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																						
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCED Database ID	Nature of parliamentarianism	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named as an ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Received payments for ministry Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism			
Rathband	William	C. Buckley	There 1633		Appointed by House of Lords to Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, 1643. Member of Westminster Assembly.																	
Redman	Richard		At Walton-le-Dale by 1646; C. Kirby at 1630 metropolical visitation				DNWB															
Shaw	Henry		1630; at	At Liverpool, the Mayor and Burgesses	Noted out of office at Liverpool in 1653	34860																
Shaw	ROBERT	V. Cokerham	1633	Roger Downes		24079																
Shaw	Thomas	R. Adlington	1625	Charles Row / Charles I		24103																
Stanley	James	R. North Meols	1640	Charles I		34788																
Sumner	John		At Samlesbury by 1642; at Bopham by April 1646; at Bligham; Poulton by October 1646																			
Thompson	Joseph		At Hale in 1639; Liverpool, 1643; Sefton, 1645	Liverpool elected by Mayor and burgesses; Sefton by CPM.	Approved by Westminster Assembly to be minister at Sefton.		CPM; RCP															
Threlley	John	C. then V. Deane	1643	appointed V.		24573																
Tomlinson	Richard	V. Dalton-in-Furness	1631	Charles I	Reported to CPM for scandal, February 1647, but not ejected.																	
Walker	William		At Haslington by 1622; at Whalley by 1616		There were at least two William Walkers, so it is assumed that this person is the same as Haslington was a Craggley of Whalley.																	

Lancashire Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																						
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism	Named in committee for appointing to or sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for ordaining minister, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1645	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Received payments for ministry Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism		
Walton	James	Deane	At Darwen by 1642; at Deane by 1646		Though a James Walton was C. Deane in 1642, Shaw says that it was the Darwen James Walton who was there by 1646.		CR; BPC				X											
Ward	William	Hill	1621-1645	Plundered Ministers	No longer vicar of Warrington after becoming R. Walton-on-the-Hill	29289 BCP	TNA, SP 28/300; 29289 BCP			X	X	X	X (1644)									
Welsh	Henry	Chorley	There 1628			30605 CS	TNA, SP 28/300; 30605 CS			X	X	X	X (1644)									
Whitfield	Richard	Upholland	There 1635		A Richard Whitfield C. Church Minshull, Cheshire, in 1630 triennial visitation.		URQ, QSP 7/15			X					X (illeg)	X (found)						
Wigan	John	Heasey, Birch	At Gorton by 1642; at Heasey by 1644; at Birch late in 1644				CPM; Life of Adam Wartholde									X					X (1647)	
Wilton	Brian	Colton	At Colton by 1638			30743				X	X	X										
Woolmer	Edward	R. Flaxton	There 1622	Probably Prebendaries of Litchfield		16238 CPM						X									X (1646, 1648)	

Lancashire: Parliamentarian clergy who entered into ministry in the county after the outbreak of civil war in 1642

Lancashire Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1648, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																								
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Parson	Other	CEJ/ Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Named in committee for sequestrated benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for ordaining ministers in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in clerk ordinance, October 1646	Signed Remonstrous Consent, March 1648	Permitted from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Autobomb	Revoked augmentation	Investigated for royalism			
			QUERY - there 1648: possibly the William Addison who was schoolmaster at Donee in 1628.			227207																		
Ashton	Edward	Clayton	QUERY - there 1644: may have been there pre-1642, but no surviving evidence.				RCD - Letter from Duke Hamilton					X												
Aspinwall	William	Masgull	There 1648		At Exkham, Cheshire, in 1627.																			
Bawley	William	Burtonwood	QUERY - there 1646		Minister in Cheshire in 1641.																			
Barnett	Nehemiah	Lancaster	House of Commons 1643				Shaw's list: see also his publications																	
Bennett	Philip	Uxerston	QUERY - there 1646 - no PR				CCS																	
Benson	Richard	Clifton-with-Hinck	There 1647		Identified by Shaw as the Mr. Benson of Northbury, Cheshire, in 1645. Buried at Scotopic, May 1651. Ordained at an ordination, October 1647.		MPC																	
Boden	Samuel	Huyton	There 1644		Later minister at Frodham, Cheshire.		TNA SP 28/299-PCP																	
Bolton	Henry	Hale	There 1644 (PR)				CPM																	
Bradshaw	Peter	Cocksey	1647		Overlooked by Bury clerk, August 1647		BPC																	
Brennan	Mr.	Unknown	Unknown, but during first civil war		Appointed to a living due to efforts of Sir William Brasen		WBLA, Item 1038																	
Brierley	John	Salford	There 1648																					

Lancashire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1648, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																							
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Parson	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Named in committee for appointing to benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Briggs	Richard	Longton	QUERY - there 1648 - no PR																		X (1648)		
Brown	Gerard	Aughton	At Blackrod in 1646; previously at Aughton there 1646		Previously at Aughton, 1646; previously at Aughton, 1646; previously at Aughton, 1646		Erection; MPC CPM; Northgate, II, 390-92.															X (1648)	
Brown	William	Douglas	There 1647 - nothing in PR, but post-1642				CPM															X (1647)	
Chicheley	James	Penwortham	There 1647 - nothing in PR, but post-1642		Committee for Plundered Ministers 1647		CPM															X (1647)	
Clayton	Leonard	Blackburn					10904 CPM															X (1647)	
Clayton	Thomas	Disbury					Possibly 161869 and 62640 MPC															X (1649, backdated to 1647)	
Constantine	Robert	Oldham					MPC; see also John Viers, Dogon (Demolished) 83634 (1660)																
Cranage	Thomas	Brindle					116249 Marchant															X (1645)	
Day	Richard	Prescot					33961 CPM																X
Dunn	William	Drmskirk					TNA SP 287300; RCP															X (1646)	
Ellison	David	Liverpool; Childwall					Chandler and Wilson; Childwall																X (1645)

Lancashire Clergy, either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																							
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Named in committee for appointing to benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordinarius minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in Ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmon's Comment, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authority	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Elwood	Samuel	Uncertain living in Lancaster area	There 1648				Letter from Duke Hamilton																
Fawcett	Thomas	Overton	There 1648			68792	CPM						X		X								
Fisher	John	Biopham	There 1647 - nothing in PR				CPM																
Fogg	John	Liverpool	1645	Elected by the Mayor and Burgess			Chandler and Wilson				X												
Furness	Toby	Prestwich	1646	Committee for Plundered Ministers			CPM, MPC				X												
Garner	William	Uncertain - possibly north Lancashire	There 1648				Letter from Duke Hamilton						X										
Gillbody	Robert	Holcombe	There 1647		Cheshire in 1633 metropolitanical visitation.	288722	BPC, WR						X										
Hale	Mr.	Prescot	There 1646-1647		Served living during Richard Day's suspension, 1646-1647 - payment ordered by CPM, September 1647.		CPM																
Hayhurst	Bradley	Leigh	QUEEN - there 1646- nothing in PR		Ministered in Cheshire in 1641	83497	CR					X											
Henshaw Hill	Hugh	Ellenbrook	At Ellenbrook c. 1646;		Paid by CPM for ministry, either 1645-46 or 1646-47 (Shaw)		CPM, CCC																
Hippworth	John	Todmorden	There 1647				BPC																
	Mr.	Whalley	There 1644							X													X (1647)

Lancashire Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																						
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCE4 Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Named in committee for appointing to benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an organising minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in ordinals, October 1646	Signed Homonymous Consent, March 1648	Payments from Separators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authority	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism
Wooland	Thomas		At Eccles in 1646; at Ringley in 1647		Paid by CPM for ministry at Eccles, July 1646; ordained by Manchester 1639. April 1647.		CPM, MPC						X								X (1647)	
Irigham	William		There 1648		Possibly C. Weaverham, Cheshire, at 1633 metropolitanical visitation.								X									
Jackson	Nathaniel		Resigned 1645		Appointed by CPM to replace ejected Peter Travers, but resigned soon afterwards.		CPM															
Jenny	Henry		Not there in 1642; there 1646		As St. Michael's on Wyre by 1631		CPM														X (1646)	
Jones	Samuel				Approved by Westminster Assembly, appointed by House of Lords, 1647		Shaw's list Westminster Assembly						X									
Kemp	William		There 1646		Elected as R. Podimore, Somerset, for royalism, 1645. Again elected as minister of Windermere, Westmorland, 1657.		WR; Nightingale, II, 57957; 1039-1045					X										X
Widd	John				Committee for Plundered Ministers 1645		CPM				X										X (1645)	

Lancashire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or sequestrated or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Person	Other	CCEP/ Database ID	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1649	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Rod to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalty
Latham	Andrew	Bury	1645 (with William A18)	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Died 1648	158886 CPN:BFC					X						X (from Coley, Yorkshire)	X (preaching at Coley)		
				At Douglas, Ashton, John Moore and Alexander Ripby; at Standish, Parliament.																
Latham	Paul	Douglas; Standish	At Douglas by 1643; appointed at Standish, c. 1645					X	X			X	X							
Lister	Anthony	Yorkshire	V. Giggleswick, c. 1641					X												
Locker	Mr.	Formby	There 1643										X							
Millison	John	Melling (Hibbald)	QUERY - there 1648																	
Mirrigold	John	Cartmel	There 1646 - nothing in PR		Preached at Northenden, Cheshire, 1643															
Mirrthable	Adam	Schoolmaster at Upholland and barford; minister at Gorton	Schoolmaster c. 1642-1644; appointed to Gorton 1646		Ordained in London after falling to secure ordination by the Manchester classis.															
Mirwesley	Richard	St. Helens	QUERY - there 1646 - no PR																	
Muske	William	Salford	There by January 1648		Ordained by Manchester classis to Ribbles, Yorkshire, February 1648.															
Moore	Matthew	Broughon-h-Arounness	There 1648																	
Neicot	William	West Derby	QUERY - there 1646 - no PR		Probably C. Shoppell, Cheshire, at 1653 metropolitanical visitation.															

Lancashire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																							
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCE4 Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Named in committee for appointing to benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1645	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Ambush	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Plant	William	Farnworth	QUERY - there 1645- nothing in PR						Named in committee for appointing to benefices in Lancashire, October 1643														
Port	Robert	Toxteth	QUERY - there 1645		Possibly the Mr. Port who preached at Bromborough, Cheshire, in 1647?				Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1645												
Rigby	James	Turton	There 1647		Allowed to minister at Turton by Bury classis as an exception for ordination. Not ordained by them, but ministered at Church by 1650.		BPC																
Schofield	Jonathan	Heywood	There 1645; probably not there in 1642		Previously ministered in Yorkshire		CR, Merchant																
Schoolcroft	James	Caton	QUERY - there 1648 - nothing in PR				RCP								X	X (1649)							
Shopley	Robert	Fernby	There 1644		Possibly the Mr. Shiply in Cheshire?		TNA SP 28700 Letter from Duke Hamilton							X									
Sill	John	Gresingham	QUERY - there 1645 - no PR				Shew's list; Letter from Duke Hamilton								X								
Smith	John	Melling		1646: House of Lords; CCC 1904											X								
Smith	Nicholas	Tatham	There 1645				CPM;																
Smith	Pear	Shirshood	There 1645																				
Smith	Thomas	Garsang chapel	QUERY - there 1648																				
Smith	Timothy	Rainford	QUERY - no PR - there 1648																				

Lancashire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																							
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEF Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1645	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Authority	Received augmentation	Investigated for royalism	
Taylor	Hugh	Ellenbrook	1647		Obtained by Manchester classis, October 1647. No longer at Ellenbrook by 1650 CCS.		MPC																
Tonge	Thomas	Hindley			There 1643, may have been there earlier but no surviving evidence		RCP					X				X (1643)							
Wells	John	V. Gargrave, Tonks	1632	Sr Richard Morcos of Gibburn, Yorkshire	Previously C. Hilton, Lancashire, 1627	127626	RCP; Warchant	X										X (Manchester, there 1643)					
Walker	Richard	Warton		Professor died 1646; there by 1646; admitted 1647	House of Lords		SPW's list					X											
Walker	William	Newton (Manchester)		QUERY - there 1646 - no PR	House of Lords							X											
Walton	John	Karnworth	1647		inhabitants of chappell, approved by Bury classis		BPC													X (1648)			
Whitehead	Thomas	Hilton		There by 1644 (Richard Jackson seemingly gave up living); admitted 1646	House of Lords		SPW's list; Letter from Duke Hamilton; CR					X		X									
Wood	James	Ashton-in-Macerfield		1642; moved to Ashton 1645	Committee for Plundered Ministers at Rughall; Edward Stockley at Aughton		RCP			X		X			X (1645)								
Worsell	James	Maghull; Aughton		Appointed in 1645 at Maghull; appointed to Stockley at Aughton in 1648			123026; CPM; RCP					X				X (C. 1645)					X (1645)		

Lancashire Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed or came into ministry in Lancashire between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Lancashire prior to 1642																							
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCE/ Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Named in committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643	Named in committee for relief of Lancashire, September 1644	Named as an ordaining minister in Lancashire, November 1644	Named in classis ordinance, October 1646	Signed Harmonious Consent, March 1648	Payments from sequestrators	Taken Covenant	Administered the Covenant	Sufferings	Fact to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Autobio	Received augmentation	Investigated for reaction	
Worthington	John	Oldham, then Tothholes	Both 1647		Originated by Manchester classis, April 1647; appointed to Oldham, but soon afterwards was at Tothholes.		MPC																
Worthington	Robert	Great Harwood; Blackburn	At Great Harwood by 1646; appointed to Blackburn 1647	Approved by Westminster Assembly	Possibly former C. Wotton-in-Longcliffe, Cheshire, of same name.							X											
Wright	John	Billings	Ordained (presbyterian) 1645 - no PR	QUERY at Preston;			CR																
Yates	Robert	Preston; Warrington	Warrington by 1647	there 1646; at Warrington by 1647																			

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy ministering in the county in 1642

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Authority	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
Adams	Charles	C., then R., Woodchurch	1642; presented 1647	Committee for Plundered Ministers		25610	CPM		X											
Anderson	William	Minister in Cheshire in 1641. At Copenhall by 1648.	At Copenhall by 1648			27628					X									
Bate	Henry	Mobberley, possibly the Mr. Bate at Bosley (Presbury parish) in 1635 in 1644.	At Mobberley in 1644.		Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643.		Harley MS 2130, 2137; WBLB, 35603 items 302, 303										X (1644)			
Benson	Richard	C. Norbury	There 1645, but signed the Cheshire Remonstrance as a 'clerk' in 1642. 1645. Not known to have held a living prior to then, though preached in Cheshire in 1641.		Identified by Shaw as the minister at Chorlton, Lancashire, in 1647; buried at Stockport, May 1651.		MPC, Harley MS 2130										X (at Norbury, 1645)			
Breton	John	Wilmslow (in 1645)		Deputy lieutenant	Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643.		CPM; Harley MS 2130													X (Northenden, 1643)

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Autorship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
Bridges	William		C. Grappenhall, 1641; at Farndon, 1648		A William Bridges, minister, is listed as sequestered in Bucklow Hundred in 1648, but I suspect that this is a mistake for the royalist Thomas Bridge, see CCC, I, 107.		Harley MS 2174				X			X (secretarial)						
Brooke	Thomas		Minister in Cheshire in 1641. C. Roethorne in 1630; et Gawsowth in 1646.		Previously ministered in Yorkshire. Contributed £5 towards the siege of Chester, January 1645; see WBLB, item 1235.		WBLB, item 1235; Cf. Merchant			X (1644)				X (money)						
Burghall	Edward		Schoolmaster at Bunbury; minister at Haslington, then Acton				Urwick's list; 72573 Burghall		X		X							X (date uncertain; forfeited in 1651)		
Burrows	Hugh		V. Runcorn; later at Christleton 1648	At Runcorn, Dean and Chapter of Oxford							X						X (1648)			
Byrom	George		R. Thornton-le-Moors 1615	Probably Peter Warburton			30992 TNA SP 28/225 31002 TNA SP 23/201, fos. 747-767							X (money)						X (ejected)
Catherall	Samuel		Minister in Cheshire in 1641; later R. Handley	John Devenport; Margaret Catherall			Harley MS 2130; 31007 WR				X (at Handley)						X (1647)			X (ejected at Swettenham)

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																			
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCed Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covent	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Authorship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Clarke	Sabbath	V. Tanvin Uncertain in 1642; at Middlewich by 1647	1622	John Bruen of Bruen, Stapleford		10894	Bodleian, Nelson MS, c.2, f6, 79f.; BL Harley MS 2144	X			X						X (1646)	X (1650)	
Clayton	Matthew				C. Hargrave in 1633		CPM											X (1647)	
Eaton	Richard	V. Audlem	1641	Thomas Delves	Died 1646	33279	Urwick's list	X											
Eaton	Samuel	Dukinfield (in 1643)	1643	Robert Dukinfield	Presched in Chester in 1641.	139440	BL Harley MS 2130; WBLB, Item 1037; Laurence; ODNB							X (army chaplain)			X (1646)		
Ford	John	C. Over	There 1635			36144	Burghall's			X									
Fowler	John	Schoolmaster at Barthomley		Son of rector, Richard Fowler	Killed by royalist troops, December 1643		Providence Improv'd												
Fowler	Richard	R. Barthomley	1617	William Fowler of Dalbury, Derbyshire		36161	Urwick's list		X		X								
Glegg	William	C. Heswall; later incumbent there		Committee for Plundered Ministers	NB entry in Bodleian 324 missed by Shaw, spotted by Matthews		WBLB, items 430, 454				X		X						
Glendole	John	R. St. Peter's; V. St. Oswald's; both Chester	1628; 1642	Parishioners; Evan Edwards and Henry Harper		26520	Bodleian, Nelson MS; JRL English MS 957; Westminster Assembly; CPM; CCC (Giffordall)	X			X						X (1647)	X (1648)	
Guest	Randle	At Little Budworth in 1643; at Pufford by 1648, when received presbyterian ordination by minister at Manchester					MPC				X								

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																			
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Auborship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
		Witton; Minshull Vernon; possibly the Mr. Holford at Over Peover in 1635 (but at Lower Peover at 1650 metropolitanical (vskaton))	Moved from Witton to Minshull Vernon, c. 1646				CPM; Harley MS 1999		X (at Witton)								X (at Witton, 1646)	X (at Minshull Vernon, 1646)	
Holford	Richard		At Piemestall, 1622; at Davenham by 1643	Unrecorded			Bodlesian, Nelson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r.; Harley MS 1999										X (1643)		
Holford	Thomas																		
Hopwood	Richard	Uncertain in 1642; Burton-in-Wirral in 1646		Committee for Plundered Ministers 1646	C. Great Budworth in 1628; C. Whitley in 1630, still at Great Budworth in 1634		37144 CCC				X								
Johnson	John	R. Ashton-on-Mersey	June 1642 (parish register)	Sir William Breerton (FR)	Appointed to the committee for appointing to sequestered benefices in Lancashire, October 1643.		Commons Journal, 9 October 1643							X (committee)					
Jones	John	C. Tarporley	At Tarporley by 1635; at Marple by 1645		Congregationalist, but praised by Edmund Calamy for his good conversation towards other, non-congregationalist ministers.		Harley MS 2130; Laurence, CR 36976											X (at Marple)	
Joyson	Thomas	V. Prestbury	1627	William Brooke of Adlington			27561 Attestation				X								

Chester: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1643)	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Impriisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Autorship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
		C. Great Budworth in 1630s; uncertain in 1640s																		
Knott	James					36637	Harley MS 1999										X (1646)			
Lancaster	Nathaniel	R. Terporley	1638	Evan Edwards		36446	Attestation CPM; Harley MS 1999; WLB, Item 1037; CCC; Urwick's list		X		X			X (army chaplain)		X				
Langley	Thomas	Lecturer at Middlewich	There 1622			36454	Urwick's list				X			X (associate of Sir William Breeton)			X (1645)	X (1646)		
Lascells	Bryan	R. Thurstaston	1641	Dean and Chapter of Chester		36462	Attestation Boddian MS, Nelson MS, c. 2, fo. 79r; CPM; Westminster Assembly; ODNB; his own publications				X									
Ley	John	V. Great Budworth	There by 1642. Paid for preaching at Nantwich in 1644.	Dean and Chapter of Chester	Appointed by CPM to Astbury, 1646	13711					X	X (London)			X (to Parliament)			X (1648)		
Mainwaring	George	R. Baddiley					TNA SP 28/225				X			X (lecturer to garrison)						
Ossley	Richard	V. Weaverham	1623	Peter Warburton		14404	Urwick's list													X (1646)

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																					
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Parson(s)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Authorship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
Peartree	William	Nantwich; Wyburnbury; Bebbington; Mary's, Chester	1647; at Chester, 1648		Lecturer at Nantwich garrison in 1645.	30083	Urwick's list; Laurence; TNA SP 28/225; CPM; Attestation		X			X			X (lecturer to garrison)				X (1646)		
Poole	Ralph	C. Bebbington; later incumbent there	Appointed as minister in 1647, succeeded his father Hugh, who had been ejected	House of Lords, 1647	Poole presented in November 1647, presented by John Minshall in December 1647		Shaw's list; TNA SP 23/148, fos. 79150					X									X (investigated)
Shelmerdine	Francis	C. Chaeale	There in 1641. Appointed at Mottram-in-Longdendale in 1651.				Herley MS 2130; 123508 Laurence; CR								X (army chaplain)			X (Northenden, 1643)	X (1651)		
Shenton	William	V. Rostherne	c. 1630	Peter Venables of Kinderlton			24105 Herley MS 2130											X (1645)			
Shipton	Samuel	R. Alderley	1630	Sir Thomas Stanley of Alderley			TNA SP 23/202, 15393 fos. 899, 909								X (money)					X (ejected)	
Snell	George	Waverton	1619; 1619; 1633	All by Bishop Bridgeman			SP 23/118, fos. 501-511; SP 23/190, fos. 639-7073								X (money)					X (ejected)	
Stringer	Ralph	C. Macclisfield	There in 1642				TNA SP 28/128; Newcome's Autobiography					X						X (1643)			
Torsheal	Samuel	Preacher at Bunbury	There in 1630	London Haberdashers' Company			34661 publications		X				X				X (London)				

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergy known to have ministered there in 1642 or earlier																				
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment	Patron(s)	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Refused to read royalist declarations	Plundered by royalists	Taken Covenant	Signed Attestation (June 1648)	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Imprisoned	Practical contributions	Sermons	Authorship	Paid by sequestrators	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
		C. Chelford; possibly the Mr. Worthington at Poynton (Presbury parish) in 1635	At Chelford in 1648																	
Worthington	Nehemiah					30451					X									
		C. Mottram-in-Longdendale; possibly the Mr. Worthington at Poynton (Presbury parish) in 1635	There in 1642; also there in 1624, but seemingly absent in 1630s		Possibly the minister of the same name briefly at Great Harwood and then Blackburn, both Lancashire, c. 1646-1647.		Earwaker JRL English MS 25682/957													
Worthington	Robert													X (committee)						
Yates	Thomas	C. Stonwick	There in 1636														X (1646)			

Cheshire: Parliamentarian clergymen who came to minister in the county after 1642

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																		
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalty	
Adams	Randall	Gerrison	1646	Ministers	Previously at Woodchurch with his brother Charles, forced to flee by royalist forces. Paid by Wirral sequestrators in 1647 for preaching at Hooton Garrison.		CPM; BL Harley MS 1999, 2018; JRL English MS 957	X			X							
Aspinwell	William	Preached at Eastham	There 1647		At Maghull, Lancashire, in 1648		CPM; JRL English MS 957	X								X (1647)		
Balf	Benjamin	Chester	There 1648				BL Harley MS 2136		X		X							
Barlow	Mr.	Uncertain	Paid 1644						X									
Boden	Samuel	Frodsham	First paid in 1644; at Frodsham by 1645				TNA SP 28/299		X		X							
Bowrie	Mr.	Nantwich	There 1646				BL Harley MS 1999		X									
Boyer	John	Barrow	There 1648				BL Harley MS 2128				X							
Burrows	Mr.	Neston	There 1644		Member of Westminster Assembly, only held the living for a short time.									X (money)				
Case	Thomas	Stockport	1645	Ministers			CPM; ODNB							X (Westminster Assembly)				
Chapman	Richard	Thornton-le-Moors	1646	Booth	Sir George		BL Harley MS 115494, 1999	X			X							

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Clarke	John	Ince	There 1646				BL Harley MS 2144		X								
Clarke	Josias	Bebington	1647	Committee for Plundered Ministers			CPM; BL Harley MS 2144; JRL English MS 957; Attestation		X		X						
Coe	John	Daresbury	There 1645			125898	BL Harley MS 2126; TNA SP 28/225		X								
Cole	Samuel	Over Peover	There 1647		Seems to be different from the Samuel Cole at Wybunbury		CPM									X (1647)	
Cole	Samuel	Wybunbury	There 1647		Seems to be different from the Samuel Cole at Over Peover		CPM									X (1647)	
Comin	Alexander	Churton Heath	1646	County committee			CPM										
Cope	Joseph	Sandbach	There 1648								X						
Cottingham	George	Plenstall	There 1648								X						X
Crangage	Thomas	Preached at Northenden	Preached 1643		L. St. Mary's, Nottingham, 1633-1640. Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643. Ministering in Lancashire by 1645.	116249	BL Harley MS 2130; Merchant		X								

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CEG Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Dunster	Henry	Northenden	There 1644		Paid £40 salary by Northenden sequestrators, July 1645.	33264	2130	BL Harley MS	X								
Elock	Ephraim	Runcorn	There 1648		Paid two lots of £10 for his ministry at the siege of Chester, November 1645 and January 1646.		TNA, SP 28/24, fo. 68r.; WBLB, Item 1235.				X			X (army chaplain)			
Ellison	[David]	Preached at Moberley	Preached 1644		C. Otley, Yorkshire, in 1642 (see sermon book there), though C. Chelford (Prestbury parish) in 1634-1635		BL Harley MS 3329	BL Harley MS 2137; Marchant	X								
Farmer	Mr.	Lymm and Warburton	There 1644				BL Harley MS 2137		X								
Freckleton	Robert	Backford	There 1648		Previously C. Bispham and V. Poulton-le-Fyde, Lancashire						X						X
Furness	Toby	Preached at Northenden; minister at Lymm and Warburton	Preached 1643; at Lymm and Warburton in 1644		Appointed at Prestwich, Lancashire, in 1646.		BL Harley MS 2130; SP 28/225		X								

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Affirmation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Gilbert	Thomas	Cheadle	1646	Sir William Breerton and deputy	Previously C. Merley, Yorkshire, 1632-1638	117501	CPM; Marchant				X						
Golborne	Joshua	Eccleston	There 1648								X						
Griffith	Henry	Wrenbury	There 1648								X						
		Preached at Northenden and at Mobberley at Knutsford in 1644	At Northenden 1643; at Mobberley 1644		Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643.		BL Harley MSS 2130, 2137		X								
Hall	Ralph								X								
Hammond	Thomas	Sandbach	There 1645				Harley MS 2144		X								
Harding	Dr.				Paid £5 for his ministry at the siege of Chester, January 1646.		WBLB, Item 1235.					X (prisoner in Dublin)					
Hatton	Henry	Overchurch	There 1648				BL Harley MS 2018		X		X					X (1648)	
Heas	Mr.	Bromborough	There 1646														
Hewetson	William	Stonwick	There 1648								X					X (1647)	
Hibbard	Henry	Mottram-in-Longdale	There 1647		Previously V. Preston-In-Holderness, Yorkshire, 1625-1643	118094; 118858	CPM; Marchant										
Holland	William	Malpas	There 1647				CPM; BL Harley MS 2135		X		X						
Hulme	John	Great Budworth	There 1648								X						
Huson	Mr.	Preached at Bromborough	Preached in 1647				BL Harley MS 2018		X								

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Nature of parliamentarianism (aside from patronage)	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Hutchinson	James	Dodleston	1646	Committee for Plundered Ministers			BL Harley MS 2136		X		X						
Hutchinson	John	Asbury	1648	House of Lords			Shaw's list										
Jackson	Richard	Peover (unclear if Over or Lower); Nantwich	At Over Peover by 1646; at Nantwich by 1648		Possibly the Mr. Jackson, C. Pott (Presbury) at 1650 metropolitanical visitation.	74143	1599	BL Harley MS	X (at Peover)		X						
Johnson	Thomas	Stockport	1646	Committee for Plundered Ministers			36977 CPM; Axon				X						
Ker	De	Audlem	There 1648								X						
Marbury	James	Davenham	There 1648								X						
Marigold	John	Preached at Northenden; Waverton	Preached 1643; at Waverton in 1648		Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643.		BL Harley MS 2130		X		X						
Marsden	Ralph	West Kirby	1646	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Probably the same Ralph Marsden at Brindle, Lancashire, in 1646.		CPM										
Marsden	Samuel	Neston	At Neston, 1647	Committee for Plundered Ministers at Neston			CPM; BL Harley MS 2018		X (at Moreton)		X (at Neston)					X (1648)	

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEI Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Martindale	Adam	Schoolmaster at Over Whitley	c. 1645, before removal to Gorton			78084	<i>Life of Adam Martindale</i>	X (suspected when in Lancashire)				X (plundered and imprisoned)		X (clerk to John Woore)			
Masy	Henry	St. Oswald's, Chester	There 1648							X							
Mercer	Edward	Burleydam	There 1648							X							
Murcott	John	Asbury	1648	tutor	Ordained by Manchester classis, February 1648. Soon afterwards removed to Eastham, then to West Kirby, Chester, and then Dublin.						X		X (from Oxford)				
Newcome	Henry	Goostrey	1648		Ordained at Sandbach in 1648 by Thomas Langley and John Ley (both parliamentarians).		<i>Newcome's Autobiography</i>				X						
Pemberton	John	Whitegate; Congleton	At Whitegate by 1646; at Congleton by 1648		At St. John's, Chester, by 1651. Possibly the John Pemberton who was C. Eccleston at the 1630 metropolitanical visitation.		CPM				X					X (1646)	

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642.																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Poole	Ralph	Bebington	1647	House of Lords	Poole presented in November 1647; William Peartree presented by John Minshall in December 1647.	79150	Shaw's list; TNA SP 23/148, fos. 389-392				X						X (Investigated)
Pott	Nehemiah	Swettenham, then Wincle	1647; by 1648		Ordained by Manchester classis, April 1647; removed from Swettenham to Wincle by June 1648, where he signed Attestation.		MPC				X						
Port	Mr.	Preached at Bromborough	1647		Possibly the Robert Port at Toxteth, Lancashire, in 1646?		BL Harley MS 2018										
Roberts	John	Aldford	1646	Committee for Plundered Ministers	Investigated for scandal in 1650. Case referred from Committee for Compounding to CPM as being related to scandal, did not fall under their jurisdiction (i.e. presumably did not relate to royalism).		CPM; CCC				X						

Cheshire Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Atzestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
Robinson	John	Warrington	1648	House of Lords	Previously ejected as R. Brereton, by 1646. At Warrington until his death in 1654.		WR; CPM; CCC; Shaw's list										X (ejected at Brereton)
Root	Henry	Northenden	There 1643		Paid £8 by Macclesfield sequestrators for his ministry at Northenden, 1643. Congregationalist. At Sowerby, Yorkshire, by 1646.		BL Harley MS 2130; CR; CCC		X								
Sharpe	Mr.	Bowdon	There 1645		Administered the Covenant to one John Morgan of Skenfrith, Monmouthshire, 28 October 1645, to secure Morgan's release after he had been taken prisoner at Rowton Heath.		CCC. iii. 1728			X (1645)							
Shaw	John	Lymm	1644	Sir William Brereton	Only there a short time before moving to Cartmel, Lancashire, and then Yorkshire, see his journal.		<i>Life of Master John Shaw</i>					X (plundered at Rotherham)	X (from Rotherham and Cartmel)				

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642.																		
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCEd Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentarian quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism	
Shipley	Mr.	Eastham	There 1646-1647		Possibly the Robert Shipley in Lancashire?		BL Harley MS 2018	X										
Sillitoe	Randall	Church Lawton	There 1648		QUERY - possibly either Francis or Richard below, or the John Smith ejected from Bowdon by Sir George Booth.					X								
Smith	Mr.	Congleton	There 1645				BL Harley MS 2144	X										
Smith	Francis	Tattenhall		Committee for Plundered Ministers			CPM											
Smith	Richard	Wybunbury	There 1645				WBLB, Item 244					X (plundered)						
Springham	Mr.	Eastham	Preached in 1647				BL Harley MS 2018	X										
Standly	Mr.	Stockport	Preached c. 1646				BL Harley MS 2130	X										
Stevenson	Nicholas	Alderley	There 1648								X						X (in Yorkshire, 1643)	
Sunderland	Daniel	Bunbury	There 1648		Ordained by Manchester classis, October 1647.		RCY				X							
Swan	John	Badliley	1547				MPC; BL Harley MS 2144	X			X							
Taylor	Timothy	Dukinfield	There 1646		Congregationalist		BL Harley MS 2130; his own publications	X										

Cheshire: Clergy either appointed or approved by Parliament, 1642-1649, or appointed between those years and whose parliamentarianism is otherwise known, and who are not certain to have ministered in Cheshire prior to 1642.																	
Surname	Forename	Living	Year of appointment or first record	Patron	Other	CCED Database ID	Sources	Unspecified loyalty to Parliament	Payments from sequestrators	Administered the Covenant	Signed Attestation (1648)	Sufferings	Fled to parliamentary quarters	Practical contribution	Authorship	Received augmentation	Potential royalism
				Committee for Plundered Ministers at former													
Upton	Thomas	Breerton; Holy Trinity, Chester	1646; at Chester by 1648				CPM	X			X						
Walker	Mr.	Mottram-in-Longdendale	There 1645				Earwaker			X (1645)							
				At Astbury in 1645; at Bowdon in 1647													
Watmough	James	Astbury; Bowdon					BL Harley MS 2144		X		X					X (1647)	
Whittingham	Humphrey	Wisaston	There 1648								X						
					Paid by Macclesfield sequestrators for preaching at Northenden, 1643.												
Worsley	Reigh	Preached at Northenden	Preached 1643				BL Harley MS 2130		X								

Supplement:
Parliamentarian clergy listed in unpublished financial
accounts, 1642-1649

Cheshire:

The British Library, London:

Harley MS 1999:

fo. 16r.: Account of 13 January 1645/46, year 1644-1645, Mr. [Randall] Addams, minister at Hooton Garrison, 'received 16 measures of wheate'.

fo. 72r.: Timber delivered to 'Mr. [Richard] Chapman ministar of Thornton mores for the repaireinge of the parsonage house'... 0

- 0 delivered for repairing Burton church, 'now in the states power'.

fo. 95r.: *Northwich Hundred sequestrators*: 16 December 1645: 'pd to Mr. [Thomas] Langley in pte of his wages... £1 10s.'

fo. 95v.: 'pd Mr. Langley in pte of his wages for the yeare 1644... £99 3s. 10d.'

fo. 96r.: 21 January 1645/46: paid £6.

fo. 97r.: 28 July 1646: Thomas Langley paid £45 5s. 3d. 'in pte of his wages for the last yeare'.

fo. 97v.: 10 December 1646. 'pd Mr. Bowrie Minister of Namptwyche by order from the Comittee of plundred Ministers... £25'.

fo. 119r.: Samuel Boden paid, 1644, £2 10s., 'by Order from the Counsell of Warr'.

- f. 120v.: ditto, 'cler'

fo. 126v.: February 1644/45, 'minister of Asburie' paid £10.

fo. 151r.: 18 July 1644: Mr. [James] Watmough 'our minister' paid a quarter's wages, £15.

fo. 258v.: 2 February 1645/46: Paid 8d. for a dinner for 'Mr. Chapman minister'.

William Leftwich's accounts:

fo. 283r.: 20 July 1646: Richard Holford paid £10 for ministry at Witton, by order of Sir William Brereton and the council of war at Nantwich dated 18 February 1645/46.

fo. 283r.: 3 February 1645/46: £ 10s. paid to 'severall ministers' for preaching at Witton since Holford's departure, plus a further £15.

fo. 283r.: 10 August 1646: Richard Jackson, minister at Peover, paid £9 by order of 26 February 1645/46.

- further payment of £6, 1 October 1646.

fo. 284r.: 7 October 1646, Richard Holford paid £9 for preaching at Witton, by order of same date.

- James Knot, minister, paid £1 on 1 October 1646 according to order of 15 September 1646.

fo. 285r.: 19 March 1646/47, James Knot paid 11s. 8d., according to order of 16 March 1646/47.

William Leftwich, Nantwich Hundred:

fo. 313r.: 20 November 1643: Thomas Holford paid £5 for ministry at Davenham, out of rectorial tithes – by order of Sir William Brereton, upon Holford's petition.

fo. 313r.: 25 November 1643: Richard Ouseley one of the three men placed in temporary charge of Northwich garrison during an assault on Chester.

fo. 314r.: 1 April 1644: Thomas Holford at Davenham paid £4 11s.

fo. 316v.: 21 December 1643: 6d. paid for Thomas Holford's dinner.

Harley MS 2018:

fo. 19r.: Randle Adams paid £2 3s. 4d. 'towards his paines in preaching at Hooton Garrison'.

fo. 56r.: 12 July 1646: Randle Adams paid £5 for ministering at Hooton.

fo. 63r.: [between 20 January 1645/46 and 18 November 1646]: Randle Adams paid £5 for ministering at Hooton Garrison.

fo. 79r.: [between 24 January 1645/46 and 24 June 1646]: Mr. Heas paid £5 4s. by order of the committee at Hooton 'for servinge the Cure at Bromborough'.

fo. 79v.: Mr. [Thomas] Yates at Shotwick paid £1 for the same.

fo. 86r.: 10 March 1645/46: Mr. Shiply paid 10s. for preaching at Eastham.
- ditto 17 March 1645/46.

fo. 87v.: - ditto 18 March 1645/46.

fo. 88r.: - 8 April 1646 paid £2 for four Sundays arrears.

fo. 105v.: 2 March 1646/47: 'pd Mr. Shiply for preaching one Sabaoth day at Eastham that place being without an Incumbent... 10s.'

- 10 May 1647: Mr. Port paid £3 1s. 6d. for preaching at Bromborough (no minister).

- 18 May 1647: Mr. Huson paid £10 for preaching one Sunday at Bromborough.

fo. 106r.: - ditto 13 June and 3 July 1647.

fo. 107v.: 9 October 1647: Randle Adams paid £2 for preaching at Hooton Garrison.

fo. 114v.: 1 August 1647: Mr. Springham paid 5s. for preaching at Eastham.

fo. 119v.: [disbursements, 2 October 1646 – 2 November 1646]:

'Pd Mr. Glendall for the use of Mr. Iohn Lea out of the deane & chapters rents recd from the Rectory of Great Neston acording to order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers... £5.'

fo. 143r.: c. 1647: 'paid to Mr Samuel Marsden minister of Morton chapell... £42 13s.'

- 'paid to Henry Hancocke of Morton for Mr Samuell Marsdens vse... £4 16s. 4d.'

fo. 159r.: 3 April 1647: Samuel Marsden, minister of Morton chapel, paid £10 by order of Committee for Plundered Ministers.

Harley MS 2128:

John Wettenhall's receipts, 1644:

Fo. 85r.: [5 August 1644]: 'Recd fr Mr Burrows Minister for the / Towne of Neston x^s. and iij^d. for Haulton pd. 11s. 3d.' [the only minister listed, contributions made by constables].

John Wettenhall's payments, 1645:

fo. 92r.: [2 August 1645, at Beeston]: 'Pd. to John Cradock for Mr. Lancaster Chaplin / to the Regimtt & for Maior Lanckley & his officers... £37'.

fo. 92r.: [2 August 1645, at Beeston]: 'Pd. to Capt. Winn for Coll. Brookes troppe / & Peeter Newton clearke... £65'. – *I am uncertain if Newton was an ordained clerk or an administrative clerk, so he is thus not included in my calculations.*

Harley MS 2130:

fo. 90v.: 20 March 1644/45: Mr. [Francis] Shelmerdine paid by William Barrett (fo. 87r.) £9 arrears due from Cheadle.

fo. 93v.: 18 March 1643/44: Mr. [Henry] Rootes paid £20 for his ministry at Northenden by order of Sir William Brereton.

fo. 95r.: c. 14 July 1645? Mr. [Ralph] Stringer of Macclesfield received £30 'for the kinges Rentes'.

fo. 106r.: Paid by William Barrett to ministers who officiated at Stockport and its chapels, by order of Sir William Brereton (duplicated fo. 148v.):

- 15 April 1645: Mr. [John] Joanes, minister at Marple, paid £16 17s. 2d by order of 'Sir William Brereton and the deputie Lieutenants', January 1644/45.
- 27 June 1645: Mr. [Richard] Benson, minister at Norbury, paid £8.
- 'to Mr. [Francis] Shelmerdine for supplie of the Lecture one day at Stockport... 6s. 8d.'
- Mr. [John] Joanes paid £6 'by the like order the July 22th 1645'.

fo. 134r.: 18 March 1643/44: Mr. [Henry] Rootes at Northenden paid £20 for part of his stipend.

fo. 134v.: 30 March 1644: Francis Shelmerdine paid £9 'for his Ministerie at Cheadle'.

fo. 137r.: 20 December 1644: Mr. [Ralph] Stringer at Macclesfield paid £25 'for the kinges rent'.

-f. 137v. additional £5 paid 15 January 1644/45 (William Barrett).

fo. 147v.: Francis Shelmerdine had land at Peele in Etchells.

fo. 209r: Disbursements by Edmund Shelmerdyne from the tithes of Northenden rectory, 1643 [but go into 1644 too] – total = £27 19s. 4d.

'Paid Mr. Roote for his paines in the Minestery att our church at Northenden the summ of... £8

It: Paid Mr. [Thomas] Chramich for his paines 4 Sabbath £1 9s. 6d.

It: for charges & expenses vppon diuers Ministers (to witt) Mr. [Toby] Fornace, Mr. [John] Brereton, Mr. [John] Mariegold Mr. [Ralph] Worsley, Mr. [Ralph] Hall, Mr. [Henry] Bate, Mr. [Francis] Shelmerdyne wch bestowed their paynes in preaching wth vs when wee had noe constant minister... £1 10s.

It: paid Mr. [Ralph] Worsley for his paines 2 Sabboathes... 14s.

It. spent vppon souldiers that went wth mee to distrayne for the Rents... 3s.

It: paid Mr. [Thomas] Chramich [Cranage?] expences for 2 dayes... 3s.'

Fo. 211r.: 10 July 1645, £67 15s. 1d. received in tithes, £55 13s. 4d. disbursed, including £40 to the minister, Mr. [Henry] Dunstarre.

Fo. 222v.: William Barrett's accounts (24 July 1645 – 27 May 1647, fo. 214r.): Timothy Taylor styled as 'of Stockport minister' when he bought some goods from the sequestrators (c. 1647, £1 10s.)

Fos. 243r.-245r.: various payments to Mr. [John] Joanes and Mr. [Richard] Benson, period above.

Fo. 245v.: Item to Mr. Samuell Eaton & Mr. Timothie Taylor by virtue of an order from Sir William Brereton and other deputie Lieutenantes of this Countie... £10'

- Timothy Taylor paid £1 6s. 8d., for supplying the cure at Stockport (and a further £2).
- Mr. Standly paid £2 for ministry at Stockport.
- Samuel Eaton at Duckenfield paid £10 as per above order, 30 April 1646.

Fo. 246r.: Timothy Taylor paid £5 at Duckenfield as per above order, 19 November 1646.

Fo. 246r.: Henry Roots paid £6 arrears, 10 May 1647, by order of deputy lieutenants for ministry at Northenden during vacancy.

Harley MS 2136:

fo. 46v.: 8 October 1646: rectory of Dodleston sequestered to the use of 'Mr. Hutchinson, 'the nowe incumbent', by order of Committee for Plundered Minsters.

fo. 58r.: Samuel Catherall allocated rents 'for officiatinge the cure at Hanley p order of the deputy lieut 12 June 1647' – total £20.

fo. 68v.: 20 September 1647. Mr. [William] Holland, minister at Malpas, given rebate out of tithes of £18 10s., by order of deputy lieutenants.

fo. 142r.: By order of deputy lieutenants: Mr. [John] Coe at Daresbury (18 July 1645, £7 10s.; 9 September 1645, £2 5s.; 21 November 1645, £5), Mr. Barlow (24 July 1645, £3 10s.), Mr. Boate [Henry Bate] (24 July 1645, £15), 'Mr. [William] Shenton p Order' (minister?) (20 October 1645, £11 5s.).

Harley MS 2137:

fo. 50v.: Five payments to John Coe, minister at Daresbury, 21 January 1644/45 – 4 June 1645, total £35.

- 17 December 1644: 'Mr. Farmare minister at Warburton & Lymme in Mr. Bisphams place... £6 17s. 6d.'

fo. 124r.: 1644:

'Paid to Mr. Boate [Henry Bate] minister at Moberlye' ... £39 2s.

‘To Mr. [Ralph] Hall and Mr. [David] Ellison for their Ministrye at Mobberlye’ ... £1 18s. 6d.

Harley MS 2144:

Edisbury Hundred sequestrators:

fo. 58v.: Mr. [Richard] Chapman, minister at Thornton, paid £20 by order of the deputy lieutenants, 6 August 1646.

fo. 58v.: John Clarke, minister at Ince, paid £42 5s. by order of the deputy lieutenants out of the rents of the Dean and Chapter of Chester, 14 August 1646.

fo. 58v.: Sabbath Clarke, minister at Tarvin, paid £12 by order of the deputy lieutenants, 7 July 1646.

fo. 58v.: Richard Moyle minister at Audley(?) paid £37 by order of the Committee for Plundered Minsters out of the rectory of Audley(?) (£50pa), 28 January 1646/47.

fo. 59r.: Richard Oseley, minister at Weaverham, paid £62 10s. by order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 11 February 1647/48.

fo. 59r.: John Swan, minister at Baddiley, paid £40 by order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers out of the impropriate tithes of Frodsham, 21 February 1647/48.

fo. 59v.: 20 March 1646/47: 10s. wages to Mr. [John?] Orme(?), minister at Audley [Staffordshire].

fo. 75r.: Post-19 May 1645: Mr. [Thomas] Hammond, minister at Sandbach, paid £10 by the Nantwich committee by order of the council of war.

fo. 75r.: Post-19 May 1645: Mr. [James] Wattmough, minister of Astbury, paid £6.

fo. 75v.: 1645: Mr. [James] Wattmough, minister of Astbury, paid £20.

fo. 76r.: 1645: James Wattmough paid £10 ‘for his quarters wages ending at Christmas’.

fo. 76v.: 1646: James Watmough paid £16 for his quarter's wages up to Midsummer.

fo. 78r.: 1646: James Watmough paid £5 for the quarter up to Michaelmas.
- Ditto.

fo. 79v.: 1646: James Watmough paid £20 for the quarter up to Michaelmas.

fo. 89v.: *Ralph Poole's accounts for Northwich Hundred, 1 September 1643 to 15 June 1645*: 'minister of Astbury' paid £20.

- James Watmough paid £20.

fo. 94r.: 20 June 1645: Paid Mr. James Wattmough, minister of Astbury, paid £5 of the £8 arrears, the remainder of the £20 which should have been paid to him at last Lady Day.

- the remaining £3 paid 10 July 1645.

fo. 94v.: 10 July 1645: James Watmough paid £10.

fo. 107r.: *Northwich sequestrators*: 20 November 1645: Paid Mr. Smith, minister of Congleton, £1 18s. 7d. towards the repair of Mr. Spencer's house.

Harley MS 2174:

Fo. 34r.: March 1643 (1644?): particular of the names of delinquents in Bucklow Hundred compiled by 'William Bridge of Grappenhall clerke'.

Also checked, but no relevant entries were found within, Harley MSS 1943, 2126, and 2173.

The National Archives, Kew:

SP 28/128, Part 10: Cheshire army accounts, October 1642 – 20 April 1647:

18 August 1643: Ralph Stringer, minister at Macclesfield, paid £2 10s. (by Thomas Robinson).

SP 28/128, Part 13: James Croxton's accounts (county treasurer), 1646-1654:

[undated, possibly 1647]: £378 3s. 5d. paid to ministers for serving as army chaplains and for preaching in garrison towns.

SP 28/224: Cheshire committee accounts and papers:

fo. 68r.: Sir William Brereton ordered £10 to be paid to Mr. [Ephraim] Elcocke for 'his paines in preaching and praying to the Leaguer before Chester euer since the Armye came there', 11 November 1645.

SP 28/225: Cheshire committee accounts and papers:

Part 1, nos. 44 and 45: John Coe, minister at Daresbury, received £10 arrears from the Bucklow Hundred sequestrators, 21 January 1644/45.

Part 1, no. 46: Toby Furness paid £6 17s. 6d. by the Bucklow Hundred sequestrators 'for my ministrie at Lymm & Warburton', 17 December 1644.

Part 1, no. 93: John Coe received £5 from the Bucklow Hundred sequestrators 'for my Ministerie at Daresbury', 4 June 1645.

- no. 94: ditto, 7 May 1645.

- no. 95: ditto, 15 April 1645.

Part 2, fo. 324r.: William Peartree paid £3 for sending out scouts from Nantwich garrison, 25 March 1644.

- fo. 335r.: ditto, 28 March 1644.

- fo. 362r.: ditto, 11 April 1644.

- fo. 367r.: ditto, 21 March 1643/44.

- fo. 368r.: ditto, 10 March 1645/44.

- fo. 403r.: ditto, 28 April 1644.

- fo. 410r.: ditto, 30 April 1644.

- fo. 423r.: ditto. 13 April 1644.

- fo. 438r.: ditto, £5, 19 June 1644.

- fo. 447r.: ditto, £8, 17 May 1644.

Part 2, fo. 393r.: *Post-restoration list of parliamentary activists in Cheshire:*

- 'Nathaniel Lancaster Minister of Tarpley decd.'

- 'Will. Peartree of St. Marys Chester Minister'.

Part 3, fo. 521r.: Order that 'Mr. Hugh Burrowes, late Vicar of Runcorne' be paid the arrears due 'for the last yeare of his Incumbency', 8(?) February 1647/48.

Part 3, fo. 560r.: Petition from the churchwardens of Aston for the payment of a £5 pension to their minister, John Orme – undated, and no response, so Orme is not included in my list of parliamentary clergy.

Part 3, fo. 667r.: Order that the Bucklow Hundred sequestrators will, upon petition from the 'well affected' inhabitants of Daresbury, pay £20 per annum for the maintenance of their minister, John Coe, 17 December 1644 (signed William Brereton, H. Brooke, Rich: Brooke).

Part 4, fo. 766r.: Sir William Brereton ordered James Croxton to pay £10 to 'Nathaniell Lancaster Minister, & Chaplin', 17 August 1644.

Part 4, fo. 903r.: 'Mr [George] Mainwaring minister' amongst the recipients of a 3s. share, Sandbach, 22 March 1643/44.

Part 4, fo. 905r.: Order for payment of Mr. [William] Peartree for administering the 'scoutes' at Nantwich, 15 March 1643/44.

John Rylands Library, Manchester:

English MS 957: Wirral sequestrators' accounts.

fo. 6r.: Thomas Yates, minister at Shotwick, paid £3, 12 February 1646/47.

fo. 6v.: William Aspinwall paid £12 10s. 'for preaching at Eastham', 31 March 1647.

fo. 14v.: John Glendole (St. Peter's, Chester) paid £20 16s. 4d., 7 April 1647.

fo. 15r.: Randall Adams paid £9 4s. 10d. 'for preaching at Hooton', 14 April 1647.

fo. 16r.: John Glendole paid £14 13s. 4d., 20 April 1647.

fo. 19r.: Josias Clarke (Bebington) paid £20, 21 May 1647.

fo. 19v.: John Glendole paid £25, 22 May 1647.

fo. 20r.: Payments of 32s. and 40s. to John Glendole, 3 July 1647.

fo. 20v.: £3 paid to the minister of Stoak, 30 July 1647.

fo. 22v.: £3 10s. paid to Josias Clarke, 29 November 1647.

fo. 24r.: £5 paid to the minister of Eastham, 24 January 1647/48.

Lancashire:

The National Archives, Kew:

SP 28/299, fos. 1063-1175: Papers of the West Derby Hundred sequestrators, July 1643 – May 1644.

fo. 1064r.: ‘John Broxop one of his Ma^{ties} preachers for Lancashire’ received £50 for a year’s salary, Ormskirk, 8 December 1643.

fo. 1065r.: ‘William Bell one of his Ma^{ties} foure preachers’ received £50 for a year’s salary, Huyton, 12 December 1643, by order of the deputy lieutenants, Preston, 12 October 1643.

fo. 1170r.: Payment of £5 to Samuel Boden, clerk, ‘for supplying of the Cure at Huyton, as an assistante accordinge to an order for that purpose’, 12 March 1643/44.

SP 28/300, fos. 211-1164: West Derby Hundred sequestrators’ accounts.

fo. 243r.: William Dunn paid £3 ‘for supplying of the Cure at Ormeskirke’, 24 May 1644.

fo. 334r.: Paul Lathom paid £60 by the sequestrators by order of ‘Collonell Raph Ashton, Coll John Moore & Coll Alexander Rigby’, 2 March 1643/44.

fo. 339r.: Robert Shepley, clerk, paid 50s. ‘for the supply of the Cure at Formbie’, 12 March 1643/44.

fo. 379r.: £5 paid to Henry Welshe of Chorley, 23 November 1644.

fo. 414r.: Order for the payment of £60 to Paul Lathom by the West Derby sequestrators, signed by Raphe Assheton, John Moore and Alex: Rigby, 'appointed by vs', 2 March 1643/44.

fo. 415r.: Payment of 10s. to Robert Shepley 'for suplying the Cure att Formeby', 22 March 1643/44.

fo. 417r.: Order by Ralph Assheton and John Moore that the West Derby sequestrators pay £8 to Mr. Locker for officiating at Formby for 'twentie sabboaths' now, to be paid from the sequestrations 'according to an agreement betwixt him & the inhabitantes thereof', 4 March 1643/44.

fo. 915r.: William Dunn (Ormskirk) paid £40 by the West Derby sequestrators, 22 February 1643/44.

fo. 936r.: William Ward (Warrington) paid £5 as part of a £15 augmentation by the West Derby sequestrators, 20 April 1644.

fo. 961r.: 40s. paid to Robert Shepley for his ministry at Formby, 6 April 1644.

fo. 967r.: £2 paid to William Dunn (Ormskirk), 4 April 1644.

fo. 981r.: Robert Shepley (Formby) received £1 15s., the final payment resulting from an order by Col. John Moore and Major Thomas Birch, 25 May 1644.

fo. 1118r.: Robert Shepley paid 40s. for his ministry at Formby, 26 March 1644.

fo. 1120r.: West Derby sequestrators paid William Ward £4 7s. 6d., 7 May 1644.

fo. 1135r.: Robert Shepley paid 20s. for his ministry at Formby, 14 May 1644.

fo. 1145r.: Robert Shepley paid 5s. for his ministry at Formby, 8 May 1644.

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- EDA 3/1: Bishop John Bridgeman's register.
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- EDC 1/52: consistory court case book (covers 1630s).
- EDC 5: consistory court case files.

EDD: Dean and Chapter of Chester:

- EDD 3913/1/4: Chester Cathedral treasurers' accounts, 1611-1644.

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