

**The Ecclesiastical Identities
of Puritan and Nonconformist Clergy,
1640-1672**

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Thesis Abstract

THE ECCLESIASTICAL IDENTITIES OF PURITAN AND NONCONFORMIST CLERGY: 1640-1672

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This thesis is a study in the evolving ecclesiastical identities of the Puritan/Nonconformist clergy between 1640 and 1672. It will supplement the historiographical definition of Nonconformity and argue that a shift towards a 'soft' denominational identity more accurately represents Restoration Nonconformity. It will show how particular ecclesiastical tendencies crystallised in the 1640s as Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist identities. However it will demonstrate that individual ministerial identities were not fixed. Clerical identities shifted and blended, adapting to the circumstances within the Puritan/Nonconformist movement as well as those forced upon them from without. The demarcations between Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists were often blurred. Using data gathered from a Nonconformist ministerial database the thesis will substantiate an observable tendency during the Restoration for some former Presbyterians to shift towards a Congregationalist/Baptist identity. It will provide evidence that, in the absence of a classis system, many pure Presbyterians progressed to a Presbyterian/Congregationalist or even Baptist identity as documented by the 1672 licenses. It will track the evolution of Nonconformist ministers by way of dated identity markers based on primary source self-identification including: attestations, confessions, trier, classis, and ejection records, clergy associations, and ministerial licenses. It will discuss a variety of possible motivational factors allowing for observable clerical identity migration across denominational lines. These include an educational emphasis on an irenic view of ecclesiology, intermittent cooperation during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the formation of ecumenical pastoral associations and the enforcement of penal laws charging ministers with sedition should they not conform. In addition, this thesis raises questions about Edmund Calamy's list of ejected ministers and the 1669 Episcopal Returns, both of which lead historians to underestimate the number of nonconformist ministers active during the Restoration era, which in turn complicates the assessment of ecclesiastical identities, thereby creating a distorted picture of Nonconformity in the Restoration.

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Note: All biblical references in this thesis are from the King James Version, 1611 Edition.

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Question of Identity among the Nonconformist Clergy

On 16 May 1660, a salute fired by musketeers heralded the proclamation by the mayor and aldermen of Winchester that Charles Stuart was King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Along the processional route, money was cast to the poor, church bells rang and bonfires were lit. On 29 May 1660, Charles II arrived in London in response to the invitation of the Parliament and the Presbyterians. Once again, the proclamation was read, this time followed by shouts of “God Save King Charles the Second!” and accentuated by three rounds of cannon fire from the Tower. Meanwhile at Cambridge, Cromwell was tried and executed in effigy. In Ripon, according to I. M. Green, young maids dressed in white and bearing garlands were crowned in honour of the Virgin King.¹ Nearly an entire month was set aside for public thanksgiving. The republic was dead.

For the majority, including many future Nonconformists, this was a time of rejoicing. In the Declaration of Breda, Charles II had promised liberty of conscience and toleration of religion. Though each of the major ecclesiastical groups still competed for special treatment, all were hopeful that this Stuart King would keep his promise. However, throughout the next twenty-six years an entire segment of the population known for their nonconformity to the Church of England would discover that they were considered second class subjects. By refusing to conform to what they considered the dictates of the bishops, they would be subjected to fines, confiscation of goods, prison sentences, and even banishment.

Due to the persecution they suffered, former enemies found themselves aligning with those with whom they had waged political battles. My thesis will attempt to explain how Nonconformist unity was forged. Most shared one common reality, by choice or by imposition. They had become Nonconformists, an identity that would become a significant one. This reality was especially true of those ministers who refused to take the Act of Uniformity’s Oath of Allegiance in 1662. As a consequence of their refusal, thousands of ministers lost their professions, their respected positions in the community and even their freedom. Clergymen facing differing doctrinal convictions came to the conclusion that they must either stand together or suffer individually. Many moderate ministers not only assumed the identity of a Nonconformist, but they asserted it with dignity, sharing commonly held convictions. Ministers not only united and accommodated one another, but they also adapted to changing laws and political conditions, which allowed them to shift between previously competing identities. Consequently, identity emerges as an indispensable term needing

¹ I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 3-4.

to be understood, if we are to arrive at any conclusions as to how such a cooperation could have occurred.

Chapter One will cover the definitions of identity within the context of cultural history, as well as the various kinds of identities (assigned, assumed and asserted) associated with the Nonconformist clergy, documented from both primary and secondary sources. Clarifying questions that will be addressed in this chapter include, “Why study identity?”, “What are the classifications and terms associated with Nonconformist ministerial identity?”, and “How do the secondary and primary sources describe Nonconformist identity?”

Chapter Two will provide a description of the methodology required to assemble a more comprehensive Nonconformist ministerial database using, but not limited to, Calamy’s ministerial identity data. To track individual ministers and their known identities at specific historical points throughout their ministries, I compiled a ministerial database with the ultimate purpose of providing a more inclusive image of Nonconformist ministerial identity as a whole.

Chapter Three will discuss the influence the university may have brought to bear on ministers in training, facilitating a godly brotherhood which included a doctrinal affinity and cooperative ecclesiastical environment in which Nonconformity could flourish. One of the earliest university instructors, Laurence Chaderton, who was instrumental in teaching those moderate Puritans who would later become Nonconformists of the Restoration will be considered as a case study since his influence extended to at least three colleges at Cambridge, that of Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, and Magdalene. Chaderton’s emphasis on cooperation, Biblical preaching and tolerance of “indifferent things” seems to have helped to lay a foundation upon which cooperative Nonconformity later may have taken shape. In addition Christopher Rogers, John and Henry Wilkinson, and Thomas Goodwin at Oxford will be considered as possible influencers of future Nonconformity.

In Chapter Four, a preliminary examination of the identities of a select group of Puritan ministers in the 1640s and 1650s will be undertaken, many of whom would later become “first generation” Nonconformists. In order to locate these identities, I chose classis records and the attestation documents, since they contain commonly overlooked ministerial identity data. These records will serve as my chronological starting point for the subsequent study of ministerial identity. Within the chapter I will also examine the Confessions of Faith and the Trier records that divulge ecclesiastical convictions and add insight to the understanding of a mutually embraced “core” doctrinal position.

Chapter Five contains a detailed study of another source of ministerial names, that of the Worcestershire Association and her satellites throughout England and Wales. The associational

declarations of faith prove useful in assessing the former theological convictions of those ministers who would later emerge as Nonconformists. Furthermore, these documents provide written evidence of a progressive movement by some towards cooperation with fellow ministers of similar conviction, though not necessarily of an identical denominational affiliation. In addition, this chapter will raise the possibility that common friends and common enemies might have played a part in bringing together future Nonconformists into an informal network during the 1640s and 1650s.

Chapter Six is an indepth discussion of “sedition” within the context of penal codes of the 1660s. A brief holistic study of the series of codes indicates a progressive legislative pressure that was brought to bear upon ministers, forcing them to clarify and declare their ecclesiastical identity either as Conformist or Nonconformist. The penal codes, in particular, the Act of Uniformity, precipitated an ejection of “Nonconformist” ministers who became the subjects of Calamy’s *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 of Charles II*. This chapter will discuss the problematic nature of the estimate of some 2000 Nonconformist ministers as formally recorded by Edmund Calamy as well as the accuracies of ministerial ecclesiastical identities as reported in his records.

Chapter Seven is an examination and comparison of two primary sources of ministerial ecclesiastical identification, that of the 1669 Episcopal Returns or “Census” and that of the 1672 ministerial licenses. In addition, I will undertake an explanation of how G. Lyon Turner located and recorded ministerial licenses in his registry and how the licenses were originally requested, received and recorded. Finally, using a small sample of ministers from my ministerial database, I will discuss the potential shifting of Nonconformist ministerial identities. However, before we can examine the process of ecclesiastical identity sliding, we must first define what is meant by “identity”.

Why Study Identity?

Religious identities were of primary importance to most early modern English believers, but they became particularly important to the Nonconformist minister whose reputation, social identity, financial security and life depended on the choices he made and the identities he assumed. In certain situations, a minister may not have had the autonomy to choose his own identity since it was assigned to him by his adversaries. Yet religious identities were not fixed during the Restoration; they fluctuated as often as situations and politics changed. Nonconformist believers and their ministers shifted between religious identities as the circumstances of their lives changed. Sometimes the movement between identities was graceful and pre-planned. At other times, the

shifting seemed forced and irregular, punctuated by ambiguity and adversity. To these pastors, a variety of religious labels were available. A minister could assume an ecclesiastical identity as a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist/Independent, a Baptist or in some instances, a combination. Adding an additional layer of complexity, assigned general religious identities might be broken down into additional sub-identities by the degree of adherence: i.e. Moderate or Strict.² This chapter will explore the meaning of identity, the sources used to locate these identities and the use of identity classifications by both historians and ministerial contemporaries.

One must define briefly the term “identity” before proceeding to discuss the classification of religious identities and the use of identity by historians and by Nonconformist ministers. Sociologists offer numerous definitions that encompass personal and group “identity”, as well as more specific definitions of ethnic and national “identity”. Many sociologists arrive at a similar conclusion with one who writes that the more he seeks to define identity, “the more the word becomes a term as unfathomable as it is all pervasive”.³ Perhaps the most useful definition of “identity” comes from John Joseph, who writes,

Ethnic and religious identities concern where we come from and where we are going--our entire existence, not just the moment to moment. It is these identities above all that, for most people, give profound *meaning* to the ‘names’ we identify ourselves by, both as individuals and as groups. They supply the plot for the stories of our lives, singly and collectively, and are bound up with our deepest beliefs about life, the universe, and everything.⁴

Joseph proposed that religious identities are especially powerful because they frequently encompass a definition of orthodox and unorthodox doctrine and practice as well as of salvation and damnation. Religious convictions influence how a person thinks and determine the actions that are motivated by their intellectual pursuits. These religious convictions formulate an ecclesiastical identity, which, in turn, unite religious adherents of similar faith and practice. As a consequence, each individual claiming a religious identity seeks out a group religious identity or multiple group identities that best match his or her sense of self and belonging.

What happens when the religious believer is no longer permitted by his government to practice his deeply held convictions of right and wrong, when the consequences for holding those convictions are financial ruin, imprisonment or even death? Many ministers found themselves in this predicament during the early years of Charles II’s reign. Individual believers migrated from one identity to another, frequently clinging to a bricolage of beliefs.

² John Ley, *A Discourse Concerning Puritans. A Vindication of Those, Who Unjustly Suffer by the Mistake, Abuse, and Misapplication of that Name* (London, 1641), p. 41. Ley writes, “He that is not moderate in Religion is a Puritan.” See also Henry Jessey, *The Lords Loud Call to England* (London, 1660), p. 21.

³ Hans Mol, *Identity and the Sacred* (Oxford, 1976), p. 9.

⁴ John Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (Chippenham, 2004), p.172.

Before we can proceed to examine the various Nonconformist ecclesiastic identities, we must define the terminology of classification. These terms of classification help explain the development and maturation of each ecclesiastical identity. Most ecclesiastical traditions encounter at least one incidence where a minority within the identity decides that there has been an apostasy from the fundamental doctrines upon which the group was founded. The minority then either chooses to separate from the group to join another existing group or they formulate a new ecclesiastical identity. This process may be evident to an outside observer, but from within, it may be shrouded by emotional and spiritual turmoil. By analysing distinguishable points of separation from the Church of England, historians may discover the reasons why ministers chose to adopt a cohesive Nonconformist identity, while utilising the remaining form of church government available.

Classification terms

Ecclesiastical identities are somewhat problematic since differences remain among historians regarding the origins, growth, influence and decline of the Nonconformists. Many ecclesiastical identities originated from a pejorative assigned to a group to demean a newly formulated identity and strengthen the status of a former identity. As an example, some Church of England politicians and theologians commonly used this tactic to legitimize their own doctrinal position and delegitimize an upstart ecclesiastical identity. For the duration of my thesis, I will define assigned identities as those identities that an ecclesiastical group would not have chosen for itself.

One example of an assigned identity is the term “Puritan”. Patrick Collinson wrote that the word “Puritan” was first used by the exiled Catholic polemicist, Nicholas Sanders, as an anti-Protestant term. Later John Stowe from London employed the word to describe Anabaptists in London. Collinson cited a gazetteer who used the term as a synonym for London Brownists and believed that the term “Puritan” was a pejorative label describing the “hotter sort of Protestants.”⁵ He quotes John Keltridge, vicar of Dedham Essex in 1577, who called his enemies “vain glorious men” and “precise men” who thought themselves “purists”.⁶ Another example of an assigned identity is found in the ecclesiastical label “Anabaptist”, used by both Church of England and Presbyterian divines as a means to alarm the public into associating English Baptists with anarchist Anabaptists in Europe.

A second expression of identity, though not necessarily in any chronological order, is the “assumed identity”, a label that began as a pejorative, was resisted by a newly formed group, but

⁵ Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism*, (London, 1987), pp.19-20.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 19-20.

later was accepted as a means of crystallization and unity. An example of an assumed identity is found within a confessional statement written in 1646 by the Baptists in London. In the confession, the leaders of seven congregations grudgingly acknowledged that the pejorative label “Anabaptist” had stuck, and that they did not have a better alternative, apart from the ‘seven congregations or churches of Christ in London’.⁷

A third expression is that of “asserted identity” which I delineate as an assumed identity that has evolved into a defined and clarified label. Religious groups embracing asserted identities leverage doctrinal statements, confessions of faith, and theological treatises to fashion an identity that is eventually accepted as a badge of honor. No longer does the group dispute their assumed categorisation, but rather takes pride in asserting a unique identity in contradistinction to other established ecclesiastical definitions. For example, some Presbyterians might proudly call themselves Presbyterian, in opposition to Congregationalists, Separatists, Baptists, Quakers, and other Dissenters.

The final expression of identity is that of a “multiple identity”. Smaller sub groups decide they can no longer remain within a larger ecclesiastical denomination and either fully separate from the group, assuming a new ecclesiastical identity, or, in the case of a multiple identity, may form a hybrid identity using two or more ecclesiastical identities. An example of a multiple identity is found within the life of Nonconformist pastor Theophilus Polwheelee, who, in the course of his lifetime was a Presbyterian, an Independent, a Congregationalist, and a Nonconformist.⁸ Theophilus was trained by William Sancroft, later Archbishop of Canterbury, while enrolled in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a training school for godly ministers. In 1654, Polwheelee was appointed as a member of the committee for ejecting scandalous ministers in the counties of Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, and Westmorland, providing evidence that the Cromwellian government considered him to be an orthodox minister. Before the Restoration, Theophilus was a member of the Devonshire Association, a satellite of Baxter’s Worcestershire Association. In May 1660, Polwheelee addressed Charles II, serving as a Congregationalist minister from Devon. In 1669, the Episcopal returns assigned Polwheelee as a Nonconformist, Presbyterian,

⁷ Anonymous, *A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (but uniuſtly) called Anabaptiſts* (London, 1646), pp. A4, B.

⁸ Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland* (Manchester, 1911), pp. 51, 145; Anonymous, *The Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Miniſters Lately Ejected out of Their Livings in Several Counties in England* (London, 1663), p. 10; Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860), pp. 272-273; Josiah Bull, *Memoirs of the Rev. William Bull of Newport Pagnal* (London, 1864), p. 45; William Shaw, *A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660* (New York, 1900), Vol. 2, p. 450; G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (London, 1911), Vol. 1, p. 43; Vol. 2, pp. 1152, 1177; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection* (Manchester, 1917), p. 368.

and Congregationalist. Polwheele was later granted a license in 1672 as a Congregationalist at Tiverton.⁹

A second example of multiple identity is the eccentric William Sedgwick. While rector at Farnham, Essex, Sedgwick stood in opposition to Laud's form of Arminian doctrine, thereby aligning himself with the Puritans. He participated in the Durham Classis of Presbyterian elders and ministers. Sedgwick also associated with the Quakers and Muggletonians later in his life. Church of England records indicate that he conformed back to the Church and became rector of Mattishall Burgh, Norfolk in 1663, shortly before his death.¹⁰ Other examples of multiple identities in my Nonconformist minister database are less complex, normally comprised of two or three ecclesiastical identities. Asserted dual identities are evident in ministerial applications for governmental licenses issued in 1672.

Now that these expressions of identity have been defined, they will be employed to describe the formation, establishment, migration or demise of various denominations known to be in existence during the Restoration reigns of Charles II and James II. The scope of my thesis will be limited to the predominate identities within Nonconformity. In addition to the majority groups comprising Nonconformity, smaller groups became ostracised, yet often received a larger share of attention in their own time and in the estimation of historians who wrote about them.

Historiography on Nonconformist Identity

'Radicals'

Various historians have attempted to either define or describe the Nonconformist identity, some to a greater level of detail than others. A customary practice is to locate different varieties of Nonconformity within a spectrum ranging from "conservative" and "moderate" dissenters to "radical" sectaries'. This practice aligns with seventeenth-century taxonomies, though the labels

⁹ Stephen Wright, 'Polwheele, Theophilus (d. 1689)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), online edition, Jan. 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22484>; Richard Baxter and Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges and School-masters*. (London, 1713), p. 239; William Harding, *The History of Tiverton in the County of Devon*, Book III (London, 1847), p. 47; Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses* (London, 1810), Vol. 3, p. 436; For possible Baptist connection see Daniel Lysons, *Magna Britannia: The County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1899), p. 516; Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, *Report and Transactions*, Volumes 105-106 (Sidmouth, 1974), p. 28; John S. Amery, *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* (Devon, 1992), Vol. 37, p. 281.

¹⁰ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, pp. 368, 525. See also Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Rejection* (Manchester, 1917), p. 259; Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London, 1984); Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill: Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Amherst, 1986), p. 262; Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 31-34, 44-47, 67-68, 74-75; Charles Surman, 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013). <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>

“conservative” and “radical” do not correspond to the categories. When attempting to define Baptists and Quakers, T. L. Underwood described the theological differences between Dissenters using a linear model with the Baptists positioned between the Presbyterians and Independents on the right of the spectrum and the Quakers on the left.¹¹ Underwood categorised any sect to the left of the Independents as “radical”, while failing to define the term.¹²

Anachronistic use of the category “radical” has arguably bedeviled scholarship in this field. Christopher Hill presented the Nonconformists as a primarily middling sort. He believed the Dissenters sought to win liberty, religious toleration, and equality, thereby improving their fearful and highly legalistic existences.¹³ To Hill, Nonconformity was more about a political movement than about religion. Richard Greaves defined radicals as “those who sought fundamental change by striking at the very root of contemporary assumptions and institutions.”¹⁴ Greaves’ “radical underground” planned insurrections, assassinations, and seizures of strongholds.¹⁵

Glenn Burgess presents three approaches to radicalism that influence how an historian might use the term. First, British Marxist historians construct the concept of radicalism as an ideological tradition that involves a pedigree built upon a substantive definition. The Marxist ideology then determines the questions that the historian asks. The presupposition is made that radicalism was both a cause and an effect. Burgess cites E. P. Thompson and Christopher Hill as proponents of this approach.¹⁶

The second approach to radicalism attempts to develop a functional definition, to which the historian must subject individual historical events for evaluation. Historian Colin Davis developed three criteria that a radical ideology must meet. To him, there must be a de-legitimization of an old socio-political order. Then, there must be a re-legitimization of an alternative or new socio-

¹¹ T. L. Underwood, *Primitivism, radicalism, and the Lamb's War* (Oxford, 1997), p. 8.

¹² Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 233; Conal Condren, ‘Radicals, Moderates and Conservatives in Modern Political Thought’, in *History of Political Thought* 10 (3) (Upton Pyne, 1989), pp. 525-542.

¹³ Christopher Hill, *A Tinker and a Poor Man* (New York, 1989), pp.11-15.

¹⁴ Richard Greaves, *Deliver Us From Evil* (Oxford, 1986), p. 5. Care should be given to the use of the word “radical” which has been overused and not a concept to be applied to this time period. See also J. C. D. Clark’s discussion of radicals and radicalism in *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 6-9, 97-111; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (Cambridge, 1986), Introduction and Chapter 5, esp. pp. 277, 348; For Greaves answer to J.C.D. Clark, see Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, CA, 1990), Preface, p. 1; Alastair MacLachan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England* (New York, 1996); Alan Houston, *A Nation Transformed* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 72.

¹⁵ Michael Mullet, *Radical Religion Movements in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1980).

¹⁶ Glenn Burgess and Matthew Festenstein, *English Radicalism 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 7.

political order. Finally, there must be a transfer mechanism that will force a change from old to new.¹⁷

The third approach Burgess presents was originally proposed by Conal Condren and involves the linguistics of the word “radicalism.” Condren suggests that historians should not use the term “radicalism” to describe any events or movements prior to the coining of the term. If the term is to be used, its meaning should match the root usage of the label within its contextual period of time. This particular linguistic approach sheds light on the meaning of the term as it was used during the Restoration. Richard Hooker applied the term “radical” to Atheists who wanted to destroy virtue, the doctrines of creation, the resurrection of the dead, a literal heaven and hell, the authority of the Scriptures and the immortality of the soul.¹⁸ Matthew Poole employed the label “radical” to describe the Papist conviction that the pope should have a voice in all things, not just in matters pertaining to religious doctrine. This conviction, according to Poole was one of their “radical” mistakes.¹⁹ Edward Reynolds, when preaching before the Peers at Westminster on 7 November 1666, claimed that some graces are primary, radical and fundamental because they had their termination in God and Christ and were invisible to the eye but searchable by the heart. Reynolds seemed to place a definition of “radical” within the realm of primary and fundamental, and thus acceptable.²⁰ George Sikes wrote that the love of God was a “radical gift of God unto man” and the return of that love of God by man to God was also a “radical gift”.²¹ Sikes also described the joy that the believer would experience in heaven as a fundamental and “radical joy”.²² Simon Lowth, when discussing the catechizing of young people, labeled the fundamental truths of the Church as “radical” and believed that teaching children these “radical truths” was a necessary instruction given to all children of the Church.²³ Most interestingly, Sir Francis Theobald denied that the sectaries were radicals when he wrote:

But Gentlemen, that you may the better know these Sectarian Persons when you meet them, give me a little to describe them to you. They are the very Antipodes of Authority, a giddy wild Generation of Men, that are impetuously carried out, and ravished, as it were with every Novel-Opinion, and Narcissus-like, they fall in Love with their own Speculative Shadows, and court frigid Sceptical Controversies, instead of...The Radical Fundamental Principles of Religion. The old way of Serving God is loathsom to them, and they are only taken with new things in Religion, being like unto *materiae prima*, which always desires

¹⁷ Burgess and Festenstein, *English Radicalism*, p. 8.

¹⁸ Richard Hooker, *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker* (London, 1666), p. 132.

¹⁹ Matthew Poole, *The Nullity of the Romish faith* (Oxford, 1666), p. 92.

²⁰ Edward Reynolds, *A Sermon preached before the Peers in the Abby Church at Westminster* (London, 1666), p. 1.

²¹ George Sikes, *The Book of Nature Translated and Epitomiz'd* (London, 1667), p. 39.

²² *Ibid*, p. 66.

²³ Simon Lowth, *Catechetical Questions, Very Necessary for the Understanding of the Principles of Religion* (London, 1673), p. 9.

and seeks after New Forms.²⁴

The Nonconformists employed the word “radical” as well. In the quote above, sectarians were rejecting the root (radical) principles of religion, and therefore, were being blown around by every wind of doctrine. Thomas Vincent wrote that if a person sincerely and earnestly desired the presence of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, then these were “radical desires”.²⁵ In his commentary on Hebrews, John Owen associated the term “radical” with the word “fundamental”.²⁶ Later he used the term “radical” to describe faith that is a grace given to us by the Holy Ghost and is “radically fixed in the heart”.²⁷ Richard Baxter employed the word to describe the Law of nature which is “fundamental and radical.”²⁸ He wrote that “radical law was the duty of subjection and obedience in general arising from our Natures related to our Creator”.²⁹ An analysis of these usages of the term “radical” would lead the historian to conclude that something “radical” was that which closely resembled a fundamental and primitive orthodoxy. Thus it seems to follow that if primitive orthodoxy is the definition of radical, then both conformists and nonconformists would claim to be “radical”. Modern historians tend to classify any ecclesiastical group to the left of the Congregationalists as “radicals.” However, given the linguistic usage of the term “radical” it seems unlikely that those more conservative than the Congregationalists during the Restoration would consider those who were less conservative as “radicals”. What seems to be apparent is that during the Restoration, the term “radical” did not apply to the so-called sects.

In Jonathan Clark’s estimation of the political discourse of the 18th century, the word “radical” meant “fundamental” and did not implicate any social leveling or reconstruction. According to Clark the term did not change until the introduction of universal manhood suffrage in the late 1770s and early 1780s.³⁰ In Clark’s opinion, the term “radicalism” was a new term for a new ideology, invented in the 1820s. Regarding the term “radicalism”, in the 1640s, Clark considers the historical question to be meaningless because the term did not exist. He believes that we can no more speak of “seventeenth century radicalism” than we can of “seventeenth century Marxism”, or “seventeenth century Fascism”, since they simply did not exist.³¹

²⁴ Sir Francis Theobald, *A Discourse Concerning the Basis and Original of Government* (London, 1667), p. 28.

²⁵ Thomas Vincent, *Christ’s Certain and Sudden Appearance to Judgment* (London, 1667), p. 269.

²⁶ John Owen, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1668), pp. 30, 85.

²⁷ John Owen, *A Practical Exposition on the 130th Psalm* (London, 1669), p. 229.

²⁸ Richard Baxter, *The life of faith in three parts* (London, 1670), p. 378.

²⁹ Baxter, *The Life of Faith*, p. 379.

³⁰ J.C.D. Clark, ‘Religion and the origins of radicalism in nineteenth-century Britain’ Glenn Burgess (ed.) in *English Radicalism 1550 – 1850* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 243.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 242.

Richard Greaves agrees that the term “radical” means *inter alia* or fundamental, root, primary or thorough, but asserts that the historian retains some liberty to take the meaning and expand it to include “a fundamental change that strikes at the root of existing institutions and assumptions”.³² Greaves then expands the meaning of the word to:

...a general sense to this fundamental hostility and a belief in the necessity for comprehensive reforms, not a common set of specific tenets or proposed changes... In discussing the seventeenth century, the term ‘radicalism’ – or, more accurately, if unconventionally, ‘radicalisms’ – is a convenient way to describe the commitment or disposition to effect fundamental changes in the body politic, religion, society, or the economy, or some combination thereof.³³

If one applies Greave’s definition, both Conformists and Nonconformists would fit the depiction of a radical. The Conformists fundamentally changed the Church of England and the government back to its pre-Cromwellian model differing only in the degree of monarchism. On the other hand, the Nonconformists labored to peaceably sustain a status quo, until their efforts proved impossible. At that point, they sought inclusion within their new environment. Greaves did not attempt to include a quotation or statement from either Conformists or Nonconformists that implied an accusation that the Nonconformists or even a small faction of Nonconformists were radicals or even called themselves radical.

Greaves stated that although his definition of “radicalism” was outdated, it allowed the historian to use the word to define a wide range of people whom the Loyalists deemed “disaffected, fanatical, schismatic, or factious”.³⁴ However, as seen above, when the term “radical” is used within a religious context, the Conformists would not have regarded the Nonconformists as radicals. This single observation would seem to undermine Greaves’ entire premise in his chapter in Burgess’ book as he proceeds to describe Restoration “radicals” who were attempting to complete their agenda from the 1640s and 1650s. Greaves wrote that a radical commits to certain behaviors which include “disobedience to an existing regime, socioeconomic structure or religious establishment”.³⁵ Radical behavior to Greaves would include physical resistance such as assaults on magistrates, open rebellion, assassination, kidnapping, illegal publishing and dissemination of banned books and pamphlets, participation in unlawful assemblies or conventicles and violent actions against government or other institutions.³⁶

³² Richard Greaves, ‘That kind of people’: Late Stuart Radicals and their Manifestoes: A Functional Approach, in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *English Radicalism 1550 – 1850* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 90.

³³ Ibid, p. 91.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 92.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 92.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 92.

If we concede that Greaves' description of a radical is legitimate, and apply his criteria to Restoration Nonconformists, only a small percentage of Nonconformists would fit the portrayal of a "radical". With the exceptions of a common Nonconformist practice of attending banned conventicles, and the illegal publication of books and pamphlets, few Nonconformists rose up in open rebellion to the legal and physical persecution they suffered. Instead, most Nonconformists worked within the boundaries of the legal and political systems to pass laws and persuade leaders toward their positions. In particular, Greaves lists only one Congregationalist minister, Edward Richardson, who allegedly participated in open rebellion.³⁷

Another problem with the gratuitous application of the term "radical" to 17th century events concerns whether the word actually applies to political situations. For example, E. P. Thompson claimed that John Bunyan demonstrated the "slumbering Radicalism which was preserved through the eighteenth century and which breaks out again in the nineteenth".³⁸ For Thompson, all that was needed for evidence was that Bunyan was a Baptist tinker preacher who rejected a ruling authority in favor of liberty of conscience. What Thompson failed to recognise is that in the Restoration, the concept of liberty of conscience was predominately applied to the practice of religion, not politics. Ministers undoubtedly appealed to political institutions to advance their convictions of liberty of conscience. Yet the majority of ministers had no desire to throw off the yoke of monarchical rule. After the Restoration, pastors formed no armies and led no popular rebellions in England. Instead they calmly surrendered their pulpits in 1662, emphasized their allegiance to their King and country, and desired to be identified as a peaceable people, not schismatics or traitors.³⁹

³⁷ Burgess, *English Radicalism*, p. 95; Some believe that John Owen was accused of plotting sedition. "A letter purportedly written by Major General Desborough in April 1660 described a plot involving Henry Vane, Hugh Peter, John Owen and others." Francis Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610-1692* (Boston, MA, 1994), p. 206. However, no formal charges were ever brought against Owen. Regarding the Monmouth Rebellion Greaves writes, "The evidence linking Meade and Owen to the plotting is somewhat tenuous..." Richard L. Greaves, 'Amid the Holy War: Bunyan and the Ethic of Suffering', Anne Laurence (ed.), *John Bunyan and His England, 1628 - 1688* (London, 1990), p. 64.

³⁸ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), p. 31.

³⁹ Henry Adis, *A Declaration of a Small Society of Baptized Believers* (London, 1660), pp. 1-2; Henry Jessey, *The Lords Loud Call to England* (London, 1660), pp. 8, 13, 24, 26; William Bates, *The Peace-Maker* (London, 1662), p. 32; Richard Baxter, *The Mischiefs or Self-Ignorance and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance...* (London, 1662), p. 40; Edmund Calamy, *An Exact Collection of Farewell Sermons* (London, 1662), pp. 307, 327, 373; Edmund Calamy, *Eli Trembling for Fear of the Ark* (London, 1662), p. 16; Ambrose Rige, *A Visitation of Tender Love* (London, 1662), pp. 2, 5; John Riland, *Elias the Second his Coming to Restor All Things* (London, 1662), p. 10; Anonymous, *The Fourth Humble Address of Several Societies of Baptized Believers (Commonly called Anabaptists)* (London, 1663), p. 1; Richard Baxter, *Fair-warning: Or, Xxv Reasons against Toleration and Indulgence of Popery* (London, 1663), pp. 7, 14; John Higgins, *Christian Counsel and Advice unto the Rulers and People of England* (London, 1663), pp. 11-12; Giles Oldisworth, *The Stone Rolled Away* (London, 1663), p. 122; John Price, *Moderation not Sedition* (London, 1663), p. 6, 11; Edward Reynolds, *The Staves of Beauty & Bands Opened* (London, 1663), p. 68; John Riland, *Confirmation Revived* (London, 1663), p. 68; Joseph Alleine, *A Call to Archippus, or, An*

John Kenyon called the Nonconformists “ex-Puritans and ex-Cromwellians”⁴⁰ as well as “radical Nonconformists”⁴¹ when describing the Venner rising and the Derwentdale Plot.⁴² He referenced a primary source which defined a Dissenter as “a hellish contrivance of the French, the Hollanders and the fanatic party and as the co-conspirators with the Jesuits in starting the Great Fire of London (1666)”.⁴³ As seen in the above examples, the term “radical” has been used by historians to cover a wide range of offenses. However, when the term is used more precisely, none of the popular depictions of “radical” fits the term. Yet the Nonconformists of the Restoration would gladly have described themselves as peaceful orthodox “radicals”.

‘Moderates’

While Greaves, Clark and Kenyon disputed the term “radical”, Geoffrey Holmes, Michael Winship, and Ethan Shagan focused their attention on the “moderate” Nonconformists. Geoffrey Holmes thought that moderate Puritans needed to be separated from the rest of the Nonconformists, when describing events occurring in the year 1660. These moderate Puritans included the Presbyterian clergy.⁴⁴ He believed the picture of Protestant dissent from 1662 to 1687 was a two-dimensional one of which in the foreground we can see “a complex tracery of local variations” while in the background was the “ebbing and flowing of persecution”.⁴⁵

Michael Winship defines the Nonconformists as Puritans who were ejected in 1662, or who risked arrest from the enforcement of the Clarendon Codes, though he excludes the Quakers, Muggletonians, Familists, Seekers, and Ranters. To Winship, Puritans of the 1640s and 1650s were the Presbyterians of the 1660s. He states:

For the Restoration Presbyterians, nonconformity meant ‘the conscientious objection of a member of the Church [of England] to some parts of its requirements.’ These moderate puritans were self-consciously carrying on in the tradition of the ‘old Puritans’ from before

Humble and Earnest Motion to Some Ejected Ministers (London, 1664), p. 24; Paul Hobson, *Innocency, Though under a Cloud* (London, 1664), p. 100; John Corbet, *The Nonconformist’s Plea for Lay-Communion* (London, 1683), p. 29.

⁴⁰ John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972), p. 11.

⁴¹ John Kenyon, *Stuart England* (New York, 1985), p. 200.

⁴² It should be noted that at least two major ecclesiastical groups condemned this relatively small uprising of a “Baptist” minister and his followers. See Joseph Caryl, *A Renuntiation and Declaration of the Ministers of Congregational Churches* (London, 1661), pp. 2-3; and William Kiffin, *The Humble Apology of Some Commonly Called Anabaptists* (London, 1660), pp. 1-4. Greaves, in his book, *Deliver Us From Evil*, p. 51ff, named several Baptist ministers, including John Owen, from whom personal firearms were confiscated. According to Greaves, several cases of guns were confiscated from Owen’s home even though he was not in town at the time. Thomas Russell, *The Works of John Owen* (London, 1826), Vol. 1, p. 222.

⁴³ Kenyon, *Stuart England*, p. 200.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of A Great Power* (New York, 1993), pp.147-148.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp.147-148.

the Civil War, who were ‘fiercely insistent that they were at the heart of the state Church’.⁴⁶

Winship concedes that the term “Puritan” had lost its previous clarity and had become more a unifying identity among those within and without the new Restoration Church of England. In other words, a Puritan could be either a Conformist or a Nonconformist. In Winship’s opinion, a Nonconformist might not be a Puritan as a Nonconformist might include anyone in conflict with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

However, Winship believes that Baxter considered the Congregationalists as a whole to be “little more than the institutionalization of the pride and weakness of spiritually immature Puritans”.⁴⁷ To Baxter, Puritanism was the “overarching piety” that linked Congregationalists and Presbyterians, but Puritanism itself had been drifting into faction and rebellion.⁴⁸ These Puritans Baxter could not tolerate. For Baxter, a moderate Nonconformist should have no problem embracing his fellow Puritans who remained within the Church, even to the point of attending parish services under the leadership of such men.

Regarding the topic of moderate Puritanism, which would apply to moderate nonconformity as well, Winship stated:

Moderate puritanism had always been generated by the political and personal dilemma of trying to determine how much compromise was acceptable with the ceremonies and government of the Church of England...Those expelled on Black Bartholomew’s Day were almost all moderate puritans; Congregationalists and Baptists had been weeded out already.⁴⁹

Winship admits that making ‘puritan’ work as a Restoration term is hard to do if the functionally separatist Congregationalists and moderate Baptists are not included. He also concludes that “we still have no other adequate word to do the equivalent work for conveying Restoration religious reality and aspiration”⁵⁰ if the term ‘puritan’ is not applied. I respectfully suggest that the term ‘Nonconformist’ replaces the broad category of ‘Puritan’ during the Restoration. To the Nonconformists, ‘Puritan’ became an outdated term – hence ‘the good old Puritans’ – while ‘nonconformity’ took over and did not retain such strong negative connotations. John Carter, Jr. in a eulogy regarding the life of his father, John Carter, pastor at Bramford, Suffolk, provides a contemporary definition of a moderate Nonconformist,

He was orthodox and sound in his judgment; an able and resolved Champion against all manner of Popery and Arminianisme; as also against Anabaptisme, & Brownisme, that then

⁴⁶ Michael P. Winship, ‘Defining Puritanism in Restoration England: Richard Baxter and others Respond to A Friendly Debate’, *The Historical Journal* 54, 3 (Cambridge, 2011), p. 691.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 696.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 697.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 704.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 715.

did begin to peep, and infest the church; and to teare the Seamles Coat of Christ. He was always A Nonconformist, One of the good old Puritans of England. He never swallowed any of the Praelaticall Ceremonies against his conscience... He was of a peaceable Spirit; and never censured any that were conformable, if he judged them conscientious and sought any thing of God in them.⁵¹

Ethan Shagan problematises “moderation” in his book, *The Rule of Moderation*. Shagan’s explanation of moderation centered on its political nature. For support, he referenced John Kersey’s 1708 dictionary definition of moderation as “temperance, prudence, and discretion”.⁵² Shagan also quotes Thomas Dyche’s 1740 definition of moderation as, “That happy disposition of mind that sedately considers the reasonableness, justice, and equity of a thing that a person does or forbears that makes proper allowances for the actor and action”.⁵³ Shagan included Samuel Johnson’s definition of moderation as well, as “forbearance of extremity and the contrary temper to party violence”.⁵⁴ Moderation for Shagan was a state of maintaining a middle road between two extremes. Shagan’s thesis is that moderation was not always a peaceful mediation between feuding parties, but rather was often coercive and unreasonable. As Shagan states:

Moderation meant government, and the routine alliance of internal and external moderation, the stark absence of any ethics that was not at heart about the maintenance of public order, meant that it took rare effort to suppress the more aggressive side of moderation altogether.⁵⁵

He uses the ‘via media’ policy of the Church of England as an example, stating, “It was moderate not only in restraint but insofar as it restrained not only because it was reasonable but because it moulded reasonable subjects. Internal and external moderation produced one another; moderation was simultaneously peace and coercion, a state of equipoise and an act of control”.⁵⁶ Shagan admits that while part of his book is about religious moderation, the larger portion concerns the “broader ideologies of governance in state and society”.⁵⁷ He also anticipates the problems of identifying a moderate, stating that it is one thing to call a moderate so because he is reasonable and quite another to define a moderate from a person’s ideology. To Shagan, the primary problem was the location of moderation.

However, a focus upon location becomes problematic when considering that “moderation” was a position claimed by all the emerging religious denominations and by the Church of England herself in the 1660s and 1670s. The State Church claimed a moderate position between the

⁵¹ John Carter, *The Tomb-stone, and A Rare Sight* (London, 1653), p. 7.

⁵² Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 16.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 16.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 19.

Catholics and the Presbyterians. For the Presbyterians, moderation was found in a position between the Church of England and the Congregationalists, who in turn believed *they* were the moderates between the Presbyterians and the Baptists. The Baptists firmly believed that *their* position was closest to the primitive Church but that *they* were moderates in comparison to the Presbyterians and the “heretical” Quakers. The question remains, “Where, then, lies the ground of moderation?” The answer depends on which group is speaking.

A second problem with Shagan’s coercive moderation theory emerges when the party formerly vocal about their view of the heretical “other” party unites together with their “enemies” against a more powerful adversary, as happened during the Restoration. Historian Wilfred Priest described the hostile environment in which the Nonconformists lived:

Fear, loathing, and resentment of all ‘fanatics’, the dominant tone of the Cavalier Parliament elected in 1661, ensured that the restored Church of England offered no accommodation to even the most moderate and respectable Presbyterian, let alone to Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers...⁵⁸

Edward Hyde regarded any consideration of the persecution of Nonconformity for the sake of forcing moderation an issue of great concern, saying “What can be more contrary to the Honour, and Dignity of True Religion, than that it should appear to stand in need of Force to draw Men to it?”⁵⁹ Hyde feared that force and violence would discredit the cause Conformity and could shift the locus of moderation from the Church of England itself to a perception of a ‘Spanish Inquisition’ style of persecution.

It is not difficult to find doctrinal treatises within Nonconformist literature directed at theological opponents before the Clarendon Codes. Even during the Restoration, doctrinal debates over infant baptism, parish attendance, and indifferent practices can be found. However, at the same time alliances and cooperative councils were created by Nonconformists to weather the consequences of defying the Act of Uniformity.

Examples of cooperation among former theological opponents can be seen in the actions of the Presbyterians, who ceased to petition the government to control the “heretical” Baptists. Even Baxter pleaded for liberty of conscience for the “moderate” Baptists, beginning with his softening in the later 1650s, as evidenced in his correspondence with disillusioned Baptist ministers William Allen and Thomas Lambe.⁶⁰ Arch-enemies Congregationalist John Owen and Presbyterian Richard

⁵⁸ Wilfrid Priest, *Albion Ascendant English History 1660-1815* (Oxford, 1998), p. 22.

⁵⁹ Edward Hyde, *Second Thoughts, or, the Case of a Limited Toleration, Stated According to the Present Exigence of Affairs in Church and State* (London, 1660), p. 9; Joseph Alleine, *Diverse Practical Cases of Conscience Satisfactorily Resolved* (London, 1672), p. 6.

⁶⁰ Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1892), Vol. 32, pp. 3-4; David Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford,

Baxter worked together with Judge Matthew Hale and members of Parliament to pass a toleration bill for the Nonconformist ministers. Nonetheless, by persecuting the Nonconformists for the cause of moderation, the Church of England risked losing the rhetorical high ground by placing herself at a point of extremity on the English Protestant ecclesiastical spectrum.

Nonconformity vs. Dissent

One problem that must be taken into consideration is the possible differences between a Nonconformist and a Dissenter. John Miller simply distinguished the Dissenters as neither Catholic nor Church of England, but included the Presbyterians.⁶¹ John Spurr has analysed the differences between the terms “Nonconformist” and “Dissenter”. In his book, Spurr expressed his concern with clearly identifying a Puritan. He wrote that the Puritans “did not sit easily within the category of dissent or within the religious situation of Charles II’s reign”.⁶² The Puritans did not want to be lumped together with the Baptists and Quakers. Nor did the Presbyterians want to be “herded” into the same condition as the Dissenters. Rather Presbyterians preferred to be called “Nonconformists” which Spurr states was a subtle but significant distinction. The difference between a Dissenter and Nonconformist was that a Nonconformist could not conform to the Church of England as it existed in 1662, but hoped that things would change and conformity might then be possible. The Independents, Baptists, and Quakers proudly asserted the label of Dissenters. To Spurr, “the Puritans were a group within dissent”.⁶³

Spurr asserted in his essay that the Dissenters were from every walk of life, including the urban classes, the merchants, the artisans, and the textile workers.⁶⁴ He drew a distinction between Dissenters and Moderate Dissenters who longed for comprehension.⁶⁵ Spurr described the controversy following the Act of Uniformity over the title of Dissenter. The category of Dissent after 1662 included the Separatists, who had no desire to become members of any national church. Dissenters now included the Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians even though they had little in common. However, educated and conservative Presbyterians resented their placement within this group. One reason for such resentment was the lack of church discipline exercised by other groups that selected their pastors. Pastors were chosen, not because of qualifications, but because of their spiritual gifts. The Presbyterians objected to ministers who

CA, 2004), p. 102; Ruth Mayers, *1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 70; Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Farnham, 2011), p. 230.

⁶¹ John Miller, *James II* (New Haven, 2000).

⁶² John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (New York, 1998), pp. 131-133.

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 131-133.

⁶⁴ John Spurr, ‘Religion in Restoration England’, Lionel K. J. Glassey, *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII & II* (New York, 1997), p. 93.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.101.

exercised little clerical authority over their own congregations.⁶⁶ Spurr believed that the experience of persecution and proscription helped to create a single identity, since Dissenters shared a basic supposition that they were the godly saints who stood firm on their confessions of faith and their convictions to obey the call of Christ.⁶⁷ He cautioned that the nature of Nonconformity allowed for differences to be brought out into the open and debated, which sometimes resulted in divisions in congregations over doctrine.

Spurr is essentially correct in declaring that the Presbyterians did not agree they were Dissenters, since obviously, they could not maintain a dissent from a Church which they controlled.⁶⁸ However, ministers in other sects labeled the Presbyterians as dissenters.⁶⁹ Moreover, Anglican writers also assigned the identity of dissenter to the Presbyterians.⁷⁰ Therefore, though

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp.105-106.

⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.108-109.

⁶⁸ Possible exceptions, Richard Baxter, *The Christian Religion Expressed* (London, 1660), p. 73, where Baxter urges the readers not to ostracise dissenters saying, "In cases of tolerable difference... so must they desire the welfare and the Peace of one another and not stir up hatred or persecution, against each other, by odious nick-names, or exasperating the Magistrate or people against dissenters..." See also Henry More, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (London, 1660), p. 273, where More argues against the Episcopalians who sought to force assent, by denying that reason and knowledge should be granted "to all Dissenters as if they were utter strangers to the living Godhead." Baxter's and More's reasoning in these quotations might be interpreted to include the Presbyterians. See also John Tombes, *Saints no Smiters* (London, 1664), p. 40.

⁶⁹ John Goodwin, *Sion-Colledg Visited* (London, 1648), p. 18; William Jenkyn, *Allotrioepiskopos* (London, 1648), p. 3; John Owen, *A sermon preached to the Honorable House of Commons* (London, 1649), p. 77. "The present differences about Church society, and the subject or seat of discipline, which are between those dissenters, who are known by the names of Presbyterians, and Independents, as they are in themselves..." See also John Tombes, *Praecursor* (London, 1652), p. 2. It should be noted that John Tombes, who filed a license as Presbyterian in 1672, [see *Calendar of State Papers*, pp. 354, 357; also William Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, pp. 305, 549] wrote "if there be any number of dissenters doth produce a schism, but by teaching and clearing truth with meekneesse and forbearance one towards another, and a freedome to debate things in synod" with other Presbyterians, differences could be resolved. John Tombes, *An Addition to the Apology for the Two Treaties Concerning Infant-Baptism* (London, 1652), p. 34; See also John Owen, *A Vindication of the Animadversions*, p. 109; "When they well mixed are, do make a band, To bind together rough or hewed stone, (Which neither of them could have done alone), Ev'n so by them who are *Dissenters* now, Our *Publick Buildings* may the firmer grow, When they into *One Structure* shall be fixt, Well qualifi'd, and rationally mixt." George Wither, *Ecchoes From the Sixth Trumpet* (London, 1666), p. 118.

⁷⁰ Henry King, *An Elegy upon the Most Incomparable K. Charles the I* (London, 1648), p. 3; Roger L'Estrange, *The Relaps'd Apostate, or, Notes upon a Presbyterian Pamphlet* (London, 1641), p. 59; John Spelman, *The Case of our Affaires in Law, Religion, and other Circumstances Examined and Presented to the Conscience* (London, 1643), p. 27; Anonymous, *Some Observations upon Occasion of the Publishing their Majesties Letters* (London, 1645), p. 7; Roger L'Estrange, *The Reformation Reform'd* (London, 1651), pp. 1-2; Henry Hammond, *A Vindication of the Dissertations Concerning Episcopacie* (London, 1654), p. 95; James Harwood, *The Plea for the Common Prayer Book in Two Parts*, (London, 1654), p. 5; Edward Hyde, *Second Thoughts* (London, 1660), pp. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9. On page 9, Hyde separates the dissenters from the sects as in the phrase "dissenters and sects." See also John Gauden, *Kakourgoi, sive Medicastri* (London, 1660), p. 102; S.T. *Moderation: or Arguments and Motives Tending Thereunto, Umbly Tendred...* (London, 1660), p. 9; Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium* (London, 1660), p. 358; John Corbet, *The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion* (London, 1661), p. 222; Anonymous, *An Expedient, or, A Sure & Easy Way of Reducing all Dissenters whatsoever to an Exact & Sincere Obedience both to our Ecclesiastical & Civil Government*

the historian must recognise those Presbyterians who disliked the term, categorising the Presbyterians as “Dissenters” is historically correct.

Modern historiography has focused largely on the “radical” elements of Nonconformity, highlighting those that disrupted both Church and State with sinister plots, irrational behaviour, and “heretical” doctrine. Much attention has been bestowed upon the Familists, the Muggletonians, the Quakers, the Seekers, and the Fifth Monarchists.⁷¹ More recent historiography has begun to focus on the moderate Nonconformists who by far constituted the majority, and though involved in government, also went about their daily ministries as self-described “peaceable” people. This thesis seeks to supplement the historiography, by providing more historical context to a moderate understanding of Nonconformity, and focusing on its clerical movement from the 1640s through the early 1670s when a shifting of asserted ecclesiastical identities can be observed.

Contemporary Perspectives on Nonconformist Identities

Historians tend to agree that Nonconformity primarily involved a dissension from the Church of England to varying degrees. An etymological study of the word “Nonconformist” from primary sources will be an important consideration as well.

In 1670, Benjamin Baxter, while exegeting Romans 12:2, stated that the original Greek word was rendered by Beza as *configuremini* meaning, “Be not configured to the world”.⁷² A Nonconformist, therefore, would be one who did not fashion or figure himself according to the world. He was rather one who had not conformed to a pattern of walking or working, or one who followed and studied a rule or pattern out of a desire to imitate it.⁷³ The Nonconformist neither approved of the principles to which he was pressured to conform nor did he imitate those who followed such principles. The ecclesiastical identity of Nonconformist is one of the oldest of English religious identities, dating as early as 1618, when Bishop Thomas Morton argued that the “Non-conformists” refused to embrace the surplice, the cross after baptism, and kneeling to receive

(London, 1662), p. 6; Richard Baxter, *Richard Baxter His Account to His Dearly Beloved*. (London, 1662), p. 45, where Baxter quotes from an opposite viewpoint.

⁷¹ R. J. Acheson, *Radical Puritans in England: 1650-1660* (New York, 1990); Ernest Payne, *The Familists* (Atlanta, 1953); Christopher Hill, *The World Tuned Upside Down* (London, 1984); Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (Richmond, IN, 1985); Alistair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge, 1987); Craig Horle, *The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660-1688* (Philadelphia, PA, 1988); Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and Lamb's War*; T. L. Underwood, *The Acts of the Witnesses* (Oxford, 2000); Christopher Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society: 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 2005); William Lamont, *Last Witnesses* (Aldershot, 2006); Ariel Hessayon, *Varieties of Seventeenth-and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context* (Farnham, 2011).

⁷² Benjamin Baxter, *Non-Conformity without Controversie. From Rom. Chap. 12. Ver. 2. Shewing, That It Is Every Christian's Duty to Be a Nonconformist to This World.* by Benjamin Baxter, Preacher of the Gospel. (London, 1670), p. 7.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

of the sacrament.⁷⁴ In 1622, William Ames, Puritan Separatist differentiated the Papists from the Nonconformists.⁷⁵ William Prynne argued that a Papist was not a Nonconformist because “they are most conformable to any ceremonies”.⁷⁶ Giles Widdowes declared that Puritans were indeed Nonconformists.⁷⁷ John Canne wrote that the Nonconformists were equivalent to the Separatists.⁷⁸ William Walwyn lumped the Puritans, sectaries, Anabaptists and Brownists under the label Nonconformists.⁷⁹ Roger Williams even called King James “a Nonconformist turned persecutor”,⁸⁰ likely because James was a Scot who had become the head of the Church of England. Robert Baillie declared the Puritans/Presbyterians who had declined to bend to the Church of England, and instead accepted exile, to be Nonconformists.⁸¹ John Goodwin included the Presbyterians within the classification of Nonconformist.⁸²

Early Assigned Nonconformist Identities

One of the earliest examples of an assigned Nonconformist stereotype and of the pejorative use of the term was in 1628, when John Earle described a woman he called a Nonconformist as a hypocrite, who was enamored with a newfangled religion from Geneva. In his satire, Earle’s character wore Geneva print as a ruffle and waistcoat and her purity as a fine linen. She had heard of the rage of Rome and thought it was a “sluttish religion” worn by the whore of Babylon.⁸³ Her devotion to her faith could be seen from the turned down pages of her Bible as she paid close attention to chapter and verse. When she was at home, she spent two hours reviewing the minister’s sermon, comparing it to the Scriptures. She loved preaching more than prayers and liturgy. She attended the preacher’s weekly lecture faithfully and considered it much more edifying than the Sunday homily at the parish church. She enjoyed talking about her five mile journey to

⁷⁴ Thomas Morton, *A Defence of the Innocencie of the Three Ceremonies of the Church of England* (London, 1619), Sub-title on Title page.

⁷⁵ “...at least they shew, that this is no new reason devised by the Nonconformists: but the common tenent of Protestants, and the ground whereby they confute the superstition of Papists.” William Ames, *A Reply to Dr. Mortons Generall Defence of Three Nocent [Sic] Ceremonies Viz. The Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, and Kneeling at the Receiving of the Sacramentall Elements of Bread and Wine* (Amsterdam, 1622), p. 38.

⁷⁶ William Prynne, *Lame Giles his Haultings* (London, 1630), p. 11.

⁷⁷ “The third thing in which this Puritan is a Nonconformist is the Canons of our religion.” Giles Widdowes, *The Schismatical Puritan* (Oxford, 1630), p. 6.

⁷⁸ John Canne, *A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England* (London, 1634), p. 1.

⁷⁹ William Walwyn, *Lame Giles his Haultings* (London, 1644), pp. 15-16.

⁸⁰ Roger Williams, *The Bloudy Tenent* (London, 1644), p. 13.

⁸¹ Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*. (London, 1645), p. 22.

⁸² John Goodwin, *A Moderate Answer to Mr. Prins* (London, 1645), p. 5. Goodwin wrote, “I thought Master Prin had read learned Master Parker, de Eccles. Pol. Cartwright, and the most of the Nonconformists, who though Presbyteriall in their judgment, yet have largely proved that; for whom I shall refer him for larger satisfaction.”

⁸³ John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie, or, a Peece of the World Discovered in Essayes and Characters* (London, 1628), p. A 42.

hear a silenced minister. She was taken up with faith but had no room for charity. She placed little value on good works and considered superstition and taking oaths worse evils than adultery. She opposed the maypole and was “an everlasting Argument”.⁸⁴ Earle associated her with the Brownists or the Separatists of his day. In 1631, John Donne wrote “He confesses that he hath received good instruction, but he refuses to conform himself unto it; there's Non-conformity”.⁸⁵

Edward Harris described the Nonconformist congregation at Monmouthshire, Wales in 1639, as a group that assembled wherever it was safe to meet. Their doctrine included a condemnation of formal prayers and their services were sometimes held at night. He claimed the Nonconformists were guilty of sexual misconduct and even incest. They did not sprinkle their babies, perform the sign of the cross, enlist godfathers or godmothers, or follow the Book of Common Prayer. In a Nonconformist marriage, there was no plighting of troth, no ring, no prayers, nor ceremonies. When Nonconformists buried their dead, the body was tossed unceremoniously into a pit and no prayers for the dead or living were offered. The Nonconformists might place a cross in the ground and position the head of the deceased eastward. They practiced public confession of sin, and conspired to deprive wealthy women of their money by threatening them with hell.⁸⁶ Harris’ accusations were intended to discourage people from becoming Nonconformists, and to shame those who had already chosen Nonconformity.

Early Assumed Nonconformist Identities

One of the first examples of an assumed Nonconformist ecclesiastical identity is that of John Canne, a “pastor of the ancient English Church”, and a Separatist in Amsterdam, who may be the first to call himself and those of similar belief “Nonconformists”. In 1634, he described what set himself and his congregation apart from those in England. In his opening “Manvduction”, Canne wrote:

Among other crimes charged upon Nonconformists (as they are called by the prelates and their favourites), one chiefly is that their principles layd downe against the churches of England, doe lead unto separation, and therefore if they were true to their own grounds, they should not communicate in the church of assemblies of England.⁸⁷

Canne justified the Nonconformists because their separation demonstrated their love and zeal for God since they sought to worship according to His proclaimed ordinances. Nonconformists

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. A 46.

⁸⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “Nonconformity”
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00326186?query_type=word&queryword=Nonconformist&first=1&max_to_show=10&single=1&sort_type=alpha

⁸⁶ Edward Harris, *A True Relation of a Company of Brownists, Separatists, and Nonconformists, in Monmouthshire in Wales* (London, 1641), pp. 1-4.

⁸⁷ John Canne, *A Necessitie of Separation* (Amsterdam, 1634), pp. 1-2.

declined to worship with the unregenerate and wicked, avoiding the pollution of their own bodies with false worship. The Nonconformists refused to profane God's name by false worship. Instead, they chose to allow Christ to reign over the whole man, and to worship God according to His revealed will.⁸⁸ In his defense of Nonconformity, Canne converted a pejorative assigned identity into an assumed identity, transforming it into a badge of honour and conviction.

Canne and William Ames used the word "Inconformist" to describe the Nonconformists. In my examination of the word to determine how it was used, in a majority of contexts, the terms seem to be interchangeable.⁸⁹ However, in one context, Canne used the word "inconformist" and "Nonconformist" in the same sentence to describe different groups who opposed the use of the sign of the cross during an infant baptism. Upon analysis, "inconformist" appears to be stricter on this issue than the "Nonconformist".

Richard Hooker used the same term, "inconformist" in 1597 when describing men who for whatever reason fell under the discipline of the Church of England. He wrote:

...it beinge better that the church should want altogether the benefit of such mens labors then indure the mischief of theire inconformitie to good laws; in which case if anie repine at the corse and proceedings of justice, they must learne to content them selves with the answer of M. Curius, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the bodie of the common welth, in whose behalf because it might have bene pleaded that the partie was a man serviceable, he therefore began his judicall sentence with this preamble...*The commonwelth needeth men of qualitie yeat never those men which have not learned how to obey.*⁹⁰

After the Restoration, the ecclesiastical identity of Nonconformist evolved as more attempts were made to precisely clarify who was and who was not a Nonconformist. In 1660, Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon expanded the identity of Nonconformity when he wrote that before the Civil War, all the sectaries and Nonconformists had lived under the curb and penalty of the Law and the High Commission Court.⁹¹ After 1660, the broadly defined Dissenters and Nonconformists were still amenable to loyalty and faithfulness to the government.⁹²

⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 88-90.

⁸⁹ John Canne, *A Necessitie of Separation*, (Amsterdam, 1849 edition), no page number. See also William Ames, *A Fresh Suit Against Human Ceremonies in Gods worship* (Amsterdam, 1633), p.196.

⁹⁰ Georges Edelen, on Richard Hooker, *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp. 489-490. John Bainbridge writes, "To prevent the evils arising from this, the Church of England hath sundry excellent methods: such as public readings and subscription of Articles; declarations of assent to her Liturgy and Offices, before admission or investiture; and rules of discipline for silencing those that disturb with new-fangled doctrines: and she deems it preferable to lack the labours of those that might disturb, rather than to endure the worse mischief of their inconformity to good laws." See also John Bainbridge Smith, on Richard Hooker, *A Digest of Hooker's Treatise On the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (Oxford, 1840), pp. 297-296.

⁹¹ Edward Hyde, *Second Thoughts, or, the Case of a Limited Toleration, Stated According to the Present Exigence of Affairs in Church and State* (London, 1660), p. 5.

⁹² Ibid, p. 5.

Later Assigned Nonconformist Identities

Roger L'Estrange, author and press censor, defined the Nonconformists in 1661 as those Puritans who had "yielded conformity to those controverted Rightes and Forms, that were by Law or Canons established...but in their use many ways offensive and groaning more and more under the yoke of bondage, (as they conceived) they waited for deliverance..."⁹³ However, Henry Foulis, a Royalist Anglican controversialist wrote that the Covenanters planted an idea that encouraged the English Nonconformists to join with them against the King.⁹⁴ The Nonconformists then took the idea that had been planted and allowed it to take root and sprout.⁹⁵ It appears that a majority of Foulis' Nonconformists were primarily Presbyterians, due to their associations with the Covenanters. Thomas Fuller, a Church of England clergyman when writing of Laurence Humphrey, narrowly stated that 'the fierce Nonconformists' molested Humphrey while he was at college.⁹⁶ He claimed that the moderate Nonconformists were the Presbyterians while describing fierce Nonconformists as Independents or separated Puritans.

One anonymous author wrote a poem that associated the Nonconformists with the Presbyterians and identified them with Edmund Calamy. They were regarded as "Scotish devil(s)" who were recalcitrant, and belonged in Newgate, since they were heretics and iniquitous. The poem ended with a condemnation of the Presbyterians:

...Well hast thou said, *These Presbyterian Knaves*
Will ne'r leave back-biting, though in their Graves:
Their *Preaching* is no better, and their *Prayers*
Do nought but set's together by the ears:
Pull down, set up, set up, pull down's the cry,
Which flows *still* from ne'r *still* *Presbytery*.
But that the *Tempting Devil* would Preach on,
Although our Saviour bid him to ha' done.⁹⁷

In 1663, Richard Baxter wrote that the 'Nonconformists' of Queen Elizabeth's reign were exclusively against offensive alterations of the Book of Common Prayer while the later Nonconformists protested against the Common Prayer and all Church government, discipline,

⁹³ Roger L'Estrange, *Interest Mistaken, or, the Holy Cheat Proving from the Undeniable Practises and Positions of the Presbyterians* (London, 1661), p. 32.

⁹⁴ Henry Foulis, *The History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of Our Pretended Saints* (London, 1662), p. 71.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 73.

⁹⁶ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England Who for Parts and Learning Have Been Eminent in the Several Counties* (London, 1662), p.130.

⁹⁷ Anonymous, *A Sovereign Remedy for the Presbyterian's Maladie Inflicted on Them by Those Lordly Bishops, Puritan Pride, and Zealous Self-Will* (London, 1663), p. 1.

orders, and forms of worship.⁹⁸ His initial estimation of Nonconformity was that some were intolerable conformists, saying, “If a nonconformist preach, the whole City is in a tumult...”⁹⁹ Baxter appears to have divided the Nonconformists into three groups. His initial grouping of Nonconformists ministered during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and were “only for alteration of some *things offensive*...”¹⁰⁰ Baxter’s second grouping of Nonconformists opposed the Book of Common Prayer and the ecclesiology of the Church of England, while Baxter’s last group of Nonconformists were against all Church government, discipline, orders, and forms of worship.¹⁰¹ It seems that Baxter was concerned that the less moderate nonconformists would impede any opportunities for comprehension of the Presbyterians, and therefore, at this time, he sought to distance himself from those who would be considered divisive.

That same year, John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, compared the Nonconformist “parties” with papal recusants who attempted to convert Ireland back to papacy. According to Gauden, William Allen, a priest, had hoped the Catholics could stir up the fears of Nonconformists against the Conformists and incite them to factiousness, disobedience, and disorder.¹⁰² Gauden continued to warn that such a division was dangerous to England because it would imperil the civil peace and promote dissention in religious doctrine. He concluded by stating, “...publick Differings in matter of Religion are very dangerous to the civil Peace of those that enjoy Power, and are quiet under it...”¹⁰³

John Birkenhead in his *Cabala*, a fictitious satire about a group of Nonconformist ministers in London, described a Mr. Lewis who had converted from being an Anabaptist, to that of an Independent, then to that of a Presbyterian, and warned those around him to leave him alone, else he would become a Son of the Church. At this point in Birkenhead’s narrative, Mr. (Thomas) Manton, a Presbyterian stated, “we should not narrow our Interest, nor offend the brethren, besides, Mr. Lewis is the most thorow-paced Nonconformist in Town”.¹⁰⁴ Birkenhead considered someone who belonged to any of the previously mentioned ecclesiastical groupings as being a Nonconformist. He then proceeded to describe Lewis’ beliefs that made him a Nonconformist. Lewis read little or no Common Prayer, did not use the surplice, preached from William Jenkins,

⁹⁸ Richard Baxter, *Fair-Warning: Or, Xxv Reasons against Toleration and Indulgence of Popery* (London, 1663), p. 38.

⁹⁹ Baxter, *Fair-Warning: Or, Xxv Reasons against Toleration*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Baxter, *Fair Warning, or, Xx Prophetes Concerning the Return of Popery* (London, 1663), p. 36.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 38.

¹⁰² John Gauden, *Charis Kai Eirene, or, Some Considerations Upon the Act of Uniformity* (London, 1662), p. 24.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ John Birkenhead, *Cabala, or, an Impartial Account of the Non-Conformists Private Designs, Actings and Wayes* (London, 1663), p. 36.

Thomas Watson, William Gurnall, Thomas Manton, and others, attended parish services in the morning and conventicle meetings in the afternoon, prayed one hour at lecture and preached two hours, then followed the Directory in visiting the sick and baptizing faithful children.¹⁰⁵

In *Toleration Discuss'd*, L'Estrange simplified Nonconformity by claiming that the Episcopalians were for the King and Church while the Nonconformists were against the King and were responsible for destroying both Church and State.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, Edmund Calamy seemed to complicate matters by narrowly separating the Presbyterians from the Nonconformists in the title of his book, *The Royal Remembrancer*.¹⁰⁷

David Lloyd, a Church of England minister, went a bit further in 1664, defining the Nonconformists, using a measure of “three degrees”: those who in the days of King Edward only opposed vestments and gestures, those who in Queen Elizabeth’s day were against Common Prayer, Canons, and Articles, and those subsequent to Queen Elizabeth’s reign who laid the ax to the root of the tree and destroyed the government itself.¹⁰⁸ Lloyd as well placed the Nonconformists in opposition to Arminianism.¹⁰⁹

In 1667, John Corbet, a Presbyterian minister, described three parties in England: the Protestants that zealously adhered to English ecclesiastical polity and called themselves the Church of England; the Protestants that accepted the Articles of Faith but were dissatisfied with the form of ecclesiastical polity and called themselves Puritans; and those that rejected the Reformation, remained united to the Pope, and called themselves Roman Catholics.¹¹⁰ The Nonconformists, in Corbet’s opinion, were the Puritans, and since the Act of Uniformity, had grown under persecution. Some attended the public assemblies but still retained their Nonconformist convictions, while others who were indifferent prior to the Restoration still remained indifferent, if not more sympathetic toward the Nonconformists.¹¹¹ Corbet understood that the Nonconformists were more inquisitive and could become troublesome to rulers who insisted on blind obedience. However, these men were humble and reasonable in their inquiries.¹¹² To Corbet, these Nonconformists had

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Roger L'Estrange, *Toleration Discuss'd* (London, 1663), p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ Edmund Calamy, *The Royal Remembrancer, or, a Healing Letter with Arguments and Reasons to the Presbyterians and Nonconformists* (London, 1663), p.1.

¹⁰⁸ David Lloyd, *Cabala, or, the Mystery of Conventicles Unvail'd in an Historical Account of the Principles and Practices of the Nonconformists, against Church and State* (London, 1664), p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ John Corbet, *A Discourse of the Religion of England Asserting, That Reformed Christianity Settled in Its Due Latitude, Is the Stability and Advancement of This Kingdom* (London, 1667), pp. 1-2.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 24.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 26.

no intentions of starting a war or rebellion. If they were willing to do their utmost toward compliance on the larger issues, why force them to “choke on pears they could not swallow?”¹¹³

Corbet believed it would be possible to bring some nonconformists back under the umbrella of the Church. The ejected Presbyterians still believed the Church of England was a true church, though defective in its order and discipline and needed more reformation. However, they agreed in the basic liturgy of preaching, prayer, and the sacraments. Corbet reasoned that moderate divines would be willing to work for unity and peace.¹¹⁴ He described moderates who were weary of strifes, dreadful of change, and reluctant to rush into extremes as “the wiser sort of Dissenters”.¹¹⁵ To him, the success of any negotiations would be unlikely if the moderates were cast into the same group as those who held to “more unmanageable and unstable Principles”.¹¹⁶ Corbet believed that the best protection from the advancement of a Romish interest was to put aside petty reforms in favor of a well settled state. In Corbet’s mind, it seems the Presbyterians alone could fully meet his definition of a moderate Nonconformist.

In 1669, Samuel Rolle, a Nonconformist, authored a lengthy response to the bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick. Patrick’s books personified a friendly debate between a Conformist and Nonconformist on the issues of the day. Rolle’s written response was a series of rebuttals that encapsulated in greater detail the identity, character, beliefs, and practices of the Nonconformists. To Rolle, Nonconformists were not traitors.¹¹⁷ They were neither void of reason nor haters and opposers of the same,¹¹⁸ and were, for the most part, not Antinomians.¹¹⁹ The Nonconformists rarely criticised the government respecting the hardships they endured. To the contrary, in Rolle’s eyes they were obedient saints “pouring out their souls to God for a blessing upon their Governors, that have thought fit to take away their Livelihoods from them...”¹²⁰ Rolle provides insight into the

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ Corbet, *A Discourse of the Religion of England*, p.34.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.37. “The wiser sort of Dissenters, whose Conformity, were they gained, would most avail, are weary of these strifes, and consider what is passable in the state of *England*, and might settle this Church. They dread the Consequents of Changes, the hurrying into other Extrems, and the wild excursions of some spirits.”

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

¹¹⁷ Samuel Rolle, *A Sober Answer to the Friendly Debate Betwixt a Conformist and a Nonconformist Written by Way of Letter to the Author Thereof* (London, 1669), Preface p. 10. “Abuse not the world (as you have done) with an empty notion as if N. C. and Traitors were almost convertible termes, for neither is that true nor is it true vice-versa.”

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 16. “I could refer you to the Writings of several N.C. as Rational and handsome as any you can show me, both ancient and modern...”

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 18. “You renew the charge of Antinomianism against the N. C. which I believe not oine of a hundred of them are guilty of...” Ibid, p. 49. “Sir, If amongst the Writings of N.C. you cannot single out one Book of twenty that favoureth of Antinominianism, (as I am confident you cannot) to lay that imputation upon the body or generality of them, must needs be owned for a vile slander.” Ibid, p. 69.

¹²⁰ Rolle, *A Sober Answer to the Friendly*, p. 28.

doctrinal and theological nature of Nonconformity in his day. He shared that Nonconformists were educated Calvinists who believed in the doctrine of Election¹²¹ and eternal damnation,¹²² and emphasized the necessity of genuine faith, true saving grace, and godly living in Christ Jesus.¹²³

Far from being a one-dimensional movement of opposition, Rolle reasoned:

Do you not thereby insinuate, that your Religion is quite different from that of the N. C.? for if it were the same, it would follow, that yours were a *Childish* one too. Now, Sir, the *Religion* of the N. C. is that which is briefly summed up in the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*; or, if you please in the Thirty six *Doctrinal Articles* of the *Church of England*.¹²⁴

Nonconformists did not judge Spirit-guided prayer to be equivalent to canonized Scripture although they did cherish informal intercessions above that of formally read prayers.¹²⁵ The Nonconformists were not rebels. They only declined to heed the dictates of the magistrate when he commanded them to worship in a way that expressly or indirectly God prohibited.¹²⁶ Furthermore, they considered their separation from the Church of England as no greater a schism than the Church of England's separation from the Church of Rome.¹²⁷

Ministerial Examples of an Asserted Identity

Robert Wild, a Nonconformist minister, satirical poet, and friend of Richard Baxter, provides us with a good example of an asserted identity. In his efforts to identify with the Nonconformists, Wild makes a differentiation between the Nonconformists and the Conformists respecting the issue of swearing and oath taking.¹²⁸ To Wild, a Nonconformist was not a Quaker or Papist, but a Protestant. As a Nonconformist, he remained loyal to the King and to the authority of the crown. However, Wild trusted that he was swearing loyalty to the King of Hearts rather than the King of Clubs.¹²⁹ Though willing to defend the King and the civil government, Wild could not swear loyalty to church policy, the Apocrypha, a permanent bishopric, papal practices, to authority within the ecclesiastical courts, to archdeacons, to deans, or to chapters. Furthermore could not take an

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 38.

¹²² Ibid, p. 42.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 59.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 83.

¹²⁵ Ibid, pp. 92-93.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 107.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 134.

¹²⁸ Richard Greaves, 'Wild, Robert (1615\16-1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn., Jan 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29395>, [accessed 26 Oct 2014]

¹²⁹ Robert Wild, *The Loyal Nonconformist; or, an Account What He Dare Swear, and What Not* (London, 1666), p. 1.

oath supporting holy vestments or swear loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer. Wild's greatest fear was that "Tom Becket's Mitre push the crown".¹³⁰ He concluded by stating,

In fine, the Civil Power I'll obey,
And seek the Peace & Welfare of the Nation:
If this won't do, I know not what to say,
But farewell London, farewell Corporation.¹³¹

John Owen offered, in my opinion, the best example of an asserted Nonconformist identity when he embedded the pronoun "we" in his confession:

We do not, we cannot believe that our Refusal of a total Compliance, with a Rule for Order, Discipline, Worship, and Ceremonies in the Church, not given by Christ and his Apostles, but requiring of us sundry things either in themselves, or, as required of us, directly contrary unto or inconsistent with the Rules and Directions given us by them unto those ends, as in our Judgment and light of our Consciences is done in and by this Rule is either schism or blameable Separation. We do judge our selves obliged to preserve Peace and Unity among Christians, by all the means that Christ hath appointed for that End, by exercise of all Grace, the performance of all Duties, the observation of all Rules and Directions given us for that end...¹³²

Richard Baxter bequeathed more information on the problem of ecclesiastical identity within Nonconformity than any other author. Taking into consideration his proclivity to "mere Christianity", his need to be considered a leader in his ecumenicalism, and his verboseness, Baxter still remains an important guide in the discussion of the movement of Nonconformity from the established boundaries of individual groupings to a more fluid state. In his *Catholick Communion Defended against both Extreams*, Baxter, a self-appointed spokesman of the Presbyterians, asserted himself to be a Nonconformist, and not a strict Presbyterian in ecclesiastical terms.

The whole World is one great Kingdom of God, and eerily as the Church is the Church of Christ: And yet we Non-Conformists think that every Man in it (no, nor every Saint) hath not right to be King of England, nor a Judge in our Courts, nor Lord Mayor of London, nor so much as a Freeman in any City. And we think that the Church hath no more one subordinate universal Sovereign, than the world...¹³³

Multiple Nonconformist Identities

The multiple identity nomenclature of Nonconformist religious expression can be substantiated by the fragmented classifications of Nonconformists as either Rigid/Fierce or Moderate. This differentiation emerged as early as 1660 when an anonymous author wrote, "And you my good

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 1.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 1.

¹³² John Owen, *A Brief Vindication of the Non-conformists from the Charge of Schism* (London, 1680), pp. 46-48, 52.

¹³³ Richard Baxter, *Catholick Communion Defended against both Extreams* (London, 1684), p. 7.

Friends of the *Presbyterian* Party, know, that you are generally distinguished into Two *Classes*, (viz.) *Moderate and Rigid*".¹³⁴

Baxter himself had no difficulty in associating with moderate Congregationalists.¹³⁵ However, it must be noted that Baxter considered the Presbyterians to be much more moderate than the Congregationalists and Baptists. Baxter wrote that, "the greater part of the honest Non-conformist Ministers, will dislike the headiness, and rashness of the Novices, and the Sectaries; and will approve of the aforesaid moderate Wayes".¹³⁶ Thomas Lye, a London Presbyterian Nonconformist minister, wrote that "Religion doth not *extirpate* affections, but only *orders* and *moderates* them".¹³⁷ In 1662, an anonymous writer penned *The Moderate Presbyterian*, asserting in detail what a Moderate Presbyterian believed.

I was never too rigid in matter of Ecclesiastical Government, either for Episcopacy or Presbyterianisme: For as having spent the greatest part of my years in Forraign Countries under the latter, it seemed smoother to me; so the continual practice of the former in the Christian Church, from the very foundation of it in the Apostles time, made it alwayes seem venerable to me, and to draw somewhat nearer even to the word of God. Yet durst I never presume in my own minde, that either the one or the other was absolutely *Jure Divino*, but I ever thought that with a good conscience I might live under either of them¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Anonymous, *A Word in Due Season to Ranting Royalists* (London, 1660), p. 1.

¹³⁵ Even on the issue of church government Baxter wrote that "Moderate Congregational men do grant us that the Elders or Pastors of other Churches may lawfully be called to assist them in Ordination, though they think it be not necessary. Is it not therefore against their Principles to do so. For sure they may do a Lawful thing, especially when the Churches Peace doth lie so much upon it as here it doth." Richard Baxter, *Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship* (London, 1659), p. 338.

¹³⁶ Richard Baxter, *A moral prognostication* (London, 1680), p. 23. See also Richard Baxter's illustration of cooperation between himself, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Allen who "were Pastors of an Anabaptist separated Church," but with whom Baxter could cooperate and work for union with moderate Anabaptist ministers. Baxter wrote that he could work with all but the Baptists who steadfastly held to doctrinal errors inconsistent with the fundamentals of the faith in particularly their soteriology. "We must distinguish between those that are peaceable, temperate, and willing of Communion with us, and that endeavor not the ruine of the Church in their practice." Later he wrote that the moderate Anabaptists were those that "take not their Opinions to be a sufficient ground for Separation from our Churches..." pp. 180-183. However, Baxter was skeptical as to further progress towards union with the Anabaptists "The Anabaptists by going farther, do seem to be permitted to God, of purpose to awaken us to this Duty; and I think they will continue to be our Scourge till this been done; and this will half satisfie some among them that are moderate, silence many Objections of the rest." p. 194. As for his willingness to cooperate with Congregationalists, [see p. 189], "I Have adventured, according to my Promise, to seen you my Thoughts of a ready way of Agreement, between the Honest and Moderate of the Presbyterians, Congregational, yea, and Episcopal way." The more accurate definition of Baxter's moderation might be his definition of a Presbyterian "And here you may not by the way, the fashion of these Times, and the state of the Presbyterians: Any Man that was for a Spiritual serious way of Worship, (though he were for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his Profession, was called commonly a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joined himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other Sect which might afford him a more odious Name." p. 278

¹³⁷ Thomas Lye, *The King of Terrors Metamorphosis* (London, 1660), p. 2.

¹³⁸ Anonymous, *The Moderate Presbyterian* (London, 1662), p.1.

Edmund Calamy classified many of the ejected ministers as moderates. The majority of Calamy's moderate ministers were Presbyterians, with the exception of a single Congregationalist moderate. One such Presbyterian moderate was John Corbet. Corbet was born in 1619 in Gloucester, as the son of a shoemaker. According to Neil Keeble, Corbet graduated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford in 1639. After serving in the Parliamentary Army, he became the curate of St. James's Duke's Place in London, and then moved to Bridgewater, Somerset.¹³⁹ Later Corbet was appointed preacher at Chichester Cathedral in Sussex and became rector at Bramshott, Hampshire in 1656. In 1654 he was appointed to the Triers Commission in Sussex. For a short time, Corbet and his wife lived with Baxter and his wife at Totteridge after being ejected from Bramshott. Baxter and Corbet became lifelong friends. Corbet was licensed as a Presbyterian at Chichester, Sussex. He died in 1680. Calamy wrote of his life, "Something in Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independency he liked, and some things he disliked in all. He was true to his conscience, and valued not the interest of a party or faction".¹⁴⁰

Keeble writes that Corbet was most interested in returning the Presbyterians to the Church of England, believing that the "catholic Christian church lies in its confession of faith, not in any one ritual or set Form of Sacred Office, one policy or model of Rules and Orders, on which the New Testament is silent".¹⁴¹ Corbet held strongly to Baxter's doctrinal concept of "mere Christianity". Baxter wrote of Corbet's character that he was "a man of extraordinary Judgement, stayedness, *moderation*, peaceable Principles, blameless Life, a solid Preacher, well known by his Writings" (my italics).¹⁴²

Another example of a moderate nonconformist/Presbyterian is Robert Eaton. Born in 1624 in High Walton, Cheshire, Eaton attended Christ's College at Cambridge in 1646. He earned his Masters at All Souls in 1653 and became curate at Daresbury, Cheshire where he was ejected in 1662. George Booth made Eaton his chaplain at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. He was licensed as a Presbyterian at Manchester. The first Nonconformist ordination since 1660 was held at Eaton's home 29 October 1672. He became the moderator of the Lancashire Provincial Meeting of United Ministers on 4 September 1694 and died on 25 August 1701. Charles Surman classified Eaton as a Congregationalist based on his research in the Northowram Register. Calamy, who did not list Eaton as a Congregational, wrote that he "was a solid divine, a good scholar, and a judicious

¹³⁹ N. H. Keeble, 'Corbet, John (*bap.* 1619, *d.* 1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6289>

¹⁴⁰ Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (London, 1775), Vol. 2, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ Keeble, 'Corbet, John', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6289>

¹⁴² Ibid, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6289>

Christian; of great moderation and exemplary in his behavior”.¹⁴³

Examples of Multiple Identities

Under pressure from civil authorities, Presbyterian congregations decided to employ Congregationalist ministers to fill their pulpits in the absence of their minister, who was in hiding, or imprisoned. Some Presbyterian ministers even licensed themselves as Baptists possibly to minister to a conventicle absent their minister.¹⁴⁴ Since the presbytery was no longer in existence, many Presbyterian ministers adopted a congregational presbytery form of church government, which allowed them to minister in Congregationalist churches. Baptists followed a congregational form of government and might embrace qualified preachers who did not promote the doctrine of infant baptism. Edward Gatchell was licensed to preach in his own home in Pitminster, Dorset as both a Presbyterian and Baptist. John Hopper as well was licensed as both a Presbyterian and a Baptist in Headcom, Kent. William Minty took out a Congregationalist, Presbyterian and Baptist license to minister in Poole and Shaftesbury, Dorset. John Reeve signed several Presbyterian documents of faith but later licensed himself as both a Baptist and Presbyterian for ministry at Chelmsford, Essex.

The dynamics of Nonconformist religious identities dramatically changed after the ejection of 1662. Enemies became friends and friends became enemies. The clergy often found themselves not only without a livelihood but also on the wrong side of the law. Ministers learned to cooperate with one another in order to survive. Baxter related that ejected Presbyterian ministers understood that they could no longer separate from every other congregation. These ministers felt called by Christ to feed the flock of God, and this was their primary work. The ejected concluded that they should concentrate their labors on edification, unity, charity, and peace wherever God called them to work.¹⁴⁵ Though Baxter offered these reasons for ejected ministers to attend public worship in parish churches, some ministers might have seen them as the rationale for ministry amongst the Congregationalists.

Later Restoration Nonconformity

In 1680, John Owen defined the practice of Nonconformity, when answering an author who attacked Nonconformists for schism, writing,

¹⁴³ Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 108.

¹⁴⁴ William Ads, James Abdy, Robert Alford, John Ashwell, Richard Bacon, John Barston, Abel Bewsies, William Bicknel, James Blackmore, Richard Blake, John Blundell, Samuel Bowdon, Matthew Bragg, Thomas Brand, Edward Browne, Edward Bushell, Thomas Cawton, John Challen, John Chishull, John Clarke, Thomas Coale, William Collington, etc.

¹⁴⁵ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part III, p. 440.

And as unto both Parties the Advice he gives them is, that whereunto they have attained, wherein they do agree, which were all those Principles of Faith and Obedience which were necessary unto their acceptance with God, they should walk by the same rule, and mind the same things; that is, forbearing one another in the things wherein they differ; which is the substance of what is pleaded for by the Nonconformists...¹⁴⁶

Owen explained that Nonconformists considered themselves outside of the Established Church only in matters of doctrine. They did not actively oppose the Church of England; instead, they sought to worship in peace, as dictated by their consciences, apart from the Church. Nonconformists continued to disagree with one other in the areas of baptism, the doctrine of communion, the correct form of church government and the role of faith and works in salvation. They believed the Scriptures were their source of authority and “by the Scripture as our rule we understand both the express words of it, and whatever may by just and lawful consequence be educed from them. This Rule we attend unto...”¹⁴⁷

They were willing to suffer for liberty of conscience and *sola scriptura* with the hope that their trials would convince men of authority to change the laws of England. Owen responded to another author who stated that the Nonconformists were always complaining about their difficulties when he wrote:

...it is (said) that they should not be always complaining of their hardships and Persecution... This I dare undertake for all the Non-Conformists; Let others leave beating them, and they shall all leave complaining... Neither do I know that the Non-conformists are always complaining of their Sufferings; nor what are their complaints that they make, nor to whom. Yea I do suppose that all impartial men, will judge that they have borne their Sufferings with as much patience and silence, as any who have gone before them in the like state and condition.¹⁴⁸

In his book, Owen explained that the Nonconformists in England were being accused of not manifesting Christian love and peaceableness, and of creating schisms and divisions within the Church of God. In light of these serious accusations, the Nonconformists, Owen concluded, had no other option remaining but to follow God and their own consciences in truth with peace.¹⁴⁹

By the 1690s when Baxter’s *Reliquiae Baxterianae* was finally published, it included Baxter’s broader definition of Nonconformity, which seems to have enlarged the former practice of liberty of conscience in religion to a wider scope of Nonconformists than in prior years. Richard Baxter, who earlier identified himself as a Nonconformist, now declared that he was no

¹⁴⁶ Owen, *A Brief Vindication*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁷ Owen, *A Brief Vindication*, p. 52.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 53-55.

¹⁴⁹ John Owen, *A Discourse Concerning Christian Love and Peace* (London, 1672), pp.13, 18.

Nonconformist in the Sense of the Law because “I conform as far as the Law requireth me”.¹⁵⁰ He also attended the local church, took the Lord’s Supper at the parish Church, rehearsed the weekly parish sermon with others, spoke against separation, schism, sedition and disloyalty, and ensured his household was in attendance at the parish services. Baxter held a license as well from the Archbishop to preach in London and obeyed the law regarding the conventicle in his own home. He added, “I perform no Exercise at all contrary to the Doctrine or the Practice of the Church”.¹⁵¹ Baxter’s nonconformity seemed to be limited to his doctrinal objections, not to his religious practice. In his reply to Dr. Stillingfleet on the accusation that Nonconformists were schismatic because they refused communion with other churches, Baxter insisted that no Nonconformist refused to acknowledge a national church as a true church. He wrote that the Nonconformists in England had explained that their objections over the liturgy were no excuse for limiting communion with other churches. Even the Congregationalists had no objection to formal prayers. Their objections were to the signing of the cross and the ceremonies used in the liturgy.

Furthermore, Baxter stated he would not condemn the Reformers, the martyrs, the godly Conformists, the old Nonconformists, the new Nonconformists, or even the Brownists as unfit for fellowship. Those who Baxter had accused twenty years earlier of being schismatic and undisciplined, but had subsequently become moderates, he now defended. Consequently, Baxter included himself within their ranks as a brother Nonconformist.¹⁵² However, Baxter did not stand alone in his sentiments for inclusion. He quoted the old Separating Brownists (Congregationalists) to prove that they had no objection to parish churches or national churches, saying

Confessions and Protestation of Faith: Touching the true visible Political Churches which we acknowledge are in England; we profess and declare, - that each company of true visible Christians associated together in one place, viz. a Parish and Professing to serve God according to his Will, in Faith, and Order, so far as they know (such as there are many in England) the same is a true visible political Church in some respects. And therefore we communicate also with them on occasion---while in such communicating we contenance no evil thing in them, which in many places, and many times we need not do.¹⁵³

Baxter’s greatest fear was that his coming out in favour of Nonconformity would create more disunity within the Church, persuading men to Nonconformity and to persecution.

For my own part, I must profess, that the principal reason that caused my silence, as to such disputes was the fear of injuring the Church. For as I heard that old Mr. Dod was wont to thank God that no more conformed for the sake of truth; and to thank God that so many conformed for the sake of the Gospel which they preached: So it was my judgment, that it was not my duty without a special call, to persuade any man to Nonconformity... Therefore

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 52.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 52.

¹⁵² Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 19.

did I never (to my remembrance) endeavour to make any one man a Nonconformist that did not come or send to me for resolution in the case.¹⁵⁴

Though a self-avowed Nonconformist, Baxter differed from Owen and the Baptists in that he saw nothing wrong with associating with both Nonconformists and Conformists as long as the associating church preached a serious practice of godliness, temperance, love, and justice and did not contradict the doctrine of salvation by faith. At the end of his life, Baxter offered his definition of Dissenters. He divided his Nonconformists (i.e. Dissenters) into nine groups:

There are now these following sorts of known Dissenters, called by many, Coventicles. I. Those that like the way of Episcopacy and Liturgy best, as here settled; but yet will also, occasionally joyn with other Churches, as the French, Dutch, Lutheran, or some Non-conformists. II. The Pacifick Non-conformist, who at the King's Return, Petitioned for Arch-Bishop Usher's Moddel of the Primitive Episcopal Government, and thankfully accepted the King's Declaration [where Baxter believed he belonged] III. The Presbyterians, who are for Government only by Synods of equal Presbyters Teaching joyned with meer Rulling ones. IV. The Independants and Separatists. V. The Anabaptists, (who are half Arminians, and half not.) VI. The Fifth-Monarchy Party (most of which are Anabaptists also.) VII. The Quakers. VIII. The Papists. IX. The Infidels, Jews, Hobbists, and Atheists.¹⁵⁵

Nonconformity as Defined from Without

The Nonconformists were also joined together by the harsh criticisms of their enemies. George Bishop soundly condemned the Nonconformists for destroying the unity of religion thereby damaging the stability of the nation. Bishop included Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists in his depiction of Nonconformity and warned the king, nobility, gentry and clergy that they needed to do something soon to contain the spread of Nonconformity.¹⁵⁶ In his *A Salutation of Love to the Seed of God, in the People Called Independents, and Baptists, Monarchy-men and Seekers*, Bishop warned his hearers to return to the Lord with an admonishment, "That if You Return unto This, unto the LORD, the Rod which is prepared for Others shall not fall upon You; but if Ye do not, Ye shall fall in your Blood; the LORD hath spoken it."¹⁵⁷

A pamphlet critical of Nonconformity written by an unknown author is entitled, *A Breife Description or Character of the Religion and Manners of the Phanatiques in Generall*. The author lumped together the Anabaptists, Independents, Brownists, Enthusiasts, Levellers, Quakers,

¹⁵⁴ Richard Baxter, *An Apology for the Nonconformists Ministry* (London, 1681), p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Richard Baxter, *The English Nonconformity As Under King Charles II and James II* (London, 1690), p. 261.

¹⁵⁶ George Bishop, *A Book of Warnings or, The Visitation of the Lord's Love* (London, 1661), pp. 18-26.

¹⁵⁷ George Bishope, *A Salutation of Love to the Seed of God in The People called Independents, and Baptists, Monarchy-men and Seekers* (London, 1661), p. 8.

Seekers, Fifth Monarchists, and Dippers in his definition of Phanatiques, which was yet another term used to describe Nonconformists. He described Phanatiques as:

Fancifull men whose tongues are tipped with Sanctity, and the name of the Spirit is this, that they know not indeed what spirit they are of as to profession. They are a people much given to dreames and to take fancies for revelations and eary presumptions for serious examination of truth.¹⁵⁸

The author continued with his own explanation of the doctrinal problems and ecclesiastical practices of the Phanatiques. To him, Nonconformists believed that all things were to be tolerated and excused, in the name of liberty and leveling, even rebellion, villainies, and anarchy, which could be justified by the Phanatiques as an appeal to liberty of conscience. To the Phanatiques, preaching with exactness and preparation showed a lack of dependency upon the Spirit, and was the result of wearisome study and learning. The author claimed that if Nonconformists practiced the Sacraments with reverence and decency, they would quarrel over the place, time, gestures, or eligibility of those who could participate. If they observed the old ceremonies or used the ancient Doxology that abscribed glory to the Trinity, their Socinian and Arian ears were offended. (Obviously this is an example of lumping Nonconformists together, since the Nonconformists themselves denied any associations with the Socinians and Arians during this time period.)¹⁵⁹

Regarding their orthodoxy, Phanatiques could not be content with the religion of their fathers, but were constantly seeking after “some new fangle of opinion and practice to make themselves Remarkeable...”¹⁶⁰ Their proselytes were like callow birds who gaped open their mouths to greedily swallow anything fed to them. The author went on to condemn Nonconformist preaching as frothy egg whites without salt, runny, and without substance because words spoken originated from no higher a source than the minister’s brain and shallow fancies.¹⁶¹ Phanatique sermons were filled with filthy falsehoods, desperate doctrine and a mixture of Scripture.

In the estimation of the author, Phanatique learning was empty and shallow, being devoid of reason, religion, and common sense. When they wrote, they deceived their readers by erudite titles that promised a deep discussion of new ideas. However there was nothing within but spurious, hypocritical and damnable dogma, and mutilating theology. Phanatiques cried out against human

¹⁵⁸ Anonymous, *A Breife Description or Character of the Religion and Manners of the Phanatiques in General* (London, 1660), pp. 1-3.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Vincent, *The Foundation of God Standeth Sure* (London, 1688). See also Edmund Calamy, *A Compleat Collection of Farewell Sermons* (London, 1663) “Satan by his Ministers, and Emissaries, cast out the flood of Arian Doctrine to drown the church” Taken from a farewell sermon by [Thomas] Watson, 17 Aug 1662, pp. 5-6 within sermon text; John Tombes, *Emmanuel, or, God-Man, a Treatise Wherein the Doctrine of the Nicene and Chalcedon Councils, Concerning the Two Natures of Christ is Asserted against the Lately Vented Socinian Doctrine* (London, 1669).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 15.

learning and studies, against all liberal arts and sciences, schools, and universities, calling them heathenish, antichristian- the marks of the beast. These zealots who did not even know Latin or Greek, persuaded Christians to burn all books in order to understand the Bible which contained the mind of God. Those who had a smattering of learning attracted the illiterate who, like hares followed the fox because he had more strength and cunning. Nonconformists were like Apes who knowing they had no tail, preferred that no beast had any, and furthermore, attempted to persuade all beasts that tails were burdensome.¹⁶² By replacing the term “Nonconformist” with “Phanatique”, the author attempts to fold the marginal extremes into the mainstream of moderate Nonconformity for the purpose of stigmatisation. In his pamphlet the author accomplishes no small feat by dehumanizing his enemy, characterising them as immoral, heretical, animalistic, and ignorant, a target group easy to despise.

Conclusion

As attended to in this chapter, the issue of identity was one of importance to the Nonconformists and their ministers during the Restoration. Assigned, assumed and asserted identities defined and grouped the Nonconformists as both individuals and as Christians. Historians have long debated the definition of Nonconformity, the degree to which an individual was a Nonconformist, and whether their practice of Nonconformity was moderate or radical, or somewhere in between. By supplementing the brief historiographical treatment of Nonconformist identities with the following terms: “assigned,” “assumed,” “asserted” and “multiple”, I have sought to bring nuance to the understanding of the meaning of Nonconformist identity. In addition, I have attempted to refocus the emphasis of future Nonconformist identity research upon a more moderate nonconformity and upon the practices of a large body of ministers who called themselves a “peaceable people”. Much recent interest and attention that has been given to radical nonconformity seems to have blurred the holistic picture of Nonconformity. It is my hope that more attention will once again be devoted to a careful study of the majority of the ministers representing Nonconformity.

The enemies of Nonconformity described those who practiced Nonconformity with varying degrees of animosity, using language as a tool for derision and describing Nonconformists as wild animals, depraved criminals, and ignorant bumpkins who were responsible for the murder of Charles I. In the next chapter, I will begin to examine how the methods of comparative history, in particular, the employment of a database, can document and subsequently track how those who

¹⁶² Ibid, pp. 33-34.

deliberately asserted the name of Nonconformist and those who reluctantly accepted the identity found a way to unite in the face of intense persecution.

Chapter 2

The Methodology of the Nonconformist Ministerial Database

My ministerial identity research necessitated the close review and tabulation of identities from all available primary source documents, as well as that of Calamy and other historians who have also traced the lives of Nonconformist ministers, to discover if any evidence of an observable ecclesiastical identity sliding was apparent. Therefore, my efforts focused on the tabulation of individual ministerial identities documented in the local histories, biographies, governmental records, and denominational histories within the time period between 1640 and 1674. Such an immense undertaking, though not yet complete, has required nearly five years of daily research to accomplish. Within Chapter Two, I will provide a description of the methodology I employed to assemble a more comprehensive Nonconformist ministerial database using both Calamy's ministerial identity data and non-Calamy data. The purpose for my database was to track individual ministers and their known identities at specific historical moments throughout their vocational ministries, when data was available, with the intention of creating a more inclusive representation of Nonconformist ministerial identities. My research involved the unearthing of smaller fragments of ministerial information while identifying the particular minister to whom the information most likely belonged. The research information was then carefully entered into a database containing all the ministers located between 1640 and 1674, that most likely became Nonconformists in the Restoration period. My analysis was guided by an attention to detail and an endeavor to record information in a manner that was weighed towards a conservative assessment of the data. In instances where the data was unclear, or uncertain, question marks were inserted. Often facts thought to pertain to one minister, in actuality belonged to a different individual, possibly a relative.

Two data sources, that of the Clergy of the Church of England¹ and the revised Surman Index Online² proved helpful in the formatting of data within my database, improving upon it as I sought to avoid some difficulties found in these databases. In addition, two newer biographical ministerial studies, that of Margaret Steig *Laud's Laboratory* and Dan Fisher's *Black Robed Regiment* proved helpful in crafting the discussion of ministers in history.³

¹ Kenneth Fincham, Stephen Taylor and Arthur Burns, *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/>

² Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, (2013).
<http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/history.html>

³ Margaret Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory* (London, 1982). See also Dan Fisher, *Bring Back the Black Robed Regiment* (Mustang, OK, 2013).

Methodology

The historical question under my research consideration is whether there was an observable shift of ecclesiastical identities within the professional life span of individual future Nonconformist ministers who pastored between the years 1640 and 1672. My particular focus will be upon those ministering during the Restoration years of 1660-1672. My research necessitated a detailed examination of extant Nonconformist ministerial data. Once the identities of individual ministers have been tabulated and collated, the historian can then proceed to investigate whether enough evidence is available for observable trends in identity shifting within the ranks of Nonconformity.

A researcher could have approached the task of historical investigation from many different angles. First, one could have studied the biography of a single minister, and from his life events sought to document any ecclesiastical identity shifts experienced in his particular ministry. However, this type of biographical research has already been undertaken by other capable historians who have studied ministers such as Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, Oliver Heywood, John Howe, Thomas Manton, Adam Martindale, Matthew Newcomen, Philip Nye, John Owen and Matthew Poole.⁴ Ministerial biographies, though enlightening, are limited in scope, since they only

⁴ Richard Baxter: N. H. Keeble, *Richard Baxter: Puritan Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1982); William Orme, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter* (Boston, MA, 1831); G. D. Boyle, *Richard Baxter* (London, 1883); Frederick Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615–1691* (London, 1924); Frederick Powicke, *The Reverend Richard Baxter under the Cross, 1662–1691* (London, 1927); Nigel Knowles, *Richard Baxter of Kidderminster* (Bewdley, 2000); John Bunyan: J. Brown, *John Bunyan (1628–1688): His Life, Times, and Work*, (Ossett, 1928); William Y. Tindall, *John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher* (Brasted, 1934); H. Talon, *John Bunyan: The Man and His Works*, trans. B. Wall (Brasted, 1951); Richard L. Greaves, *John Bunyan* (Grand Rapids, 1969); Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People: John Bunyan and his church* (Oxford, 1988); N. H. Keeble, (ed.), *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus, Tercentenary Essays* (Oxford, 1988); Anne Laurence, W. R. Owens, and S. Sim, (eds), *John Bunyan and his England, 1628–88* (London, 1990); Richard L. Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity* (London, 1992); Michael A. Mullet, *John Bunyan in Context* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1996); Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford, CA, 2001); Oliver Heywood: Heywood, *The Whole Works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood ... with Memoirs of His Life*, 5 Vols., R. Slate and W. Vint (eds) (London, 1825–7); J. Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent, Exemplified by the Life of Oliver Heywood* (London, 1842); Samuel Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England: Parish and Congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax* (Leiden, NL, 2012); Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood ... His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, 4 Vols., J. H. Turner, (ed.) (Bingley, 1881–5, Whitefish, MT, Reprint 2007); John Howe: Henry Rogers, *The Life and Character of John Howe*, 2nd Edn. (Ithaca, NY, 1862); Robert F. Horton, *John Howe* (London, 1905); Alexander B. Grosart, *Representative Nonconformists* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1879); Thomas Manton: Derek Cooper, *Thomas Manton: A Guided Tour of the Life and Thought of a Puritan Pastor* (Phillipsburg, NJ, 2011); Adam Martindale: Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, R. Parkinson (ed) (Manchester, 1845); Matthew Newcomen: Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in early Stuart England: the Caroline Puritan Movement, c.1620–1643* (Cambridge, 1997); Phillip Nye: James Reid, *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of Those Eminent Divines* (London, 1811); John Owen: Carl R. Trueman, *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (Aldershot, 2007); Peter Toon, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen, Pastor, Educator, Theologian* (Milton Keynes, 1971); Matthew Poole: Thomas Harley, *Matthew Poole: His Life, His Times, His Contributions, Along with His Argument against the Infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church* (Bloomington, IN, 2009).

document the words and works of a single individual. Biographical research, by its limiting nature, cannot adequately represent the larger population and experience of Nonconformist ministers.

Secondly, one could have sifted through the vast stores of theological writings authored by these ministers during their lifetimes and assembled a somewhat subjective selection of their writings in an attempt to demonstrate a shift of identity. The problem with this approach is that the research findings still remain limited to a sample of three or four men's religious convictions. However even the use of intellectual history in personal convictions can be difficult to apprehend and document. Furthermore, it would be nearly impossible for an investigator to locate a sample of Nonconformist ministers who met the criteria of an initial harmony of religious convictions yet experienced a shift in their identity within the same historical time span.

After much experimentation and research, a testable hypothesis became apparent: that there should be some tangible evidence pointing to a continuing shift in ecclesiastical identity. To determine any shifting, an analysis of as many Nonconformist ministers as I could compile into a comprehensive list would be required. From this list, which would include as much biographical ministerial information as was available from primary and secondary sources, I would track as many ministers as was possible through specific historical points in time. The larger the number of the Nonconformist ministerial population I could discover, the better my opportunity would be to analyse the smallest fragment of ministerial information recorded. Tracking ecclesiastical shifts amongst Nonconformist ministers could be accomplished by examining asserted and assumed ministerial identities as well as identities assigned to them by others. Asserted identities might be discovered through the analysis of confessions of faith, pastoral letters, diaries, and licenses. Assumed identities, which I defined earlier as those imposed upon the Nonconformists by others, but later became an identity owned by the minister, or assigned identities might be revealed in a close examination of census and secondary source records.

For tracking of ministerial names and their assigned, assumed, and asserted identities a Nonconformist ministerial database was required. Therefore, the biographical information gathered for each minister had to be arranged in a way that would enable me to examine the data as efficiently as possible. After accumulating more than two thousand names, it became evident that individuals might be grouped together in logical order to potentially reveal general information about the whole. Grouping allowed me to make several observations that would remain undiscovered if I had not been able to examine each Nonconformist minister first as an individual, and then as part of a larger group. My observations will be explained in subsequent chapters. One additional benefit that grouping offered me was the tracking of relationships that ministers had with each other as friends, colleagues and family.

The onset of my data gathering research might be likened to the experience of entering a dark room, picking up a single puzzle piece, then carrying the individual piece to another room where multiple puzzles that needed to be completed were housed. This exercise is what J. H. Hexter called “splitting vs. lumping”.⁵ Diagrams 2.1 and 2.2 provide a visual representation of the processes of gathering data and analyzing it within my Nonconformist ministerial database.

Diagram 2.1: Creating a Nonconformist Ministerial Database Process

Creating a Nonconformist Ministerial Database

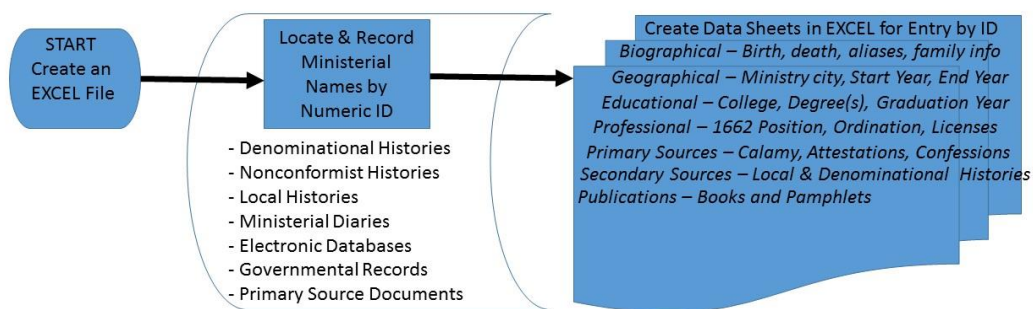
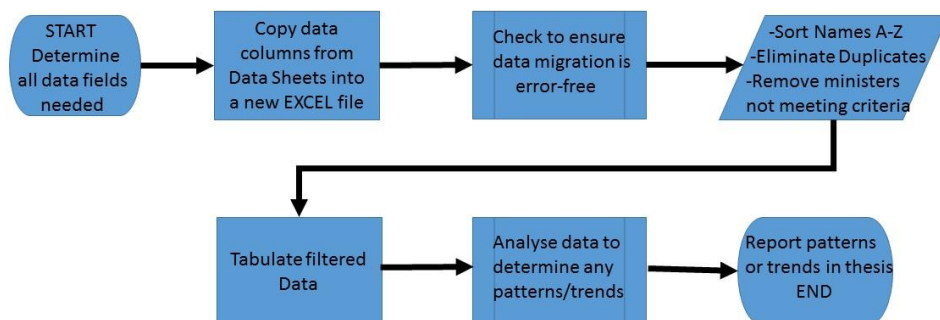


Diagram 2.2: Creating a Nonconformist Ministerial Data Evaluation Worksheet

Creating a Ministerial Data Evaluation Worksheet



⁵ John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A Criterial Framework* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 24. In Gerring’s footnote on p. 24, the term “splitting vs. lumping” is originally attributed to Donald Kagan.

An example of the importance of combining research on individual ministers before drawing conclusions on the nature of Nonconformity during the Restoration can be seen in the life of Francis Bampfield. Bampfield began his journey of ecclesiastical identity as a sequestered minister in 1659 at Sherborne, Dorset as a zealous royalist and conformist. Following his ejection in 1659, Bampfield met Richard Baxter, and subsequently came to the conclusion that the Church of England needed reformation. Thomas Haynes wrote that, “Mr. Bampfield, by the most natural process, on beginning to see the false foundation of Episcopacy, went step by step from Presbytery to Independency, and as necessarily became a Baptist, as to his Judaism, he was a 7th-Day Baptist”.⁶ If all that was known about Francis Bampfield was taken solely from Edmund Calamy’s description, one would be left with the conclusion that “he was one of the most celebrated preachers in the West of England, and extremely admired by his hearers, till he fell into the Sabbatarian notion, of which he was a zealous asserter”.⁷

In order to understand ecclesiastical shifting among the Nonconformists, it is essential to undertake careful research to classify each minister into an ecclesiastical identity that aligns with his self-identity at pre-determined points of time. After the ministers are analysed individually, then similar patterns of identity shifting can be seen as ministers are grouped together by their ecclesiastical identities (in certain cases, composite identities) under the larger umbrella of Nonconformity. During the course of my endeavour, many hypotheses have been tested and found to be inadequate. Some have fallen by the wayside while others proved to be surprisingly plausible. When looking for a pattern that could validate an hypothesis, the historian must be careful to refrain from imposing a pattern where none exists. However, by comparing ecclesiastical identities formed at several documented historical moments during the professional career of a minister, patterns not seen before can be revealed. One example of a pattern revealed was the case of many Nonconformist clergy who, after being ejected, took the Oxford Oath in 1665 and yet applied for a Nonconformist license in 1672.

Why Study Ministers Only?

⁶ Thomas Nelson Haynes, *Haynes’ Baptist Cyclopedia: Or Dictionary of Baptist Biography* (London, 1848), p. 52. Haynes further writes about Bampfield that, “He was always a person strangely fickle, and unsteady in his judgment, that he was first a Churchman, then an Presbyterian, afterwards an Independent or at least a side with them, An Anabaptist, and at length, almost a complete Jew, and what not.” See also Richard L. Greaves, ‘Bampfield, Francis (1614–1684)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Online Edn., Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1258> [accessed 10 Nov 2014]

⁷ Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist’s Memorial, Being an Account of the Lives, Suffering and Printed Works of the Two Thousand Ministers Ejected from the Church of England, Chiefly by the Act of Uniformity, August 24, 1666*, Samuel Palmer (ed.) (London, 1802), Vol. 2, p. 152.

Ministers were not members of the elite, but they also were not exactly common folk. A minister's social status was found somewhere between the two social positions, placing them in somewhat unique circumstances. The minister served both rulers and the ruled. They ministered during prosperous times and difficult times, and stood between man and God as shepherds of the flock. Biographical information provides evidence of their location and position in society, while comparisons with other ministers add flesh to the bones of more than one biographical skeleton at a time.

While sources for intellectual history often reflect only the opinions of the literate elite, individual comparisons can help historians to acquire knowledge of the vast majority who did not leave a written record of their thoughts. Sometimes literary sources can be an inaccurate gauge of Nonconformist ministerial convictions, since the sources express opinions or understandings of only a select few. For example, if the historian focused his attention solely on the Baptists, he might never discover that many Baptists were formerly ejected Presbyterian ministers.⁸ By combining Nonconformist ministers into a single large unit and then arranging them by their allegiance to confessions of faith more historical evidence can be amassed for each emerging denomination.

An early example of a database that included biographical comparisons was that done by Charles Surman (1901-1986). Surman created a card index of Congregationalist ministers at the request of his father-in-law, Dr. Alexander Grieve, in order to gather a list of the students who had attended the Lancashire and Yorkshire Independent Colleges as well as earlier institutions. In May 1938, he stated that he had 5,000 cards, yet two years later he had 15,000 cards. His cards contained not only names of ministers but useful biographical information. Though World War II delayed his work, he continued in his labors for the next twenty-one years. Surman later bequeathed his card index to the Dr. Williams Library in 1960.⁹ The *Surman Index Online* provides names of Congregationalist ministers covered in this thesis as well as many others, who pastored during the Restoration, and includes a short history of their ministries.

Surman meticulously noted names, places of ministry, dates, and ejection information. From Surman's files, I recorded only Nonconformist ministers that were working from 1640 to 1688. This work required opening the file of every possible minister and reading through his information to determine if he qualified as a Nonconformist. Though Surman's index proved to be helpful, one fundamental difficulty with this source was his assumption that all ministers within his database were Congregationalists, since many well-known Presbyterians are not listed in Surman's database.

⁸ This point will be discussed later in Chapter 6.

⁹ Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, (2013).

<http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/history.html>

Sometimes sources Surman referenced did not list a man as a Congregationalist. However, other sources in his possession might have assigned the man a Congregational identity. Therefore, Surman's assigned identities need to be taken under careful consideration. It is possible that Surman took liberties in designating a Nonconformist minister serving during the Restoration, yet not specifically listed as Presbyterian or Baptist, to be a Congregationalist, since the presbytery had been outlawed. If a minister was not practicing a presbyterian form of government and was not Episcopal, he could have been considered a Congregationalist. With this difficulty in mind, the men Surman listed in his *Surman Index Online* database received from me an assigned (in contrast to an assumed or asserted) Congregational identity within my database. All ministers whose names were gleaned from the *Surman Index Online* were duly noted as originating from that particular source. This action on my part does not imply that the Surman database is in any way flawed. On the contrary, the information Surman provided on ministers who lived during the Restoration is indispensable. Surman discovered several names of ejected ministers not listed in Calamy's works. Nonetheless, an historian needs to exercise caution when evaluating the accuracy of Surman's ecclesiastical identities.

One problem that must be considered pertains to the accuracy of evidence gleaned from the past and how useful it may be to the historian's needs. Is it representative of other tangible pieces of evidence? Does the data that has survived indicate a wider trend or merely a random circumstance? The *Attestation* and *Testimony* documents may be representative of the uncertainties of evidential accuracy. The *Attestation* and *Testimony* are Presbyterian documents signed by ministers from different shires. Some contain signed names while others are missing ministerial signatures. Relational analysis can help in the rediscovery of which Presbyterian ministers were located in shires where documents are missing signatures. However, relational analysis could become suppositional, as we cannot know with certainty which men would have signed the documents. Unfortunately, that answer is lost in time. What the documents do demonstrate is a shifting from the identity of "Puritan" to that of "Presbyterian" on the part of some ministers whose identity was previously recorded by other historians such as William Shaw as assigned or asserted Puritans.¹⁰

With these shortcomings in mind the employment of a database is nonetheless a key component when determining ecclesiastical shifting with any degree of accuracy. Both comparative and relational methods prove useful in determining the gradual or rapid change of ecclesiastical identity amongst the Nonconformist clergy during the Restoration.

¹⁰ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, pp. 300-306, 365-456.

One of the principal objections when addressing the enumeration of the ejected ministers seems to lie with the dispute over a commonly understood definition of a minister. Those who were ejected were not exclusively ministers. Some were academics who either taught or were students in Cambridge and Oxford.¹¹ However, it should be noted that a majority of these academics eventually became ministers of their own conventicles. Understandably, some of these conventicles were very small. However, these academics who served as ministers did not retire after their university ejections.

Problems Surrounding Restoration Minister Criteria

It is essential for the historian to understand and define the term as it was specified by the various denominations during the Restoration. What then, is the definition of a minister? The task of arriving at a working definition of a minister during the Restoration proves to be somewhat difficult. In the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the writers declared that the “minister” was to officiate over the ordinances for the gathering and perfection of the saints. Vavasor Powell, in his confession of faith, defines a minister as someone who is “chosen by the Churches themselves, and ordained as formerly they were, either by Apostles, or some appointed by as Evangelists or by some Teachers in those particular churches”.¹² The London Confession of Faith of 1649, a revision of the Baptist Confession of Faith of 1644, simply listed the duties of the minister “to prophesy according to the proportion of faith and so teach publically the Word of God”.¹³ In the London Confession, the minister is to feed the flock, not be guilty of loving money, and be of a ready mind. The General Baptists, in their confessions of faith dated 1659 and 1660, defined a minister by listing his duties as one who:

...first orderly comes into, and are brought up in the School of Christ’s Church, and waiting there; comes to degrees of Christianity, rightly qualified, and considerably gifted by God’s Spirit; ought to exercise their gifts not only in the Church but also as occasion serves to preach the Word (they being approved of by the Church so to do) and that among such some are to be chosen by the church and ordained by fasting; Prayer, and Laying on of

¹¹ An example was John Panton, student at All Souls College who became a minister in Sussex after being ejected from the university. Palmer, *Nonconformist’s Memorial* (London, 1802), Vol. 1, p. 214. John Singleton, student, was ejected, studied to be a physic and preached in Hertford. Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 217. John Thompson, was a student at Oxford when he was ejected and he later ministered in Dorchester and Bristol. Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 219.

¹² Edward Bagshaw, *The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell* (London, 1671), p. 37.

¹³ Anonymous, *The Confession of Faith of those Churches which are Commonly, though Falsly called Anabaptists Presented to the View of all that Feare God to Examine by the Touchstone of the Word of Truth, as likewise for the taking off those Aspirations which are Frequently both in Pulpit and Print, although Unjustly, Cast upon Them* (London, 1644).

Hands for the work of the ministry, Such so ordained (and abiding faithful in their work) we own as Ministers of the Gospel.¹⁴

The Orthodox Creed, a later General Baptist Confession of Faith, equates an elder with a pastor, as do the other confessions of faith, and defines him as one who feeds his Church, is vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, and not given to filthy lucre as were national ministers.¹⁵ The Congregationalist Confession of Faith, written at the Savoy Conference in 1658, declares that the pastor, teacher, and elder are to be chosen by the church itself, set apart by fasting and prayer and with the imposition of the laying on of hands.¹⁶ Interestingly, under the description of the duties of the synod, the ordination of ministers is not listed even though classis ordination was the practice. From these examples, it can be deduced that a minister or pastor was one who was chosen by the congregation and in the case of the Presbyterians, given authority by the local classis. His duties included feeding his flock, keeping his own life in order, and administering the ordinances. None of the confessions of faith statements contradict the term ‘minister’ generally used to describe Nonconformist “ministers” in this thesis. Therefore, an ejected minister was considered to be any person purged from his position of authority in the pulpit or the classroom in 1660 and 1662, who either was or eventually became a pastor, as defined by his own denominational confession of faith.

Methodology for Determining Ministerial Identity

Historians have utilised comparative methods to provide answers to historical questions for many years. My first step in the assembly of a research database was to chart ministerial names and biographical information from primary and secondary sources. As a whole, research on the size and spread of Nonconformity has been credited primarily to the expertise of one great historian, Edmund Calamy. Although Calamy did an excellent job in recording the names and biographies of the ministers he knew personally, as well as names he obtained from other sources, he did not assume that he had recorded the name of every Nonconformist minister that was ejected in the 1660s. Nor did historians who accepted his findings make such a broad assumption. Even with current technology, it is untenable to presume that it would be possible even now to locate all the Nonconformist ministers who served in England and Wales, let alone Scotland and Ireland. However, the modern historian, using computers, can improve upon Calamy’s work and that of historians which followed him. I have attempted to recover and update the quantity and identities

¹⁴ Crosby, *The History of the English Baptists*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

¹⁵ Anonymous, *An Orthodox Creed or, a Protestant Confession of Faith* (London, 1679), pp. 42-43.

¹⁶ Anonymous, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and Practised in the Congregational Churches* (London, 1658), p. 24.

of the Restoration Nonconformist ministers that Calamy first recorded, by combining and comparing primary and secondary sources along with Calamy. Calamy's list of ejected ministers provide a starting point for documentation of asserted identities of future first and second generation Nonconformist ministers between the years 1660 and 1662. The historian who learns to utilise computer technology as a means to discover trends and answer historical questions through the use of statistics supported by tangible data adds a valuable tool to his toolbox when resolving larger historical problems.

My research and listing of clerical identities for 1669 and 1672 was derived directly from the visitation and license records. However, determining whether an individual minister was ejected is a more complicated endeavour, requiring the comparison of extant shire ejected records with Calamy's determination. I have supplemented Calamy by consulting a variety of other sources on 1660-62 listed in detail in Appendix 2. Therefore, my identification of ejections is necessarily more open to review than for long-established 1669 and 1672 records, because of the multiplicity and fragmentary nature of both primary and secondary sources available. The list of ejected ministers should be treated as a work in progress, rather than definitive and is subject to further research.

In 1982, Margaret Steig wrote *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* which explored the "intellectual, moral, and economic condition of the clergy, the convictions, interests, and pliability of the laity"¹⁷ as well as the administrative network and officials of the diocese. This book perhaps provides the closest example of the research I will attempt to document within this thesis, though the Church of England Clergy Database also resembles the informational database element of my work. In her book, Steig discusses the problems she encountered while undertaking a statistical analysis of the clergy in the diocese of Bath and Wells, part of which was the incomplete nature of primary source documents that had to be supplemented by other sources. Her most useful source of data came from the consignment books. Steig noted that too often the only information available for a minister was his name and benefice. Another obstacle she faced was the sorting out of information relating to two men with the same surname. Analogous information reported for two men with similar yet differently spelled surnames also caused confusion. In addition, Steig faced a problem I did not encounter, that of attempting to locate ministers within parishes, where no ministerial information was available. Her research was localised in focus while my research is more biographical in nature. Due to time and travel limitations, I did not attempt to locate a Nonconformist minister within every parish, realising from the start, that the task would be impossible. Finally, Steig also had to rely on alumni records

¹⁷ Steig, *Laud's Laboratory*, p. 51.

for more personal information related to the ministers she researched. I have drawn on available secondary sources whenever they provided additional biographical information on individual ministers.

Sources of Ministerial Names and Identities

More recent contributions to the field of comparative religious history are the development of two databases, the *Surman Index Online* and the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED). As mentioned above, Charles Surman's *Index Online Database* is a source in which the author's motivation requires a closer examination. The CCED was launched in 1990 and contains records from over fifty archives in England and Wales, a broader source of information that was not available to me. It covers the records of Church of England clergy from 1540-1835, and includes career and personal biographical information. One option of the search engine is the ability to search by subscribing ministers. In 1662, Church of England clergy were given the option of subscribing to the Act of Uniformity or being ejected from their parish positions. This database option allowed me to eliminate from search results all ministers who chose to subscribe to that Act unless they later took a license in 1672. The database will also eventually prove extremely helpful in identifying those ministers who were ministering between 1640 and 1660 but for whom there are no records of subscription or death.

The *Clergy of the Church of England Database* remains a work in progress.¹⁸ First of all, the Database category of subscribers is not yet complete, with several geographical areas remaining to be reported. Secondly, either data is missing, or it appears from the data in the Database that not every Church of England minister was forced to take the Act of Uniformity oath in order to remain in his position. Some ministers appear to have continued in their ministries without subscribing. Thirdly, not all of the ministers listed in the 1640s and 1650s have records with death dates. Therefore, it is not possible to locate all the clergy who ministered during the Restoration from this database. However, these difficulties do not diminish the importance of this database, and will most likely be addressed, at least in part, as the work of data entry continues.

In my compilation of the ministerial data, the evolution of identities was not necessarily the first information available for the life of individual ministers. However determining and documenting ecclesiastical identities was essential before I could investigate any common doctrinal foundation upon which ministers could eventually form associations. My database enables the historian to track the ecclesiastical categories to which a minister was assigned or with which he

¹⁸ Kenneth Fincham, Stephen Taylor and Arthur Burns, *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*. <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search>
The database was originally launched in 1999 and is supported by the King's College, London.

identified from the 1640s through the Restoration. Within the larger data set of the combined Nonconformist ministers, the historian can attempt to discover any patterns that become evident. However the initial task required ministerial data gathering and data entry that then had to be verified and standardised. My sources for ministerial data included denominational histories, local histories, church meeting records, parish records, signed documents filed with the government, confessions of faith, biographies and autobiographies, diaries, contemporary histories, official government sources, Surman and the modern databases of seventeenth-century English clergy compiled by Surman and the CCED project.

Denominational histories

Though more recently compiled clergy databases were extremely helpful in locating information about the ministers listed in my database, other more traditional sources such as denominational histories proved useful as well. In particular, Baptist denominational histories listed ministerial biographical material not found in most Restoration histories. When ministerial names given are compared with information gathered from other sources, the information located within the denominational histories has proven helpful. However, denominational histories tend to become narrow in their scope since they must cover decades or even centuries of history regarding a particular denomination. Therefore, they tend to magnify the lives or religious contributions of only a few prominent ministers within a denomination, while focusing more on the historical narrative rather than the individual. Also, these histories tended to be written to provide a pedigree for denominations and thus are limited to a particular author's viewpoint. However, if the historian takes into consideration inherent biases, the biographical information contained within these histories is extremely valuable.

Presbyterian histories are not as rich in ministerial biographical material, with the exception being found in leadership biographies.¹⁹ Richard Baxter is the major subject of attention within these Presbyterian Restoration records. Most Presbyterian histories include a short chapter on the Restoration that explains the Savoy Conference focusing on liturgical changes that might have led to Presbyterian comprehension, as well as the Act of Uniformity, and St. Bartholomew's Day ejections. The emphasis is usually placed on the treachery suffered by the Presbyterians.

¹⁹ Henry Solly, *Our English Presbyterian Forefathers* (London, 1859), p. 25; English Presbyterian Association, *The History, Opinions, and Present Legal Position of the English Presbyterians* (London, 1834), pp. 8-12; Joshua Wilson, *An Historical Inquiry Concerning the Principles Opinions and Usages of the English Presbyterians from the Restoration of Charles the Second to the Death of Queen Anne* (London, 1836), pp. 1-41; Samuel Miller, *Presbyterianism: The Truly Primitive and Apostolic Constitution of the Church of Christ* (Philadelphia, PA, 1840), pp. 9-25; Walter Lee Lingle, *Presbyterians: Their History and Beliefs* (Louisville, KY, 1978), pp. 53-56; James Hutchinson Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, KY, 1996), p. 36.

Some Presbyterian denominational histories are formatted in the same way as local histories, that is, by shire and town, which makes the study of a continuous history of a particular minister much more difficult though not impossible. Whenever complete ministerial biographies are located, they often yield the names and information relating to ministerial friends and colleagues. Two denominational tomes that proved helpful are A. H. Drysdale's and Thomas M'Crie's Presbyterian histories.²⁰ Although M'Crie's ministerial list is short, it is thorough.

Congregationalist denominational histories, such as John Waddington's *Surrey Congregational History*, focus on Restoration history and highlight the lives of the ministerial leadership in the shire. This makes the task of locating the names of lesser known ministers sprinkled amongst its pages a difficult one. Furthermore, Congregational histories tend to be combined with shire local histories, a good example being that of William Henry Summers' local and denominational history.²¹

Baptist denominational histories tend to focus on the formation of the English Baptists, with an emphasis once again on Baptist leadership. Both Joseph Ivimey's and Thomas Crosby's histories proved fruitful in producing ministerial names and personal information.²² One particular Baptist work, Roger Hayden's edited version of the *Broadmead Records*, yielded ministerial names not found elsewhere.²³

Local histories

For the most part, local histories yielded little in my search for names and biographical information on Nonconformist ministers. Most local histories contain few references to the Restoration period, with some devoting only a paragraph or two. When discussing the ministers of the Restoration, most local histories used Calamy as their source, some even quoting word for word his biographical information. I painstakingly researched one of the finest local history libraries in England, that of Leicester University, and found little biographical information apart from that which was quoted from Calamy. Yet there are a few local histories that are an exception to the rule. William

²⁰ A. H. Drysdale, *History of the Presbyterians in England* (London, 1889); Thomas M'Crie, *Annals of the English Presbytery* (London, 1872).

²¹ John Waddington, *Surrey Congregational History* (London, 1866); William Henry Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks* (Newbury, 1905); John T. Christian, *A History of the Baptists* (Nashville, TN, 1922); Edward Terrill, *Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-87*, Roger Hayden (ed.), (Bristol, 1974).

²² Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists* (London, 1811); Thomas Crosby, *The History of the English Baptists*, Vols. I and III (London, 1738).

²³ Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-1687*, Roger Hayden (ed.) (Bristol, 1974).

Urwick's history of Hertford²⁴ contained several appendices that list Puritan preachers before 1662, Triers from Hertford, Westminster Assembly members from this area, the ejected preachers, and a list of ministers that moved to Hertford after ejection. John Browne's local history of Norfolk and Suffolk²⁵ also included an appendix that lists the ejected from these shires as well as a list of ministers who took out a license in 1672. The book contains a list of ministers who signed the *Petitions of the Suffolk Ministers to the house of Peers concerning Church Government May 29, 1646* as well as a list of ministers attending the Suffolk Classis in 1647.²⁶

Additional examples of local histories that offer ministerial data include Benjamin Nightingale's two works, which provide brief accounts of ejected and active ministers serving before the Restoration in Cumberland and Westmorland.²⁷ Thomas William Davids, in his local history of Essex²⁸ provided records of Classis attendees, detailed descriptions of ejected ministers, and several supplementary lists of Nonconformist ministers. Historian Jerom Murch's history,²⁹ due to its ecclesiastical theme, proves challenging in culling biographical information, but was helpful in the search for ministers located in specific towns.

Bryan Dale's local history³⁰ included a list of ejected and licensed ministers in Yorkshire, while Frank Skinner in his local history of Shropshire documented several ministers.³¹ S. Wilton Rix, in his work³² lists the names of pastors ministering in East Anglia, particularly the Beccles area, before the Restoration. Rix records only two ministers who served after the Restoration, yet it is logical that, when compared with data from other sources, many of the men ministering in the 1640s and 1650s were still likely serving in the ministry during the Restoration. Other sources will eliminate those who in Rix's listing, subscribed. Thomas Coleman's treatise on Northamptonshire³³ is another local history with biographical material on Restoration ministers mixed amongst town and shire histories. Robert W. Dixon, author of a local history³⁴ of the single

²⁴ William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts* (Manchester, 1884); William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864); William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Worcester* (Manchester, 1897).

²⁵ John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877).

²⁶ Ibid, Introduction, p. 163, and Appendix IV.

²⁷ Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland, their Predecessors and Successors* (Manchester, 1911); Benjamin Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity* (Toronto, 1893).

²⁸ Thomas William Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (London, 1863).

²⁹ Jerom Murch, *A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England* (London, 1835).

³⁰ Bryan Dale and T. G. Crippen, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (London, 1909).

³¹ R. Frank Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire, 1662-1816: a Study in the Rise and Progress of Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Quaker and Methodist Societies* (Shrewsbury, 1964).

³² Samuel Wilton Rix, *East Anglican Nonconformity* (London, 1851).

³³ Thomas Coleman, *Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire* (London, 1853).

³⁴ Robert Walker Dixon, *A Century of Village Nonconformity at Bluntisham, Hunts* (London, 1887).

town of Bluntisham, Huntingdon, included the ejected ministers from the shire of Huntingdon. Though he primarily recorded Calamy's biographical information, a few additional details were available. A Nonconformist history of Kendal, Northumberland, written by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon,³⁵ contained detailed biographies of several Nonconformists, and was the exception to the rather light treatment given to ministers and their biographies within local town histories.

Another detailed Nonconformist local history that proved helpful in gleaning ministerial names was Richard Wade's Nonconformist history of Manchester.³⁶ John Waddington's localised denominational history contained a rather detailed list of licenses granted to ministers in Surrey in 1672. Index II of William Henry Summers' denominational history contained a listing of Nonconformist ministers, pastors, evangelists and missionaries who served in Berkshire, Oxford, and Buckingham from 1662 to 1905.³⁷ With respect to the Welsh Nonconformists, J. Davis' book proved to be a good source for pre-Restoration and post-Restoration Baptist ministers.

Ecclesiastical and Parliamentary Histories

Unique references to ministerial and biographical information can also be found within ecclesiastical governance documents. One example is found inside a letter that was sent on 24 September 1645, to the Mayor and Alderman of Norwich by the Speaker of the House of Commons, William Lenthal.³⁸ The letter stated that the Parliament desired a settlement on a Presbyterian form of church government, and instructed the Mayor and Alderman to seek the advice of godly ministers and others to set up classical presbyteries, assign ministers to each classis, and send a report to the House of Commons as soon as possible. Though the county of Suffolk was divided into fourteen precincts for Presbyterian classes, and the names of the ministers were recorded, the presbyteries were never set up. However, the ministerial names found within the letter proved helpful. The clergy of Suffolk wrote to the House of Peers on 29 May 1646 petitioning Parliament to continue in their efforts to establish a Presbyterian form of church government throughout England in order to combat moral and ecclesiastical decline. They urged Parliament to intervene because:

...the name of the most High God is blasphemed, his precious truths corrupted, his word despised, his ministers discouraged, his ordinances vilified. Hence it is, that Schism, Heresy, Ignorance, Prophaneness, and Atheism flow in upon us, Seducers multiply, grow

³⁵ Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal: A History of the Unitarian Chapel in the Market Place* (Lenox, MA, 2013).

³⁶ Richard Wade, *The Rise of Nonconformity in Manchester* (Manchester, 1880).

³⁷ Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks* (Newbury, 1905).

³⁸ Dawson Turner, *Descriptive Index of the Contents of Five Manuscript Volumes Illustrative of the History of Great Britain* (Great Yarmouth, 1843), p. 45.

daring and insolent, pernicious books poison many souls, piety and learning decap apace, very many congregations lie waste without Pastors, the Sacrament of Baptism by many neglected, and by many reiterated, the Lord's Supper generally dis-used or exceedingly prophaned, confusion and ruin threatening us in all quarters.³⁹

John Browne, an historian, wrote that 163 ministers from Suffolk and 139 ministers from Essex signed the document. Parliament responded with a word of encouragement to the ministers. The ministers were urged to continue in their efforts and were assured that Parliament was working to improve their power to suppress "error, heresy, seducing teachers, and soul-subverting books, and likewise for the settling of Church government according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches, to which they hold themselves obliged by their solemn League and Covenant..."⁴⁰ The document is of particular importance since it reveals the firm alignments of the ministers with their Presbyterian convictions. Any ministerial signatures attached to these letters were duly recorded in my database along with the source documentation.

In 1646, ministers in Hertfordshire signed a similar document in support of the establishment of presbyteries. Additionally, these documents and others like it were composed at approximately the same time as the source document upon which later attestations would be based, entitled *Letter of the Ministers of the City of London*. The attestation documents will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Biographies, Autobiographies and Diaries

A productive source for ministerial and biographical information is found in the biographies and autobiographies of clergymen. One well known source, Richard Baxter's memoirs, with his list of ejected clergy and his associations with ministers proved to be fruitful, yielding the names and biographical information of many Nonconformist ministers. However, Baxter was not the only author that I consulted in my endeavour to document the names and lives of Nonconformist ministers. The biographers of Gilbert Sheldon, Thomas Manton, John Goodwin, and John Owen also provided not only interesting details but also context to the lives of these ministers priorly known only by their works.⁴¹

³⁹ Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 163. See also John Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana* (London, 1646), p. 322; Lionel Gatford, *A Faithfull and Faire Warning Humbly Presented to the Knights, Gentlemen, Clergymen, Yeomen, and other the Inhabitants of the County of Suffolk* (London, 1648), p. 26.

⁴⁰ Browne, *History of Congregationalism*, p. 163. See also, Edward Hill, *Vindiciae Veritatis, or An Unanimous Attestation to Gods Blessed Truth Revealed in His Word* (London, 1648), pp. 1-7; Bryan Dale, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding During the Puritan Revolution', in *Bradford Antiquary*, (1900), pp. 431-441.

⁴¹ Biographies and diaries reviewed include Arthur Jackson, Edmund Calamy, Simeon Ashe, James Nalton, and Thomas Watson, *The Life and Death of that Reverend and Holy Man of God, Mr. Thomas Cawton*

Personal diaries, by their nature, are biographical and provide historical information on individual lives. The diaries of Philip Henry, Oliver Heywood and Matthew Newcome yielded a number of names and biographical material on Nonconformist ministers, revealing at times their motives as well as their activities. Samuel Pepys listed the names of several Nonconformist ministers within his diaries. One significant difficulty I encountered when reviewing diary entries was determining whether or not a man listed within a diary entry was a minister or simply a friend or acquaintance. Therefore, the diary information, like other sources of data, had to be validated, by a comparison to other source information.

Puritan Histories

Histories of the Puritans offer a wealth of information on the lives of Nonconformist ministers prior to the Restoration. By far, the best source of names for Puritan and Nonconformists from 1640 to

(London, 1662); Richard Baxter, *An abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times* (London, 1713); Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Matthew Henry* (London, 1716); William Harris, *Some Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton* (London, 1725); James Reid, *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of Those Eminent Divines Who Convened in the Famous Assembly at Westminster in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1811); Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1813); Richard Orme, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter* (Boston, MA, 1831); J. B. Williams, *Memoirs of the life, character, and writings of Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1835); T. H. Lister, *Life and Administrate of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon Vol. 2* (London, 1838); Joseph Hunter, *The Rise of the Old Dissent Exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood* (London, 1842); Adam Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, R. Parkinson (ed.) (Manchester, 1845); Thomas Heywood, *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome from September 30, 1661 to September 29, 1663* (Chetham, 1849); Andrew Thomson, *Life of John Owen, D. D.* (Edinburgh, 1853); Charles Stanford, *Joseph Alleine: His Companions & Times* (London, 1861); William Bray, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (London, 1862); John Ward Dean, *A Brief Memoir of Giles Firmin, One of the Ejected Ministers of 1662* (Boston, MA, 1866); I. Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, M.A.* (London, 1866); Matthew Henry, *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M. A.* (London, 1882); Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A. 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diearies, Anecdote, and Event Books* (London, 1882); G. D. Boyle, *Richard Baxter* (London, 1883); Edmund Venables, *Life of John Bunyan* (London, 1888); Harrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather, The Puritan Priest* (New York, 1891); James Anthony Froude, *Bunyan* (London, 1901); Sir Henry Craik, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* (New York, 1911); Vernon Staley, *The Life and times of Gilbert Sheldon* (London, 1913); Norman Sykes, *From Seldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959); Everett H. Emerson, *John Cotton* (New York, 1965); Geoffrey Nuttall, *Richard Baxter* (Stanford, CA, 1965); Alan Macfarlane, *The Family of Ralph Josselin* (London, 1970); Edmund Heward, *Matthew Hale* (London, 1972); Victor D. Sutch, *Gilbert Sheldon, Architect of Anglican Survival 1640-1675* (The Hague, NL, 1973); Richard Greaves, *Saints and Rebels* (Macon, GA, 1985); Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown CT, 1988); Michael A. G. Haykin, *Kiffin, Knollys, and Keach* (Leeds, 1996); Muriel James, *Religious Liberty on Trial: Hanserd Knollys* (Franklin, TN, 1997); Keith Lindley and David Scott, *The Journal of Thomas Juxon, 1644-1647* (Cambridge, 1999); Derek Cooper, *Thomas Manton* (Phillipsburg, NJ, 2003); H. Rondel, Rumburg, *William Bridge* (Maitland, FL, 2003); William Dougal Christie, *A Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper*, (Charlestown, MA, 2005); Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Otago, NZ, 2011); Keith E. Durso, *No Armor for the Back: Baptist Prison Writings, 1600s-1700s* (Macon, GA, 2007); Dewey D. Wallace, Jr. *Shapers of English Calvinism 1660-1714* (Oxford, 2011).

1660 came from William Arthur Shaw's books chronicling the English Church.⁴² Volume Two contained a large section of appendices that provided the names and locations of clergy who ministered before and after the Restoration. The book included lists of "malignant ministers", sequestered ministers, Puritan nominations, Puritan lecturers, classis records, ministerial association records, plundered minister records, augmentations, and even stipends given to ministers shortly before the Restoration. These documents provide a list of pre-Restoration ministers that can be traced, in part, through the Restoration by using Shaw's classification, namely that of the ministerial labels of Puritan, Presbyterian, and Nonconformist. Daniel Neal's book, *The History of the Puritans*, also yielded names and ministerial cities of Nonconformist ministers that I could trace from before the Restoration into the Restoration, and included additional information regarding death dates.⁴³ Another partial listing of names of ministers is found in Anne Laurence's *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651*.⁴⁴

Governmental Documents

Two sources of governmental documents proved extremely helpful. The first may or may not be considered as an official governmental document. *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of their Livings in Several Counties of England* documented many names of ejected ministers not listed in Calamy's works.⁴⁵ The second, a *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*, verified G. Lyon Turner's list of Nonconformist licenses issued in 1672 and provided the names and information of additional men who sought a license.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* for 1662 does not contain much information relating to the St. Bartholomew Day ejections of 1662.

Conclusion

My choice of the comparative mode of research was intentional, since it provided me with a methodology that was sufficiently adequate to track Nonconformist identities over time. I have attempted to take into consideration the hazards that must be avoided when undertaking comparative research. I endeavoured to locate and review as many sources of Nonconformist ministerial data available to me, for the purpose of amassing the information gleaned into a single

⁴² Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, 2 Vols.

⁴³ Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4 (London, 1822).

⁴⁴ Anne Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* (Woodbridge, 1990).

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of Their Livings in Several Counties of England Because They Could Not Conform for Conscience Sake* (London, 1663).

⁴⁶ Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860).

comprehensive historical database for my subsequent research. Using the database, I intend to discover any verifiable trends and patterns of Nonconformist ministerial identity over the lifetimes of select ministers under study. I recognise that I am not the first historian to attempt to undertake such a herculean task of data gathering, database building, and comparative analysis. In Chapter Three, the database will be leveraged to determine which colleges first generation future Nonconformists attended, and over the course of their ministries, any ecclesiastical identity shifting.

Chapter 3

Educational Networks and Nonconformist Identity

The university is an environment where young and impressionable students formulate lifetime friendships, sit under the instruction of seasoned professors, and engage with new philosophies and ideas. In the seventeenth century, Cambridge University, as one of the oldest Puritan strongholds, offered both a classical and theological education for students preparing for entrance into ministry. For those aspiring to the ministry, college is the locale where many prospective ministers solidify their doctrinal convictions. In the case of young Puritan ministerial candidates who were seeking an education between the 1620s and the 1640s, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was the college of choice for future Nonconformist ministers, thus I have selected it as my case study. A ministerial candidate arriving at Emmanuel would have experienced the close proximity of boarding together in the same university hall, eating in a communal dining hall, worshiping in the same chapel, and interacting with other students, an atmosphere likely to create close relationships.



Illustration 3.1: Emmanuel College courtyard, Cambridge (photo taken by author)

The historiography addressing the earlier years of Emmanuel agree that the college was a stronghold for Puritanism in England.¹ However, Andrew Delbanco and others promote the idea

¹ Webster, Tom, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: the Caroline Puritan Movement, c.1620–1643* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 16-23; See also William Cunningham, *English Influence on the United States* (New York, 1916), p. 73; J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (New York, 2005), p. 120; Charles

that not only did Emmanuel hold significant clout within the nation, its students extended Emmanuel's influence beyond England to America.² In Cotton Mather's estimation, "If New England hath been in some respects Immanuel's land, it is well; but this I am sure of, Immanuel College contributed more than a little to make it so..."³ Historian William Cunningham correlated Emmanuel with John Harvard and Harvard University stating that "Emmanuel College was a centre of Puritan teaching; and in Harvard's time it had been one of the foremost academic institutions of the day; no less than eleven of the seventeen Heads of Colleges during the Commonwealth Period came from its walls".⁴

Chapter Three will describe the educational milieu of the 1620s through the 1640s, and in particular, five of the earliest university instructors, Laurence Chaderton of Emmanuel, Christopher Rogers of New Inn, John and Henry Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and Thomas Goodwin of Magdalen College, who were instrumental in teaching those Puritans who would later become the Nonconformists of the Restoration.

Chaderton influenced at least three colleges at Cambridge, that of Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, and Magdalene. Chaderton's emphasis was on clerical community and Biblical preaching. His focus on tolerance of "indifferent things" seems to have helped to lay a foundation upon which cooperative Nonconformity later may have taken shape.⁵ Rogers, "a notorious Puritan leader at notorious Puritan New Inn Hall,"⁶ [Oxford], focused on living the holy life of a Puritan, and influenced his students to refuse to conform to the practices of the Church of England. Rogers, the President at New Inn, influenced students from the 1620s through the early 1660s.

Biographers Jordan J. Ballor and John Morgan convey the details of Laurence Chaderton's life and the influence of Emmanuel College on Puritan education, and Patrick Collinson adds

W. Allen, *Out of Captivity* (Nauvoo, IL, 2007), p. 251; George Davenport, *The Letters of George Davenport, 1651-1677* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 4. Christopher Dawson, *The Crisis of Western Education* (New York, 1961), p. 31; Dalton, *Laud's Laboratory*, p. 80, Richard Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* (Brunswick, NJ, 1996), p. 74; Eugene E. White, *Puritan Rhetoric: The Issue of Emotion in Religion* (Carbondale, IL, 1971), p. 14; Frank T. Boyle, *Swift As Nemesis* (Stanford, CA 2000), p. 30.

² "Among the roughly 20,000 persons who emigrated to New England in the 1630s, nearly 150 were graduates... The college with by far the highest representation (35 graduates or affiliates) was Emmanuel College... Emmanuel turned out to be the Old English "oak" to the New England sapling planted by Puritan emigrants in 1636 at Newtown." Andrew Delbanco, *College: What It Was, Is, and Should Be* (Princeton, 2012), p. 39.

³ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, CT, 1853), Book 4, Vol. 2, p. 661.

⁴ Cunningham, *English Influence on the United States*, p. 73. Arthur M. Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education* (San Francisco CA, 1998), p. 17. "The College centered on teaching, not on the advancement of learning, and saw no contradiction in preparing young people to take their place as public officials and as ministers in a community where church and state were closely aligned."

⁵ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 25-26.

⁶ A. Clark, *University of Oxford College Histories: Lincoln* (London, 1898), p. 94.

additional particulars on Chaderton in his history of Emmanuel College.⁷ In addition, Peter Lake has shown that Chaderton represents a distinctly ‘moderate Puritan’ style. His chapter on Chaderton divulges the techniques Chaderton taught his young students that, if taken to heart, would have proved helpful when these future Nonconformists faced some of the most difficult decisions of their lives. At this juncture we are also building on the work of Francis Bremer, who focused on friendships amongst the clergy both in England and America and the continuing conversations across the Atlantic between the ministers, particularly emphasizing the importance of university networks.⁸ Biographical information relating to Christopher Rogers is practically nonexistent, with the exception of two pages devoted to him by Blair Worden.⁹

Emmanuel College and Laurence Chaderton

A large portion of future second generation godly clergy attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Although motivations may be difficult to determine within the lives of individual ministers, there are several plausible explanations for why these men would be open to embrace a changing religious climate. The first likely motivation for a Puritan student to change his ecclesiastical convictions might have been the influence exercised by Laurence Chaderton upon those who attended Emmanuel College, and by extension, her sister schools, Sidney Sussex and Magdalene.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, educational requirements for men entering the ministry had so deteriorated that Jordan Ballor writes:

In 1551, John Hooper examined 311 clergy and found that 168 could not repeat the Ten Commandments and thirty-one did not know the author of the Lord’s Prayer. Hedward Dering remarked decades later that “scarce one parish in an hundred” had a godly minister capable of rightly fulfilling his office.¹⁰

Though it is possible that Dering’s latter comments might have been an exaggeration, Ballor’s point that more qualified ministers were needed is valid. The Puritan founders sought to address the

⁷ Patrick Collinson, ‘Puritan Emmanuel: Laurence Chaderton, 2: Puritan Conformity and the Greater Good’, *A History of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*, Sarah Bendall (ed.) (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 177-199; John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Toward Reason, Learning, and Education 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986); Jordan J. Ballor, David Sytsma and Jason Zuidema, (eds) *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism* (Boston, MA, 2013).

⁸ “Those who had experienced the equality of godly communion in religious exercises at Emmanuel College and elsewhere in Cambridge, who had labored together under threat of episcopal deprivation in the 1620s, and who had endured together the dangers of emigration were more inclined than some of their peers to trust in the brotherhood of saints that was at the core of Congregational polity. Their experience of communion confirmed the lessons regarding church order that they found in scripture and in church history and sustained them in their effort “to live ancient lives.” Francis Bremer, *Congregational Communion* (Lebanon, NH, 1994), p. 14.

⁹ Blair Worden, *God’s Instruments* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 140-141.

¹⁰ Ballor, Sytsma and Zuidema, (eds) *Church and School*, p. 326.

decline in ministerial proficiency by establishing a college that would be dedicated to the education of future ministers. In 1585, Laurence Chaderton was appointed first Master of Emmanuel College, a newly founded school at Cambridge University.



Illustration 3.2: Emmanuel Chapel Portrait of Laurence Chaderton (taken by author)

Emmanuel soon became the school of choice where many first generation Nonconformist ministers attended or where they sent their sons. Chaderton's evolving Puritan/Presbyterian convictions and his influence upon future Nonconformists are seen in the ministries of Dissenting clergy before and during the Restoration, even amongst those men who did not study under him directly. Chaderton's influence is seen in several lessons he taught future Dissenting ministers.

The Art of Discretion

At Emmanuel, Chaderton taught his students to exercise discretion, and to communicate effectively. By these means future ministers could gently persuade people of Presbyterian doctrine rather than rashly lead a congregation to separate from the Church of England. Adam Nicholson writes that "There was clearly something canny about him [Chaderton] and the entire strategy of the Emmanuel project was not open revolution but a silent seeding of the Church of England to bring it, as if by stealth, to a more reformed condition".¹¹ Frank Stubbings writes concerning both Sir

¹¹ Adam Nicholson, *God's Secretaries* (New York, 2005), p. 131.

Walter Mildmay, Emmanuel's founder, and Chaderton, that "Both favoured reform rather than reaction; but change was not something to be forced; the right seed with the right nurture would in God's good time grow as it ought. The Founder's famous analogy of planting an acorn is no mere witticism; it sums up a whole philosophy".¹²

While practicing the art of discretion, Chaderton and his chapel leadership nonetheless encouraged students to pray extemporaneously, and to consider the laying aside of the surplice and other clerical and academic accoutrements. The observance of the Lord's Supper at Emmanuel departed from the Church of England's practice of kneeling to receive the sacraments. Instead, participants sat around a common communion table and passed the bread and wine from hand to hand.¹³ However, in the application of his strategy of ecclesiastical reform, Chaderton advised his students that expediency depended on the circumstances within which the minister found himself. Chaderton's "principle was one not of law but expediency".¹⁴ He taught that the minister himself must judge to what extent his actions would affect those within his congregation whom he discerned to be the "weaker brother"¹⁵ at any given point of time. Chaderton believed that the minister should be guided by consensual decisions made by the congregation while taking into consideration the needs and weaknesses of his congregants.

Chaderton's Conformable Puritans

Furthermore, Chaderton taught his students how to be a sort of conformable puritan in an unstable ecclesiastical environment. Chaderton believed that the Church of England had been only partially reformed. He disapproved of parts of the liturgy and what he considered to be popish practices within the Church. As a conformable puritan, Chaderton believed that if it was evil to practice these aberrations from primitive Christianity, it was just as evil and schismatic to separate from the Church of England. Breaking away from the true Protestant Church, even though the Church still practiced some popish ceremonies, might assist Roman Catholic priests in gaining power once again in England. Chaderton, according to Lake, became a "conforming presbyterian".¹⁶ For all practical purposes, a "conforming presbyterian" was one who remained within the Church of England while attempting to change or purify the Church from within. Lake writes:

Chaderton's central assertion here was that the Presbyterian polity was more conducive to good order, more congruent with the contemporary social hierarchy, than any other rival pattern of church government... To Chaderton, the most important responsibility of a

¹² Frank Stubbings, *The Statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 4.

¹³ Bendall, Brooke and Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College*, p. 179.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 184.

¹⁵ *The Holy Bible, King James Version*, Romans 14:1-2, 21 (London, 1611), p. 715.

¹⁶ Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*, pp. 25-46.

minister was to preach. He did not necessarily have to accept the status quo. But he must not separate from the Church. Conformity was merely the price that had to sometimes be paid for the infusion of the existing forms of the Church and State with a puritan content.¹⁷

One of the reasons these second generation ministers were amenable to adapt to changing circumstances during the Restoration was because of leaders like Chaderton. His practical Nonconformist Conformity allowed Chaderton to continue to train ministers at Emmanuel while at the same time maintaining a clear conscience towards the Church of England. Chaderton's example proved immensely important to Restoration ministers who chose to remain as long as possible within the Church of England, or who, after their ejection, found themselves in the unique position of ministering to Congregational or Baptist conventicles that needed a preacher. He gave them a degree of ecclesiastical flexibility --they had years of ecclesiastical experience of being relatively non-doctrinaire in ecclesiastical matters. Chaderton's influence continued on at Cambridge for many decades. Both Sidney Sussex and Magdalene adopted moderate methodologies similar to Chaderton in training their ministers.¹⁸

Chaderton's Art of Preaching Intelligently

An analysis of Nonconformist intellectual history written in the 1650s and during the Restoration reveals a greater breadth of doctrinal and hermeneutical understanding than previous generations of Dissent. In part, this breadth is due to the training that Laurence Chaderton endorsed at Emmanuel and was later adopted by both Sidney Sussex and Magdalene. Chaderton complained that the Church was filled with

...idle, ignorant, and ungodly curates and readers, who neither can, nor will, go before the dear flock of Christ in soundness of doctrine and integrity of life... What shall I saye of our dome dogges non-residents, and all those who serve mortall and sinful! Men, with symonie, flattering words, and servile obedience, not lawfully to obtaine one roome in the vineyard

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 25-46.

¹⁸ Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke and Patrick Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College*, "These were Samuel Ward, master of Emmanuel's little sister, Sidney Sussex." p. 82. Ward had been a Fellow and a Masters student under Chaderton. Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution: Revisited* (Oxford, 1997), p. 279. See also W.B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford, 2014), p. 198. John Sadler, a graduate of Emmanuel, was one of Magdalene's Masters as well. Bendall, p. 268. Gerald Maclean Edwards, *Sidney Sussex College* (Memphis, TN, 1899), pp. 46-60. See also Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 20-21, for the Puritan influence on both Emmanuel and Magdalene and the moderate stance by both Chaderton and Laurence Humphrey, identified as leader at both Magdalene and Magdalene. See R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England: A Regional Study in the Diocese of Chester* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 59-60, for the role Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, and Magdalene played in educating New England ministers. See also J. David Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind* (Lanham, MD, 2002), p. 7; Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 221. Chaderton petitioned Burghley to secure a Mastership at Magdalene for John Neale. Neale did not obtain the Mastership. However, this is one more example of Chaderton's connection with Magdalene, as cited by Edward Kelly Purnell, *Magdalene College* (London, 1904), pp. 89, 92.

of the Lorde, but two, three, foure or more places (which is unlawful). The which though they miscal preferments, yet in deede they be so weighty charges, that the wisest, and strongest of all is altogether insufficient for an acceptable discharge thereof.¹⁹

To change the bleak state of the Church, Chaderton elevated the art of preaching above even the ability to write. He believed that preaching was the means by which God would bless His church. Through preaching, “the zeal of the speaker, the attention of the hearer, ...[and] the mighty and inward working of his Holy Spirit” would work together to edify the congregation in the Will of God.²⁰ To Chaderton, the greatest work of the college was to train men to become ministers who were equipped to teach and preach the Word of God with skill and integrity. Chaderton believed that before a man could teach sound doctrine, he needed to be taught proper hermeneutics and be capable to respond to an error with skills acquired in the Hebrew and Greek languages, with rhetoric, logic, the support of commentaries, and Church history.

Chaderton’s supplementation of Presbyterian content included the teaching of a moderate pedagogy to his students. He believed that if he could place his well-trained ministers into parish positions, these men would quietly instill “correct” biblical doctrine into their congregations and eventually convince parish church leaders of the need to establish a presbyterian form of ascending church government.²¹ Chaderton died in 1640, yet his influence continued on in the lives of ministerial graduates of Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex and Magdalene.²²

With Chaderton off the stage, and Cromwell in power, new leadership in the universities continued to train future Nonconformist leaders, but with a different emphasis. One such example of a transition in ministerial emphasis was that of Christopher Rogers, New Inn Hall, Oxford.

New Inn Hall and Christopher Rogers

New Inn Hall, Oxford in the early 1640s had a reputation as a distinctly Puritan institution. Approximately forty students a year joined the teaching establishment at this time. Christopher Rogers was known to be a notorious Puritan. William Prynne, an English lawyer, prominent Puritan, writer, and political figure described his estimation of notorious Puritans as

Hee who hath more grace and goodnesse, more chastity, modesty, temperance or sobriety, more love and dread of God, more hatred of sin and wickedness; less tincture of atheism, impiety, voluptuousness, and profanesse than others amongst whom he lives, let him be

¹⁹ S. Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College* (London, 1904), p. 25. See also, Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 131.

²⁰ Bendall, *A History of Emmanuel College*, p. 327.

²¹ Ibid, p. 337.

²² William Dillingham, *Laurence Chaderton, D.D., First Master of Emmanuel* (Cambridge, 1884), p. 1. “We’re young (alas) and knew thee not,/ Send up old Abraham and grave Lot,/ Let them write thine Epitaph, and tell/ The world thy worth, they kend thee well:/ When they were boyes they heard thee preach,/ And thought an Angel did them teach.” (A description of Chaderton by John Cleveland, 1661).

never so just in his dealings towards men, never so comfortable to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church, is forthwith branded a notorious Puritan and precisian all England over.²³

In 1647, under Cromwellian rule, Rogers was selected as one of 23 men assigned as a visitor at the colleges of Oxford for the purpose of testing the orthodoxy and loyalty of their professors and students towards Parliament. One of the tests of orthodoxy used was a pledge of fealty to the Solemn League and Covenant, making it likely that Rogers himself had already sworn to the oath. Charles I was executed in 1649, but in 1648 Rogers offered a prayer in the university chapel that “God would open the Kings eyes to lay to heart all that blood he had spilt”.²⁴ Rogers himself was a Presbyterian/Congregationalist, and pastor of a gathered church in Oxford, which attempted to prevent Cromwell from accepting the kingship of England.²⁵ Anthony Wood described New Hall under the leadership of Rogers and Magdalen Hall, Oxford, under John Wilkinson as “two nests of Precisians and Puritans”.²⁶ Rogers served as Principal or President of New Inn from 1626 to 1643, when the Royalists seized control, and from 1646 to 1662, receiving a D.D. in April 1648 from New Inn Hall. In his ministerial duties, Rogers served as Rector of St. Peter Le Bailey, Oxford from 3 March 1626 to 10 October 1634²⁷ and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford in 1648. Three of Rogers’ graduates eventually became Westminster divines, responsible for drafting the doctrinal statements of the Westminster Confession. In 1662, Rogers was ejected from New Inn with seven of his students. Seventy six of Roger’s students became Nonconformists by 1662. Out of the seventy-six ejected, forty recorded licenses were found. Table 3.1 provides a listing of the licensing identity of the graduates of New Inn who studied under Rogers.

²³ William Prynne, *Historio-mastix* (London, 1633). pp. 803-804.

²⁴ Worden, *God’s Instruments*, p. 141.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 142.

²⁶ John Cordey Jeaffreson, *The Annals of Oxford* (London, 1871), Vol. 2, p. 37.

²⁷ CCED, Christopher Rogers, ID 15097.

<http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/DisplayPerson.jsp?PersonID=15097> [accessed 26 Jan 2015]

Table 3.1: Licensed Ministerial Identity of New Inn Graduates under Christopher Rogers

License Identity	Number of Graduates
Presbyterian	24
Congregationalist/Presbyterian	7
Congregationalist	4
Presbyterian/Baptist	4
Baptist	1

Sources: *Alumni Oxonienses*, Edmund Calamy, A.G. Matthews, Alexander Gordon, Charles Surman, G. Lyon Turner, *Clergy of the Church of England Database*

After his ejection, Rogers was described by Calamy as having lived a ‘private life as “plain man and lover of all good people”’.²⁸ Rogers’ will was proved on 16 August 1671.²⁹

Magdalen Hall (Oxford) under John Wilkinson and Magdalen College (Oxford) under Thomas Goodwin

John Wilkinson was appointed Principal of Magdalen in 1605 and under his leadership, the college became another Puritan stronghold at Oxford. A renewed focus was placed on academics and a disciplined personal life. One example of Puritan practice, cited by Francis Bremer, was that of Wilkinson’s choice to continue without a college chapel, and instead, hold morning and evening prayers in the dining hall. Such a workaround for worship to be conducted in an “unconsecrated place” allowed the chapel minister to modify the liturgy.³⁰

Thomas Goodwin assumed the position as President of Magdalen College in 1650. Goodwin’s influence shaped Magdalen College into an institution known for adherence to Scriptural truth and Calvinistic experimental doctrine.³¹ Magdalen remained an institution where learning and academic excellence was preeminent. Tutors were placed in a position of strict daily supervision of each Bachelor of Arts student, even requiring an accounting for their time management, finances and spiritual growth. Magdalen historian, Henry Wilson, stated that Goodwin’s success was mixed, with several Magdalen students falling away “from the principles of Independency or Presbyterianism to those of the Church of England”.³² However, Blair Worden writes that Goodwin was highly successful as he gathered Presbyterians and Independents alike into his college and supplied preachers to the neighbouring parishes. Goodwin sought to enlist young men who were “godly, both Fellows and scholars, that should serve God in the ministry in after

²⁸ Palmer, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 197.

²⁹ University of Oxford, *Alumni Oxonienses* Joseph Foster (ed.) (Oxford, 1891), Vol. 3, p. 1273.

³⁰ Francis Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem* (New Haven, CT, 2012), p. 33.

³¹ Thomas Goodwin, *The Works of Thomas Goodwin*, J.P. Green (ed.) (La Vergne, TN, 2001), p. 8.

³² Henry Austin Wilson, *Magdalen College* (London, 1899), p. 174.

times”.³³ Goodwin resigned his office on 9 May 1660, one day before Charles II was proclaimed king in Oxford. Approximately 80 future Nonconformist ministers graduated from Magdalen Hall under the leadership of John and Henry Wilkinson and from Magdalen College under Thomas Goodwin. The following table lists the number and ecclesiastical identity of those Magdalen graduates who took out ministerial licenses.

Table 3.2: Licensed Identities of Magdalen College and Magdalen Hall Graduates

License Ministerial Identity	Number of Graduates
Presbyterian	14
Congregationalist	6
Congregationalist/Presbyterian	3
Presbyterian/Baptist	2
Baptist/Congregationalist	1
Presbyterian/Independent/Congregationalist	1

Sources: *Alumni Oxonienses, An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Edmund Calamy, Alexander Gordon, A.G. Matthews, Charles Surman, G. Lyon Turner, *Clergy of the Church of England Database*. For a detailed listing of graduates attending Magdalen College or Magdalen Hall, see Appendix 1.

Although it is not known whether these college professors associated with each other across denominational boundaries while teaching future Nonconformist ministers, we do know that their students found opportunities in which they could associate and work with one another.

It should be noted that Thomas Goodwin at Magdalen College and William Greenhill, of Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, worked on the Westminster Confession of Faith with their fellow Oxford University Puritan peers Philip Nye (Magdalen Hall), Joseph Caryl (Exeter), along with William Bridge (Emmanuel). These same men later joined together with others as authors of the Savoy Confession of Faith in 1658. Benjamin B. Warfield wrote, “It was natural that the Westminster Confession...should be made the basis of their work: and they in fact confined themselves to preparing a revised edition of that formulary”.³⁴ Graduates from Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, Magdelene, New Inn and Magdalen Hall and Magdalen College, Oxford scattered throughout England to assume ministerial positions. However, some of these graduates would take with them skills acquired at university that would enable them to cooperate across denominational boundaries in future years. Although these skills may have been integrated into the curriculum of the other Puritan colleges, those students who sat under the influence of Laurence Chaderton at Emmanuel undoubtedly took with them a theological perspective and a philosophy of networking that would serve them well in the Restoration.

³³ Worden, *God’s Instruments*, p. 175.

³⁴ Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Printing of the Westminster Confession* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 389.

A Theology of Indifferent Things

Perhaps one of the most important lessons that Chaderton taught his students that may have carried over into the Restoration was the concept of *adiaphora*. These future Nonconformist ministers would need discretion when dealing with ecclesiastical differences, thus the ability to distinguish between a conviction that could not be compromised or whether to agree to disagree would be essential. Chaderton believed and taught his students that ceremonies in themselves were inherently indifferent, and as such, were neither condemned nor commanded in Scripture. However, according to Lake, Chaderton did not believe that indifferent things allowed the minister to decide whether or not to leave a parish church over an indifferent issue. Chaderton taught that the Pauline law of expediency should be applied to disputes over indifferent things.³⁵ “Only where the will of God, as revealed in his word, was crystal clear should people finally commit themselves”.³⁶

Students under the instruction of Laurence Chaderton were taught that indifferent things were not the equivalent of doctrines that should define the church. Francis Bremer writes

There is no evidence that Chaderton ever abandoned his own Presbyterian principles, but with skilful casuistry he urged his correspondents not to forfeit their ministry for the sake of things indifferent. If it was wrong to impose such things on tender consciences it was almost equally wrong in all circumstances to refuse them ...it was his tightrope strategy that enabled the preaching ministers who were fanning out from Cambridge in droves to effectively evangelize large areas of England, especially in East Anglia.³⁷

It is likely these same convictions about indifferent things regarding church government helped Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists to avoid breaking the Nonconformist connections they had developed earlier during the Cromwellian years. Perhaps these ministers, like Chaderton, realised that keeping Nonconformity alive to fight another day was more important than tedious disputes over doctrine.

The influence of Chaderton and other religious leaders paved the way for Dissenting ministers to adopt multiple identities for the sake of the people to whom they ministered. Although I could not locate a dissenting Emmanuel student who commented on the influence Chaderton had on their career, the debate over indifferent things extended beyond the confines of Emmanuel College, and was both rigorous and multifaceted. In a similar vein to Chaderton’s view, Richard Baxter wrote “It is the will of God that the Unity of the Church should not be laid on indifferent, small or doubtful things: but that true believers that differ in such things, should yet have inward

³⁵ *The Holy Bible, King James Version*, 1 Corinthians 10:23 (London, 1611), p. 720.

³⁶ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 52.

³⁷ Francis J. Bremer, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2006), Vol. 1, p. 51.

Charity and outward Communion with each other not censuring, nor despising, nor dividing upon this account”.³⁸ To Baxter, reading or not reading formal prayers, and even burial practices, were indifferent things.³⁹ Edmund Calamy II, a graduate of Sidney Sussex, appears to have held a viewpoint similar to Baxter when he wrote,

And for the Ceremonies...I will here [in so freely declare my Judgement, as to assert], that though I approve not of a Church gorgeously decked and trimmed with Superstitious Ceremonies; yet am I not so mad so rude, & so slovenly, as, with many of our Non-conformists, to desire to honor, or embrace, a Church in this World naked of all outward beauty, Splendor, Ornaments, or Comeliness whatsoever. It must be granted, that visible and external things are many times serviceable, and profitable, for the attainment of things invisible and internal.⁴⁰

Calamy took no issue with the practice of signing the cross on the forehead of a child at baptism or some of the other ceremonies.⁴¹ John Cotton, graduate, lecturer and dean of Emmanuel, and former minister at Boston, England, before migrating to America, believed that the wearing of the surplice gown was an indifferent thing.⁴² When writing about any evidence of Scriptural authority regarding indifferent things, Cotton did not “find in Scripture that ever Church-Governours did advise and perswade them, much less charge and command them”.⁴³ Henry Jeanes, of New Inn Hall, Oxford, a Presbyterian minister at Chedzoy, Somerset, who died a few days before St. Bartholomew’s Day, 1662, expanded on the definition of an indifferent thing, writing:

Every man takes the voyce of his conscience to be the voyce of God; And therefore he that doeth a thing in it selfe indifferent against the judgement of his Conscience, he disobeyeth and slighteth the voyce of God, as for the manner of his action, and is a fighter against God.⁴⁴

Perhaps Chaderton’s influence and instruction regarding indifferent things continued on in the ministries of those Presbyterians who lost the privilege of pastoring within a national synod. These men took upon themselves a secondary identity of Congregationalist so that they might continue to pursue their calling to preach.

³⁸ Richard Baxter, *Catholick Unity* (London, 1660), p. 323. See also Baxter, *The Christian Religion Expressed*, p. 80.

³⁹ Baxter, *The Christian Religion Expressed*, p. 53.

⁴⁰ Edmund Calamy, *The Royal Remembrance* (London, 1663), p. 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁴² John Cotton, *Some Treasure Fetched Out of Rubbish* (London, 1660), p. 3.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Henry Jeanes, *A Second Part of The Mixture of Scholasticall Divinity* (Oxford, 1660), p. 27.

The Employment of Efficient Networking

Chaderton also coupled his students with godly tutors at Cambridge and with practicing Puritan preachers/lay leaders who could defend the new ministers from anti-Puritan authorities. Chaderton leveraged his well-established connections among the gentry and ministerial associations on behalf of his graduates to place trained clergy into parish churches. Patrick Collinson describes those who graduated from Emmanuel under Chaderton and later under Chaderton's successor, John Preston, as "the godly mafia".⁴⁵ He writes, "The spiritual networks connected admired preachers and teachers in Cambridge and the country, especially in the accessible country of Essex and East Anglia".⁴⁶ Placed ministers would help return the favor granted by Chaderton by assisting future students in finding their own parish positions.

As new preachers graduated from Emmanuel, Chaderton, and later John Preston situated them in parishes under the watchful eye of senior pastors. In their new pulpits these ministers learned the practice of the ministry while minimising the risk of damaging a church. When these ministers matured, they took their turn at mentoring a new pastor. Over a period of time, loyalties and friendships developed that continued into the Restoration.

The following table describes the placement of Dissenting ministers who studied under Chaderton and Preston while attending Emmanuel College:

Table 3.3: Future Dissenting Emmanuel Graduates by Shire⁴⁷

Shire Placement	Number of Emmanuel Graduates	Shire Placement	Number of Emmanuel Graduates
Essex, Suffolk	15 each shire	Shropshire, Cheshire, and Cambridge	3 each shire
Lancashire	8	Warwickshire, Surrey, Staffordshire, Somerset, Kent, and Huntingdon	2 each shire
London	6	Yorkshire, Oxford, Northampton, Lincoln, Leicestershire, Hampshire, Dorset, Devonshire, and Berkshire	1 each shire
Worcestershire, Sussex, Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, Hertfordshire	4 each shire		

Sources: *Alumni Cantabrigienes*, *Alumni Oxonienses*, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Edmund Calamy, Alexander Gordon, A.G. Matthews, Charles Surman, *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, G. Lyon Turner

⁴⁵ Collinson, 'Puritan Emmanuel: Laurence Chaderton', *A History of Emmanuel College*, Sarah Bendall (ed.), (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 192.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 192.

⁴⁷ For a listing of future Nonconformist ministers attending Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, Magdalene, New Inn, and Magdalen Hall and Magdalen College (Oxford) see Appendix 1.

Although Puritans could be found in other colleges, as Emmanuel-educated ministers and their brethren from Sidney Sussex and Magdalene scattered throughout England, the influence of Laurence Chaderton's teaching accompanied them. This moderate Puritan influence proved to be critical, both to the survival of the Presbyterians during the Restoration, and to cooperation between Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists.

Could it be that these ministerial graduates, many who sat under the influence of either Chaderton or his successors during their college years, would subsequently apply their moderate puritan education to ministry circumstances, with the end result being that they eventually assumed secondary ecclesiastical identities? Though it is not possible to directly connect individual Emmanuel students to a definite decision to adopt another identity, it is possible to track many future Dissenting ministers to their ultimate Restoration ecclesiastical identities, thereby suggesting cooperation among the denominations represented by these pastoral students. In 1672, Charles II granted licenses to ministers who requested them. These licenses allowed them to minister lawfully as a Nonconformist within their Dissenting conventicles. The license breakdown in the table below only represents those Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, Magdalene, New Inn, Magdalen Hall and Magdalen College (Oxford) graduates who specifically requested licenses. However, those ministers who applied for more than one license tend to indicate the potential ecumenical influence of their alma maters. It is possible that ministers who are reported as having only one license, in actuality may have taken out additional licences, for which we have yet found no record.

Table 3.4: Future Nonconformist College Graduates Listed by 1672 Licenses⁴⁸

College	Licensed as P	Licensed as C	Licensed as CP	Licensed as B	Licensed as I	Licensed as BC	Licensed as PB or PBC	No License Found
Emmanuel	43	14	6	4	2	1	1	24
Magdalene	15	6	5	2	1	0	0	13
Sidney Sussex	8	10	6	2	0	0	1	8
New Inn	34	7	8	2	0	0	4	21
Magdalen Hall and Magdalen College	36	15	4	2	2	0	3	23
Total Ministers	136	56	29	12	5	1	9	72

Sources: *Alumni Cantabrigienae*, *Alumni Oxonienses*, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Edmund Calamy, Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCED), Alexander Gordon, A.G. Matthews, Charles Surman, G. Lyon Turner. Legend: Baptist = B; Congregationalist = C; Congregationalist and Presbyterian = CP; Independent = I; Independent and Congregation = IC; Presbyterian = P; Presbyterian and Baptist = PB; Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Baptist = PCB; Presbyterian, Independent and Congregationalist = PIC

Conclusion

Laurence Chaderton, Christopher Rogers, John and Henry Wilkinson and Thomas Goodwin trained their students to be faithful in preaching the Word of God with skill and effectiveness. Information concerning the breadth of training these ministers received from most of these universities in the early and mid-seventeenth century is sparse. However, we do know from Peter Lake's research that Chaderton taught his ministerial students to be wary of splitting a church over indifferent things and to engage in active networking by placing fresh Emmanuel graduates with seasoned ministers. Once the Nonconformist ministers were ejected, circumstances facilitated a new spirit of cooperation since these ministers had to rely upon each other for support. The tutelage of mentors like Chaderton, Rogers, the Wilkinsons, and Goodwin took root in the lives of future Nonconformist ministers who as a consequence, authored more Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist literature than was written in prior years, and who preached in such a persuasive manner as

⁴⁸ My research in Table 3.4 reveals the identity shifts that future Dissenting ministers made between 1640 and 1672. As the chart indicates, Emmanuel trained more licensed Presbyterians than any other group, but also produced a large number of Congregationalists as well as those who considered themselves both Congregational and Presbyterian. Also included in the number was a minister who licensed himself as both a Presbyterian and a Congregationalist, and two Baptists [William Aynsworth and James Day]. Magdalene's graduates remained predominately Presbyterians. However, fifteen Magdalene graduates licensed themselves as either Congregational or a combination of Congregational/Presbyterian, and two graduates [Edward Nabbs and Thomas Travers] would later become Baptists. One Magdalene graduate, Phillip Talents, received two licenses, one a Presbyterian and one a Baptist. Sidney Sussex's future Nonconformists were predominately Congregationalists and Congregational/Presbyterians but also included two Baptists [Daniel Cawdrey and Thomas Seyliard] and one Presbyterian/Baptist [George Brotherhood]. These numbers do not include Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, or Magdalene graduates who conformed to the Restoration Church of England, a study that would prove helpful.

to edify the members of their congregations in the doctrines of their ecclesiastical affiliation. Their propensity to tolerate indifferent things likely enabled these ministers to cooperate with each other at a time when mutual relationships were needed to ensure their individual survival. The ramifications were significant, in that Nonconformist clergy were not only able to cooperate with each other but also to assume and later assert multiple ecclesiastical identities that allowed them to minister outside of their former ecclesiastical circles.

Chapter 4

Rapprochement in the 1640s

All historians must establish a starting point for their research. The classis and attestation documents will serve as my chronological starting point for the subsequent study of ministerial identity. In Chapter Four, a preliminary examination of the identities of a group of Puritan ministers will be undertaken, many of whom would later become the “first generation” of Nonconformists. I chose to research the classis records and the attestation documents, since they contain commonly overlooked ministerial identity data. The Confessions of Faith and the Trier records are two additional primary source documents I will examine that may provide evidence of rapprochement via similar ecclesiastical convictions. Both records may offer insight into the possibility of a mutually embraced “core” doctrinal position.

While several modern historians have mentioned the Attestation documents, to my knowledge, no historian has consulted these texts as a source for ministerial names. The classis records have been mentioned in historical research, but, with the exception of Shaw,¹ no importance has been placed on these records as a source of ministerial names for identity classification. Several historians acknowledge the similarities between the Baptist and Congregational confessions of faith with the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Triers are also a well-worn subject of discussion, yet no historian to my knowledge has recommended the Triers as a resource for ministerial identification. Primary and secondary sources consulted in this chapter will be the Attestation documents dated 1645 to 1659, A.G. Matthews’ book, *Calamy Revised* (Appendix 2), and William Shaw’s appendices in his book.²

One approach to the examination of gradual and rapid shifting of Nonconformist ministerial ecclesiastical identities is by means of a generational study. Restoration Nonconformist ministers chosen for my observation predominately consisted of three generations of men. The first generation reached maturity by the time of the Attestation documents (1645-1648), taking into consideration that four additional Attestation documents appear after 1648. The second generation reached maturity by the time of the ejections of 1660-1662, and the third by 1672, when they were able to take out licenses. When generations are mentioned, these are the dates to which they refer.

¹ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2.

² Ibid.

The Attestation Documents

A previously untapped source of ministerial names and identities are the Attestation documents. For lack of a better term for all of these documents as a whole, I will refer to them by the same designation, that of “attestation”, as did historian John Morrill.³ Although some of these documents do not contain the term “attestation” in their title, they do attest to the shared convictions of London ministers who declared their doctrinal orthodoxy. In 1645, a group of ministers in London gathered together to sign a document of peace and unity. They lamented dissention among the brethren and condemned men who had separated from the Church of England over small matters of disputation. The authors of the paper protested any offers of tolerance to the Congregationalists because the Solemn League and Covenant had not been perfected. In their opinion, the Congregationalists had not adequately described their idea of a governmental or ecclesiastical system, in part, because it appeared that they were uncertain of their own doctrinal position. To the Presbyterians, Congregationalist ecclesiology was tantamount to schism. The Congregationalists were regarded as schismatics because they seduced members from the Presbyterians, separated congregations, and preached separation from ministerial associations.⁴ Prelacy had been torn down and the Church was in a state of disorder and confusion from the miseries of division, blasphemies, heresies, looseness, Libertinism and atheism. False teachers and unordained ministers were threatening to ruin the congregations. The ministers understood the need for order and for the magistrate to have the power to enforce that order. However, they were concerned that the magistrate would be given too much power over the churches. In spite of that concern, they agreed to begin the process of establishing the congregational, synod, and national presbytery system.⁵

Later that year, the ministers of London and Westminster published another pamphlet addressing more of their concerns. This time the problem involved the granting of toleration for the Congregationalists written within the Westminster Assembly documents. The ministers believed that the Congregationalists deserved toleration and three of the reasons given indicated the need for unity against a common enemy. First, the “gap is not wide enough for the enemy to break in upon us...” Second, the Independents had served alongside the Presbyterian faithful and had rescued the kingdom from its enemies when it was nearly lost. This sacrifice was fresh in the memory of the public. Third, the ministers pointed out that the enemy was the Antinomians, which in their mind could include the Quakers, but not the Congregationalists, who were fighting with them against the

³ John Stephen Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society During the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2002), p. 270.

⁴ Ministers of London, *Letter of the Ministers of the City of London* (London, 1645), pp. 1-6.

⁵ Anonymous, *Certain Considerations and Cautions Agreed upon by the Ministers of London, Westminster, and within the Lines of Communication* (London, 1646), pp. 1-5.

Antinomians. The ministers had suffered together under the Episcopal bishops and as a result, the two were brethren.⁶

A third document appeared two years later, when the London clergy, who were meeting weekly at Sion College to discuss church affairs, formulated a paper⁷ that explained their agreement to condemn in detail the dangerous errors that they perceived were destroying the country, thereby undermining their support of the Solemn League and Covenant.⁸ The clergy, not wishing to be the primary target of Army retaliation against incendiaries, published a vindication of themselves and distributed their written defence four days before the Army, which was encamped outside the city, entered London.

Because of the problems the ministers saw in both their churches and their country, they made the following declaration:

We the Ministers of Jesus Christ, do hereby testifie...as our great dislike of Prelacy, Erastianisme, Brownisme, and Independency. So our utter abhorrence of Antiscripturisme, Popery, Arriansime, Socinianisme, Arminianisme, Antinominanisme, Anabaptisme, Libertinisme, and Familisme, with all such like, now to rise among us...⁹

The London ministerial document, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ*, was signed on 14 December 1647, by fifty-two of London's Presbyterian clergy, of which thirteen were Westminster divines. David Masson wrote that seventeen members of the Assembly abstained from signing in agreement to the parts that related to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Directory of Worship because they thought they were precluded, by constitutional etiquette from "publicly affirming portions of the Assembly's work which still waited full Parliamentary sanction".¹⁰ In answer, John Goodwin fired off a reply that "The night is too farre spent for them to think, that men even of ordinary judgement or consideration will now measure or judge of Error and Truth, only by their Magisteriall votes".¹¹

The ministerial document was sent all over England, Wales and Ireland. It prompted ministers in other shires to follow the example set by the London ministerial council. Many of

⁶ Anonymous, *Certain Additional Reasons to those Presented in a Letter by the Ministers of London to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster 1 Jan. 1645* (London, 1646), p. 2.

⁷ Ministers of Christ, *A Testimony to the Truth* (London, 1647).

⁸ Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting...* (London, 1808), Vol. 2, p. 410.

⁹ Ministers of Christ, *A Testimony*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton: 1643-1649* (London, 1873), Vol. 3, p. 677. See also John William Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643-1660* (Manchester, 1969), p. 28, Footnote 3; Leonard Williams Levy, *Blasphemy: Verbal Offense Against the Sacred, from Moses to Salman Rushdie* (Wilmington, DE, 1993), p. 119; Edward Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 158.

¹¹ John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 159.

these subsequent attestations were signed by ministers representing various churches. According to Masson, 64 ministers in Gloucestershire, 84 in Lancashire, 83 in Devonshire, and 71 in Somerset signed their own version of the London Attestation documents. Not only were these documents an appeal for public support, but they also were intended to aid the Presbyterians in obtaining a national presbytery from Parliament. Soon after the manifesto of the London ministers was sent out from Sion College, 12 January 1647, a petition was presented to Parliament by the London Provincial Synod asking for extensions and amendments for the Presbyterian system in the City, including the establishments of Church censures for “notorious and scandalous offenders”.¹²

Attestations from the Shires to London

Historian Brian Lyndon writes that in Essex, the process of returning names of ministers for assignment to classes began in 1645. In May 1646, 139 ministers from Essex and Suffolk signed a joint petition to the House of Lords, complaining that “Schism, heresy, ignorance, profaneness and atheism flow in upon us”.¹³ When no action was taken by Parliament to implement the Presbyterian order, 127 Essex ministers subscribed on 3 May 1648 to another protestation condemning toleration, and claiming that “raigning Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these corrupting times” were rampant.¹⁴ The letter called for compliance with the Solemn League and Covenant and for support of the recommendations of the Westminster Assembly. John Morrill wrote that eight of the forty English counties and London produced “Presbyterian schemes” and made an effort to enforce them.¹⁵ These shires included Cheshire, Essex, Lancashire, Middlesex, Shropshire, Somerset, Suffolk, and Surrey. Two additional shires, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire established a partial classis system and six more, including Durham, Hampshire, Northumberland, Wiltshire, Westmorland, and West Riding Yorkshire, adopted Presbyterian systems but never implemented them. Twenty-four other shires did not reply to Parliament.

¹² Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, p. 679.

¹³ Brian Lyndon, ‘Essex and the King’s Cause in 1648’, in S. D. M. Carpenter (ed.), *The English Civil War* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 256.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 256. See also John Biddle, *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex, to the Trueth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies and Blasphemies of These Times* (London, 1648).

¹⁵ John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London, 1993), p. 156. See also T. W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (London, 1863), p. 307; Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity* (London, 1872), pp. 259-264; Ernest Broxap, *The Great Civil War in Lancashire (1642-1651)* (Manchester, 1973), pp. 156-157; Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas, *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford, 1978), p. 195; John Morrill, *Reactions to the English Civil War* (London, 1982), p. 97; Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 356-378; Tai Liu, ‘The London Provincial Assembly’, R. C. Richardson, *The English Civil Wars* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1997), p. 42.

John Wroughton calculated that the “Attestation” documents signed by Presbyterian ministers in Somerset on 9 Aug. 1648, which demanded the Parliament to implement presbytery church government, were only signed by approximately thirteen percent of the possible voting strength of the clergy in Northeast Somerset in comparison to the twenty percent support of Warwickshire ministers who signed their petition in March 1648. Wroughton stated that Puritanism was particularly strong in those areas dominated by the clothing industry and where Puritan gentry were located.¹⁶

Toleration became one of the divisive political issues within the Presbyterian governmental documents. London ministers diplomatically condemned unrestrained toleration, but Lancashire ministers entirely rejected the concept of toleration. Thomas M’Crie believed that the Lancashire *Testimony* was written by Richard Heyrick and then signed by nearly all the Lancashire Presbyterian ministers. M’Crie quotes Heyrick as saying, “A toleration would be the putting of a sword into a madman’s hand; a cup of poison into the hand of a child; and letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands”.¹⁷ Eighty-four ministers signed Heyrick’s document.

Some individual ministers who signed these Attestation documents did not sign an exact copy of the London Presbyterian ministerial manifesto. In fact, these ministers took the time to examine what had been written and to delineate differences, even among themselves. The ministers of Salop wrote that when they received the Testimony of the ministers from London, they “perused and weighed the Contents of it”.¹⁸ Because they believed that they were the Lord’s watchmen for the nation, they wanted to make their convictions known as they signed with their fellow ministers in a stand for the truth. Additionally, there are examples where ministers did not feel a need to ascribe to every part of the London document. Six men signed *A Testimony to the Trueth of Jesus Christ* with codicils against the church government clause. They included Simeon Ashe who would later die before being ejected, Anthony Burgess, who as a member of the Westminster Assembly would later submit a license as a Presbyterian in 1672, Edmund Calamy Sr., a known Presbyterian, Thomas Case, who later submitted separate licenses as both a Presbyterian and a Congregational, Anthony Tuckney, another Westminster divine, and Dr. Henry Wilkinson, a longtime Presbyterian. Unfortunately, specific reasons were not provided by these ministers for their opposition.

¹⁶ John Wroughton, *A Community at War* (Bath, 1992), pp. 178-179. See also A. W. Mitchell, *A History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (Philadelphia, PA, 1841), p. 162; Thomas M’Crie, *Annals of English Presbytery* (London, 1872), p. 198; Alexander Hutton Drysdale, *History of the Presbyterians in England* (London, 1889), pp. 310-329; Edward Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 158-159.

¹⁷ M’Crie, *Annals of English Presbytery*, p. 227.

¹⁸ Ministers of Salop, *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Salop to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1648), p. 7.

These documents decisively identify those ministers who signed without qualification as Presbyterian. The Attestation documents, taken as a whole, defended the Solemn League and Covenant,¹⁹ cited the Westminster Assembly as a source of correct doctrine and practice, supported infant baptism, placed limitations on liberty of conscience, and endorsed the Presbyterian form of church government.²⁰ Therefore, it is logical to conclude that those who confirmed their support of these documents by affixing their signatures also asserted their Presbyterian identity, since many of the Attestation documents contained an affirmation of Presbyterian church government.

A. G. Matthews included the names of the ministers who signed Attestation documents in his appendix to *Calamy Revised*. This list, as well as an examination of the individual primary source documents, allows us to trace ministerial identity from the point at which many clergy asserted their Presbyterian commitments. By tracing these ministers from the 1662 Church of England ejection records and combining this information with those names recorded in William Shaw's book, it is possible to observe ministerial identity sliding before the Restoration as well as the identity of the same ministers at the time of their ejection.²¹

Undoubtedly, a preeminent example of cooperation among the denominations through the use of pamphlets is the Attestation documents because they provide a starting point for an examination of cooperation between Presbyterians and Congregationalists.²² The Attestation documents are also useful because they provide a context to the names gathered from Calamy and the licenses. Some of these men added notations within the documents that although they believed in a majority of a particular statement contained therein, there were parts of the statement they did not support, primarily a presbytery form of church government. These men, who expressed their reservations, are listed in the Nonconformist ministerial database, along with their objections. The documents also listed men who were alive and working in the 1640s but for whom no death record has been located. Although these men cannot be counted as Restoration Nonconformist ministers, it should be noted that they were possibly alive and therefore, might be considered as potential Nonconformists, until more information can be gathered.

¹⁹ Ministers of Christ within the Province of London, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1647), pp. 2, 26.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 3, 18, 22, 24.

²¹ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2.

²² Biddle, *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex*, p. 3.

The Classis Documents

Shaw listed the names of many of the ministers who signed classis documents.²³ I also located classis meeting records with lists of ministerial names from Bury and London.²⁴ Within the Presbyterian classes records, names of some of the 1672 licensed householders listed as ministers in the 1640s emerged. The names add credence to the possibility that Presbyterian householders, some being retired ministers themselves, were still actively supporting a conventicle. In addition, the classis documents add background to many of the ejected and licensed ministers found in Restoration-related documents. These documents provide familial lines of relationships as well as ordination information, and the names of those considered leaders within the shires before the Restoration. Some of these leaders remained Presbyterians outside of the church while others subscribed or conformed. The classis documents provide invaluable information on how the classis system worked and on the events that were considered to be of importance to these ministers.

Another use of the classis documents is the link they provide to the shire ministerial associations that remained active in spite of persecution after the Restoration. For instance, the Lancashire Classis remained primarily intact. In fact, the largest majority of members who signed their names to classis documents eventually became Nonconformists after 1660. Some names of ministers were discovered on signed ordination certificates, providing further validation of their ministerial careers at the time of the classis system, and adding new names to the Nonconformist ministerial database rolls.

Statistical Analysis of Attestation Documents and Classes Records

At least forty-four men signed the Attestation documents before they reached the age of 25, including Giles Say²⁵ and Ithiell Smart who signed at age sixteen, and William Hodges who signed at age seventeen. Say belonged to the Hampshire Classis in 1648 and was ordained as a Presbyterian at St. Michaels, Southampton. In 1669, he preached at one of three conventicles in Southampton. Say was later licensed as a Congregationalist in Southampton. Ithiell Smart signed his attestation while ministering at Wombourn, Staffordshire where he had been serving since 1632. He died as vicar at Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire 5 May 1662, just a few short months before

²³ Shaw, *A History of the English Church* Vol. 2, pp. 373-440.

²⁴ Chetham Society, *Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657* (Manchester, 1898); Charles E. Surman, (ed.), *The Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London, 1646-1659* (London, 1953).

²⁵ Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 347. See also Zachary Grey, *An Impartial Examination of the Third Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History* (London, 1737), p. 89; G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records* (London, 1911), Vol. 2, p. 1046; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860), pp. 319, 434, 445; Douglas Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p. 426.

the Act of Uniformity, while still ministering within the Church of England.²⁶ William Hodges was at Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire when he signed the Attestation documents and was later ejected from his parish. He was licensed as a Presbyterian at Shipton Moigne, Gloucestershire.²⁷ The eldest signers were Peter Smart (80 years old and ministering at Durham and Aycliffe, Durham)²⁸ and Andrew Janeway who was 83 years old when he signed while ministering at All Hallows on the Wall in London.²⁹ Neither of these ministers lived to see the Restoration in 1660.

In order to determine the age of the Attestation signers and those ministering during this time but who did not sign the documents, an established birth date is helpful. I have located the birth year of 747 men out of 3549 ministers, or only about one-fifth of the men of this generation. Using this small sample, I can determine that by far, 49 percent of the 747 ministers who signed the Attestation documents were in their thirties. These included men like William Gurnall (1616-1679), the famous author of *The Christian in Complete Armour*. He belonged to the Thirteenth Suffolk Classis. Gurnall was an MA graduate of Emmanuel College at Cambridge³⁰ and rector at Lavenham, Suffolk.³¹ He was ordained as both a priest and deacon within the Church of England

²⁶A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), p. 557. See also *Journals of the House of Lords* (London, 1836), Vol. 10, p. 504; George Nelson Godwin, *The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45 and the Story of Basing House)* (London, 1882), p. 243; William Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, p. 308; Robert Pentland, Mahaffy, *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland* (London, 1908), p. 18; Christopher Dyer, *The Self-Contained Village?* (Hatfield, 2007), p. 71; John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 2011), Vol. 1, p. 92. *An Impartial Examination* contains the petition *To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament in England. The Humble petition of the Ministers of the Gospel in the Province of London* dated 19 August 1645 contains a response to *An Impartial Examination* with a list of London ministers that signed the petition in 1645. The following list is in the same sequence as that on the petition: George Walker, Daniel Cawdrey, Arthur Jackson, Richard Howle, William Thomas, Robert Ladbroke, Thomas Byrdall, W. Wilkins, Joseph Belchamber, Francis Roberts, Samuel Fisher, Stanley Gower, John Ley, John Comat, Ephraim Pagett, Thomas Cawton, Emmanuel Bourne, John Strickland, Andrew Janeway, Henry Robrough, Richard Lee, Henry Vertue, James Nalton, Thomas Ford, Joseph Browne, Henry Pierce, Thomas Gouge, Thomas Manton, Daniel Dyke, Samuel Clarke, Ra. Robinson, Thomas Horton, Samuel Bolton, Henry Butler, John Fathers, Richard Gibson, Nathaniel Hardy, Leonard Cooke, John Downame, Thomas Froyssell, John Crosse, Anthony Harford, John Garrett, Timothie Dodd, John Hopkins, Christopher Love, Samuel Fawcett, John Storer, William Tutty, Edward Dunsterville, John Maidwell, John Rawlingson, William Jenkyn, Henry Hurst, Joseph Pitts, Fulk Bellers, Simeon Ashe, Thomas Case, Walter Taylor, Paul Russell, Ithiel Smart, John Cardell, Vere Harcourt, Anthony Downe, Elidad Blackwell, Samuel Willes, William Barton, Henry Wilkinson, Thomas Clendon, John Wallis, James Cranford, Thomas Porter, Thomas Edwards, Thomas Rutton, and Nathaniel Stanyforth.

²⁷ Anonymous, *The Gloucestershire Ministers to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1648), pp. 2-4. See also Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 555; Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 285.

²⁸ William Shaw, *History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, p. 322; Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 26; John Cosin, *The Works of John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham*, J. Sansom (ed.) (Oxford, 1843), Vol. 1, p. xxii.

²⁹ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 553. Anonymous, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ* (London, 1647) pp. 35-38; Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 49; Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the London Parishes* (London, 1986), p. 134; John Fielding, *The Dairy of Robert Woodford* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 29.

³⁰ J. Dennett, *The Congregational Magazine* (London, 1830), Vol. 2, p. 281.

³¹ William Gurnall, *The Christian in Compleat Armour* (London, 1664).

and later took a Presbyterian ordination. Gurnall shocked his fellow ministers when he subscribed in 1662 to the Act of Uniformity Oath and renounced his Presbyterian ordination. He was ordained in the Church of England on 22 August 1662, just two days before St. Bartholomew's Day. It is possible that he decided to take the Oath of Uniformity because he was supporting four children between the ages of one and sixteen. His family later grew to include three more children.³² Another possible reason for his conformity might have been his health, which was described as "weak".³³ In a letter dated 30 October 1648, when declining an invitation to preach before the House of Commons, Gurnall wrote

...it is a burden much to weighty for my shoulders, particularly at this time, when so many infirmities oppress me, that I can scarcely, without danger to my health, remain a short time in the open air...I am persuaded that the gentlemen who have proposed this know not the shattered state of my body, and have scarcely considered the distance of the place.³⁴

William Burkitt, when preaching Gurnall's funeral sermon, wrote that only his weak body prevented him from visiting his flock more regularly and that "the frailty of his body was his affliction, but not his sin".³⁵ One other possible reason for his change of heart may have been the length of Gurnall's ministry in Lavenham. He spent eighteen years of his life ministering to his flock and developing relationships with them. In all, he would spend forty-five years in Lavenham, making it difficult for him to abandon such a ministry. Bishop Reynolds, the Bishop in whose diocese Gurnall served, was himself a Puritan in doctrine and was lenient to men who struggled with their decision to subscribe. Reynolds tended to place a great deal of importance on subscription and less on adherence to the oath.³⁶ If the story ended there, Gurnall's life would have been a rich one.

William Gurnall's decision, however, was not without consequence. One writer penned the following which was quoted by Bishop Kennett about Gurnall's subscription:

Neither is Mr. Gurnall alone in these horrible defilements, hateful to the Word of God and His saints, but is compassed about with a cloud of witnesses, even in the same county where himself liveth, men of the same order of anti-Christian priesthood and brethren in the same iniquity with himself.³⁷

³² Hugh McKeon, *An Inquiry Into the Rights of the Poor, of the Parish of Lavenham* (Lavenham, 1829), p. 117.

³³ William Burkitt, *The People's Zeal Provok't to an Holy Emulation* (London, 1680), p. 26; J. Dennett, *The Congregational Magazine* (London, 1830), Vol. 2, p. 283.

³⁴ John Charles Ryle, *Light from Old Times* (London, 1898), p. 375. Ryle's source is Anonymous, *Covenant-Renouncers, Desperate-Apostates, Opened in Two Letters Written by a Christian friend to W. Gurnall of Lavenham in the County of Suffolk: Which may Indefinitely Serve as an Admonition to all such Presbyterian Ministers...* (London, 1665).

³⁵ Burkitt, *The People's Zeal Provok't*, p. 26; Dennett, *The Congregational Magazine*, p. 282.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Covenant-Renouncers*. See also Ryle, *Light from Old Times*, p. 375.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 387.

Gurnall's decision to subscribe could not have been an easy one for him. His own father-in-law, Thomas Mott, of Stoke-by-Nayland, was among those ejected from their parish for conscience's sake.

Throughout his years as a Church of England minister, Gurnall refused to wear the surplice, choosing to let his curate discharge the duties that required him to wear the habiliment. However, in 1672, when licenses were issued to Nonconformist ministers, Gurnall, who was then fifty-five years old, may have taken out a license for himself as a Nonconformist Presbyterian minister.³⁸ It is possible that the William Gurnall who took out a license was another man with the same name in the same shire but the probability is extremely small. It is also possible that the historian who recorded the license was mistaken. In contradiction, Ryle quotes William Burkitt in the same funeral sermon quoted earlier:

...understand and know that you had a Conformist for your minister, who rendered solid religion amiable, by a conversation in all things worthy of it; who did by a regular piety, a strict sobriety, a catholic and diffusive charity, render religion venerable to the world; one whose whole time, strength, and parts were piously devoted to God and His sacred services.³⁹

Gurnall was one of many among his generation who were able to slide back and forth between ecclesiastical identities without defiling their consciences. The following table summarises numerically the first generation of ministers who served when the Classis system was being set up and the Attestation documents were being signed.

Table 4.1: Ministers Who Signed Attestation Documents or Were Members of Classes

Attestation & Classis Ministers	Pre-Restoration ministry, but no evidence of ministry after Restoration	Attestation Subscribers Who Subscribed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662	Attestation and Classis Nonconformists	Classis Subscribers, Later Conformed or Ministering in COE Parishes
Attestation 1106	370	75	Attestation 490	Classis 18
Classis 477			Classis 120	Conformed 11
				COE 22
TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL
1583	370	75	610	51

Sources: For a complete listing of Attestation Documents and Classis Record sources see Appendix 2.

³⁸ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, pp. 321, 429. See also John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877).

³⁹ Ryle, *Light from Old Times*, p. 393. See also Burkitt, *The Peoples Zeal Provok't*, p. 5 of Epistle Dedicatory.

Table 4.2 focuses on the Nonconformist Attestation and Classis clergy and how their identities changed between 1645 and 1672.

Table 4.2: First Generation Presbyterian Ministerial Ecclesiastical Identity Sliding

Early Stuart Parish Clergy Who Were Pre-Attestation/Classis	Attestation and Classis to Ejection not known to be Congregationalist or Baptist at Eviction	Attestation and Classis Ministers who took out Nonconformist Licenses
Pre-Attestation 490	Pre-Attestation 264	P – 120
Classis 105	Classis 115	CP – 28
		C – 39
		B – 11
		IC – 3
		PB – 2
		PCB – 1
		PI – 1
		I – 1

Sources: Appendix 2; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3. LEGEND: P=Presbyterian, CP=Congregationalist/Presbyterian, C=Congregationalist, B=Baptist, IC=Independent/Congregationalist, PB=Presbyterian/Baptist, PCB=Presbyterian/Congregationalist/Baptist, PI=Presbyterian/Independent, I=Independent

One would expect that the majority of the Attestation signatories would license themselves in 1672 as Presbyterians. The surprising fact is that over eighty of the Attestation signatories asserted other identities besides that of Presbyterian. Even more interesting is how many of the asserted Attestation Presbyterian signatories found no difficulty in taking out Baptist licenses. Possible motivations for such a move will be discussed in the next three chapters.

Many more men within the first generation of Nonconformists were busily engaged in ministry than those that I had located as signatories of the Attestation documents, or as members of the Classes throughout England. Out of the ministers in this first generation of Restoration clergy, I located 825 men whose ecclesiastical identity is ambivalent. These ministerial identities were traced from the Attestation documents, from member lists of classes, and from listings of ejected and/or licensed ministers. I intentionally purged any assigned identities from local or denominational histories in this study. The reason for this adjustment is that Charles Surman's Congregational ministerial database imposes a Congregational identity that is often at odds with the asserted identities of the ministers themselves.

Several observations can be made from studying this smaller sample. First, out of those who signed the Attestation documents, and expressed their reservations related to church

government, five ministers had at least two asserted identities. Interestingly, only one of the five ministers ended up licensing himself as a Congregationalist. The other four ministers remained within a Presbyterian identity. Secondly, out of the 825 men studied, 82, who signed Attestation papers or were members of the classis system had no other discoverable identity declarations after the Restoration, and therefore were not a part of my study of multiple identities.

Of the first generation ministers who either signed Attestation documents or were classis members, and/or were ejected, 506 also filed for Nonconformist licenses in 1672. The licenses best demonstrate slippage in identity, since the applications were initiated some ten years after the Presbyterian classis system was eliminated by law. More detail regarding the licenses will be provided in Chapter 7. In order to discover whether percentages of identity shifting differ from generation to generation, the number of ministers who applied for Nonconformist licenses is essential.

Table 4.3 provides an enumeration of ministers who filed for Nonconformist licenses, as listed by their asserted identity known at the time of their licensing.

Table 4.3: First Generation Nonconformist Ministerial Licenses by Ecclesiastical Grouping

Asserted Identity of First Generation Nonconformist Ministers (1672)	Number of Ministers	Percentage of Total Ministerial Population
Unknown	6	1.19%
Baptist	47	9.29%
Congregationalist	102	20.16%
Congregationalist/Baptist	5	.99%
Congregationalist/Presbyterian	61	12.06%
Independent	5	.99%
Independent/Congregationalist	4	.79%
Presbyterian	252	49.80%
Presbyterian/Baptist	9	1.78%
Presbyterian/Congregationalist/Baptist	8	1.58%
Presbyterian/Independent	5	.99%
Presbyterian/Independent/Congregationalist	1	.20%
Presbyterian/Nonconformist	1	.20%
TOTAL MINISTERS EVALUATED	506	

Sources: Appendix 2; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3.

Interestingly, at least fourteen of the ministers in this first generation who decided to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity oath in 1662, decided to take out a Nonconformist license. They included two for whom license identities were uncertain (John Browne and James Frost), four who

filed for Baptist licenses (William Gates, Henry Gaudy, Christopher Bell, and William Glover), three who filed for Congregationalist licenses (William Aldus, William Britten, and Mr. Abbot), and five who filed for Presbyterian licenses (William Gurnall, William Alcock, John Bedle, Richard Bell, and Christopher Abbes). Admittedly, these men comprise only a small percentage of the total ministers who subscribed. Within this group of fourteen first generation Nonconformist clerics who experienced a change of ministerial identity, several directional identity shifts can be observed. William Aldus ministered in Blaxhall and Copdock, Suffolk and Manchester, Lancashire. He subscribed at Blaxhall, but later took out a Congregationalist license. Aldus continued to live in Blaxhall until his death in 1680.⁴⁰ William Britten was the vicar at Bisley and possibly at Weston, Gloucestershire. He signed *The Gloucestershire Ministers Testimony* in 1648 as a Presbyterian. However, Calamy reported Aldus later conformed in the Restoration, but Matthews claimed that he subscribed in 1662. In 1672, the records indicate that Aldus applied for a Presbyterian and/or a Congregationalist license. Other examples of identity shifting include William Alcock, who ministered at Brettenham and Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, as well as Tatterford, Norfolk. Alcock was ejected from Denton and subscribed at Tatterford, yet he took out a Presbyterian license in 1672 for the ministry in Tatterford.⁴¹ John Bedle signed *A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex* while ministering at Little Leighs, Essex. He, as well, subscribed while ministering as Rector of Trimley, St. Martin, Suffolk and vicar at Ainsford, Suffolk. Bedle then took out a license in 1672 as a Presbyterian. Another first generation Nonconformist, Richard Bell, signed the Warwickshire Attestation document while ministering at Stafford. Bell lost his parish when he refused to agree to the Engagement. He later sought a Presbyterian license in 1672 after subscribing at Polesworth, Warwickshire.⁴²

It is important to note, however, that when added to the next generation of subscribers who later applied for Nonconformist licenses, there were within the original number, men who changed their minds and slid back into the Nonconformist ranks. Nonconformist ministerial identity shifting and sliding can be observed within the first generation of Nonconformity upon a close and careful observation of the Attestation and Classes documents. However, some possible shifts or slides of particular ministerial identities are problematic. For example, Surman classified a minister as a Congregationalist in spite of the minister's signed affirmation of Presbyterian church government

⁴⁰ The Church of England Clergy Database, 121196; See also John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienes*, (Cambridge, 1922), p. 114; Charles Surman, 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013), pp. Index, 232. <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>

⁴¹ CCED, 121178. See also Turner, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 694; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienes*, p. 694; Surman, 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013), Index 171. <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>

⁴² A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp. 46, 556. See also *Calendar of State Papers*, pp. 326, 501.

within the Attestation and Classes documents, with no external evidence of sliding. In such cases, more research is required to harmonise conflicting data on those specific ministers whose exact ministerial identities remain in dispute. One particular source of additional ministerial identity data can be found in the Worcester Association and its satellite documents, of which will be the subject of the next chapter.

The Confessions of Faith

One other catalyst that may have led to ministerial cooperation is seen in the Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Particular Baptist confessions of faith. A study of these Confessions provides an opportunity to examine what was of theological importance to the ministers and lay people of each denomination. The similarities found between four selected confessions of faith reveal that the ministers who wrote them shared common doctrinal convictions. Doctrines shared in common would facilitate mutual associations across denominational lines on the part of individual ministers. The confessions of faith that will be examined in this chapter are the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Savoy Declaration of 1658, and the Particular Baptist London Confession of Faith of 1677. I have chosen the Particular Baptist London Confession of Faith of 1677 since the earlier First London Baptist Confession of 1644 does not resemble the Westminster Confession.

The Westminster Confession of Faith was drawn up as a result of the gathering of godly divines to discuss a settlement for liturgy in England during a time when episcopacy was waning.⁴³ A second confession of faith was drafted by the Congregationalists, who met at the Savoy in 1658. As many as two hundred messengers from 120 Congregational churches attended, including several ministers who had participated in the writing of the Westminster Confession of Faith.⁴⁴ Using the Westminster Confession as their reference document, and drawing upon the expertise of several Westminster divines, Congregationalists drafted the Savoy Declaration rather quickly.⁴⁵ The Declaration is nearly identical to the Westminster Confession but omits those parts relating to synods, church censures, marriage and divorce, and the authority of the civil magistrate in matters

⁴³ Gotthold Albertus Gumlich and Leonard Abercrombie, *Christian Creeds and Confessions* (New York, 1893), p. 34.

⁴⁴ John Shenton Bright, *Apostolical Independency* (London, 1842), p. 27. See also R. W. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism* (London, 1907), pp. 381-386; William Barton, *The Law of Congregational Usage* (Chicago, IL, 1916), p. 390; A. G. Matthews, *The Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order, 1658* (London, 1959); Peter Toon, *God's Statesman: The Life and Work of John Owen* (Exeter, 1971), pp. 103-106; Robert Jones, *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: 1550 to 1700* (London, 2007), Vol. 1, p. 221.

⁴⁵ Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (London, 2013). See also Philip Schaff and David S. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (Whitefish, MT, 2006 Reprint), Vol. 6, Part 2, p. 832.

of religion.⁴⁶ German church historian Johann Lorenz Mosheim, after comparing the two confessions claimed “that they differed from the Presbyterians or Calvinists in no single point of any consequence, except that of ecclesiastical government”.⁴⁷ Daniel Neal wrote that the Savoy Declaration was so similar to the Westminster Confession that by his day, “the modern Independents have in a manner laid aside the use of it in their families, and agreed with the Presbyterians in the use of the Assembly’s Catechism”.⁴⁸

The Particular Baptists of London decided to demonstrate their agreement with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists by adopting the Westminster Confession as the starting point for their own confession.⁴⁹ A circular letter was dispatched to the Particular Baptist churches in England and Wales asking that representatives be sent to a general meeting in London in 1677. By the time the meeting was held, it appears that Elder William Collins of the Petty France Church in London had worked over the Westminster Confession, editing it at his own discretion. At the general meeting, Collins’s revised annotations were approved and the London Confession of Faith was published in the name of the gathered representatives.

The Particular Baptists in their Confession more specifically entitled, “A Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren Of Many Congregations in 1677”, stated that they decided to revise their previous Confession of Faith to prevent misunderstandings and prejudices held by those who had not read the initial confession. By 1677, only a few copies of the first

⁴⁶ Josiah Conder, *View of All Religions* (London, 1838), p. 383. See also Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, CT, 1702, Reprinted 2009), Vol. 2, p. 62.

⁴⁷ Johann Lorenze von Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History* (Baltimore, MD, 1832), Vol. 2, p. 268. See also Robert Adam, *The Religious World Displayed* (Philadelphia, PA, 1818), Vol. 2, where on p. 317 Adams cites a quote from Johann Lorenz Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History* (Berwick, 1919), Vol. 5, p. 401. But Adam also points to *The Platform of Church Discipline, or Confession of Faith* (Cambridge, MA, 1642). For more information, see Lisa M. Gordis, *Open Scripture* (Chicago, IL, 2003), p. 274.

⁴⁸ Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 2., pp. 161-164. See also Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches* (London, 1810), Vol. 3, p. 74; William Orme, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Religions Connexions of John Owen* (London, 1820), p. 282; Anonymous, *The Articles of the Synod of Dort* (Utica, NY, 1831), p. 150; Joshua Wilson, *Concerning the Principles and Usages of the English Presbyterians* (London, 1836), p. 6; Samuel Wilton Rix, *Brief Records of the Independent Church at Beccles, Suffolk* (London, 1837), pp. 138-139; Thomas Price, *The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England* (London, 1838), Vol. 2, p. 621; William Hetherington, *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (New York, 1843), pp. 271-272; Joseph Fletcher, *The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency*, (London, 1849), p. 177; Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland* (Manchester, 1911), pp. 13-14; B. K. Kuiper, *The Church in History* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1964), p. 263; J. Michael Owen, *Witness of Faith* (Melbourne, AU, 1984), p. 116; Barry Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Manchester, 2002), p. 105; Patrick Little, *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 155; Carl R. Trueman, *John Owen: Reformed Catholic Renaissance Man* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 82; John Coffey and Paul Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 82; Michael Brown, *Christ and the Condition* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2012), p. 8.

⁴⁹ Gary D. Long, *The First London Confession of Faith, 1646* (Charleston, SC, 2003), p. ix; David W. Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries* (Waco, TX, 2010), pp. 43-44.

confession were available for the newly converted or the inquirer to read. Since 1644, many eminent men of piety and learning had come to the conclusion that the Baptists were not guilty of heterodoxies or heresies. However, the Baptist ministers of London decided that they needed to join together to offer testimony to the world of their doctrinal convictions. Realising that the contents of the new confession differed from the former confession in the degree of detail, the authors professed that because people wanted to know more about what the Baptists believed, they had expressed themselves “more fully and distinctly”.⁵⁰ Furthermore, they concluded that it was to:

...also fix on such a method as might be most comprehensive of those which we designed to explain our sense, and belief of; and finding no defect in this regard, in that fixed on by the assembly, and after them by those of the Congregational way, we did readily conclude it best to retain the same order in our present confession...⁵¹

Purpose of Confessional Documents

Confessional statements were originally intended to establish a distinction of doctrine between various denominations. However, in the case of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists of the late 1600s, commonality of doctrine united these persecuted groups rather than divided them. William L. Lumpkin confirms that the Nonconformists had no choice but to unite together. He wrote:

The renewal of persecution brought dissenting groups nearer to one another and especially brought Baptists and Congregationalists nearer to Presbyterians... The very document which would be best proof of this agreement on essential matters was at hand, the Westminster Confession.⁵²

It is interesting to note, that of the thirty-six Westminster divines who became Nonconformists in 1660 or 1662, eight of these divines licensed themselves in 1672 under a single Congregationalist identity, or added to their initial identity of Presbyterian a secondary identity as a Congregationalist, when they took out their licenses. Daniel Cawdrey, a former Presbyterian divine, licensed himself under the identity of a Baptist, while Peter Sterry took out three licenses as a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist, and a Baptist. These Westminster divines were regarded as experts in matters of doctrine, yet because denominational doctrinal confessions were so similar in their content, these men could shift to diverse ecclesiastical identities without violating their consciences.

While uniting believers of similar denominational faith, the underlying motif of the three Dissenting confessions seems to have been the need to provide a basis for unity between the

⁵⁰ Anonymous, *A Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren Of Many Congregations* (London, 1677), Preface, p. iii.

⁵¹ Anonymous, *A Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Elders*, Preface ii-v.

⁵² William Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Valley Forge, PA, 1969), p. 236.

denominations in spite of their differences. The Savoy Conference of 1658 produced a Confession of Faith for the Congregationalists which was based on the Westminster Confession of 1646. Drs. Thomas Goodwin and John Owen and Messengers Philip Nye, William Bridge, Joseph Caryl, and William Greenhill were assigned the task of reworking the Westminster Confession. According to Peter Toon, the Savoy Conference differed from the Westminster Assembly in that it was state-sponsored, accountable to the Parliament, and was comprised of Congregationalist elders and ministers. The ministers' purpose was to show harmony and orthodoxy both at home and abroad.⁵³

John Owen noted that the Congregationalists and Presbyterians had reached a general consensus in the Savoy Confession, saying:

And as our Brethren *the Ministers of London*, drew up and published their *opinions* and *apprehensions* about Church-Government into an intire System; so we now give the like publique account of our Consciences, and the Rules by which we have constantly practised hitherto; which we have here drawn up, and do present. Whereby it will appear how much, or how little we differ in these things from our Presbyterian Brethren.⁵⁴

The Congregationalist delegates who gathered at the Savoy to write a confession of faith encountered no opposition in drafting such a document. They wrote;

Confessions, when made by a company of professors of Christianity joyntly meeting to that end, the most genuine and natural use of such Confessions is, That under the same form of words, they express the substance of the same *common salvation or unity of their faith*; whereby *speaking the same things, they shew themselves perfectly joined in the same minde, and in the same judgment*. And accordingly such a transaction is to be looked upon but as a meet or fit *medium or means* whereby to express *that their common faith and salvation*; and no way to be made use of as an *imposition* upon any.⁵⁵

As early as 1660, the Particular Baptists issued a declaration professing that they had always sought the promotion and advancement of the Kingdom of Christ, the purity of the gospel and liberty of conscience, a position they maintained throughout the Civil Wars, placing at risk their lives and their worldly possessions. In the concluding words of the document, the Baptists extended an olive branch to their fellow Nonconformists, stating that they would "...with our Lives, and Fortunes, and to our utmost Power and Abilities, Assist, Premore, Adhere to, and stand by those true and faithful assertors of the Cause of Christ and his Churches..."⁵⁶

⁵³ Peter Toons, *Puritans and Calvinism* (East Longmeadow, MA, 1973), p. 46. See also John Owen, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and Practised in the Congregational Churches in England; Agreed upon and Consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12. 1658* (London, 1659), Preface.

⁵⁴ John Owen, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order*, Preface, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Ibid, Preface, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁶ Anonymous, *A Serious Manefesto and Declaration of the Anabaptist, and other Congregational Churches, Touching the present Transactions of the Affairs of this commonwealth, both in Church and State* (London, 1660), Dated 28-2-1659.

Comparison of Confessional Statement Commonality

The fact that the Westminster, the Savoy, and the Particular Baptist London Confessions are nearly identical to each other is nothing new. To determine how similar the confessions were, when compared to one other, I used the Westminster Confession as my benchmark. This necessitated the deconstruction of the confession, phrase by phrase. Once I had divided the Westminster Confession into complete phrases, I compared each Westminster phrase to similar phrases in the other confessions, scoring each phrasal comparison in three ways: Identical (in wording), Similar (in wording), and Not Related (in wording). My phrase-by-phrase comparison of the four doctrinal statements for identical wording resulted in the following table that represents each confession as compared to other confessions, [using the Westminster Confession as my benchmark]:

Table 4.4: An Analysis of Confessional Statement Similarities with Westminster

Confessions	Savoy	London	39 Articles
Westminster	80%	66%	3%
Savoy		73%	2%

Confession Sources: (Savoy) John Owen, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order* (London, 1659); (Thirty-Nine Articles) Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion Professed, & Protected in the Realme of England and the Dominions of the Same: Expressed in 39 Articles* (Cambridge, 1607); (London) Anonymous, *A Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Elders* (London, 1677); (Westminster) Anonymous, *The Confession of Faith, Together with the Larger and Lesser Catechisms Composed by the Reverend Assembly of Divines, Sitting at Westminster* (London, 1658).

As can be seen in Table 4.4, a word-for-word comparison reveals that the Westminster, the Savoy and the London Confession share a majority of common language and phraseology. The percentage of similarity increases when the meanings of confessional statement phrases are compared side-by-side, even though the confessional wording itself is not identical. Consequently, though the ecclesiology of each denomination would have created lines of denominational demarcation, the commonality of their shared reformed orthodoxy as revealed in their individual confessions would have drawn them together in times of mutual crisis.

The Triers and Ejectors

Another example of cooperation between the denominations that helped to break down barriers was the establishment of ecumenical Trier and Ejector councils that examined the credentials of men who sought entry and ongoing ministry in parish churches.⁵⁷ It is possible that men who worked

⁵⁷ Robert Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (New York, 1951), pp. 7-8. See also John Coffey, *John Goodwin*, pp. 254-258 for Goodwin's reaction to the Triers. Also Charles Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (London, 1904), p. 359; M. W. Patterson, *A History of the Church of England*, (London, 1909), p. 353; Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (San Marino, CA, 1955), pp. 23-24; Eric Walker, *William Dell Master Puritan* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 110-111; George Yule, *Puritans in Politics, The Religious Legislation of the Long Parliament 1640-1647* (Melbourne, AU,

across denominational lines on the Trier councils might have gotten to know each other well enough to understand that their doctrinal differences were not insurmountable. Working in these councils allowed ministers the opportunity to interact with ministers of various denominations and to develop mutual agreements and friendships. On 20 March 1654 an ordinance to regulate the selection of ministers was passed and a council of 38 Commissioners or Triers was appointed to examine the qualifications of ministerial candidates. This committee included Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. Triers adjudicated on 3,500 ministerial nominations over a span of five years.⁵⁸ Applicants had to manifest a reputation for godliness and integrity. David Loewenstein writes,

The Triers were established as a central committee in London, who interviewed prospective ministers, cross-questioning them as to their orthodoxy. Although ostensibly designed to exclude those with Socinian or popish leanings, the Triers were also accused of excluding Arminians. Certainly, the Triers were all orthodox Calvinists, though they differed considerably in matters of ecclesiology, being variously Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and even Particular Baptist.⁵⁹

Austin Woolrych relates that two of the Triers served as army officers. Colonel William Goffe, was a Congregationalist and Major William Packer was a Particular Baptist.⁶⁰

Spurr states that the Ejectors were different from the Triers not only in job description and location but also because these local Boards of Ejectors were comprised primarily of

1981), pp. 242-243; Barry Coward, *Cromwell* (London, 1991), pp. 109-110; William Lamont, *Godly Rule Politics and Religion, 1603-60* (London, 1991), p. 142; Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 175; Toby Barnard, *The English Republic 1649-1660* (Harlow, 1997), pp. 41, 46; Ian Gentles, John Morrill, and Blair Worden, *Soldiers, Writers, and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 254; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 65; J. C. Davis, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 2001), pp. 131-132; Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake, *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 202; Barry Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Manchester, 2002), p. 40; Susan Doran, *Princes, Pastors and People* (London, 2003), pp. 176-177; David Smith, *Cromwell and the Interregnum* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 153, 172; Alison Plowden, *In a Free Republic: Life in Cromwell's England* (Stroud, 2006), pp. 74, 107; John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation 1603-1714* (Swansea, 2006), pp. 136-137; Patrick Little, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007), pp. 190-205; Patrick Little, *Oliver Cromwell New Perspectives* (New York, 2009), p. 187; Ian Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell God's Warrior and the English Revolution* (New York, 2011), pp. 101-102.

⁵⁸ John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation 1603-1714* (Swansea, 2006), p. 137. See also John Mitchell Mason, *A Plea for Catholic Communion in the Church of God* (London, 1816), p. 253.

⁵⁹ David Loewenstein and John Marshall, *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 121. The Commission of Ministers included John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Dr. John Arrowsmith, Dr. Anthony Tuckney, Dr. Horton, Thankful Owen, Joseph Caryl, Philip Nye, William Carter, Sydrach Simpson, William Greenhill, William Strong, Thomas Manton, Samuel Slater, William Cooper, Stephen Marshall, John Tombes, Walter Craddock, Samuel Fairclough, Hugh Peters, Peter Sterry, Samuel Bamford, Thomas Valentine of Chaford Henry Jesse, Obadiah Sedgwick, Nicholas Lockyer, Daniel Dike, James Russel, Nathaniel Campfield. John Rowe, John Bond, George Griffith, and John Turner. See also Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 93.

⁶⁰ Austin Woolrych, *Commonwealth to Protectorate* (Oxford, 1982), p. 59; See also Smith, *Cromwell and the Interregnum*, p. 72.

Congregational divines “with a sprinkling of Presbyterians and Baptists.”⁶¹ On 28 August 1654, an ordinance was issued that established the procedures for these examinations. Ejectors were organised into 38 regional boards with approximately 20 lay commissioners and fourteen clerical assistants. The work of a commission was to examine a minister if charges had been brought against the man on the grounds that he was ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent in his duties. A scandalous life might be characterised by blasphemy, immorality, or any public use of the Prayer Book since the beginning of 1653.⁶²

The ordinance appointed as well a national body of twenty-one commissioners who in turn, appointed three ministers to a circuit. Each trio of ministers worked in tandem with four to six local commissioners in each county, and was empowered to eject all ministers whose conduct was scandalous. Derek Hirst claims 150 ministers who faced these ongoing local examinations were ejected by their Triers.⁶³

Sir Humphry Davy provided an example of how he established an Ejector Board for those ministers under his jurisdiction.⁶⁴ On 15 March 1654, he sent a letter authorising the appointment of five members to a council that would call all scandalous ministers or schoolmasters before them and added those that were “ill-effected to the parliament or fomenters of this unnatural war or that shall willfully refuse obedience to the ordinances of parliament or have deserted their ordinary place of residence” should be examined.⁶⁵ Once a minister or schoolmaster had been either acquitted or judged by the Trier council, his name was sent to Davy. However, Davy limited the scope of a warrant to those “who are immoral, or disaffected to the parliament, or had deserted their cures”.⁶⁶ The accused party could not attend the depositions of the witnesses, but he was to be given a copy of the depositions, and he retained the right to challenge the charges leveled against him. Arguments for both accusations and defenses were to be given to Mr. [William] Good[e],

⁶¹ Spurr, *The Post-Reformation*, pp. 136-137.

⁶² Robert Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (New York, 1951), pp. 7-8. See also Barnard, *The English Republic*, pp. 41, 46; Cogswell, Cust and Lake, *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain*, p. 202; Coward, *Cromwell*, pp. 109-110; Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate*, p. 40; Davies, *The Early Stuarts*, pp. 23-24; Davis, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 131-132; Doran, *Princes, Pastors and People*, pp. 176-177; Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 175; Ian Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell God's Warrior and the English Revolution* (New York, 2011), pp. 101-102; Gentles, Morrill, and Worden, *Soldiers, Writers, and Statesmen*, p. 254; Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, p. 65; Lamont, *Godly Rule Politics and Religion*, p. 142; Little, *Oliver Cromwell New Perspectives*, p. 187; Little, *The Cromwellian Protectorate*, pp. 190-205; Plowden, *In a Free Republic*, pp. 74, 107; Doreen Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches 1500-2000* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 101; Smith, *Cromwell and the Interregnum*, pp. 153, 172; Spurr, *The Post-Reformation*, pp. 136-137; Walker, *William Dell*, pp. 110-111; Woolrych, *Commonwealth to Protectorate*, p. 59; Worden, *God's Instruments*, p. 126; Yule, *Puritans in Politics*, pp. 242-243.

⁶³ Derek Hurst, *England in Conflict 1603-1660* (London, 1999), p. 288.

⁶⁴ Neal, *The History of the Puritans* Vol. 2, pp. 259-260.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

[licensed as a Presbyterian/Baptist in 1672] and Mr. [Simeon] Ashe, [a Presbyterian], the Earl's chaplains.⁶⁷ If the offending party did not present a defence in his own behalf, or did not attend the hearings, he would be declared guilty. In certain cases, the committee could begin an investigation, rather than wait for a complaint, if parishioners did not wish to accuse a minister of scandalous behavior. Davy sent one more exhortation to the commissioners.

Gentlemen,

I send you by this bearer a commission, with instructions for executing the ordinance, &c. within your county. I neither doubt your abilities nor affections to further this service, yet according to the great trust reposed in me herein by the parliament, I must be earnest with you to be diligent therein. You know how much the people of this kingdom have formerly suffered in their persons, souls, and estates, under an idle, ill-affected, scandalous, and insolent clergy, upheld by the bishops...By the providence of God it now lies in your power to reform the former abuses, and to remove these offenders. Your power is great, and so is your trust.⁶⁸

Once Davy received a guilty verdict from his commissioners, he directed a warrant to the churchwardens of the parish to eject the convicted minister out of his parsonage and to set aside the parish tithes for the next minister. He also sent instructions to the parish to select a new minister to succeed him, as long as the new minister was not an Anabaptist or Antinomian. Then parishioners would present their candidate to Davy, who would, in turn, dispatch the prospective minister to the Triers for an examination of his character. Following their examination, the Triers would send a certificate of approval with the man that they had endorsed as minister, and Davy would issue his last warrant stating that the minister had been approved and should begin his ministry with pay. Undoubtedly, many ministers on the Trier boards spent numerous hours together in deliberation, in spite of their denominational affiliations to complete the work of ministerial oversight. In the instances where ministers underwent doctrinal examination, the clarification of doctrinal differences and affinities must have been discussed.

In a speech given in 1654, Cromwell added his support to the Triers and Ejectors, emphasizing his desire that both Congregationalists (i.e., Independents) and Presbyterians work together to purge unworthy ministers, from the ranks of the clergy, saying,

This Government hath, 'farther' endeavored to put a stop to that heady way... of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. It hath endeavored to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I

⁶⁷ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p. 92. See Sir Humphry Davy, *The Collected Works of Sir Humphry Davy* (London, 1837), pp. 259-60.

⁶⁸ Davy, *The Collected Works of Sir Humphry Davy*, pp. 259-60.

may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have labored to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation, and to their own consciences.⁶⁹

Richard Baxter felt compelled to defend the Triers from the accusations and reproaches they were receiving. At first, he did not approve of the Triers because of their bias against the episcopal divines. Baxter believed that they had moderated their authority and though some were “over-busy, over-rigid Independents”, they did more good than evil.⁷⁰ To Baxter, the ecumenical Trier councils had saved many congregations from

...ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers; that sort of men who intended no more in the ministry, than to say a sermon as readers say their common prayers, and to patch up a few good words together, to talk the people asleep on Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with them to the alehouse, and harden them in their sin: and that sort of ministers, who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted in it.⁷¹

Baxter wrote that the benefits the Triers brought to the churches outweighed any damages they might have inflicted as “many thousand souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whome they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out again”.⁷²

Baxter believed that the Congregationalist Triers now controlled a position of power formerly held by the Presbyterians, but their stance was based on a more liberal interpretation of the principles expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith. According to Baxter, the Congregationalists accepted the fundamentals of the Christian religion and therefore were not a danger to the Church. To him, the Triers represented the compromise between those who sought a national church and those who sought no control at all.⁷³ Baxter explained that the primary goal was to insure a toleration for “such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth),...so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts”.⁷⁴

However not everyone was satisfied with the work of the Triers. John Gauden, future Church of England bishop, wrote that he and his fellow clergy would rather have had no proper

⁶⁹ Thomas Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (New York, 1848), Vol. 2, p. 99.

⁷⁰ Baxter, *The Practical Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 72, 131. Baxter, *Reliquiae* Part 1, p. 72.

⁷¹ Baxter, *The Practical Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 72, 131.

⁷² Ibid, pp. 72, 131.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 72, 131.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 72, 131. See also Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford, 1906), p. 455 for document. Arthur Barker, *Milton and the Puritan Dilemma 1641-1660* (Toronto, 1976), p. 222; John Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London, 1990), pp. 218, 220-222.

ecclesiastical government than to be commanded and possibly intimidated by the civil sword or to submit to the Triers in areas of civil and ecclesiastical authority over Church and State. He wrote:

Good God! what *stamps* of eminency, in Reason or Religion, in Piety or Policy, in Civility or Charity, will any persons of Noble Birth, Good Breeding and Pregnant Parts, see in these Consistorian or Congregationall *Conventions*, to keep up their own *Authority*, and to keep down other mens spirits from despising them?..These manacles are so far from shackling the chief of our Tribes, and heads of our Families, that they are not capable to hamper the *feet*; so far from making good *Pillories*, that they will not serve for good *Stocks* and *whipping-posts*, for the due repressing and punishing even of vulgar *petulancy* and *insolency*; which we see prevails every where inspite both of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, for want of an *Honorable* and *Venerable Episcopacy*, justly constituted and honorably countenanced in the Church.⁷⁵

The Trier and Ejector Commissions were populated by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, who worked together for the common good of placing godly ministers into godly positions of leadership throughout England. Not only did ministers from the three denominations get to know each other while working together on these commissions, but young ministers who appeared before the councils also got to know their examiners. It is possible that these connections helped to influence ministers in their decisions to assert secondary identities in the future, since their reluctance to cooperate with other denominations was overridden by their familiarity with ecumenical councils.

Common Enemies

An external threat that might have caused Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists to gravitate together emanated from those who would have been regarded as potential enemies of the future Nonconformists. These “enemies” included the Quakers and the Catholics, who pushed the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists closer to each other by squeezing them from both sides of the ecclesiastical spectrum.

The Quakers

In the estimation of other Nonconformists, the Quakers were a serious concern because they promoted doctrinal heresy. T. L. Underwood writes that the reason for examining the conflict between the Baptists and Quakers was that the Baptists stood between the Presbyterians and Independents and the Quakers.⁷⁶ Underwood seems to take the position that the focal point of the controversy centered on how far each was willing to push the doctrine of the primitive church. The Quakers’ beliefs were more controversial than the Baptists.

⁷⁵ John Gauden, *Hiera Dakrya, Ecclesiae Anglicanae Suspiria* (London, 1659), pp. 584-585.

⁷⁶ Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb’s War*, p. 4.

Another contention appears to be over the Quakers' personalisation of primitive Christianity by the practice of silence, quaking, women preachers, advocating the abandonment of a physical baptism, and celebration of the Lord's Supper.⁷⁷ Some even declared that the Quakers were Antinomian, an accusation that often proved to be unfounded. Others feared that the Quakers were a fifth column of the Jesuits or were, in some other way associated with the Catholics.⁷⁸ The practice of a more primitive form of Christianity by the Quakers would have tended to drive the Baptists back toward their Congregationalist brethren as they sought to distance themselves from the more bizarre behaviours of the Quakers.

One other facet of Quakerism that likely moved the Baptists back towards the moderate centre of the ecclesiastical spectrum, was the perception that Quakers were associated with the Ranters and the Muggletonians. Early Quakers drew membership from Seeker and Ranter congregations in Northwest England. Richard Baxter wrote of the Quakers that they "were but the Ranters turned from horrid profaneness and blasphemy to a life of extreme austerity on the other side".⁷⁹ Lodowicke Muggleton wrote, "You Quakers have taken up the doctrinal part of the Ranters but left their practice".⁸⁰ Douglas Greene delineates the differences between the two:

...the Ranters and the Quakers differed in their response to their belief in the indwelling God. Many Ranters believed that whatever they did—whether swearing or drinking or engaging in illicit sexual activities—was sanctified by the divine in them. The Quakers, on the other hand, believed that following the Inner Light purged all evil desires.⁸¹

If the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists regarded the Quakers as simply reformed Ranters, this would have created even more animosity between the two positions. What proved to be more injurious to any relationship that a Quaker might have had with other Dissenters, was the way that they responded to anyone who disagreed with them. Offended Quakers interrupted services and openly criticised a pastor's message and character. They would publicly denounce the sins of the people in the market place, while sometimes appearing naked. Quakers rejected the tithe and any musical instruments, and dismissed the need for public houses of worship that they called "steeple houses". They were suspected of engaging in all kinds of immorality, including an

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Richard Baxter, *The Quakers Catechism*, (London, 1655). See also J. Ives, *The Quakers Quaking* (London, 1656), p. 43; John Tombes, *True Old Light* (London, 1660); I. Bourne, *A Defence of the Scriptures* (London, 1656).

⁷⁹ Richard Baxter, *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter: The Life and Times of Richard Baxter*, (London, 1830), Vol. 1, p. 113.

⁸⁰ Lodowicke Muggleton, *An Answer to Isaac Pennington* (London, 1669), p. 31.

⁸¹ Douglas G. Greene, 'Muggletonians and Quakers: A Study in the Interaction of Seventeenth-Century Dissent', *Albion* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 1983), p. 109.

incident in which a Quaker reputedly killed his mother while “following the light” within him.⁸² Barry Reay states that Quakers were feared and hated as ‘outsiders’. Animosity expressed towards Quakers was a mixture of xenophobia, class hatred, ignorance and a superstition that merged with the world of witchcraft”.⁸³ Marc Schwarz writes that the Quakers posed a threat to all that was dear to an Englishman.

It is not difficult to comprehend the threat that these established groups found in Quakerism. Its emphasis upon the “inner light,” its denial of the authority of, and detestation for, the character of the official ministry, its egalitarianism, and chastisement of ungodly habits and institutions, promoted the notion that Quakers were spiritual anarchists, eating away at the fiber of true religion.⁸⁴

Though more evidence could be marshalled to document the controversy between the Baptists and Quakers over doctrine and practice, Underwood stated it best when he wrote that though there were fundamental links between the Quakers, Baptists, Puritans and Nonconformists in their emphasis of primitive Christianity, the Quakers went significantly further in their pursuit of an experience of the ancient faith. As a result, the basic doctrine connecting Quakers with the Nonconformists also served as a dividing wall that separated them.⁸⁵

The Catholics

By far, the antagonists that shaped Dissenting ideology before and after the Restoration were the Catholics. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists together feared the influence of papacy and its expression in the Catholic church. Why then did this not unite them with the Protestant Church of England? To the Dissenters and Nonconformists, the Pope and the Devil stood side by side, as was visualised in the broadsheet entitled, *The Catholic Gamesters*.⁸⁶ In a section named ‘The Image of the Locust’ the author traces the Pope’s lineage to the Devil.

The Divell begat darkness.
And darknesse begat ignorance.
And Ignorance begat error and his brethren.
And error and his brethren begat free-will and selfe-love...
And ambition begat intrusion into the Church right.
And intrusion into the Church right begat symonie.

⁸² Richard Blome, *Fanatick History* (London, 1660), p. 114. See also John Miller, ‘A Suffering People: English Quakers and their Neighbours c. 1650-c. 1700’, *Past & Present*, No. 188 (August 2005), p.75.

⁸³ Barry Reay, ‘Popular Hostility towards Quakers in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England’, *Social History* (1980), pp. 394-396. See also John Miller, ‘A Suffering People: English Quakers and their Neighbours’, p. 72.

⁸⁴ Marc L. Schwarz, ‘Viscount Saye and Sele and the Quakers’, *Quaker History*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Spring 1973), p. 14.

⁸⁵ Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb’s War*, p. 123.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *The Catholic Gamesters* (London, 1680), p. 1.

And symonie begat universall superintendencie.
And universall superintendencie begat the Pope, the Cardinalls, and all his brethren.⁸⁷

Both the Dissenters and Nonconformists cited historical events as examples of what would happen to them if England was converted to Catholicism. The anonymous writer of *A Dialogue or Discourse Betweene a Parliament-man and a Roman-Catholick* documented well-known terrifying events such as invasion of the Spanish Armada, the incursion of the English Jesuits, the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I, and the issuance of papal bulls.⁸⁸ The Jesuits were portrayed throughout the 1640s and into the Restoration as the bogey men who would stop at nothing to seduce the young and intimidate older recusants into obedience to the Pope over the King.⁸⁹ Presbyterian James Cranford authored a pamphlet on the subject of the cruelties of the Jesuits in Ireland.⁹⁰ Anthony Burgess, a Congregationalist, and possibly a Presbyterian, and Edward Bowles, Congregationalist and Presbyterian, also wrote in opposition to popery.⁹¹

When Charles II was restored to the throne of England, the perceived threat of Catholic domination surfaced once again amongst Nonconformist ranks, when General Baptist minister Jeremiah Ives wrote about the seductive influences of the Pope. Ives described the cardinals as “vines like those of Sodom” who through the use of argument have intoxicated the nations and made them drunk.⁹² He called the priests “Romish Charmers” who did not care for their proselytes but rather carried them “to the Romish Sea” where their converts would be thrown into atheism and anti-scripturalism.⁹³ In 1657, Richard Baxter wrote regarding the damning influence of the Catholics,

Among all the sects that have troubled the Church of Christ, there is none that have heapt up such a multitude of errorrs, and made such a vexatious stir for them in the world, by subtilty, importunity, flames and blood-shed, as the Papists have done.⁹⁴

Thomas Goodwin, a Congregationalist minister, explained why the Dissenters and Nonconformists feared the Catholics. When discussing transubstantiation, he stated, “It was for Transubstantiation the great Heat began with Luther...It was for this so many suffer’d as obstinate

⁸⁷ Anonymous, *The Lineage of Locusts* (London, 1641), p. 1.

⁸⁸ Anonymous, *A Dialogue or Discourse between a Parliament-Man and a Roman-Catholick* (London, 1641), p. 6.

⁸⁹ Daniel Featley, *Vertumnus Romanus* (London, 1642), pp. 4-5. “Brother Jesuite, I am almost out of love with my self, when I consider your deepe judgements, and dexterous activity in the agitation of your profound and exact plots, which have ever been layed so sure that if affected, all had been yours.” Anonymous, *A Wonderfull Plot or Mystery of State* (London, 1647), p. 2.

⁹⁰ James Cranford, *The Teares of Ireland* (London, 1642).

⁹¹ Anthony Burgess, *The True Doctrine of Justification* (London, 1652); Edward Bowles, *The Myserie of Iniquity* (London, 1643).

⁹² Jeremiah Ives, *Rome is no Rule* (London, 1644), p. ii.

⁹³ Ibid, p. ii.

⁹⁴ Richard Baxter, *A Winding Sheed for Popery* (London, 1657), p. 1.

Hereticks, not fit to live, because they had liv'd too long to renounce the use of all their Senses and Reason in believing an open contradiction to them all..."⁹⁵

Contemporary Laudian reforms within the Church of England had already taken their toll on the psyche of Puritan ministers, because the reforms appeared to be an overt move towards Catholicism. The Puritans could not fail to remember all of their fellow believers who were forced to flee to the New World because of Laud's persecution. John Parker Lawson noted that "many thousands of families were frightened, and induced to emigrate to New England".⁹⁶

Richard Baxter, when writing of the influence of Laud, stated that Laud's reforms in the Church, especially casting out "many conformable Ministers, and many such things, especially when they thought the Liberty of their Persons, and their Properties had been Invaded" caused a "raising in men a dread of Popery and our greater distances were here begun".⁹⁷ Baxter quoted Heylin as saying that:

...the design was to bring the Papists in to us, by removing that which kept them out: They that feared a Toleration of Papists did much more fear a Comprehension or Coalition, though their Conversion they desired. For they knew that they must still be Members of the false Universal Papal Kingdom, and that we must in the greatest points come to them, who without changing their Religion could not come to us: and if we could hardly now keep out the Pope, what should we do when he had got so much more advantage of us?⁹⁸

Though Martin Havran wrote that Laud had no intentions of moving the Church into the realm of the Pope,⁹⁹ the actual message signalled by the nature of Laud's reforms to the Puritans tended to be that of a red warning light indicating how close the Church had come to practicing Catholic rites and rituals. Benson wrote that Laud's attention was focused more on the Church's material prosperity. For him, the State and Church were "two fair sisters hand-in-hand".¹⁰⁰ To Laud, public happiness depended upon Government, with the rule of authority and traditions being his "sacred words".¹⁰¹ One of the final charges brought against Laud at his trial was that he had endeavored to practice, alter and subvert God's true religion by law in order to establish and set up "Popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome".¹⁰²

While the Quakers were an annoyance to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists with their practices and convictions, the real possibility of a Catholic ascendancy terrified them.

⁹⁵ Thomas Goodwin, *Transubstantiation* (London, 1688), p. 3.

⁹⁶ John Parker Lawson, *The Life and Times of William Laud, D. D., Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1829), p. 83. See also Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England during the Four Last Reigns and the Inter-regnum* (London, 1697), p. 124.

⁹⁷ Richard Baxter, *Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction* (London, 1691), p. 25.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁹ Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford, CA, 1962), p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur Christopher Benson, *William Laud* (London, 1897), p. 224.

¹⁰¹ Benson, *William Laud*, p. 224.

¹⁰² Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 251. See also Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 2, p. 289.

Since the ministers equated some of the practices of the Church of England with the Catholic liturgy, it is understandable why they perceived threats from the Catholic position to be more tangible than any threats from the Quaker point of view.¹⁰³

Polemical Responses to Common Enemies

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists closed ranks against these foes, and even collaborated to produce polemical pamphlets. Because each denomination regarded the papacy as the single greatest threat to their practice of orthodoxy, and the Quakers as a lesser yet real threat, their mutual concerns of Catholic and Quaker encroachment upon their parishes would have lead them to believe that they faced common enemies. Pamphlets and books, like Edwards's *Gangraena*, were frequently published to identify heresies and to enlist the assistance of others in the eradication of heretical doctrine.

In 1645, a pamphlet that may have been written by the Presbyterians was printed, urging, among other things, an adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, which would include the extirpation of papacy and prelacy, and promoted unity by

A holy Concord and unanimity amongst Brethren, especially those of the Ministry, all having the same love, All being of one Heart, and of one way, All perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same Judgement, All endeavouring to keepe the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, All of publike spirits, not seeking great things for themselves, but seriously intending the things of Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁴

The pamphlet continued with a warning that the city needed to be purged of all “treacherous Papists”¹⁰⁵ and dangerous malignants. These calls for action would not have been offensive to the beliefs of the Congregationalists. In the pamphlet there is no mention of the eradication of the Separatists or Baptists, making it even more likely that the intended audience included Congregationalists. It should also be noted that many Congregationalists not only took the required oath of the Solemn League and Covenant, but defended it against papist encroachment.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned earlier, in 1642 Presbyterian James Cranford authored a pamphlet on the subject of the dangers of the Jesuits,¹⁰⁷ and a year later in 1643, Edward Bowles, both a Congregationalist and Presbyterian, authored his pamphlet opposing popery.¹⁰⁸ Ten years later, Congregationalist Anthony Burgess was still sounding the alarm against popery in his polemical pamphlet targeting

¹⁰³ Thomas Bayly, *The Royal Charter Granted unto Kings* (London, 1649), p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, *Certaine Considerations Shewing the Eminent Dangers of this City...by the Ministers of the Citie* (London, 1645), p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Philip Nye, *The Excellency and Lawfulness of the Solomne League and Covenant* (London, 1646).

¹⁰⁷ Cranford, *The Teares of Ireland*.

¹⁰⁸ Bowles, *The Myserie of Iniquity*.

Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ Richard Baxter, a Presbyterian, frequently recorded his concerns about the evils of popery as did Congregationalist John Owen.¹¹⁰ William Kaye, Congregationalist/Baptist minister at Stokely wrote against twelve practices of popery that he believed were condemned by Christ.¹¹¹

In their polemic against the Quakers, each denomination had its own pamphleteers and authors who wrote in defense of orthodoxy against a common enemy. John Reeves, possibly the Presbyterian minister who later licensed himself as a Baptist from Chelmsford, Essex, penned a letter to his friend in the country, warning about the “dark Light of the Quakers” in 1654.¹¹² Also in 1654, a Baptist, William Kaye from Stokesley, took the time to answer eighteen queries from John Whitehead, a Quaker.¹¹³ William Thomas, Presbyterian minister from Ubley who later returned to the Church of England, wrote in opposition to Quaker doctrine in 1656, and a year later answered his critics on both Quaker and Papist doctrine.¹¹⁴ John Tombes, a Presbyterian with Baptistic convictions regarding believer’s baptism, authored an anti-Quaker polemic in 1660 that contained a preface penned by Richard Baxter.¹¹⁵ Ambrose Rigge, a Congregationalist/Baptist wrote a polemic response in 1663 to Leonard Letchford from Hurst-Pierpoint Sussex, a Quaker.¹¹⁶ The numbers of these polemical writings targeting the Catholics and Quakers may not be sufficient enough to prove that an unbroken unity between the denominations existed, yet the pamphlets remain as tangible evidence that both the Catholics and Quakers posed a real threat as common enemies to the future Nonconformist ministers.

Presbyterian and Congregationalist Connections in the late 1640s

Members of the Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Baptist denominations must have held out high hopes that under Cromwellian rule, they might be able to overcome their differences and work together in harmony. However, when those in power struggled for supremacy, their best laid plans

¹⁰⁹ Burgess, *The True Doctrine of Justification*.

¹¹⁰ John Owen, *Animadversions on a Treatise Instituted Fiat Lux* (Oxford, 1662).

¹¹¹ William Kaye, *Satisfaction for all such as Oppose Reformation* (London, 1647).

¹¹² John Reeves, *The Prophet Reeve’s Epistle to His Friend* (London, 1660).

¹¹³ William Kaye, *A Plain Answer to the Eighteen Quaeries of John Whitehead* (London, 1654).

¹¹⁴ William Thomas, *Rayling Rebuked: Or, A Defence of the Ministers of this Nation* (London, 1656). See also William Thomas, *A Vindication of Scripture and Ministry* (London, 1657).

¹¹⁵ John Tombes, *True Old Light Exalted Above Pretended New Light* (London, 1660). Evidence of Tombes’ Presbyterian identity is as follows: He remained in his parish until he was ejected in 1662. He licensed his home in 1672 as a Presbyterian, “April 20...and for licences for John Tombes at his own house in Salisbury” in *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 357. He associated with the Presbyterians more often than the Baptists, though he was not exclusive. He took the Solemn League and Covenant. He called himself a “Fellow-Christian, Presbyter, and Covenanter” in John Tombes, *An Addition to the Apology for the Two Treaties Concerning Infant-Baptism* (London, 1652), p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Ambrose Rigge, *The Serpent’s Subtly Discovered in a Plain Answer to a Lying Scandalous Paper, Lately came from Leonard Letchford, Who Calls Himself a Rector of Hurst-Pierpont in the County of Sussex*, (London, 1663).

fell to the wayside. As early as 1648, Alexander Ross, a Presbyterian poet, penned *Englands Threnodie*, intended as an allegorical dirge describing the political and religious undercurrents between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The dirge pleaded for cooperation rather than animosity. In the allegory, England is personified as Lady Anglia with two of her sons representing the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

If there be any matter of dissent
Betwixt them, in the point of Government,
One praiseth much the Presbyteriall way,
Another likes the Congregationall:
But both of them perswaded (as they say)
That there's must stand, and th'other needs must fall:
And scarcely will they hear each other speak,
Which were the way to rectifie th'mistake.
Doth any of you bear such high conceits,
That all you hold and, nothing else, is found?
The Crafty Serpent may hundreds cheats,
When as they think they build on stable ground.¹¹⁷

Within the allegory, Lady Anglia pleaded with her sons to lend and to borrow from each other's light and to meet and pray together. She urged them to study how to edify each other and to discard those things that did not matter. Anglia advised her sons to seek common truths, rather than argue over indifferent things, so as to not offend their weaker brother. She warned against those who sought God's Word outside the Bible (i.e., Quakers?), those that despised the Holy Spirit and the doctrine of the Trinity (Arianism?), and who believed in soul death.¹¹⁸ Finally, she offered that if her sons would get rid of sectarian heresies, oppose wickedness and not partake of the prevalent sins and divisions, then God would take away all her fears and Lady Anglia would be happy once again.

In the same year as Ross published his threnody, Thomas Hill, Congregationalist pastor at Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire, wrote:

Therefore I beseech you, stir up your selves, and one another, that we study how to lessen the differences, and do not give way to passionate dividing invectives... Let us all get reconciling Spirits, and speak uniting language in our Sermons, in our Books, and upon all occasions, that if it were possible, they that are like to dwell in one Heaven hereafter, might now dwell in one England, and might serve God together, and joyntly advance Jesus Christ together in the purity of his Ordinances, and live in sweet peace and harmony together.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Ross, *Englands Threnodie*, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 8.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Hill, *An Olive Branch of Peace and Accommodation* (London, 1648), pp. 35-36.

For Hill, unity was just around the corner as “there seems to be some good hopes of a faire accommodation betwixt them”.¹²⁰ However, he acknowledged that there were still some who vehemently cried down the power of ecclesiastical synods and the authority of civil magistrates in matters of religion. The Solemn League and Covenant had been the principal barrier for a closer union and lasting peace between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, but Hill hoped that an accommodation and pacification could be reached so that both parties would be satisfied “and brotherly love continued between them”.¹²¹

At the end of the 1640s, unity and fellowship amongst the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists seemed to be a mirage just out of reach, at least politically. The problem was a common one. Once power is consolidated by a party, in order to retain dominance, challengers must be marginalised or eliminated. Only when power is lost, does toleration and conciliation again become important. While the Presbyterians were sincere in their efforts to resolve differing viewpoints on church governance with the Congregationalists and restore order to the Church, they failed to remember the debt of faithful support they owed to their fellow combatants. The Congregationalists, in return, seemed to forget that they were in the minority and owed their newfound freedom, in part, to the majority faction, the Presbyterians. Former brethren who found agreement in so many points of doctrine battled over the interpretation of a single doctrine and as a result, parted ways. Unification could not ensue until the doctrine of ecclesiastical church government was settled through compromise, toleration, or a loss of supremacy.

Though there were genuine divisions between Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists as seen in the political tug of war waged in London, the daily routine of ministry continued on in town and country parishes throughout England and Wales. Though some ministers from each denomination might have shown interest in the inter-denominational quarrels in London, they faced a more pressing responsibility at hand, that of caring for their flocks. Ministers in larger towns and even in smaller villages both had the opportunity and occasion to cooperate with ministers of other denominations.

¹²⁰ Thomas Hill, *The Season for Englands Selfe-Reflection and Advancing Temple-Work* (London, 1644), p. 3.

¹²¹ John Canne, *The Snare is Broken* (London, 1649), p. 18. Hill was both a Presbyterian, an Independent, and Congregationalist with ministries in London, Amsterdam, Chaplain in Hull, and served as pastor of Congregation at Dagger Lane Hull. He was expelled 1657, went to London, then returned to Amsterdam. *The Records of Broadmead*, Bristol, mention that he was one of the first to have “settled them in the order of a Christian Church. The providence of God brought to this city [Bristol] one Mr. Canne, a baptized man...” Thomas Haynes, *Haynes Baptist Cyclopaedia* (London, 1848), p. 130. Hill served in Bristol between 1641 and 1643. Canne was the author of three sets of notes which accompanied many different editions of the Bible, and is also mentioned in the *The Records of Broadmead*.

A few ministerial diaries suggest friendly cooperation between denominations. Presbyterian minister Oliver Heywood's diary entries during this time period consist of ordination details and personal evaluations. Heywood wrote about listening to ministers whose ministry inspired him, including a Congregational minister, named Andrew Latham with whom he shared communion in the Presbyterian manner shortly before Latham died.¹²² Other diaries record no such cooperation. For example, the diary entries of Henry Newcome, a Presbyterian minister in Lancashire, noted how his ministry had just begun and how his days were filled with the duties of a minister.¹²³ Adam Martindale, a Presbyterian, penned that he was also busy with ordination, the birth of his children, and the joys of fulfilling his job responsibilities as a minister. He shared that his debates were with the Antinomians and Anabaptists who were busy in the two adjoining parishes. In December 1649, a new son occupied Martindale's attention.¹²⁴

One might wonder how much of an impact the debates over a national presbytery in London had on the average minister working for the Lord from day to day in his remote parish. Most certainly the politics of the Civil War affected them. But once the War was over, did the minister in the parish church spend hours debating with his fellow ministers about the Congregationalist minister across town and his ecclesiology? Most likely he was too busy writing his sermon, visiting the sick, burying the dead, marrying the living, disciplining the errant, catechizing the youth, caring for his own family, and nurturing his own spiritual life to take the time to antagonise a fellow minister who shared similar viewpoints on nearly every doctrine save that of church government.

When difficulties did arise between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, often a Presbyterian would defend his Congregationalist friend as in the case of Samuel Eaton. In 1645, Eaton wrote *Defence of Sundry Positions and Scriptures, Alleged to Justify the Congregational Way*. Eaton was the teacher at the Congregationalist church in Duckenfield and held an appointment as chaplain at the Army garrison of Chester. When absent from his position, Eaton encouraged the "gifted brethren" to preach under the supervision of their pastor. Some were talented, while others were not qualified, which sparked some controversy. Adam Martindale, a Presbyterian, supported Eaton and his "moderate spirit" in spite of strong opposition from other moderate Presbyterian ministers.¹²⁵ In another instance, Eaton, originally from New England, helped unite English Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Eaton had been reared in New England and had seen how the independency of the Pilgrims had been modified to the principles and

¹²² Heywood, *The Whole Works*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

¹²³ Newcome, *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome*, Vol. 18, p. viii.

¹²⁴ Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, pp. 208-209.

¹²⁵ Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, Vol. 2, pp. 83-84.

influence of Presbyterians immigrants. Eaton had experience in uniting the two denominations by assisting them in establishing ministerial unions, and by persuading the Presbyterians and Congregationalists to unite together in a common Congregationalism.¹²⁶ Robert Halley wrote,

These things might appear exceedingly difficult; but he did them to a considerable extent, and induced moderate Presbyterians and Independents to think better of each other than they had ever before thought in the north of England. Newcome, Angier, Harrison, many other Presbyterians of their spirit, and even old Heyricke of another spirit, although at first they regarded him as a troubler of their Israel, eventually learned to co-operate very pleasantly with Samuel Eaton.¹²⁷

Conclusion

The 1640s had been a tumultuous decade of disagreement and reconciliation between the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists. The Westminster Assembly had all the markings of becoming a great unifying body that included both Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the decision-making process. The Trier and Ejector councils provided opportunities for the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists to work together in supplying and maintaining qualified ministers for each parish. Doctrinal commonality as expressed in the confessions of faith, first set forth in the Westminster Confession, created a shared connection between the denominations by which possible future unification efforts could proceed. The common enemies of Catholicism and Quakerism propelled the three denominations closer together as they experienced common threats to a shared orthodoxy from both ends of the ecclesiastical spectrum. And yet, the leadership of the three denominations could not find a way to make unification a reality. It was up to individual ministers to reach out to their fellow ministers across denominational lines if efforts towards unification would ever succeed. In the next chapter I will discuss efforts towards rapprochement during the 1650s. Presbyterians discovered that a national presbytery was no longer possible, and that the Puritan government faced real threats to its survival. About the same time moderate Congregationalists and Baptists as minority denominations soon came to the conclusion that they would need to work together with the Presbyterians to survive threats from without.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 82.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 82.

Chapter 5

Rapprochement in the 1650s

Rapprochement attempts during the 1640s had begun the process of ecumenical cooperation amongst the Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers, but the attempts had failed to establish any interdenominational bridge needed for a closer ecclesiastical cooperation. One gap that the three denominations had found difficult to span was that of ecclesiastical forms of church government. The 1650s would provide more opportunities for ministers to strengthen nascent interdenominational ministerial relationships before any attempts could be made to construct a mutually reasonable form of generic church government. Many ministers believed that a focus on essential common doctrine and a toleration of indifferent practices and secondary doctrines would be the optimal path to a greater unity. The work of rapprochement of the 1650s laid the foundation for subsequent cross-‘denominational’ networks of the 1660s, and provided a degree of ecclesiastical latitude for the fluidity of clerical identities.

Chapter Five contains a detailed study of another source of rapprochement, that of the Worcestershire Association and her satellite associations throughout England and Wales. The associational declarations of faith prove useful in assessing former theological convictions of those ministers who would later emerge as Nonconformists. Furthermore, these documents provide written evidence of a progressive movement by some towards cooperation with fellow ministers of similar conviction, even though they might not declare an identical denominational affiliation. In addition, this chapter will raise the possibility that common friends might have played a part in bringing together future Nonconformists into an informal cooperation during the 1660s.

The Worcestershire Association and the satellite associations are a familiar subject to Richard Baxter’s biographers. However few modern historians have considered the lists of ministerial signatures at the end of confessional documents as an important source of future Nonconformist names. Some historians include a cursory mention of ministerial signatures in local histories, but their emphasis has been on Baxter and his role in the formation of the Worcestershire Association, as well as his desire to continue the practice of “meer Christianity”. This chapter will add to the historiography by moving the discussion beyond Baxter, to consider the effect the Association might have had on other ministers who later fell under the dictates of the Act of Uniformity.

The Worcestershire Association

One of the first ministerial prototypes in which unity was likely strengthened and ecclesiastical ties were moulded was the Worcestershire Association. The Association of the 1650s, due to communal ties among its ministerial membership, eventually eroded the barriers of ecclesiastical hostilities, and created a working model of how future Dissenters, who did not always agree in every point of doctrine, might cooperate. Ministerial cooperation and fellowship facilitated the fluidity of ministerial identities between denominations throughout the first and second generations of Nonconformity. The Worcester Association shared a membership of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist ministers, who, in many ways cooperated to develop ministerial leadership for an uncertain future that lay ahead.

One of the initial attempts towards religious cooperation between Presbyterian and Congregational clergy occurred in November 1641, when news of the Irish Rebellion reached London ministers.¹ A cooperation meeting was held at Edmund Calamy's home and was attended by Congregationalist ministers Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, Sidrach Simpson, and Presbyterian ministers William Bridges, Mr. Edwards, John Goodwin, John Vicars, and William Rathband.² Each minister recognised the problems of differences and the potentiality of divisions, and agreed to continue to use parts of the liturgy to disarm criticisms of nonconformity from the defenders of episcopacy. One proposed item on the agenda was an effort to persuade the "sectaries" to take a lower profile. However, the issue did not find mutual agreement, since in the end, a compromise was made by the ministers to remain silent on those issues regarding church government over which they disagreed, and to preach against the Anabaptists and Brownists. At the conclusion of the meeting, a sub-committee of ministers drafted an agreement which was signed by Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, Burroughs, and Bridges. Unfortunately, no further meetings were held between the ministers because the agreement document was misplaced.³

¹ Thomas Goodwin, *An Apologeticall Narration, Humbly Submitted to the Honourable House of Parliament* (London, 1643), p. 3. See also Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia or, A full answer to the apologeticall narration of Mr Goodwin...* (London, 1644), pp. 238-243; William Rathband, *A Briefe Narration of some Church Course* (London, 1644), 'Preface to the Reader' sig. A2; John Goodwin, *Anapologesiates Antapologias*, (London, 1646), p. 252; John Vicars, *The Schismatick Sifted* (London, 1646), pp. 15-17.

² George Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-1663', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 55, No. 2 (1965), p. 8. See also George Abernathy, 'Richard Baxter and the Cromwellian Church' *Huntington Library Quarterly* Vol. 24, No. 3 (San Marino, CA, May 1961), p. 217; Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 333.

³ Yule, *Puritans in Politics*, p. 109.

As early as 1647, ministers John Dury and Joseph Caryl attempted to form an alliance between the Congregational and Presbyterian clergy.⁴ Historian George Abernathy wrote that Dury's proposal called for three or four men from each party to draft procedures regarding indifferent things for the purpose of toleration. In January 1649, Dury, with Cromwell's support, attempted to meet with leading Presbyterian clergy in London. However, the Presbyterian clergy within the London Provincial Assembly of Ministers turned Dury down and publicly denounced Cromwell's invitation. However, on 2 November 1649, the London Provincial Assembly of ministers reversed their decision and warned against the dangers of separation. The London Assembly asked the Congregationalists to "study, for the time to come, all ways of Union and Accommodation",⁵ and assured the Congregationalists that the Presbyterians would do the same.

Richard Baxter and the Worcestershire Association

On 12 July 1650, Richard Baxter received a letter from Robert Abbott in appreciation for his consultation with Abbott regarding a plan to form an ecumenical association. Abbott in turn sent Baxter's plan to Dury who was a member of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, a committee sponsored by the House of Commons, to consider a general religious settlement.

According to Abernathy, Baxter made a request to Dury to:

Expound to people in Power, that they will speedily choose (or else cause the several parties to choose) some few men (4 or 5) of each of the differing parties (Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, & Erastian) to meet and discuss their differences in order to find fundamental principles of religion, worship and discipline on which they could agree.⁶

Baxter's plan called for the formulation of regional ministerial associations similar to the Presbyterian assemblies during the age of Elizabeth I. Baxter recommended that the doctrinal stance of each association be broad enough to be acceptable to all, with minimal intervention by civil authorities.⁷ Dury agreed with Baxter's principles, with the exception that he wanted Parliament to direct the initiative, while Baxter wanted the administration of the associations to remain in the hands of regional clergy.⁸

In London, Baxter did not give up on his efforts to unite the churches of England under one ecumenical banner. He approached the Presbyterian clergy with his voluntary plan. However,

⁴ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p. 8. See also John Dury, *A Peace-maker without Partiality* (London, 1648), pp. 1-115; Provincial Assembly, *A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government, and Ministry* (London, 1649), pp. 12-13.

⁵ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p. 8.

⁶ Ibid, p. 9. For the text of the letter of Robert Abbott to Richard Baxter, 21 July 1650, see Dr. Williams' Library, Baxter MSS., 'Letters V,' No. 254 and text of Richard Baxter's letter to John Dury, 9 May 1652, see Dr. Williams' Library, Baxter MSS., 'Letters VI,' No. 4/2.

⁷ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p. 9.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 9-10. See also Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, pp. 197-198.

Baxter found that the ministers of his own denomination did not support his efforts to form even a voluntary association. These more “zealous” Presbyterian ministers were already gathering together weekly at Sion College, and they objected to the inclusion of “sectarians” who were not closely aligned with *their* form of church ecclesiology. When Baxter realised his numerous attempts at unity would not be embraced by Dury, Cromwell, or the London Presbyterian clergy, he returned to Worcester.

The Origins of the Worcester Association

Undaunted by both a Parliamentary and clerical defeat in London, Baxter proceeded to test his ideas in his own parish of Kidderminster before approaching any other ministers outside of London. At a meeting of ministers in Worcester in the spring of 1652, he shared his ideas and discovered that those in attendance agreed with him. The ministers decided that the first step in coordinating their ministry, which involved teaching the people the Word of God and their responsibility to it, would be to develop and adopt a common method of discipline. Baxter presented the initial draft of a method of discipline at a second meeting in Worcester and was commissioned to draw up a “form of agreement”.⁹

Richard Baxter’s Worcester Association was established in 1652, when a group of ministers from Worcestershire and Gloucestershire met to organise an ecumenical fellowship dedicated to unity, peace, and the edification of the people under their pastoral care. The Worcester Association was Richard Baxter’s first successful attempt to voluntarily unite across denominational lines the people he called “meer Catholics”. He proposed ministerial fraternity by focusing only on those doctrines essential to salvation and espousing toleration among the brethren on all other issues. In general, Baxter’s motto (derived from a statement made by Rupert Meldenius, a German Lutheran theologian),¹⁰ “in things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things charity”¹¹ proved to be the bond that united ministers from several denominations into one ecumenical Association.

Abernathy compared the list of subscribers to the Worcester agreement with the Worcester ejections of 1660-62, and reported the following statistics:

Of the fifty-four subscribers to the Worcestershire Association, only 22 were ejected after the Restoration. Eleven of these were licensed as Presbyterians in 1672, and ten others were probably Presbyterians. The other ejected member was an Anabaptist. Thirteen of the fifty-four conformed either before August 24, 1662, or afterwards. It is probable that the

⁹ Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 165.

¹⁰ Peter Meiderlin (whose Latin alias was Rupertus Meldenius), *Paraenesis Votiva pro Pace Ecclesiae ad Theologos Augustanae Confessionis, Auctore Ruperto Meldenio Theologo* (n.p., 1627), p. 4.

¹¹ Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 163.

eighteen remaining members conformed. Five of the twenty-two nonconformists had sons—ten sons in all—who entered the ministry. It is of some significance that eight sons took Anglican orders; one became a Presbyterian, and one a Congregationalist.¹²

As early as January 1651, Baxter had called for ministerial unity in his book, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* when he wrote:

Will God never put into the hearts of rulers to call together some of the most godly learned moderate and peaceable of all four opinions [meaning episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, and Erastian] not too many to agree upon a way of union and accommodation and not to cease till they have brought it to this issue—to come as near together as they can possibly in their principles; and where they cannot yet to UNITE AS FAR AS MAY BE IN THEIR PRACTICE [sic], though on different principles.¹³

In 1652, members of the Worcester Association assented to the essential truths of Christianity and united around these doctrines.¹⁴ When considering doubtful issues, these ministers agreed to charitable dialogues. On those issues where there was no agreement, each minister would grant the liberty of conscience to those with whom they disagreed.

Historian William Orme wrote that Baxter realised his ecumenical goal by generalising “the principles of communion placing them on the simple ground of sincere profession of our common Christianity...”¹⁵ Baxter besought his readers to “*Maintain Union and Communion with all true Christian Churches*. Hold to Catholick Principles of meer Christianity. Love CHRISTIANS [sic] as Christians, but Love the BEST [sic] most”.¹⁶ In his 1662 farewell sermon, Baxter pleaded for his followers to “Maintain Union and Communion with all true Christians on Earth; and therefore hold to Catholick principles of *meer Christianity* without which you must needs crumble into Sects. Love Christians as Christians [sic], but the best most... Yet do not withdraw from the Communion of Sober, Godly Nonconformists, though falsly called Schismaticks [sic] by others”.¹⁷ Baxter fervently emphasized the doctrine of Christian liberty and forbearance and tried to lessen the

¹² Abernathy, ‘The English Presbyterians’, *Transactions*, p. 13. See also Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, pp. 162-164; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, ‘The Worcestershire Association: Its Membership’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 1, Issue 02, July 1950, pp. 198-203. Nuttall calculated 72 members of which 37 were ejected, a total of seventeen conformed, three ejected had not conformed by 1672, seventeen of these took out licenses, of these, all were Presbyterians except for four Congregationalists and two who listed themselves as Nonconformists.

¹³ A. Harold Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity* (London, 1963), p. 101. See also Richard Baxter, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (London, 1651), Dedication, p. 8.

¹⁴ Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 163. For a listing of Worcester subscribers, see Appendix 3. Also Richard Baxter, *The Humble Petition of Many Thousands Gentlemen* (London, 1652), pp. 1-8.

¹⁵ Richard Baxter, *The Practical Works of the Rev. Richard Baxter: With a Life of the Author*, Richard Orme (ed.) (London, 1830), Vol. 1, p. 577.

¹⁶ Richard Baxter, *Excellent Memorable for all Mourners* (Kidderminster, 1662), p. 1.

¹⁷ Richard Baxter, *Richard Baxter's Farewel Sermon...* (London, 1683), pp. 39-40.

“confidence of the several parties in the divine right of their respective systems”.¹⁸ He often preached and wrote on the guilt, folly and danger of maintaining a divisive course and alienating Christian brothers. Baxter believed he had found a fellowship of likeminded men in the Worcester Association. Concerning those who aligned themselves with him, he wrote:

The main body of our Association were men that though Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Congregationals had each of them some good in which they excelled the other two parties, and each of them some mistakes; and that to select out of all three the best part, and leave the worst, was the most desirable (and ancient) form of government.¹⁹

Those ministers who joined the Worcester Association signed a document that contained the original essential truths of Christianity and the Apostles’ Creed,²⁰ an ancient declaration of Christian doctrine.²¹ Appendix Three contains a listing of known Worcester Association ministers who gave assent to the initial organisational document by their signature as indicated by historian Frederick Powicke.²² Comparing Abernathy’s numbers to those listed by Powicke, then adding license information from G. Lyon Turner’s *Original Records*, and combining biographical information gleaned from other historians, Appendix Three provides a multidimensional perspective to those ministers who signed the original Worcester Agreement.

Appendix Three research of Worcester subscribers yielded approximately 60 names while Powicke had 59 listed as subscribers and Abernathy reported 54 as subscribers. Abernathy claimed that only 22 ministers were ejected after the Restoration, yet it appears from my research that many more, approximately 40 men, were ejected. Abernathy claimed that eleven subscribers were licensed in 1672 as solely Presbyterians,²³ while I was only able to confirm six Presbyterians from licensing records, whereas five ministers licensed themselves as Congregational and Presbyterian and an additional two ministers licensed themselves as both Presbyterian and Baptist. Abernathy claimed that it “is probable” that eighteen remaining signators later conformed.²⁴ From my personal research of 1672 license records, I could only verify eleven ministers who conformed.

¹⁸ Baxter, Orme (ed.), *The Practical Works*, Vol.1, p. 577.

¹⁹ Richard Baxter, *Church Concord* (London, 1691), Preface page.

²⁰ Pietro Martare Vermigli, *A Briefe and Most Excellent Exposition, of the .xij. Articles of Our Fayth, Commonly Called the Apostles Creede* (London, 1578). See also Thomas Jackson, *The Eternall Truth of the Scriptures, and Christian Beleeffe* (London, 1613).

²¹ Anonymous, *The Agreement of Divers Ministers of Christ in the County of Worcester* (London, 1656). See also Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 175.

²² Frederick J. Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615–1691* (London, 1924), p. 173.

²³ George Abernathy cites Baxter’s *Reliquiae*, Part II, p. 167 for his statistics. See also Abernathy, ‘The English Presbyterians’, *Transactions*, p.13.

²⁴ Abernathy, ‘The English Presbyterians’, *Transactions*, p. 13.

Richard Baxter stated that almost all the Worcestershire Association ministers had been ‘cast out’ by the mid-1660s.²⁵

Once he found support within his own region, Baxter submitted his Worcester Association articles of concord to Archbishop Ussher and other Episcopal divines for their review and revision. These ministers concurred that discipline should be limited to what the Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Congregational divines had agreed upon and that “...they should not meddle with politics or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church-censures; but only to assist, advise, and encourage, each other in propagating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from profane and scandalous communicants”.²⁶

The first premise of Baxter’s *Christian Concord* stated that the Association would consist of five regional Associations meeting in the parishes of Worcester, Evesham, Upton, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove once a month on a day agreed upon. No individual minister was required to become a part of any particular Association. Each minister could choose which group they wished to be associated with and which copy of the Articles of the Association they wished to sign. The associations opened their membership to any minister who evidenced holiness and professional competence. Young ministers were admonished to do nothing rash without consulting the Association first, in hopes that they would be able to mature in their ministry.²⁷ The Association agreement was signed by ministers Richard Baxter, John Boraston, Thomas Wright, Giles Collyer, George Hopkins, and Joseph Trebell.

The Worcester Association eventually petitioned the Long Parliament asking that the peaceable divines of each House find a way to unite together for the work of the ministry.²⁸ This petition along with the doctrinal statements produced by Baxter and fellow Worcester Association members drew fire from the likes of ministers Thomas Pierce, Peter Heylyn, and Henry Hammond on the Episcopal side, John Owen, a Congregationalist, and John Tombes, a Presbyterian.

Baxter temporarily set aside an effort of reconciliation with Congregationalist clergy and reached out to the Episcopal clergy. Since the major differences, according to Puritan Richard Vines, were over ecclesiastical government and ordinations, and it was unlikely that hard line Presbyterians would submit their decisions to Episcopal bishops for approval, Baxter faced a

²⁵ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, p. 150. My sources for licensing research were identified earlier on pp. 44ff.

²⁶ Associated Ministers of Worcestershire, *Christian Concord* (London, 1653), p. 13. The original agreement read as follows “We resolve in none of our meetings to go beyond the bounds of our Calling, in meddling with Secular or State affairs, nor to do anything injurious to the Common wealth; but maintain all just Obedience to Authority; and shall direct all our Consultations to the good of souls, Propagation of the Gospel, Unity, Peace, and Reformation of the Church...” See also Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 610.

²⁷ Associated Ministers, *Christian Concord*, p. 12. See also Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, pp. 165-166.

²⁸ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (London, 1897), Vol. 2, p. 236.

difficult task. However, in 1656, a small group of moderate Episcopal ministers did agree to join the Association. John Gauden, a future bishop, wrote to Nicholas Bernard in 1656:

I find the minds of ministers (however differing in some principles, rather of polity than piety) to be moved toward a fraternall accord as to the maine...Not only Presbyterians and Congregationals, who seemed more symbolizing, but even episcopall, whose antipathies seemed irreconcilable, are upon a very calme temper...I should be glad to see that effected, which then seemed [in 1641] consented to; that the succession of ministerial order and authority might be preserved most unquestionable by the happy accord of bishops and presbyters; that there might be some presidency and counsel in the government of the church; that sound doctrine, holy lives, brotherly love, sanctity of dutys, might be restored and preserved to this reformed church, whose decayes and dangers are from that scattered and confused state it hath beene and still is.²⁹

In September 1656, after conferring with other former bishops, including Nicholas Bernard, James Ussher, and Ralph Brownrigge, Gauden proposed bringing the Presbyterians and Episcopalians together. They believed they could reach an agreement amongst themselves before meeting with the Congregationalists. The proposal on the table was to accept a limited episcopacy, with an increase of independence for the presbyteries. Although no formal action was taken by Parliament or by the Presbyterian clergy as a whole, many ministers moved closer to the vision proposed by Baxter and the Episcopalians.

Baxter did not give up on the Congregationalists. He recruited John Eliot, the New England Puritan missionary to the Indians to write to his ecclesiastical friends in England on behalf of a union.³⁰ In 1656 or 1657, Baxter wrote that Philip Nye, a Congregationalist minister and participant in the Westminster Assembly, had agreed that church members could move from parish to parish and that all church power did not reside within the Congregationalist sect.³¹

Deare Sir, were it not an excellent worke for the Pastors of your Church to joyne in an earnest persuasive to union, to the Presbyterian & Congregationall Brethren in England & to propound the terms in certain Propositions? Sure it might doe abundance of good Your Authority is yet great with the godly of both parties: If it prevailed not with all, it would with many.³²

In return, Baxter conceded that individual congregations had the right to ordain their own ministers.³³ Eventually Baxter reached an agreement with Nye, and Baptist ministers Thomas Lambe, and William Allen. However, Nye later pulled out of ongoing negotiations over the issue

²⁹ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p.14.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 17.

³¹ Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, "Parishes shall be the ordinary bounds, but in necessary cases and no other, you shall except and be free from them, these cases being where scandals would result if Church members were not taken out of parishes." p. 109.

³² Keeble and Nuttall, *Calendar*, Vol. 1, p. 240.

³³ Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, p. 109.

of whether to allow Episcopal clergy to participate in Associations, of which Congregationalists were members.

In 1658, Baxter mentioned his willingness to cooperate even with the Baptists as long as they did not denounce infant baptism. He did not raise the issue of rebaptism and agreed to allow those that had been re-baptized into regional ministerial Associations. In spite of his efforts, Baxter could never gain the full trust of the Congregationalists. Bristling against charges that he was intolerable toward the Congregationalists, he wrote:

It was the toleration of ALL Sects unlimitedly that I wrote and preached against and NOT (that I remember) of mere Congregationals. Those that did oppose the toleration of Congregationals, of my acquaintance, did not deny them the liberty of Independency, but opposed Separation, or their gathering other Churches out of parish-churches that had faithful ministers... Again I say, I ASK YOU [the bishops] NO MORE LIBERTY THAN WAS GIVEN THE CONGREGATIONALS BY THEIR BRETHREN CALLED PRESBYTERIANS. [sic]³⁴

In 1657, the *Humble Petition and Advice* called for the establishment of a national Church consisting of “reasonable” Presbyterians and Congregationalists.³⁵ John Howe approached Baxter for his assistance as he undertook this attempt at unification.³⁶ Baxter wrote to Howe indicating that he needed to find a way to speak to Cromwell about uniting the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Erastians, and Anabaptists. Before meeting with Cromwell, Howe wrote in reply to Baxter in 1658:

Whether it may not be a more hopeful course to attempt first the RECONCILING ONLY OF THE TWO MIDDLE PARTIES, PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL? [sic] ...but if these two other parties could be brought together first, endeavours might afterwards be used for drawing in the rest...³⁷

Unfortunately, Parliament was dismissed in 1658, absent of any formal agreement, for reasons yet to be discovered.

The first Savoy Conference opened on 29 September 1658, and was an attempt by Congregationalists to come together and draft a confession of faith. Baxter, who seldom agreed with Cromwell, found genuine consensus with Cromwell’s concerns. He wrote:

To consummate the confusion, by confirming and increasing the division, the Congregationals at last, when they had refused with sufficient perversity to associate with the Presbyterians (and RECONCILERS too) [sic] did resolve to show their proper strength, and to call a General Assembly of all their Churches. The Savoy was their meeting-place.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 111.

³⁵ The Knight Citizens and Burgesses, *The Humble Petition and Advice* (London, 1657). “And that those ministers or publique preachers, *who shall agree with the publique profession of foresaid in matters of faith,* (italics added) although in their judgment and practice they differ in matters of worship and discipline, shall not onely have protection in the way of their churches and worship respectively; *but be esteemed fit and capable...*” pp. 13-14.

³⁶ Keeble and Nuttall, *Calendar*, Vol. 1, pp. 302-303.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 302-303. See also Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, p. 112.

There they drew up a Confession of their Faith, and the Orders of their Church Government...in their propositions of Church Order, they widened the breach, and made things much worse, and more UNRECONCILABLE [sic] than ever they were before.³⁸

The Congregationalists understood that Baxter had been speaking to the Episcopal clergy about a form of unification that did not include their ministers. They knew that Baxter was in negotiations with Episcopal representatives, Sir Ralph Clare and Dr. Henry Hammond. In July, 1659 Clare asked Baxter for his support as he sought to persuade the Presbyterians to join in the Episcopal endeavor to bring back Charles II. According to historian A. Harold Wood, Clare convinced Baxter that the king would be open to comprehension of the very men who had subscribed to the Worcester Association and that a form of modified episcopacy supported by Baxter would be acceptable to the new regime.³⁹ Baxter responded by sending proposals to Dr. Hammond using Clare as an intermediary. The Congregationalists, however, would tolerate no such imposed church government.

Baxter's hopes of unification before the Restoration were crushed when John Owen and other Congregationalists chose to side with the Army council on 15 March, 1659, against Richard Cromwell.⁴⁰ As a result Presbyterians entered into direct conflict with Congregationalists, creating an animosity that coarsened feelings between the two ecclesiastical groups. It was not until the Presbyterians felt the sting of betrayal when they were refused comprehension at the second Savoy Conference (1661) by the newly restored bishops of the Church of England that they were willing to return once again to their Congregationalist and Baptist brethren for companionship and mutual cooperation during the persecutions of 1660-1688.

The Worcester Association Satellites

Despite ongoing opposition, Baxter found many ministers who were willing to support a form of the Worcester Association fellowship in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Essex, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. Later associations were formed in Cheshire, Cornwall, Devon, Herefordshire, Norfolk, Nottingham, and Shropshire. The Wiltshire Association was established 28 October 1653 at Sarum. The Articles of the Association refer to a group decision to allow both Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers to be a part of the Association.⁴¹

In the west of England, George Hughes, a Puritan of Plymouth and William Goode of Exeter, later licensed in 1672 as both a Presbyterian and Baptist, organised an Association satellite

³⁸ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part I, p. 104. See also Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, p. 113.

³⁹ Wood, *Church Unity Without Uniformity*, p. 112.

⁴⁰ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p.17.

⁴¹ Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, p. 162.

comprised of ministers of several persuasions and organised into four groups. The ministers met once a quarter and conducted a general meeting once a year over which Mr. Hughes presided in 1655 and 1656.⁴² Daniel Neal stated that the reason why the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were willing to join with the Episcopalians was to prevent further divisions within their own ranks and defection to the more radical parts of their own ranks.⁴³ After the meetings, the ministers kept in touch with each other through correspondence and “removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, insomuch that the controversies and hearts of angry men began to be allayed, their spirit bettered and the ends of religion more generally promoted”.⁴⁴

At Cambridgeshire on 20 January 1656, a detailed account of the proceedings of a ministerial association stated that the ministers had decided to meet monthly unless they could give a reasonable account as to why such a meeting should not occur. The ministers began their meetings on 3 February 1656, and the group pledged to keep themselves close to proper business and not to meddle in civil affairs of the Commonwealth. The Cambridge Association observed that the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper “hath in some places been foreborne for a long time”.⁴⁵ As ministers of different denominations, they agreed to the same order and procedure in the administration of the ordinances.

On 3 February 1656, Ezekiah King, a Presbyterian minister of the Congregationalist church at Fowlmire was the moderator of the Association meeting, which was held to promote uniformity in catechization. On 7 April 1657, the Association decided that “Whatsoever we have done or shall resolve upon wee agree to put in practice till publike authoritie shall settle some things more particularly”.⁴⁶ At the same meeting, the ministers decided to suspend all scandalous persons from the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper and to condemn any parent who consented to the marriage of their child to a papist or to any person who married a papist as well as any person who consulted a wizard or fortune teller.⁴⁷

According to Margaret Spufford, several ministers initially supported the Cambridge Association but later refused to subscribe. These included Abraham Wright, a Presbyterian, and Jonathan Jephcott, Philip Nye and Mr. Bradshaw, all Congregationalists.⁴⁸ Philip Nye was one of the organisers of the London movement, which attempted to unite under a national agenda of a unified church. Nye joined John Owen to endorse a more congregational type of national church.

⁴² Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 610.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 610.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 610.

⁴⁵ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 275.

⁴⁶ Charles Woodruff Shields, *Church Unity* (New York, 1896), p. 128.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 129.

⁴⁸ Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, p. 275.

Mr. Nye had formerly opposed Richard Baxter's more traditional form of church government. Baxter wrote to Philip Nye to try to persuade him to convince the Congregationalists to join, with little success.⁴⁹ In the meantime, Baxter continued his attempts to attract high Episcopalians, yet he did not succeed in attracting a majority of High Churchmen. He even approached the Anabaptists with a plan for them to join the Association and found only a few leading Baptists took him seriously.⁵⁰ Paul Lim, in his book writes that twenty-seven letters were exchanged between Baxter and fellow ministers concerning their efforts to install catechism classes in their parishes and organise regional models of the Worcester Association.⁵¹

As late as 4 April 1655, Bartlett reported that the ministers were still holding meetings in Wiltshire or Dorset and were exhibiting love, wisdom, and unity across a wide spectrum of clergy. Some were Episcopal while others were Congregationalist and Presbyterian.⁵² John Humphrey of Somerset, wrote that he knew of "a very competent number, so many (as in one County) would be persuaded to meet in 1657 & 58" who agreed on the character of a person fit for Church fellowship and able to participate in all the ordinances and privileges.⁵³ Humphrey wrote that at least some of the members of this Association were Presbyterians. Mr. Brinsley of Yarmouth was the man who drew up the agreement and recommended it to his brethren. This became the foundation for "an Agreement betwixt them and their Congregational Brethren".⁵⁴

Thomas Jollie, a Congregationalist minister, was instrumental in starting an Association of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the late 1650s which later developed into a ministerial association in Chesterfield and Wakefield, with links into Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire.⁵⁵ On 13 July 1659, Jollie and several Lancashire Presbyterians met in

⁴⁹ N. H. Keeble and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Calendar of Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (Oxford, 1991), Vol. 1, p. 298. See also Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 172.

⁵⁰ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, p. 181. Baxter wrote, "But these two Brethren [Mr. Allen and Mr. Lamb] at last cast off their Anabaptistry also, and are now more zealous than other Men against Independency and Separation, by how much the more they smarted by it." The letters between Allen and Lamb and Baxter are found in the Appendix, pp. 90-111. See also Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter*, p. 172.

⁵¹ Paul Chang-Ha Lim, *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity and Liberty*, (Boston, MA, 2004), p. 49.

⁵² Dr. Williams' Library, London, Richard Baxter's Letters, MS 59; Lim, *ODNB*, 'Bartlett, Henry' p. 9.

⁵³ John Humphrey, *A Plea for Nonconformists* (London, 1674), pp. 54-55.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 56.

⁵⁵ Jonathan. H. Westaway, 'Jollie [Jolly], Thomas (1629-1703), clergyman and ejected minister', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004). Eventually, Jollie would attempt another restoration alliance in 1674 among the churches in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire. He was joined in his efforts in August 1675 by John Owen and other Congregationalists in London in an effort to examine whether there were grounds for accommodation with the Presbyterians. Jollie claimed to have brought Owen and Richard Baxter together during that time on the issue of uniting the two groups.

Manchester to try to discover some kind of common ground between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Ten articles were proposed and “both sides seemed desirous of union”.⁵⁶

Adam Martindale wrote of the ministerial association meeting,

The 13th of July following there was a meeting of many ministers at Manchester of the Presbyterian persuasion, with others of the Congregationall way, in order to an accomadation; we that were members of the Classis in Cheshire subscribed not, being desirous to have the rest of our associated brethren to goe along with us, but the eminenet [sic] Presbyterians of Lancashire both approved and subscribed to the agreement, viz. Mr. Heyrick, Mr. Angier, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Tilsley, and many others. So did also Mr. Roote, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. Smallwood, Mr. Briscow, Mr. Thomas Jollie, Mr. Jeremie Marsden, and Mr. Robert Birch, of the congregationall partie.⁵⁷

In 1658, the Essex Association printed its own version of the Worcester Association agreement. Again, the themes of purity, power and unity were proposed as the motivation for forming an Association of ministers. The ministers lamented that their age was filled with imminent dangers, complicated distempers, and extreme difficulty in healing, settlement and security.⁵⁸ They complained that the churches suffered from ignorance, prophaneness, meer civility, formality, and godliness. The situation was desperate and required desperate measures.

Therefore, when Souls are thus perishing, Truth lies bleeding, divisions continuing, enemies insulting, dangers and difficulties not abating, and (which far transcends all that can be said) the most precious and glorious Name of Christ so infinitely suffering... For these things our hearts melt, and eyes mourn, till the Lord look down from heaven and help: but when all looking, bewailing, pities, and prayers can little avail, without endeavours of redress in a right way first received, then unanimously carried on, for which the conceived expedient, is a Brotherly Association, long since in our thoughts, and already begun by others, godly learned, in divers Counties...⁵⁹

The ministers determined that they would lay aside all private and worldly interests and give themselves totally to God, uniting together in order to continue reforming the church. The Essex Association was in correspondence with other associations but it did not unconditionally commit itself to any other Association. Instead, its members resolved to remain loyal to Protestant Reformed doctrine as stated in their confessions of faith, the English Articles, and the Irish Articles. They also honoured the Westminster Confession of Faith that other Associations had adopted.

Because the ministers in Essex pledged to work with each other in brotherly unity, they expressed from the start that they were willing to tolerate differences in principles and practice in

⁵⁶ Westaway, ‘Jollie [Jolly], Thomas’, *ODNB*. See also Thomas Jollie, *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A.D. 1671-1693*, Henry Fishwick (ed.) (Manchester, 1895), p. 130.

⁵⁷ Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, R. Parkinson (ed.), pp. 128-129.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, *The Agreement of the Associated Ministers of the County of Essex* (London, 1658), Preface, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, Preface, p. 4.

order to join together. Where they disagreed, they resolved to forbear each other's differences while still reserving the right to endeavour to inform each other on those differences. Even if they could not agree totally on doctrine and practice, they agreed to continue in fellowship and association with one another.

A Comparison of the Worcester and the Restoration Associations

When comparing the Worcester Association with other alliances formed amongst the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and occasionally Baptists, it is important to note that the Worcester Association was not the catalyst for Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers to leave their ministerial positions in 1662. Rather, the historian should regard the Restoration "association" as a ministerial fellowship that alleviated the trauma for those who chose ejection and provided a fellowship for the support of Nonconformist ministers. After St. Bartholomew's Day, the new alliances appeared to form around the old Associations absent the Episcopalians and Presbyterians who had conformed. After the Restoration, the ministerial associations were not aligned with a political party, though they did seek to bring influence to politics.

Daniel Neal, one of the earliest Nonconformist historians, wrote in 1731, regarding the existence of associations of Nonconformist ministers, "If I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly associations among the dissenters in several counties to this day".⁶⁰ Therefore, it is not difficult to logically assume that the same ministerial associations formed in alliance with the Worcester Association remained in existence during the Restoration, yet in a slightly different form. Within a year of the Restoration, the Worcester Association and its sister associations were still thriving. Ministerial associations existed in Lancashire, Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, and London as well as other shires during the Restoration.

An examination of the Worcester sister Associations is important to the potential discovery of possible mechanisms that allowed both Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers to become acquainted or continue relationships in a non-threatening environment. The associations may have made it easier for ministers to work together across ecclesiastical lines. Known similarities between the Worcester sister associations and the alliances formed during the Restoration are numerous. An initial similarity, the ecumenical nature of the Worcester sister associations was imitated by the Restoration alliance leaders. Once the obstacle of episcopacy was removed, the Congregationalist ministers and their peers, the Presbyterian clergy, were more likely to find common ground. In addition, the Congregationalists' primary problem with the Baptists was that of closed communion. However, they could work with Baptists who espoused open communion. It

⁶⁰ Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 611.

is possible that in some cases, agreement was reached with the Baptists to focus solely on common doctrine for the sake of unity and for the accomodation of a minister in the pulpit. Within the alliances, any Presbyterian, Congregationalist or minister with a secondary Baptist identity was allowed to participate in the decision making processes, as long as that minister was willing to consent to a common doctrinal statement.

A second similarity between the ministerial alliances is found in the fact that they were primarily geographical in nature. Urban clergy formed alliances in the same manner as did the Worcester sister associations. However, ministers of smaller conventicles organised around counties or shires. The Lancashire Ministerial Association, that had existed before the Restoration, continued after the Restoration, centered in the city of Manchester. The London Association, boasting a large membership, exercised an expansive circle of influence.

In Lancashire, the Ministerial association contacted the London brethren for advice on several occasions. The first occasion of cooperation documented the anxiety they felt over General George Monck, Duke of Albemarle.

Correspondence was commenced with Mr. Case, Mr. Ash, Mr. Coleman, and other influential ministers of London. Their letters were regularly received, carefully examined, and extensively circulated. The intelligence seemed to vary with every arrival. Reports were spread of the activity of the Prelatists, and of the influence of the Papists upon the mind of the royal exile. Subsequently the intelligence became favourable...When the London ministers trusted so unscrupulous a soldier as Monk, it does not surprise us that their country brethren should follow their example.⁶¹

Advice was sought again by the Lancashire ministers on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day. The ministers wanted to know how well the negotiations over Church settlement were progressing. Inquisitive letters were exchanged and read.⁶² On 27 August, just three days before the ministers were ejected, a petition pleading for the halting of impending ejections was presented by several of the London clergy to the King. However, the petition was rejected.

In 1672, when the King offered licenses to the ministers who registered with the Crown, ministers of Lancashire immediately held a conference and agreed to write to their friend Alderman Henry Ashurst, who resided in London, but formerly lived in Lancashire, for further advice. Ashurst was the regular source of information for the ministers. Nathaniel Mather, a Congregationalist, had stayed at the home of Ashurst upon his arrival to England from America in 1650. His brother was a good friend of Ashurst.⁶³ The Lancashire ministers reasoned that if they

⁶¹ Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, Vol. 2, p. 104.

⁶² Ibid, pp. 212-213.

⁶³ Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan* (Indianapolis, IN, 1988), pp. 218-219; Germaine Warkentin, *Decentring the Renaissance* (Toronto, 2001). "[Henry Ashurst was]...a leading nonconformist, a merchant

were promised indulgences by the king, then they should be able to obtain reassurances of tolerance from the bishops. They requested the alderman to wait upon the bishops, and solicit liberty to preach in void chapels and churches, where the incumbent would give leave.⁶⁴ It is likely that Alderman Ashurst was also in touch with the London ministers as he supported both the Parliamentary and the Presbyterian causes. His son was a friend of Richard Baxter.⁶⁵ Matthew Poole, a Presbyterian minister, also stayed at the home of Alderman Ashurst after visiting with the London clergy.⁶⁶

A third similarity between the ministerial alliances is discovered within the doctrinal statements written by Worcester sister association ministers and the writings of the ministers of the Restoration leadership. Both collective and individual doctrinal statements were based on the Westminster Confession of Faith as documented in the previous chapter, and both attempted to minimise the significant points of doctrinal contention. To the individual members of these ministerial associations, unity and peace seemed to carry a weightier importance than disputes over divisive doctrines.

A fourth similarity among the alliances becomes apparent in the organisational structures of the Worcester sister associations and the Restoration alliances. Smaller regional associations formed, and eventually coalesced into larger organisations. The larger general organisations, such as the Lancashire Association, were led by ministers who embraced a hierarchical order. Younger ministers were expected to submit to older ministers with more knowledge and experience. These general organisations looked to the London Ministerial Association for counsel and direction.

A final similarity within the alliances emerges in the actions of the more conservative ministers of each individual ecclesiastical group, who, because of deep personal loyalty to ecclesiastical and doctrinal convictions, could not find a way to join as ecumenical an organisation as the associations. For example, most General Baptist ministers were not agreeable to the compromise of their ecclesiastical convictions for the sake of unity, perhaps, because of their Arminian tendencies.

and alderman of London, and founder of the family of Ashurst...of Waterstock in Oxfordshire. Henry senior used his large fortune liberally for charities and to help dissenting ministers and the cause of Puritanism; and he was highly esteemed by the Puritan clergy in both old and new England.”, p. 292. See also John Henry Clifford, *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, MA, 1892), p. 436.

⁶⁴ Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity* Vol. 2, p. 243.

⁶⁵ George L. Cherry, *The Convention Parliament 1689: A Biographical Study of its Members* (New York, 1966), p. 11. See also Matthew Henry, *The Miscellaneous Works of the Rev. Matthew Henry* (London, 1833), Vol. 1, p. 213, Notes; Gary S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 283.

⁶⁶ Erasmus Middleton, *Evangelical Biography: Being a Complete and Fruitful Account of the Lives... & Happy Deaths of Eminent Christians* (London, 1807), p. 578.

One significant factor in the discussion of the Restoration alliance is that it appears that the Restoration did not destroy the original Worcester Association and her sister associations. Had Cromwell lived longer, perhaps the Association movement might have succeeded in uniting the Church of England again. Baxter seemed to agree:

And I must add this to the true information of posterity, that God did so wonderfully bless the labours of his *unanimous faithful ministers* that had it not been for the faction of the Prelatists on one side that drew men off, and the factions of the giddy and turbulent sectaries on the other side... England had been like in a quarter of an age to have become a land of saints and a pattern of holiness to all the world, and the unmatched paradise of the earth. Never were such fair opportunities to sanctify a nation lost and trodden underfoot as have been in this land of late. Woe be to them that were the causes of it! ⁶⁷

Though Abernathy believed the Worcester Association and her sister associations were ineffective because they could not attract hardliners, perhaps this was the reason why the Restoration alliances succeeded.⁶⁸ The Particular Baptists, formerly considered as a threat to unity, no longer seemed so dangerous an enemy to a beleaguered and persecuted Nonconformist minority who could use all the support they could garner. Geoffrey Nuttall wrote about the Worcestershire Association members after the Restoration:

A similar diversity may be observed in the decisions taken by the signatories in 1662. As many as thirty-seven of them were ejected, which is the more significant if the Association may be assumed to have included, by and large, the more lively clergy in the county; but six of those conformed later, while eleven are known to have conformed at once, and probably others did so, for, since the names of the ejected are known, the presumption is that those who are not found to have been among the ejected either stayed where they were or discovered another living... Moreover, when in 1672 it became legal to take out a license as a Nonconformist teacher, of the thirty-one former members of the Association who had suffered ejection and had not gone back on their Nonconformity only seventeen availed themselves of the privilege. Of these the majority took out licenses as Presbyterians; but four were licensed as Congregationalists, while two, Richard Dowley and Baxter himself, declined any stated sectarian denomination. In the person of Robert Brown the Association also included one Baptist.⁶⁹

Unfortunately, Nuttall narrowly examined only the identities of the Worcester Association members. In Table 5.1, I have incorporated all ministers, that to this point have been found, who also belonged to sister associations across England.⁷⁰ Regrettably, many of the sister association Statements of Faith do not have signatures attached, making it difficult to trace their membership

⁶⁷ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part I, p. 97.

⁶⁸ Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians', *Transactions*, p.12.

⁶⁹ Nuttall, 'The Worcestershire Association', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 204.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *The Addresse of Some Ministers of Christ in the Isle of Wight, & County of Southampton* (London, 1658) p. 30. See also Anonymous, *The Agreement of Divers Ministers in the County of Worcester* (London, 1656), pp. 15-16; Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. 2, pp. 153ff.

identities. The known ecclesiastical alignments during 1660-1672 are as follows:

Table 5.1: Worcester & Sister Associations Ministerial Identities by License (1660-1672)

Total Sample of Ministers	Ejected	Died before Restoration	Conformed	Licensed as P	Licensed as CP	Licensed as C	Licensed as PB
100	74	4	7	17	3	6	1

Sources: Appendix 4; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615–1691*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3.
 Legend: P=Presbyterian, CP=Congregationalist/Presbyterian, C=Congregationalist, PB=Presbyterian/Baptist

Within this smaller sample, there emerges evidence of a degree of ecclesiastical sliding and multiple ecclesiastical identities within the lives of ministers who participated in the Worcester and its sister associations. For many of these men, no license identity was given. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that ministers belonging to the first generation, who would have been quite elderly by this time, may not have lived long enough to take out a license. Or perhaps they were retired or changed occupations. One minister, John Taylor, became a clerk and another minister, Andrew Trisham, became a physic.

In summary, the Worcester Association, founded by Richard Baxter, provided an ecumenical experience and a fellowship for many pre-Restoration ministers and perhaps created an environment where ministers discovered commonality and practiced toleration. Such an experience might have been regarded by the Presbyterians and to a lesser degree, the Congregationalists and Baptists as a working example of how associations might operate. When faced with a decision to either change identities or to assume an additional identity, such a prior ecumenical experience might have been helpful for ministers in making their decision. Since we know that there were many more ministers in the sister associations than we have names, it is likely that associational membership proved to be affirming during troubled times. If all else failed, the ministers had one another, as brothers who shared doctrinal commonality and friendships developed in the 1650s.

Common Friends

At the same time that common enemies were alienating the Presbyterian and Congregational separatists, the Congregationalists and Baptists were growing closer together. John Coffey reasons that this happened because of moderation in both groups. Moderate Puritan toleration of the Baptists allowed them to grow in number while greater freedom of the press allowed Baptists to publish. As the Baptists published their confessions of faith, the moderate Puritan clergy understood that the doctrine of believers' baptism could be "detached from other positions on

magistracy, property and oaths”.⁷¹ Added to new freedoms the Baptists enjoyed, was the protection afforded them by Cromwell and other powerful allies. Furthermore, Baptists infiltrated the ranks of influential military positions and civilian offices.

These political advances spawned a sympathy within the Congregationalists towards the Baptists. Coffey writes, “Almost all congregational churches for which we have any evidence seem to have admitted Calvinistic Baptists into their membership”.⁷² Eventually the Presbyterians followed their Congregationalist brethren and softened their views toward the Baptists, in part because of men like Henry Jessey and John Tombes who held parish positions. The key to understanding the times appears to turn on the words “moderation” and “moderate” as well as the men who practiced moderation.

The same attitude of moderation that spawned the increasing use of the words “congregational presbytery” appears to have bridged some of the gaps between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. When the Presbyterians began to realise that the Erastian Parliament was not about to forfeit what little peace existed over the issue of church government, the dream of a national assembly and regional synods throughout England was put on hold. A “congregational presbytery was the lowest rung on the ladder of Presbyterian hierarchy and consisted of an elder rule in the individual congregation. For small churches, the elder was the pastor”.⁷³ Samuel Rutherford called it a “Church-congregationall within a Church Presbyteriall”.⁷⁴

John Saltmarsh, a Congregationalist, understood, perhaps better than the Presbyterians, how closely the congregational presbytery was to the congregational form of government when he wrote,

They hold this Divine Right is in the first subject in the Congregationall Presbytery, and yet they set up a Classicall, Provinciaall, Nationall Presbytery to compleat and control this of the Congregationall; and how this their Divine Right can be subjected thus to a right lesse Divine, is unreasonable and unscriptural to imagine.⁷⁵

In another book, Saltmarsh urges his Presbyterian brothers to forsake the claim of divine right to congregational presbytery. “Let the Modell be printed to the world, to end the difference betwixt *you* and *me*. And for the Divine Right of the one and the other, I am of your mind; they are

⁷¹ John Coffey, ‘Church and State, 1550-1750: The Emergence of Dissent’, in Robert Pope, (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity*, (London, 2013), pp. 47-78. Coffey cites Joel Halcomb in an unpublished PhD thesis titled, “A Social History of Congregational Religious Practice During the Puritan Revolution”, PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009.

⁷² Coffey, ‘Church and State, 1550-1750’, pp. 47-78.

⁷³ Ellis Bradshaw, *An Husbandmans Harrow to Pull Down the Ridges of the Presbyteriall Government* (London, 1649), p. 52.

⁷⁴ Samuel Rutherford, *The Due Right of Presbyteries* (London, 1644), p. 367.

⁷⁵ John Saltmarsh, *The Divine Right of Presbyterie Asserted by the Present Assembly* (London, 1646), p. 17.

able to prove both alike of *Divine Right* that is in their *Presbytery*: The *one* is no more of *Divine Right* then the *other*, and *neither of them of any*".⁷⁶

Clement Walker wrote that Cromwell wanted to settle the Presbyterian government though the author did not know whether Cromwell meant a classical or congregational presbytery which he stated "differs little or nothing from Independency".⁷⁷ It is possible that after 1662, when the Presbyterians could only hold on to a dream that they might one day regain their right to call a national assembly, they were willing to settle for the congregational presbytery. They could then move in and out of Congregational conventicles because a conventicle was nearly identical to a congregational presbytery, thus allowing for ecclesiastical identity shifting.

Conclusion

The rapprochement of the 1650s lays a foundation for the cross-'denominational' networks of the 1660s, and for the fluidity of clerical identities. Though many of the efforts such as the Worcester Association failed to complete a full unification that the participants hoped to achieve, they did establish a foundation for a later time when the bricks of unity would be laid, in spite of the winds of adversity. The next chapter will address external pressures directed upon the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists which compelled them to rebuild relationships on the foundation already laid in the 1650s. After the heated struggles of 1659-1660, ministerial, interpersonal, denominational and political relationships between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists needed to be rebuilt. Undoubtedly, the fall of Richard Cromwell was a massive blow to the Presbyterians, while the Restoration was an equally catastrophic blow to the Congregationalists. The experience of persecution drew both factions back together (or at least led to some rapprochement) – though even then the older Presbyterians wanted comprehension, while the Congregationalists held out for toleration and indulgence.

⁷⁶ John Saltmarsh, *Reasons for Vanitie, Peace, and Love with an Answer (Called Shadows Flying Away) to a Book of Mr. Gataker* (London, 1646), p. 144.

⁷⁷ Clement Walker, *The Compleat History of Independencie Upon the Parliament Begun 1640* (London, 1661), p. 157.

Chapter 6

The Restoration Settlement and the Nonconformist Clergy

In the prior two chapters, I have endeavoured to describe the attempts at rapprochement that Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists engaged in, in the 1640s and 1650s, and set forth possible reasons why such rapprochement might have occurred. Family concerns, college influences, affinities in Confessions of Faith, and friendship with ministerial peers in localised pastoral associations combined to facilitate cooperation amongst ministers across denominational lines. Although several halting steps were taken towards rapprochement in the 1640s and 1650s, it is evident that the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists never successfully completed the journey. If they had, it is possible that Royalist Anglicans might never have been able to regain power and pass the Act of Uniformity.

Chapter Six is devoted to a study of the term “sedition” within the context of penal codes of the 1660s. I will undertake a holistic study of the series of codes with the intention of determining whether any progressive legislative pressure was brought to bear upon ministers. An analysis of the political acts defining and punishing “sedition” within the English populace provide cultural, theological and intellectual insight into whether Dissenting ministers were given no other ethical option, but that of declaring their ecclesiastical identity either as a Conformist or a Nonconformist. This chapter will address as well the problems raised by the “total” numbers of the ejected recorded by Edmund Calamy, and the accuracy of ecclesiastical identities assigned by him to those ministers reported in his records.

This chapter advances the historiography of Nonconformity in that it seeks to add new insight to a frequently neglected motivation for ecclesiastical sliding, that of the potential charge of sedition levied upon a minister for refusing to align with the Church of England. My research will also break new ground to reach beyond Calamy’s self-limited quest to locate as many Nonconformist ejected ministers as can be discovered to date, by accessing records Calamy likely did not have at his disposal.¹ Furthermore my thesis intends to document, to a smaller degree, the metamorphosis of individual Nonconformist ministers as they transitioned from one ecclesiastical identity to another. In my research I discovered that this topic was only briefly addressed in the denominational and local histories. Most histories, if they encompass the first few years of the Restoration, may provide a brief definition of the Clarendon Codes, their penalties, and in the case of local histories, the minister(s) that Calamy reported were locally ejected. With regards to the Act

¹ See Appendices 10 and 11. Due to limited space, it was not possible to individually list and document identity shifting for all Nonconformist ejected ministers. However, the two appendices provide a good sampling of those ministers who were ejected, but not listed by Calamy.

of Uniformity, usually a sentence or two is devoted to Calamy's 2000 or so ejected ministers. The only major departure from this meme may be a disagreement over whether the number of "2000 ejected ministers" Calamy reported is factually accurate. I intend to provide more clarity within the unintentionally created historical "fog", by offering reasons to challenge Calamy's traditional expertise assigned to his limited listing of the ejected. In addition, I will add to the historiography, supplemental ministerial data on other Nonconformist ministers, missing in Calamy, but documented in other reliable primary and secondary sources.

The Penal Codes and the Charge of 'Sedition' (1660-1672)

An evaluation of Parliamentary laws passed during the initial years of the 1660s provides insight into why dedicated Presbyterians and Congregationalists chose to remain within the Church of England for as long as they did, and why some Presbyterians and Congregationalists never separated from the Church. Few historians address the charge of sedition, which was embedded within many of the laws, and how such a charge may have motivated the ministers to either remain within the Church of England, or to band together with other ministers charged with sedition. Furthermore, other laws passed by Parliament that directly impacted future Nonconformist ministers are rarely addressed in most historical narratives from the minister's perspective. General charges of sedition would tend to draw together those who faced unjust accusations, and as a consequence, the individual efforts of ministers to avoid being charged as a schismatic or traitor may have brought them together in solidarity as well.

Thomas Bayly Howell wrote that the word "sedition" originated from the Latin word meaning "mutiny, raising of tumult, assembling of any armed power, or conventicles, or the like".² Howell pointed out that the Lollards came under the suspicion of guilt for sedition because

...they taught openly and privily divers new doctrines, contrary to the faith and determinations of the holy church; and of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles, and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people. And as much as they may, incite and stir them to Sedition and insurrection and maketh great strife and division among the people.³

The penalty for sedition according to the law was a fine and imprisonment. Neither sedition nor insurrection was a capital offence unless ordained so by a special act of Parliament.⁴

² Thomas Bayly Howell, *Corbett's State Trials Comprising the Period from the Third Year of the Reign of King Charles the First, A.D. 1627, to the Sixteenth Year of the Said Reign, A. D. 1640*, 'State Trials, 5 Charles I. 1629', (London, 1809), p. 267.

³ Ibid, p. 267.

⁴ Ibid, p. 271.

However, if a man attempted to encourage others to follow him in his act of sedition, or assemble for the express purpose of holding an unlawful meeting, his offense became a felony, and could result in a year of imprisonment. Other activities, such as the gathering of power, the giving of liveries, or the breaking of allegiance, were pronounced as seditions of a high nature.⁵ In cases where sedition was determined to be tantamount to treason, the penalty was death. The Scotland High Court of Justiciary's transcript of the trial of Joseph Gerrald disclosed that sedition was "a popular commotion to the obstruction of law or the interruption of public tranquility not directed, however, against the constitution, nor amounting to treason".⁶

Thomas Bayly Howell divided the classification of sedition into two categories. Actual sedition was commonly committed when a person joined with "a considerable number of people without lawful authority under the pretence of redressing grievances to the destroying of the public peace".⁷ Verbal sedition constituted the "uttering of words, tending to create discord between the king and his people... formerly punished by death and the forfeiture of goods, by now either by imprisonment, fine, or banishment at the discretion of the judge".⁸ Thomas Edlyne Thomlins wrote that sedition included all offences against the king and the government which were not capital, and did not amount to the crime of treason.⁹ Therefore, if there was no actual design against the king or his government, the minister could be charged with sedition or exciting sedition without committing treason. Understanding the many nuances of the definition of sedition is essential for the historian to fully understand the seriousness of the charges leveled against Nonconformist ministers, since the punishment meted out was in accordance with Parliamentary laws for sedition.

An initial sign of impending trouble that loomed for the Presbyterians was an overt attack on the Solemn League and Covenant. One of the first acts that Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon,

⁵ Ibid, p. 273.

⁶ Scotland High Court of Justiciary, *The Trial of Joseph Gerrald Before the High Court of Justiciary* (Glasgow, 1835), p. 32.

⁷ Thomas Jones Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings* (London, 1817), Vol. 23, p. 618.

⁸ Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, Vol. 23, p. 618.

⁹ Sir Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, *The Law-Dictionary Explaining the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the British Law* (Philadelphia, 1836), Vol. 3, p. 445. "Sedition includes all offences of the like tendency with treason, but without any such direct intent or overt act of the party formed or executed, so as to bring it within the more serious offence. All attempts against the king and his government, and riotous assemblies for political purposes, may be ranked under the head of sedition; though it has been held, that where the object of the riot is to redress a general grievance as to pull down all inclosures, or to reform religion or the like; it may then amount to an overt act of treason, being the nature of a levying of war against the king. And in general it may suffice to remark, that all contemptuous indecent or malicious observations upon the person of the king or his government, whether by writing or speaking, or by tokens, calculated to lessen him in the esteem of his subjects, or weaken his government, or to raise jealousies of him against the people will fall under the notion of sedition; as well as all direct or indirect acts or threats tending to overcome his measures, or disturb the course of his government, not amounting to overt acts of high treason. All these contempts are highly criminal at common law, and are punishable by fine and imprisonment."

sanctioned was the Sedition Act, which went into effect 20 May 1661. The Act included a provision for punishment, including ineligibility to hold office in the church or state, upon anyone who maintained that King Charles II was a heretic, or a papist, or that he was attempting to introduce popery.¹⁰

Richard Baxter described the complex dilemma members of the clergy faced. Either a minister could surrender his call to ministry by leaving his pulpit, or he must break his oath to God, by renouncing his pledge to the Solemn League and Covenant, or he must face charges of treason and sedition. As fictitious Theophilus Timorcus declared:

We fear the great and living God, who hath said, *You shall not swear by my Name falsly, neither shalt thou profane the Name of thy God*: Having therefore *at the Command of Lords and Comons Assembled in-Parliament, Anno 1643, 1644. lift up our hands unto God*, and sworn; that *we would endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy*...we cannot go back, either by endeavouring to *build what we have destroyed*, or by any positive owning of any such Ecclesiastical Authority; though we acknowledge our selves obliged by all sacred Bands, to be actively obedient both to the *King as supream*, and likewise *to the Parliament*, in all things where he *who is higher than the Highest*, hath not by his Command superceded such our *Allegiance*, and where the salvation of our immortal souls is not hazarded.¹¹

One of the more significant factors that separated Presbyterians and Congregationalists from the Church of England, and brought them into the ranks of the Nonconformists was the public ridicule of the Solemn League and Covenant, and of those ministers who refused to repudiate their vow to God.

Another early act of Parliament, the Act for the Confirming and Restoreing of Ministers (1660),¹² reinstated all ministers who had been sequestered or ejected as well as those who were still fit to be restored to their livings and promotions, provided the minister was at least twenty-five years old and had not renounced his ordination.¹³ The stipulations of the Act were retrospective to 1 January 1642, and applied to any men who were formerly engaged in, or promoted to a ministerial position. However, the Act did not apply to those who had voluntarily resigned their position. Any parson, rector, vicar, or possessor of any ecclesiastical benefice, livings and promotions who currently held office was compelled by the Act to vacate their livings. Practically speaking, any former possessor of a benefice or living was awarded their former possession.

¹⁰ Charles II, 1661: *An Act for Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious practices and attempts*, Statutes of the Realm: (n.p., 1819), Vol. 5: 1628-80, pp. 304-06. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=47285>. [accessed: 05 June 2007]

¹¹ Theophilus Timorcus, *The Covenanters Plea against Absolvers* (London, 1661), p. 3.

¹² 'Charles II, 1660: An Act for the Confirming and Restoreing of Ministers.', in Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80, John Raithby (ed.) (s.l, 1819), pp. 242-246. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp242-246> [accessed 12 February 2015].

¹³ Ibid.

Parliamentary Acts Affecting Future Nonconformist Clergy

Another act of Parliament, the Act for Disbanding the Armed Forces, in 1661 effectively placed the control of the military, formerly in the hands of the Congregationalists and Baptists, under the jurisdiction of the King.¹⁴ The Act received royal assent 13 September 1660 and by January 1661 it had passed.¹⁵ Those who desired to remain in the military, including chaplains, had to vow an oath of allegiance and supremacy¹⁶ and in addition, pledge the following vow:

I do declare, and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position, that arms may be taken by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such military commissions.¹⁷

Any chaplain who had formerly sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant felt the sting of the dictates of the Militia Act. In addition, both Congregationalists and Baptists considered the Act as a threat to their religious liberty, since they knew they would lose control of the Army, and the protection it provided them. Their former oath of loyalty to the Commonwealth provided for a free Parliament protected by the military against the absolute power of the monarchy. Now Baptists and Congregationalists had no more promise of toleration. The fictitious writer Salem Philathes wrote:

And let us in these days, wherein of late we have seen our selves so much neglected by the Nation, so few of us being up either into the Militia in City or Country; or by the people of this Nation, chosen for their Representatives in Parliament, let us be so far from censuring and judging of them for prophane and ungodly in so doing...¹⁸

¹⁴ Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 220.

¹⁵ N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration*, p. 80.

¹⁶ David Charles Douglas and Andrew Browning, *English Historical Documents, 1550-1714* (Oxford, 1996), p. 782. See also Thomas Mortimer, *A New History of England from the Earliest Accounts of Britain to the Ratification of the Peace of Versailles, 1763* (London, 1766) p. 608; Great Britain House of Commons, *Journals of the House of Commons* Vols. 91-92 (London, 1803), p. 39; Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army* (London, 1894), p. 472; Joseph R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 224; Mark Thomson, *A Constitutional History of England 1642-1801* (London, 1938), p. 160; Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), p. 118; Anthony Fletcher, "Militian Rates and Militia Statutes," *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (New Haven, 1986), p. 110. Fletcher writes, "The militia acts of 1662 and 1663 provided a sound militia system which could be misused by the Crown". John Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 236; Ian Frederick William Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition: 1558-1945* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 49-51; Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge, 1993), p. 235; Ernest Fisher, *Guardians of the Republic* (Casemate, 1994), p. 21; Joyce Lee Malcom, *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right* (New Haven, 1996), p. 194; Ann Lyon, *Constitutional History of the UK* (Abington, 2003), p. 349; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarch 1685-1720* (New York, 2007), pp. 84, 187, 341; Newton Key, Robert Bucholz, *Sources and Debates in English History: 1485-1714* (Newton Key, 2009), pp. 214-215; Desmond Keenan, *Ireland 1603-1702* (Bloomington, IN, 2013), p. 320; Kenneth Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: 1750-1850* (Oxford, 2013), p. 79.

¹⁷ Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, *The History of England* (London, 1733), Vol. 2, p. 629.

¹⁸ Salem Philalathes, *The Moderate Independent Proposing a Word in Season to the Gatherd Churches...* (London, 1660), p. 24.

The military that had formerly protected Dissenters was now placed under the control of the King and his supporters, who opposed the religious convictions of the Congregationalists and Baptists. The Presbyterians would soon feel the same sting of persecution. But, for now, the King had the authority to enforce the Restoration settlement by a military populated with loyal Anglican Royalists who could seek out and imprison opponents.

Parliament took direct aim next at the authority of the minister in 1661, through An Act for Confirmation of Marriages. This Act declared that any civil marriage officiated from 1 May, 1642 before a justice of the peace was confirmed as legitimate, just as if it had been solemnized according to the rites of the Church.¹⁹ Furthermore, any child born to a unofficial marriage union, in effect, a parental union officiated outside of the parish church, could now challenge his bastardy through a lawsuit.²⁰ This Act was an affront to Puritan ministers who had determined that a couple who was not catechized, or was living in immorality, should not be married within the Church, or enjoy the privileges of a sanctified marriage.²¹ This declaration of former non-church marriages as lawful was equivalent to declaring a minister's authority over marriages in his own parish, null and void. Furthermore, the Act for Confirmation of Marriages restored to parish churches loyal Royalists who would prove invaluable to the bishops in returning a parish church to the original polity of the Caroline Church of England.²²

To avert the proliferation of popular petitions requesting changes to laws in matters relating to the Church or the State, Parliament passed the Act against Tumults and Disorders upon Pretence of Preparing or Presenting Publick Petitions (1661). The Act specified that any petition for change could not be signed by more than ten persons unless the petition was first approved by three or more Justices of the Peace, or by a majority of the Grand Jury of the County. The majority of Grand Juries would be composed of local gentry, magistrates, and leaders who would likely not take kindly to any petitions that deviated from traditional hierarchical matters.²³

The preamble of the Act stated that the reason for restricting petitions for change was because "redress of pretended grievances in church or state, or other publick concernments, have been made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons...and have been a great means of the late unhappy wars, confusions, and calamities in this nation..."²⁴ Parliament and the King, by

¹⁹ Felix Makower, *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England* (New York, 1895), Vol. 2, pp. 88-89.

²⁰ Church of England, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (Oxford, 1761), Vol. 1, p. 433.

²¹ Anonymous, *The Agreement of the Associated Ministers in the County of Norfolk* (London, 1659), p. 28.

²² Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 171.

²³ N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Hoboken, NJ, 2008), p. 91.

²⁴ Sir Walter Scott, *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Entertaining Subjects* (London, 1812), p. 123.

edict, had once again raised the spectre of sedition against any common man who opposed its authority.

The effects of this act over the ministers was twofold. First, it not so indiscreetly labelled the ministers and leaders of the previous regime as factious and seditious. Schism and sedition for any minister who sought to respond to Parliament by way of a public petition were grounds for more legal troubles. Secondly, the law restricted the influence of the future Nonconformists by limiting the force of a potentially popular petition to only ten signatures, particularly when the petition sought for a change in Church or State laws. Fewer people might become aware of an oppressive law that faced opposition by a publicly distributed petition, if the petition was not authorised by the authorities to see the light of day. Therefore, Parliamentary laws enforcing a return to the traditional Church would essentially have no competition.

In order to degrade any remaining political power that the Nonconformists might exercise, Parliament took additional steps. The Clergy Act of 1661 repealed the Clergy Act of 1640, including the provision that bishops could not exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority. Furthermore, in May 1661, Parliament had voted that all MPs had to be a communicant of the Church of England.²⁵ What may be described as the MP Communion Oath effectively removed the majority of practicing Presbyterians from the ranks of Parliament. Any ministerial hopes of Parliamentary representation were further diminished.

The Corporation Act reinforced efforts by Parliament to enforce the repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant. Within the Preamble, the reason expressed for action against the Covenant was to prevent the “many evil spirits” from working presently and in the future.²⁶ In Parliament’s estimation, the peace of the Church and State were at risk. Therefore all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town clerks, common councilmen, and anyone holding an office of magistracy or any government employment in the cities, corporations, boroughs and cinque ports had to take an oath of allegiance and supremacy as well as disavow the Solemn League and Covenant.²⁷ An additional requirement within the act was a decree that those who desired to work for the government had to take the sacrament as a member of the Church of England.²⁸

In the same year of 1661, the Act concerning Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes was passed. The act outlawed the presbytery form of government and restored the authority of the archbishop, the bishops, the vicar-general, the chancellor and any delegate appointed by these

²⁵ Angus Stroud, *Stuart England* (London, 2002), p. 158; George Lille Craik, *The Pictorial History of England During the Reign of George the Third* (London, 1841), Vol. 3, p. 684.

²⁶ R. Hunter, *Abstract of the Corporation and Test Acts* (London, 1828), p. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 3.

²⁸ Alan P. F. Sell, *The Great Ejection of 1662* (Eugene, OR, 2012), p. 61. See also Bremer, *Puritans and Puritanism*, Vol. 1, p. 346.

clergy members. Ecclesiastical authority was granted by the king, his heirs, or his successors and could be used to “award, impose or inflict any pain, penalty, fine, amercement, imprisonment, or other corporal punishment, upon any of the king’s subjects for any contempt, misdemeanor, crime, offence, matter, or thing whatsoever belonging to spiritual or ecclesiastical cognizance or jurisdiction...”²⁹ This Act also granted authority to any archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, chancellor or commissary to administer an oath *ex officio* to any minister compelling him to confess his loyalty to the Church or, if the minister refused, to convict him of schism and purge him out of the Church.³⁰ Archibald Stephens wrote that a person could be purged without

proof plain and full enough to convict them, yet were they libel to be summoned before the spiritual judge, and be charged with the crime.. If they confessed, they had a certain penance immediately enjoined them; if they denied, the judge enjoined them purgation, to be performed on a day appointed by their own oath, and by the oaths of five or six neighbours (more or less), according to the nature of the crime and the conditions of the person.³¹

In other words, the minister was presumed guilty until he could be proven innocent. If a minister came to the court, and upon the testimony of his neighbors, proved his innocence, he was set free and his good name restored. However, he would be humiliated by a public warning by the authorities to avoid any such future appearances of evil. If a minister did not appear before the court, or if he could not find a sufficient number of witnesses, or if he refused to take the oath ordered, he was declared contumacious and suffered the punishment. To Parliament and the King, challenging the authority of the Church was tantamount to sedition and schism. Power granted by the King to Church leaders to punish nonconforming ministers was enormous, with the only authority greater than that of the archbishop being that of the King.³²

At first, it may have seemed to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists that the Quaker Act did not concern them as much as the other Parliamentary Acts of 1661. However, the Act set a precedence for punishments that could be applied to the future Nonconformists. The Act served as an ominous foreshadowing of the future, when paid informers became a problem as well for future Nonconformist ministers.³³ One might wonder why the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists thought that they could escape the same punishment meted out to

²⁹ Archibald John Stephens, *The Statutes Relating to the Ecclesiastical and Eleemosynary* (London, 1845), Vol. 1, p. 564.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 565.

³¹ Ibid, p. 565, Footnote.

³² Ibid, p. 566.

³³ John Henry Furguson *Politics Quaker Style: A History of the Quakers from 1624 to 1718* (Rockville, MD, 1995), p. 63.

the Quakers for passive resistance. It could not have escaped their notice that over 4000 Quakers were imprisoned during the enforcement of this law.

The Licensing Act effectively censored Dissenting ministers since a manuscript written for publication had to be approved by the bishop who oversaw the diocese in which the authoring minister performed his duties. Historian Thomas Ford remarked “Until the Licensing Act of 1662 expired in 1695, the printing trade in England was confined to London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the English city of York”.³⁴ Randy Robertson writes that the Act not only prohibited heretical, seditious, and schismatical books but also offensive books.³⁵ More disturbing than the suppression of the publishing of Nonconformist literature was the warning that any literature, and by proxy, any writer of illegal literature could be charged with sedition. Law-abiding ministers who had been leaders in their communities for years suddenly found themselves in the position of being considered traitors to their country if they dared to write and publish anything contrary to the views of their bishop or the Archbishop. The threat of sedition undoubtedly forced Presbyterians and Congregationalists who still held parish positions to consider their options carefully.

Though enforcement of the Act of Uniformity resulted in the ejection of ministers from their parish churches, it did not prevent them from holding meetings outside the walls of the parish house of worship.³⁶ In May 1664, Parliament responded to this creative evasion of the Act of Uniformity by passing the Conventicle Act.³⁷ The Act was formerly named “A Royal Proclamation Against all Seditious Sectaries and Other Disloyal Persons”, emphasizing the point that Nonconformity was considered to be synonymous with sedition.³⁸ The Act prohibited both congregants from attending, and any minister from leading, any religious meeting consisting of more than five persons outside of the ministerial household. It also authorised justices to forcibly enter any home where they had information of a conventicle. As a result, conventicles, by necessity became secretive, and ministers became criminals. Furthermore, any adult attending a conventicle could be liable to severe penalties such as transportation or banishment. Thus a minister could risk

³⁴ Thomas K. Ford, *The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, PA, 1958), p. 6.

³⁵ Randy Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (University Park, PA, 2009), p. 165. See also House of Commons Journal Volume 11: 17 April 1695, *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11: 1693-1697* (London, 1803), pp. 305-308. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=39156> [Date accessed: 18 April 2014]. William Robert Feyerharm, *Censorship of the Press in the Reign of Charles II* (Madison WI, 1963), p. 35; Lee B. Becker, *Copyright and Consequences* (New York, 2003), pp. 40-43.

³⁶ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *A Student's History of England* (London, 1896), p. 588.

³⁷ Ronald H. Fritze, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England* (Westport, CT, 1996), p. 99. See also Barry H. Howson, *Erroneous and Schismatical Opinions* (Leiden, NL, 2001), p. 44.

³⁸ Juliet Cummins, *Milton and the Ends of Time* (Cambridge 2003), p. 208.

being treated as a slave and transported to Barbados, which, in that day, was equivalent to a death sentence.

In 1665, the Five Mile Act was passed, prohibiting Nonconformist ministers from coming within five miles of their former parishes or an incorporated town unless they took an oath stating that it was unlawful to take up arms against the King. The underlying intention of the Act was to compel Dissenting ministers to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant.³⁹ The Act effectively banished ministers from their homes, their friends, as well as their place in society, thereby preventing them from providing for themselves by engaging in ministry.⁴⁰

The preface and the conclusion of the Act stated that the purpose of the oath to be sworn therein was to prevent schism and rebellion. Baxter wrote that the oath “openly accuseth the Nonconformable Ministers (or some of them) of Seditious Doctrine; and such heinous Crimes: wherefore when it first came out, I thought that at such an Accusation no Innocent Persons should be silent”. The oath’s demands within this Act was as follows:

I A B do Swear, That (a) it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King, And that I do abhor that Traytorous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commission. And that I will not at any time endeavour any alterations of Government, either in Church or State.⁴¹

Some ministers were deceived into taking the oath, while others surrendered to pressures to take the oath, since they had to take care of their families.⁴² Most Nonconformist ministers, however, did not swear to the oath. Many ministers expressed two basic objections to the Five Mile Act. First, they understood from past experience that there may come a time when it might be necessary to take up arms against the Supreme Magistrate and against His authority. Secondly, they believed that an occasion might arise where they would need to amend the government of the Church or State where they lived.⁴³

Many of the laws passed in the 1660s and early 1670s contained the threat of a charge of sedition.⁴⁴ Some acts stripped the Nonconformist ministers of their former ordinations and of the ecclesiastical authority vested in their ministerial positions, as seen in the Parliamentary act that changed Puritan marriage requirements. Other acts prohibited ministers from legally printing their writings and polemic pamphlets. The most prohibitive acts took away their place of ministry and

³⁹ Thomas, *Creating Communities in Restoration England*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Thomas Walker Horsfield, *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and Its Vicinity* (Lewes, 1824), Vol. 1, p. 204.

⁴¹ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part III, p. 8.

⁴² Baxter, *Practical Works*, Vol. 1, p. 258.

⁴³ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part III, p.10.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 5.

gave it to others. Many ministers who had spent their entire professional career in one parish, discovered that their pulpit could be taken from them simply because they refused to violate their conscience and their convictions. The most draconian of these acts was the Act of Uniformity.

The Act of Uniformity (1662)

The Act of Uniformity, passed by the English Parliament on 19 May 1662, and the enforcement of the Act ensued on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662, solidified unity amongst the future Nonconformists.⁴⁵ John Spurr writes that the Act of Uniformity originally began as a part of a bill meant to focus on gentry rights to ecclesiastical patronage and tithes. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, took advantage of Parliament's clarification of rights and of the nostalgia for the old liturgy of the Church and the *Book of Common Prayer*. John Spurr states that which seems apparent when he writes, "The Act of Uniformity was therefore a blunt instrument by which to define a church".⁴⁶ However, David Appleby proposes a more haphazard explanation of the Act and its intentions:

However, despite its apparent clarity and coherence, the Act of Uniformity was not part of a carefully integrated, state-sponsored plan for the eradication of Puritanism. It was rather the bodged product of an inherently unstable, neurotic, and inconstant political system. Over the next two decades, as the many unforeseen consequences of the Act became obvious and a number of panicky measures were taken to shore it up, the persecution of Nonconformists would fluctuate as different elements within the political establishment struggled for supremacy.⁴⁷

The author takes issue with Appleby's statement since the number and timing of Parliamentary laws, as explained in the prior section, reveals a logical succession of acts intended to weaken and eventually diminish the legal expression of Dissent, both within Parliament and amongst the Nonconformist population by silencing its opposition. Considering the fact that both Hyde and Archbishop Sheldon had immense political experience and expertise, and twenty years to

⁴⁵ Isabella Scott, *A Family Biography 1662-1908* (London, 1908), pp. 448-449; See also Eneas Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1827), p. 367; George Venables, *How Did They Get There?* (London, 1862), pp. 24-25; Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol*, p. 60; Steven C. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 214-216; Jacqueline Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 94; David A. Weir, *Early New England: A Covenanted Society* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 56; H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law* (Clark, NJ, 2006), p. 9; Durso, *No Armor for the Back*, p. 124; R. Tudor Jones, (ed.), *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 227-228; Bruce N. Kaye, *Conflict and the Practice of the Christian Faith* (Eugene, OR, 2009), pp. 43-45.

⁴⁶ John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (New York, 2006), p. 146.

⁴⁷ David Appleby, 'From Ejectment to Toleration in England, 1662-89', *The Great Ejectment of 1662*, Alan P. F. Sell (ed.) (Eugene, OR, 2012), p. 68.

contemplate their future plans it seems highly unlikely that the Act in its “clarity and coherence” was the product of haphazard and random occurrences.

The Act of Uniformity provoked much opposition from the future Nonconformists. The three areas of contention within the Act amongst the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were the demand to ‘accept and consent’ to the new *Book of Common Prayer*, ministerial objections to the nullification of any ordination other than that by bishops, and the dictates within the Act requiring a renunciation of the Solemn League and Covenant. The ‘accept and consent’ decree proved to be intolerable because of Nonconformist objections to statements in the *Book of Common Prayer*, some of which included assent and consent to baptismal regeneration, the use of godparents in baptism in place of the parents, and using the sign of the cross in baptism. However, the core issue was the fact that Nonconformist ministers were ordered to give their unfeigned assent and consent to “everything” contained and prescribed within the *Book of Common Prayer*. An anonymous author of a Bicentenary pamphlet entitled *Farewell Sunday* explains that, “at first the ministers were only required to assent to the use of the Prayer Book. But the language was changed to insist on assent and consent to ‘all and everything in the contents of the book.’”⁴⁸ He explained that, “Language which only pledged to outward obedience was changed for language pledging also to inward approval, an approval the most precise, entire, and unqualified, an approval of all the Prayer-book, with all the heart.”⁴⁹ Incredibly, the newly revised *Book of Common Prayer* was not even available for review until a few days *after* St. Bartholomew’s Day for those in London (and much later for those in the countryside). The day set aside for official approval of the Prayer Book was 13 December 1662, a date *four months after* the ministers had been ejected.⁵⁰ I. M. Green wrote that not only was the Prayer Book not delivered to the clergy by 17 August, but the bishops could not have possibly known who had made a public declaration of assent and dissent to the Prayer Book.⁵¹

The Nonconformist ministers contended that no book was without error, the only exception being that of the Holy Scriptures. Richard Baxter aptly stated, “Who dare say that any Sermon, or prayer, that ever he [an author of the large volume] maketh hath nothing in it but what he may assent and consent to, Much less so great a book”.⁵²

Another contentious issue was the requirement that Nonconformist clergy must undergo an

⁴⁸ Anonymous, *Farewell Sunday* (London, 1863), p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁵⁰ David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day* (Manchester, 2007), p. 30. See also Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England*, p. 145.

⁵¹ Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England*, p. 145.

⁵² Richard Baxter, *The True Case of the English Nonconformity, The English Nonconformity As Under King Charles II and King James II Truly Stated and Argued* (London, 1690), p. 45.

episcopal ordination. This was no small obstacle for ministers for, as Baxter stated, “by submitting to be Re-ordained, men do interpretively confess the nullity of their former Ordination...”⁵³

In the *Christian Directory*, Baxter wrote, “re-ordination morally and properly so called, is unlawful: for...it is (or implieth) a lie, viz. that we were not truly dedicated and separated to this office before”.⁵⁴ The anonymous author of *Farewell Sunday* related that from the time of the Reformation, the Church of England had recognised the ministry of other reformed churches but this law denied the legitimacy of ministry to all but those in the prelacy.⁵⁵ Giles Firmin wrote,

...if it comes to this, that I must renounce my Presbyterian Ordination and be ordained by a Bishop, or I must be silenced, I shall desire grace from the Lord, and resolve to lay down my Ministry, before I will my Ordination: for in being re-ordained by Bishops...I must plainly condemn all Ministers of other Churches, who are ordained only by Presbyters: how abominable is this? To null all other Ministers that have not Episcopal ordination.⁵⁶

David Appleby points out that the ministers explained in their farewell sermons that they could not be reordained because it “carried the implication that their previous ministry had been unlawful or spiritually invalid”.⁵⁷ In practical terms, re-ordination implied that every baptism, marriage ceremony, or communion performed under the ministry of a non-Episcopal ordained minister could be questioned as illegitimate. Every sermon preached, every visitation, every catechism taught, every act of leadership would be cast into doubt with reference to ecclesiastical authority. The demand for re-ordination placed each minister in an untenable position within their own churches.

I. M. Green wrote that this proof of Episcopal orthodoxy created a problem for the bishops who often did not know who had received an Episcopal ordination and who had not. A few bishops held ordination services after St. Bartholomew’s Day and made the ordinations as inoffensive as possible for conforming clergy. But these gestures did not remove the consequences of consenting to re-ordination.⁵⁸ Nor did it accomplish the objective of removing Nonconforming ministers from their pulpits, since Green writes that at least 45 ministers who were ordained by bishops were

⁵³ Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, pp. 230-232. See also J. T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry Besieged, 1650-1700* (Oxford, 1993), p. 43.

⁵⁴ Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory, or, A Summ of Practical Theologie and Cases of Conscience Directing Christians How to Use Their Knowledge and Faith...* (London, 1673), p. 796.

⁵⁵ Anonymous, *Farewell Sunday* (London, 1863), p. 4. “Those who had been set apart to their office in any other way were to be excluded, unless they now submitted to be ordained by a bishop, thus confessing that their commission had been a forgery, and that through all of their public life they had been assuming a title to which they had no right”.

⁵⁶ Giles Firmin, *Presbyterial Ordination Vindicated* (London, 1660), p. 29.

⁵⁷ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ I. M. Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England*, p. 150.

ejected a year or so later.⁵⁹ Furthermore, a Puritan incumbent who quietly went about his ministry might not be noticed for several months after the Act of Uniformity was enacted. Calamy described several such cases.⁶⁰

Significantly, the ministers who had sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant were required to renounce their Oath. Renunciation had to be witnessed before a bishop, an act which allowed the bishops to create a more precise list of Nonconformists than a mere oath of assent and consent to the Prayer Book a minister might take before his own congregation. The Solemn League and Covenant was signed by both Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The signers promised defense from England's enemies, affirmed allegiance to the king and Parliament, acknowledged an alliance between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and constrained ministers to oppose all forms of popery. The oath compelled each signatory to defend the faith, the King, and the nation against all seditious and treasonous factions. To a Nonconformist minister, a renunciation of the Oath was tantamount to renouncing a promise made to God in good faith. Although not every tenet of the Act distressed every minister contemplating nonconformity, each minister would have found at least one tenet of the Act of Uniformity to be in direct violation of their conscientiously held convictions.

Ministers did not make their decision lightly, declaring days of fasting and prayer to decide between their faith and their feelings. They conferred with peers, wrote numerous letters seeking advice, and filled folio sheets with serious questions, responses and rejoinders. These communications were dispatched with urgency between the ministerial associations. Ministers sought to find a way around the Act so that they might acquiesce. However, no way of escape was to be found.⁶¹

An anonymous minister wrote that Mr. Whiton, rector of Thornhill, Yorkshire and two other ministers rode to York in hopes of finding a copy of the Act of Uniformity and discovering a loophole, but were disappointed, and decided they had no choice but to abandon their pulpits and ministries.⁶² Samuel Birch, Presbyterian from Bampton Oxfordshire, wrote in his journal:

My Lord and master...I am at thy footstool; I may not do evil that good may come. I may not do this great sin against my God, and the dictation of my conscience. I therefore surrender myself, my soul, my ministry, my people, my place, my wife, my children, and whatsoever also is herein concerned, into thy hand, from whom I received them. Lord, have mercy on me, and assist me for ever to keep faith and a good conscience.⁶³

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.151.

⁶⁰ Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England*, p. 153, Footnote 47.

⁶¹ Anonymous, *Farewell Sunday* (London, 1863), p. 6.

⁶² Ibid, p. 6.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 6.

The anonymous author of *Farewell Sunday* continued to explain that by renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, these men were asked to support the placement of the country into the hands of a single man. Furthermore, by stating that the Covenant was “imposed against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom,” these highly principled men were being asked to swear that their former action of declaring their assent to the Covenant had been an act of treason.⁶⁴ Calamy wrote that “If but one thing had been made necessary to their continuing in their places, (which, upon due enquiry they thought sinful) they had been bound to have refused. But here were many things which they knew not how they could yield to, without sin; and because their consciences would not suffer them to do it...”⁶⁵

The requirement of re-ordination as stipulated in the Act of Uniformity did not necessarily translate into an accurate record of the loyalty of a minister to the Church of England, since a master list would have had to be hastily amended with men who had renounced the Covenant. The problem of accounting was further compounded for some shires that had more than one record book, and additional complications arose for shires that required a signed form along with the payment of a fee. I. M. Green quoted one bishop who claimed that he had clergy members in his diocese who would sign anything in order to keep their livings.⁶⁶ Since the Act contained no provision whatsoever for a bishop to eject ministers who had sworn their rejection of the Covenant in spite of their known loyalties, many covert Nonconformists remained in the ranks of the Church of England. Many of these passively resistant Nonconformists would eventually be weeded out,⁶⁷ but not until after St. Bartholomew’s Day, the timing of which would skew Church of England subscriber numbers. Green quoted Hyde who declared that the “hollow-hearted subscribers did more Harm, than if they had continued in their Inconformity” and had joined the ranks of the Nonconformists.⁶⁸ Archbishop Sheldon informed the Earl of Manchester that he feared that the Nonconformists were still to be found in the Church after the Act of Uniformity.⁶⁹

The following examples illustrate ministerial anguish and strivings of conscience over the new demands contained in the Act of Uniformity. Edward Bury, a rector of Great Bolas in Shropshire and only forty-six years old at the time of his ejection related his own personal struggle:

(I)...solemnly profess, in the presence of the great God, before whom I must shortly give an account of my words and actions, that in my most impartial judgment, after all the light I can get by reading, praying, thinking, and discoursing with above twenty judicious and solid divines of both persuasions, I look upon it my duty not to conform; and whatever

⁶⁴ Anonymous, *Farewell Sunday*, p. 4. See also Baxter, *Reliquiae*, Part II, p. 393.

⁶⁵ Palmer, *The Nonconformist’s Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England*, p. 149.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 154.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 154.

⁶⁹ Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, Vol. 4, p. 340.

becomes either of myself or my family, as I cannot force my judgment, so I cannot force my conscience.⁷⁰

Bury remained in Great Bolas until he was forced by the Five Mile Act to leave in 1666. He was licensed at Ronton, Staffordshire, and continued to minister as a Nonconformist until he died as a blind pastor at the age of eighty-four.⁷¹

Robert Stidston, Samuel Stodden, and John Stooke, three ministers serving in Devonshire, all found themselves ejected from their positions by 1662. Robert Stidston, a Presbyterian and Congregationalist minister, had served at St. Mary Church since 1648, but did not live long after his ejection, passing away in 1661. Samuel Stodden, a Presbyterian, was ejected from Buckland Parish, Somerset, but moved to Devonshire in 1669 and was ministering in Exeter when he requested his license in 1672. John Stooke was ejected from Trusham in 1662 and was licensed there as both a Presbyterian and a Baptist. We know nothing more about these men other than that they were ejected ministers not listed in Samuel Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*. These men were only three among thousands of ejected ministers and Nonconformist clergy serving in conventicles that have subsequently been located and documented in the Nonconformist ministerial database that I compiled.

Another example of a Nonconformist who made the decision to leave his parish rather than subject himself to the demands of the Act of Uniformity was Philip Henry, a minister at Worthenbury Chapel in Flint. Henry was only 31 years of age when he was forced to make a definitive career decision. He had served in Flint for only seven years but chose to leave his ministry behind stating that "It is no rash act, but deliberate, and well weighed in the balance of this sanctuary".⁷² Philip later moved to London and preached at Whitechurch, Shropshire, in 1669 and Horton Middlesex. He was licensed at Bartholomley, Cheshire. Henry eventually died in 1696.⁷³

Nonconformist ministers throughout England must have identified with Matthew Newcomen's estimation of the turmoil of soul experienced among parish members as their minister weighed the difficult decision to leave his flock. In his farewell sermon, Newcomen used Luke's account of Paul's final farewell to the Ephesian elders as a spiritual illustration of what it must have been like for a minister of the Gospel to be compelled by the Spirit to leave behind beloved spiritual sons and daughters.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *Farewell Sunday*, p. 6.

⁷¹ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, pp. 736, 742; See also Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*, p. 227; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 91; Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol 2, p.321.

⁷² Ibid, p. 6.

⁷³ Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry, Minister of the Gospel near Whitechurch in Shropshire...* (London, 1698). See also Philip Henry, Matthew Henry (ed.), *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A. of Broad Oak, Flintshire* (Reprint London, 1882). J. B. Williams, *Memoir of the Rev. Philip Henry By His Son* (New York, 1853).

Good Sir, consider, if not yourself, yet consider us... Who shall carry on that Work, which you have been the happy Instrument under God to begin in us? You are our Father, you have begotten us again to God by His Gospel; if you leave us, what will become of us? never were poor fatherless children left in a more miserable condition than we are left in; if you leave us, who shall instruct us, who shall encourage us and carry us on in the ways of Grace and Holiness...⁷⁴

William Bates, Presbyterian minister who pastored a church in London, and a member of the Savoy Conference of 1661, in his farewell sermon, seemed to summarise the sentiments of his fellow Nonconformist ministers towards the demands of the Oath of Uniformity when he stated:

Do not add affliction to affliction, be not uncharitable in judging of us as if through pride, faction, obstinance...or in opposition to authority we do dissent. The Judge of all hearts knows it is not so: but it is merely from those apprehensions which after prayer, and the use of all means do yet continue that doing thus and thus, we should displease God... If we be mistaken, I pray God to convince us... But however things go, God will make good this truth to us; that in this work, He will never leave us... For it is the unfeigned desire of our soul in all things to please God.⁷⁵

Many Presbyterians, and some among the ranks of the Congregationalists would have preferred comprehension within the Church of England rather than ejection. Richard Baxter was one of those Presbyterian ministers. He wrote in *An Apology for the Nonconformists Ministry* that before the Act of Uniformity was passed, he visited the Bishop of London and expressed his desire to obtain the bishop's license to preach in London. The Bishop agreed, on the condition that Baxter subscribe to the doctrines of the Church. Once the Act of Uniformity was passed, Baxter left his lectureship in London before 1 May 1662. The Act forbade all non-subscribers who held a benefice, cure, or lecture before 1 May 1662 from performing their duties as a minister. Since Baxter no longer held a lectureship and did not seek a new cure or benefice, he was not compelled to subscribe. Therefore, in his estimation, he did not consider himself a Nonconformist. However, Baxter's preaching in his home aroused the attention of the magistrates. City officials issued a warrant thereby forcing him to decide whether or not he would take the oath of the Act of Uniformity. When Baxter refused, he became a Nonconformist.⁷⁶ One can only imagine what might have happened to the cause of Nonconformity if the authorities had left Baxter alone.

From the perspective of the Presbyterians, the Act was one of retribution that the prelatists had plotted out for years, and was unfathomable. They themselves had served as envoys to help

⁷⁴ Matthew Newcomen, *Ultimum Vale* (London, 1663), pp 20-21.

⁷⁵ Anonymous, *Farewell Sermons of Some of the Most Eminent of Nonconformist Ministers* (London, 1816), p. 156.

⁷⁶ Baxter, *An Apology for the Nonconformists Ministry*, pp. 12-13.

usher Charles II back to England. Presbyterians had supported the new King and had attempted to arrange some form of comprehension for themselves into the new Church of England.

Furthermore, they had attempted to establish some common ground with the episcopal clergy in May 1661 at the Savoy conference and had failed, in part, because of an overly zealous Richard Baxter.

The Presbyterians proposed a compromise for subscription to the doctrines and practices within the *Book of Common Prayer*, if the bishops would allow them to drop the “consent” requirement within the Act of Uniformity. They had agreed to read the prayers from the *Book of Common Prayer* if they could discreetly edit out those parts they believed to be contrary to Scripture. They had promised allegiance to the King and the Church of England with a solitary exception: that obedience to God must come before King. In exchange for their allegiance, Presbyterians pleaded for an amendment to the Act that would recognise the legitimacy of their ordinations. For the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, the Act of Uniformity effectively ended any opportunity for an inclusive settlement with the Established Church, at least for the immediate future.

John Pruitt wrote that in Leicestershire, the Act did not result in a stampede of subscribers. One minister who received an Episcopal ordination sought a last minute compromise. A few Nonconformists accepted an Episcopal ordination, yet only after a compromise did not materialise. Others were granted a short reprieve until their churches could be retrofitted for the conversion back to Anglican practices. Surplices had to be sewn, structural repairs completed and new Prayer Books, homilies, and church canons purchased. Forty Leicestershire churches reported that they were not able to purchase the new Prayer Book in time for the official deadline. As late as 19 August, ministers complained that they could not be required to read from the revised *Book of Common Prayer* if they did not have it in their possession.⁷⁷

In addition to the requirements of the law, the threat of being charged with sedition, treason, and schism continued to haunt ministers who contemplated whether or not they would continue to minister within the Church of England under the requirements of the Act of Uniformity oaths. Within the Act was an oath that every minister, teacher, college professor had to swear the following:

I A. B. do declare that it is not lawfull upon any p[re]tence whatsoever to take Armes against the King and that I do abhorr that traiterous Position of taking Armes by His Authority against His Person or against those that are commissioned by him And that I will conforme to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law established And

⁷⁷ John H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Late Stuarts* (Champaign, IL, 1978), p. 22.

I do declare that I do hold there lies no Obligac[i]on upon me or on any other person from the Oath comonly called the Solemne League and Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of Government either in Church or State And that the same was in it selfe an unlawfull Oath and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realme against the knowne Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome.⁷⁸

As integrated within previous Parliamentary laws passed between 1660 and 1662, the Act of Uniformity condemned as well the Solemn League and Covenant as an “unlawfull Oath” and one that held to “that traterous Position of taking Armes”. Thus, anyone who believed himself held by God to the oath he had taken was labeled as a traitor. As such, the punishments declared for treason and sedition could be applied to those ministers who could not, in good conscience retreat from their oath made before God Almighty. Though it is possible that such a risk was enough to persuade many to take the oaths prescribed in the Act of Uniformity, those who could not, would have found themselves in the dangerous position of being placed into a splinter group guilty of treason. Renunciation of a solemn oath was not only a spiritual decision, but also a judicious one, and not a decision to be taken lightly, even if the possibility of an indulgence from the King seemed possible later. The law could not be clearer. Even if a Nonconformist minister had spent his entire life devoted to the service of God and his people, he faced belonging to a group the government had declared as dangerous and must be treated as such. The ministers had been declared seditious by the Act before they ever held a conventicle meeting or preached an outlawed message.⁷⁹ The term “Nonconformist” appears to be a notorious label that, being imposed upon the three denominations, tended to join them together in a way that none of the other laws before the Act of Uniformity had accomplished.

The Ejected Ministers and Their Identities

Who, then, are these ejected ministers, and the ministers who became default Nonconformists, even though they were not ejected on 24 August 1662? The majority of sources used to document this movement were self-identifying sources beginning with classis records listing participants in the 1640s, attestation documents attesting to Presbyterian ecclesiology in the 1640s, ejection records in the 1660s, and license documents in the 1670s. Observable shifts in Nonconformist identities are seen within ministerial movements from a core Presbyterian or Baptist identity to a combined identity that includes a Congregationalist identity. A large number of clergy are found to move

⁷⁸ Charles II, ‘An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers and Administrac[i]on of Sacraments & other Rites & Ceremonies and for establishing the Form of making ordaining and consecrating Bishops Preists and Deacons in the Church of England’, *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80* (n.p., 1819), pp. 364-370.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 5.

toward the Congregational centre of Nonconformity. There are exceptions to the observable trend, where Baptists assume a Quaker identity or Congregational clergy assume a Presbyterian identity.

One large group of clergy showing a shift in identity are ministers that moved from Presbyterian identity to a combined identity that included a Baptist identity. The question arises as to whether or not these Baptists were ordained as recognised ministers. The answer may be found in the fact that many of these “ministers” who became Baptists began their ministries as Congregationalist and Presbyterian ministers, ordained and educated, before they assumed a Baptist identity. One instance of this shifting is seen in the ministry of Arthur Bettesworth, who was ejected from Preston, Sussex, indicating that he was most likely a Presbyterian, or possibly a Congregationalist. Bettesworth was the pastor of a congregation of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and another congregation of Baptists at Trottencumtuxlith, Sussex. He was reported as being a Presbyterian at Plumpton in the Episcopal Census of 1669.⁸⁰

Another example of identity shifting is seen in Robert Brown, who was a member of the Worcester Association in 1655 while vicar of White Lady Aston, Worcestershire. Brown became a Baptist before 1671, and was pastor at Broadmead in Bristol 17 December 1678. He moved to Plymouth in March 1686 and died “by excessive preaching” at the Baptist Church in Plymouth 22 February 1687 at the age of 54.⁸¹ Gabriel Camelford was ejected from Stavely Chapel, Lancashire in 1662 as a Presbyterian. He was licensed at Furness Fells and at Cartmel as a Congregationalist in 1672. While serving in a Congregationalist church at Cartmel, Camelford also pastored a Baptist church in the same town at the same time.⁸² As one anonymous scholar has noted, “These facts remind us that the question of baptism was ignored in this scantily populated district so that all evangelical dissenters might unite in one community. Not till 1719 did this church unite in fellowship with Baptist churches nor did it record anything about baptisms till Sedgfield came in 1725”.⁸³

The following illustrations provide personal examples of recorded ministerial licensing shifts. Thomas Bakewell, a Presbyterian, was ejected from Rolleston, Staffordshire after ministering there since 1646. However, he continued to preach at Tatenhill and Burton-on-Trent. After his ejection, he continued to preach in the same parish of Burton. Bakewell was cited for holding a conventicle at Burton and was excommunicated. He spent seven months in the Stafford gaol and upon release continued preaching until he was expelled under the Oxford Act. In 1669,

⁸⁰ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 1, p. 33; Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 1030.

⁸¹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), p. 81.

⁸² Anonymous, ‘The Baptist Licenses of 1672’, *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 1.3 (October 1909), p. 157; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 100; Turner, *Original Records* Vol. 2, p. 681.

⁸³ Baptist Historical Society, *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, Vol. 1 (October, 1909), p. 157.

Thomas was listed as preaching again in Burton. He was licensed at Tatenhill as a Presbyterian, Longdon as a Congregationalist, and at Burton, as a Congregationalist and Baptist, though not necessarily in that order.⁸⁴

Richard Adams was the ejected vicar from Humberstone, Leicestershire, making it likely that he was either a Congregationalist or a Presbyterian, who later became a Baptist. Adams later married a lady at Mount Sorrell where he set up a meeting house. At first people were afraid to attend but the work continued to grow for about fourteen years. Adams was licensed at Loughborough as a Congregationalist. Some time before 1650 he had trained under the ministry of John Tombes at Bewdley, Worcestershire. After his ejection, but before 1669, he was fined twelve pence per day by the local justice for continuing to preach. The justice sent the officers to collect the fine which they could not do because of their consciences. The justice threatened the officers which convinced them to take Adams' pewter in lieu of payment but the pewterer refused to purchase it. Adams was offered the chance to continue teaching school if only he would cease preaching, which he refused. He took out licenses as both a Congregationalist and a Baptist. In 1689, Richard was chosen as an elder of the General Baptist Church at Shad Thames Bermondsey, Surrey. He tried to convince the church to become Particular Baptist but failed. He was co-pastor with William Kiffin in Devonshire and sole pastor at Kiffin's church after the senior pastor's death in 1701. Adams died in 1716 after many years of service as a Baptist minister.⁸⁵

Joshua Barnet was the minister at Tockholes, Lancashire until he had to move because he could not swear to the Solemn League and Covenant. After that, he ministered to the small parishes of Asley and Hadnall near Shrewsbury. Described as a moderate Nonconformist, he was ejected in 1662 from his parish in Wrockwardine. He attended the parish church at High Ercall and preached at his own home at noon. His issue was reordination by a bishop because he believed his Presbyterian ordination was enough. Barnet moved to Cheshire and preached at the parish church at Warburton but never conformed and appears to also have been a Particular Baptist preacher in

⁸⁴ Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 230; Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 226; Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, p. 745; Surman's *Congregational Ministers Database*, (Dr. William's Library, London); William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Staffordshire* (Sheffield, 1834), p. 316.

⁸⁵ Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of their Livings in Several Counties of England* (London, 1663). See also Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 116; Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, pp. 766-767, 769; Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected and Silenced after the Restoration in 1660, or Before the Act of Uniformity: To Which is Added, the Church and Dissenters Compar'd as to Persecution, in Some Remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt to Recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that Were Sequestered, &c., Between 1640-1660* (London, 1727), Vol. 2, pp. 2, 437, 594; Middleton, *Evangelical Biography*, p. 28.

Warburton. He was licensed at Hardwick as a Presbyterian. He died in 1684 while ministering in Cheshire.⁸⁶

As a final example, Presbyterian minister William Alcock was ejected in 1662 from Denton or Dunton, Norfolk but later subscribed. However, in 1672, he was licensed in Cheshire as a Presbyterian. This change of heart and identity was not that uncommon amongst Nonconformist ministers.⁸⁷ Some men who later took Nonconformist licenses had earlier subscribed due to financial considerations, fears of being falsely accused of schism, or apprehensions of family separation or even familial alienation. Francis Keeling, a minister at Cogshot chapel in Shropshire, was chastised by his wife when he considered his options, “Satisfy God and your own conscience, tho’ you expose me to bread and water”.⁸⁸ Mrs. Keeling appeared to be in the minority of Nonconformist ministers’ wives. Most women seem to have supported their husbands in their decision to leave their parishes rather than to conform, or at least their contrary opinions are not part of the historical record.

Calamy’s Account of the Ejected Ministers

For centuries, Edmund Calamy’s list of ejected ministers has been the primary source by which historians determined the actual number of ejected ministers between 1660 and 1662. Calamy, the editor of *Account of the Ejected Ministers*, was himself the son of an ejected minister and had grown up listening to accounts shared by his elders regarding the hardships experienced by the ejected. He had visited the gaol which held Dissenting ministers, bringing gifts of money to be used to buy food and medicine. He had experienced the shame of being an outcast to the Church while his uncle Benjamin served in the King’s Court, having conformed in 1662. However, in spite of all the advantages his uncle gained because of his subscription, Calamy chose to identify with Nonconformity. A. G. Matthews described Calamy saying, “No man of his generation was so deeply rooted in Nonconformity, had lived so much among its best representatives, or had such exceptional opportunities of learning from his elders how things were in the days of which he wrote”.⁸⁹

As a whole, Calamy’s biographies provide vital information needed to formulate a composite identity of the Nonconformist ministers, though with some understandable bias. If the historian is willing to factor in the bias, a wealth of information is available for research. Calamy,

⁸⁶ Mathews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 29. See also Palmer, *Nonconformists’ Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 329; Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, p. 733; William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864), p. 456; Raymond Frank Skinner, *Nonconformity in Shropshire, 1662-1816* (York, 1964), p. 113.

⁸⁷ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, p. 694.

⁸⁸ Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of Ministers, Lecturers, Masters*, p. 725.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

though light on dates, provided biographical information about childhood, ministerial positions, familial relationships, college affiliation, and governmental interactions for his ministers. His work also contains tiny bits of information that help to identify previously unidentified ministers.

A Short History of Calamy's Works

David Wykes in his published lecture '*To Revive the Memory of Some Excellent Men*': *Edmund Calamy and the Early Historians of Nonconformity*, supplies essential background information on the compilation and writing of the *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Narrative*.⁹⁰ Calamy's work was based on a collation of sources including the works of Henry Sampson, Roger Morrice, John Quick, Oliver Heywood, and James Illingworth. The abridged volume includes an enlarged ninth chapter which incorporates an 850 page listing of ejected ministers.

According to Calamy, his first edition was published with haste in order to influence Queen Anne to ratify the Act of Toleration.⁹¹ She had begun to back down from her first promise of toleration. High Churchmen and politicians had seized this opportunity to mount an opposition toward the Dissenters. Calamy wanted his book to counter this opposition which had attempted to portray the Dissenters as the cursed descendants of men who had rebelled against the King and Church in the 1640s. Calamy's new book was intended as a continuation of his defence of moderate Nonconformity.

Calamy wrote that he had expanded chapter 9 of Baxter's autobiography to contain a list of the silenced ministers and their characters.⁹² This expansion was inspired by attacks by Samuel Parker and others who believed that there were far fewer ejected Nonconformist ministers than previously reported. However, Calamy was not concerned with the total number of ejected ministers. He wrote, "But tho' this is what I have endeavour'd yet for my part I lay so little stress upon Numbers in a Case of this Nature, that I have not had the Curiosity to make a Calculation of the Sum Total of the List here Publish'd. I leave that to others, who take more delight than I do in numbering the People".⁹³

In his 1702 edition, Calamy claimed collaboration with William Taylor, chaplain to Lord Wharton, Roger Morrice, and another unknown author. He collated their lists of ministers into a single list with the common information included. Then he judiciously chose which author to reference when differences occurred. He admitted to following different lists of ministers when

⁹⁰ David Wykes, '*To Revive the Memory of Some Excellent Men*': *Edmund Calamy and the Early Historians of Nonconformity*' (London, 1997).

⁹¹ Edmund Calamy, *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges...* (London, 1727), Vol. 1, Dedicatory p. xliii.

⁹² Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Story*, p. ii.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. ii.

writing about ministers in different counties. He wrote to people best acquainted with each county and consulted with them in person.⁹⁴

By 1713, the political atmosphere had become more hostile toward a book like Calamy's because of the Sacheverell riots of 1710 and the publication of John Walker's *The Sufferings of the Clergy* in 1714.⁹⁵ The purpose of Walker's book was to provide a contrasting view of the sufferings the Churchmen endured in the 1640s and 1650s and to point out that the sufferings of the ejected ministers was a retribution for the persecution of the Churchmen but that the royalist Anglicans suffered more than the ejected clergy. Germane to this discussion is the method by which Walker reduced Calamy's number of ejected clergy. Griggs writes that Walker filled a notebook with all the names of the Nonconformists he thought he could disqualify as ejected ministers. Walker listed the names of over 1300 subscribers to the Act of Uniformity, and argued that many more had subscribed than dissented. Gone also were those who later conformed, a mistake, as many of those who later conformed had a long ministry as Nonconformists before they conformed. Walker also divided those that were replaced by returning Laudians from those that were ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day 1662. Furthermore, if a Nonconformist voluntarily gave up his pulpit, Walker did not count him. This disqualification would have been all inclusive as very few were forcibly removed from their pulpits. In addition, if a minister was a Baptist or Congregationalist, Walker crossed his name off the list because he did not hold an episcopal ordination. Lastly, Walker distinguished between vicars and rectors versus curates. This again could be debated as many of the curates that Walker removed became Nonconformist ministers. Griggs writes that Walker reduced Calamy's total to 500 at the most. By employing these editing options, Walker could portray the Nonconformists as "extremists beyond comprehension".⁹⁶

In his 1713 edition, Calamy listed another category of the ejected that presented difficulties, that of ministers who had just entered the ministry but had no parish position before the Act of Uniformity. Calamy requested that his readers help him find these men and their biographical material. In response, he received help both from fellow ministers and other gentlemen.⁹⁷ Calamy also stated that he had corrected any mistakes made known to him, and added material from those biographies and memoirs not available to him at the time of his first edition. The list of additions

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 8.

⁹⁵ John Walker, *The Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England During the Great Rebellion*, Robert Whittaker (ed.) (London, 1863).

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 187.

⁹⁷ Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times: With an Account of the Ministers who Were Ejected After the Restoration, of King Charles II: Their Apology for Themselves, and Their Adherents, Containing the Grounds of Their Nonconformity; Their Treatment in the Reign of King Charles, and King James; and After the Revolution; And the Continuation of Their History, to the Passing of the Bill Against Occasional Conformity, in 1711* (London, 1713), Vol. 1, p. vi.

became so large that Calamy found it necessary to convert the new list into a volume all its own. However, even after the addition of so many names and biographical information, Calamy still included his former qualification:

Hoping that tho' my List did not presently prove exact, it might pave the way for one at length that might as much deserve that Character, as would reasonably be expected, at so many Years distance.⁹⁸

One difference between the two editions is that in the latter edition, Calamy assumed that he had located most, if not all of those who later conformed. He wrote, "I intimated, that I herein follow'd the formation'd Lists, and should be sorry for any mistakes; but upon intimation given, would readily Correct them: And I have accordingly done it, as far as any have been so kind to assist me, by giving me Information".⁹⁹ Calamy's the *Continuation of the Account* which expanded upon his 1713 edition was released in 1727.

Calamy's Methodology

Calamy had a specific goal in the inclusion of certain ministers in his book. He wanted to prove that these men were not radicals, were educated, and were loyal to the King and country.

I mean the Bartholomew-divines, or ministers ejected in the year 1662, men prepared to lose all, and to suffer martyrdom itself, and who actually resigned their livings...rather than sin against god and desert the cause of civil and religious liberty...They had the best education England could afford...of great zeal for God and religion...Particularly, they were men of great devotion and eminent abilities...they were excellent men. And yet, that Bartholomew-Day was fatal to our church and religion, by throwing out a very great number of WORTHY, LEARNED, PIOUS, AND ORTHODOX divines.¹⁰⁰

It is certainly possible that some of the men listed in the "Others Ejected but not listed in Calamy" category did not meet Calamy's criteria. Furthermore, Calamy did not have the advantage of centuries of research done by local and denominational historians or the advantage of being able to assemble a modern electronic database. In spite of his limitations, Edmund Calamy led the way for a composite study of Nonconformist ministers. Calamy readily admitted to gleaning information from many sources apart from the ministers themselves. His objective was to provide evidence for a common experience amongst Nonconformist ministers that was developed through suffering, educational associations, and soundness of doctrine. Calamy cited numerous sources for his material.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. v.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. vii.

¹⁰⁰ Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Samuel Palmer (ed.) (London, 1802), Vol. 1, Preface iv, v.

Though Calamy undoubtedly limited his scope by seeking to list only loyal, upstanding Presbyterian ministers as well as a few Congregationalists and Baptists who suited his strict criteria, he did provide an example of how to amass information about Nonconformist ministers and inspired others to continue the search for missing clergy not included. In Calamy's *An Account of the Ministers who Were Ejected After the Restoration, of King Charles II* he reiterated his method of locating names and biographies and contains a most interesting comment that he consulted printed biographies, "scattered characters" and funeral sermons "collecting thence what appear'd suitable to my purpose".¹⁰¹ The statement provides an insight into the editorial work Calamy performed on the list of biographies obtained not only from Baxter but from the new material he had gleaned. He added more men that he had discovered, as well as others that had been brought to his attention since his last edition. As a result, the 1713 edition included more biographical information and more ministerial names than the previous edition. Near the end of the 1713 Preface, Calamy wrote that he understood his work was incomplete and possibly inaccurate in places, but that he had done his best to correct any mistakes, saying:

And whereas I was sensible my Account of the Works of these Ejected ministers was very Defective, I signify'd my readiness to supply those Defects afterwards, as I should be better inform'd and have farther Oportunity...Because some might complain of my omitting the Characters of many persons who were as considerable as most of those whom I mention'd I plead my want of information, and that such an Undertaking was fit to be a work by it self...and at the same time to do what I could to rectifie such Mistakes as I fell into in my first Essay; And this Promise I have here discharg'd.¹⁰²

Although Calamy believed he had accumulated as much information as he could, he unearthed yet another new source of names and biographical information by the time of publication, information which he included in nearly forty pages at the end of his Preface to the 1713 edition.

Burke Griggs asserts that Calamy had one primary purpose for his project, that of delineating a specific identity for the Nonconformist ministers in reaction to the distorted identity he believed these ministers had been assigned by his contemporaries. Calamy wanted his readers to understand the character of these men as they really were, not as they had been newly created. "Anglicans concerned about occasional conformity had charged Dissenters with inflating the number of the ejected ministers, and Calamy thought that this charge 'had a tendency to blacken their memory, if they were not clear'd by a just representation'".¹⁰³ According to Griggs, Calamy captured the essential Nonconformist identity by declaring these ejected ministers were logical and loyal, and socially respectable. He belaboured his point by comparing his ejected ministers to the

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. vii.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. xiv.

¹⁰³ Burke Griggs, *Protestant Identities*, p. 162.

Marian and Foxean martyrs, pointing out unjust persecution, personal courage, and undying conviction within the character of these men. Calamy also placed his ministers into a pedigree of brave men who had endured persecution for the sake of liberty of conscience. Persecution only made these men more godly and strong in the faith. By embedding these men into an historical narrative that extended back to the Reformation, Calamy hoped to “remove the memorial burden of blame for the war under which Dissent still laboured in the early eighteenth century”.¹⁰⁴

Calamy’s Emphasis on Moderation

Calamy’s descriptions of individual ministers in his works were seasoned with the terms “moderate” and “moderation”. He listed at least 65 men as moderates, the majority being Presbyterian. Ten of the sixty-five were Congregationalists, and one, Thomas Hardcastle of Bristol is classified by Calamy as a Presbyterian/Baptist Moderate.¹⁰⁵ According to Griggs, Calamy’s Nonconformists “exuded theological moderation, irenic hope, erudition, and social respectability”.¹⁰⁶

John Green Jr. was one of the ministers listed by Calamy as a moderate. Born in 1629, Green was thirty-three when he was ejected, and he lived to the ripe old age of eighty years. He was ejected from Tunstead, Norfolk, where he had been ministering as early as 1657. Green was still preaching in Tunstead in 1669. He was licensed as both a Congregationalist and a Presbyterian at Dickleburgh. Green later ministered at Bradfield from 1697 to 1707.¹⁰⁷

John Davis was another Congregationalist labeled by Calamy as a moderate. Born in 1626, Davis was 36 when he was ejected and lived to be fifty years old. Calamy wrote that he was “...of the Congregationalist judgment but had a general respect from persons of different persuasions. He loved all good men, and all good men loved him”.¹⁰⁸ Davis was ejected from Bywell, Northumberland and later preached at Kirkoswald, Cumberland. He was licensed as both a Congregationalist and a Presbyterian. When he died young, his children were taken care of by a Baptist minister in the area.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, pp.164-165.

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Palmer, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, Vols. 1-3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 164.

¹⁰⁷ Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 303. See also Palmer, *The Nonconformist’s Memorial* (London, 1803), Vol. 3, p. 15; Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses* (London, 1808), Vol. 2, p. 264; Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 274; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers...* (London, 1672), p. 201.

¹⁰⁸ Calamy, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 249; See also Thomas M’Crie, *Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch* (London, 1825), p. 76; Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet*, p. 125; John Wallis, *The Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland* (London, 1769), Vol. 2, p. 157; Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 334.

Another of Calamy's Congregationalist moderates was Thomas Smallwood who was born in 1617 and was forty-five years old when he was ejected from Batley, Yorkshire. Smallwood served as an assistant commissioner on the committee to eject ignorant and scandalous ministers. He preached at Idle, Flanshaw and Batley once he was ejected. After the Five Mile Act, he moved to Flanshaw Hall near Wakefield. It appears he chose not to be licensed, probably for good reason.¹⁰⁹ Other Congregationalist moderates in Calamy's list include Robert Ottee, Gamaliel Marsden, and Nathaniel Mather.

Subsequent Editions of Calamy's Works

Serving as an editor of Calamy's ministerial data, Samuel Palmer's manuscript was first published in 1775 in two volumes known as *The Nonconformist's Memorial* and was published again in 1802.¹¹⁰ Palmer attempted to correct and to add to Calamy's list of ministers, while at the same time editing out some sermons, tombstone information, as well as questionable accounts. He also eliminated Calamy's refutations of Anthony Wood and John Walker. Unfortunately, there are errors in Palmer's editions. In many cases Palmer's ministerial birth and death dates do not match other known records. His spelling of ministerial names sometimes confuses researchers regarding the identity of particular men. However, Palmer's entries that contain disputed information have, for this study, been noted and compared with other sources of ministerial data, including Calamy.

In 1934, A. G. Matthews added information not known before, expanded the sources used, and corrected mistakes in Calamy. He also included an introduction that described Calamy's character and work on the various editions. Matthews also admitted his work was incomplete but included an appendix which documents another 160 ministers whose lives had come to his attention before publication. Matthews ascribes the term "ejected" to a total of 1760 ministers of which 695 had left their positions before the end of 1660 with another 936 in 1662. Another one hundred twenty-nine ministers left at dates undetermined. Matthews also calculated that 171 of Calamy's ministers conformed later, from which group Richard Kidder, Timothy Hall, and Thomas White became bishops. One weakness in Matthew's book is the absence of the Welsh ejected ministerial data.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 564. See also Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism*, p. 8; James Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (London, 1868), p. 294; Norrisson Scatcherd, *The History of Morley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Morley, 1874), p. 114.

¹¹⁰ C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism From the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688* (New York, 1931), p. 8.

¹¹¹ E.W. Watson, 'Review of *Calamy Revised* by A. G. Matthews', in *The English Historical Review*, 51, (April, 1936), p. 341.

Calamy's biographies accomplished what he had hoped. He wanted the ministers to be remembered as educated, loyal, and principled men who stood for their convictions.

The ejected ministers, by contrast, became heroic figures and, in some cases martyrs. ...Far from being dangerous incendiaries plotting the subversion of Crown and Church, this first generation of Dissenting ministers, a few of them still living in 1702, were portrayed as mild, pious, and scholarly men, punished for nothing more than being principled Protestants.¹¹²

Calamy's primary source documentation, when combined with smaller bits of ministerial information found in other primary and secondary sources, and correlated with other Nonconformist data, provides a more complete understanding of the Nonconformist leadership. For this reason, Calamy's work is a valuable source for research information that remains readily available to the Nonconformist historian. Calamy's lifelong efforts to document Nonconformity during the Restoration should be honored and respected.

Limitations of Calamy

Historiography often references Edmund Calamy's epic work on Nonconformist ministers ejected in 1662, often quoting either Calamy's or A.G. Matthews totals of ejected ministers.¹¹³ Through the centuries the numbers of ejected Nonconformist ministers have been disputed. Most modern historians describe the Clarendon Codes, but do not venture to make an independent estimate of the number of clergy ejected, based on currently available primary and secondary source data, rather choosing to rely on Baxter's, Calamy's or Matthew's research. Of the historians that have referenced the ejected totals in some manner in their works, at least one hundred record their estimate of ejected clergy.

Table 6.1: Historians' Interpretation of Number of Ejected Clergy

Less than 1000	Between 1000 and 1499	Between 1500 and 1999	Approximately 2000	More than 2000	Only recognised ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day	Ejected Calculated as a Percentage
1	24	2	57	13	5	1

Source: For an enumeration of totals of Ejected Ministers (By Author and Publication Date), see Appendix 7.

Though not exhaustive, this table is representative of a variety of different sources which include monographs, textbooks, and local histories. The majority of historians claim approximately 2000 ministers were ejected while the second largest assertion is that under 2000 ministers were

¹¹² John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 18.

¹¹³ See Appendix 7.

ejected. The 2000 figure may have originated from Edmund Calamy's total. The most frequently quoted number comes from A. G. Matthews. Some authors calculated the ejected as fewer than 2,000; however, they are in the minority. Other historians referred to the ejected as "multitudes", "many hundreds", and "many", perhaps because it was a safer option than placing a specific number in the record.¹¹⁴ Some historians break down their total numbers into pre-1662 and St. Bartholomew's Day. Others break down their figures even more by separating clergy from non-clergy, while some separate the total between England and Wales. Interestingly, there is no pattern to be found between the older and newer historiographies, nor is there a distinction between political and denominational historians. Calamy appears to be the only common thread connecting ejected number estimates reported by historians.

The problem with these figures lies in the fact that Calamy downplays the importance of Congregationalists and Baptists, and even some Presbyterians, and so misleads us on one of the key developments of the period, that is, the tendency of the newly nonconformist clergy to shift towards *de facto* congregationalism. Rather than pressuring nonconformists into conformity, the policy of uniformity drove many of Calamy's 'moderate' clergy towards more 'radical' Congregationalist and Baptist ecclesiastical identities.

Unfortunately, in assuming that Calamy has provided a comprehensive listing of Nonconformist ministers, historians have unintentionally discouraged further investigation, which could lead to a more holistic understanding of the range of ecclesiastical identities belonging to Nonconformist clergy. In wake of the void that has been created by solely depending on Calamy's and Matthews' research, few historians have attempted to track the shifting of ecclesiastical identities within the lives of ministers serving between 1662 and 1672. As a result, we are left without a solid understanding of the rapid changes in ministerial identity that occurred during this critical period of time. Regrettably, an ongoing consensus persists that the actual number of Nonconformists, which in actuality, extended beyond Calamy's definition of a moderate Presbyterian, is a much smaller figure than my extensive research extending beyond Calamy indicates. These Nonconformist clergy included the ejected ministers Calamy did not list, as well as those also who were not officially ejected from a parish position, yet suffered the same Parliamentary penalties as their officially ejected peers, for their refusal to acquiesce to the Act of Uniformity.

A detailed evaluation of such a large number of ejected ministers is not feasible within the limits of a single thesis chapter. Providing a comprehensive listing of all Nonconformist ministers serving between 1660 and 1662, with only a shire location, and an ecclesiastical identity would add

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 7.

approximately 40 additional pages to my appendix. Therefore, I have provided several anecdotal illustrations to demonstrate shifting ecclesiastical identities in the lives of several ministers as well as to document the absence of some ministers from Calamy's records.

Other historians have also noticed a discrepancy between the number of ejected ministers and Calamy's totals. E. W. Watson wrote that the number of sufferers after the Restoration was greater than either Calamy or Matthews recognised because the "irregulars" were left off of [Calamy's] list.¹¹⁵ William Urwick also disagreed with Calamy's numbers, stating that Calamy listed thirty-nine ministers in Hertford who were silenced and ejected between 1660 and 1662. However, Urwick counted forty-four ejected plus twenty-one ministers who worked in Hertford, but were silenced somewhere else.¹¹⁶ Benjamin Nightingale wrote that the number "2000" was a general number and that it was probably not overestimated. He quoted Principal Gordon that Calamy recorded 2465 names and Palmer added others. Nightingale believed that Palmer's work was lacking, but this researcher did not encounter significant discrepancies when comparing Palmer's version against all the information available from other historians. Gordon also noted that in Cheshire, Calamy and Palmer recorded fifty-two names, yet Urwick counted a total of sixty-two. Calamy and Palmer listed 182 names while Browne, a historian of Norfolk and Suffolk discovered an additional fourteen names.¹¹⁷ William Henry Summers claimed that Calamy's accuracy had been a matter of debate for a long time, because of his addition of the deprived ministers in 1660. Summers also stated that Calamy's list was "certainly incomplete".¹¹⁸

Why then is there such a large discrepancy in the numbers? As noted earlier, Calamy never claimed that he had located all the ejected ministers. Calamy knew he had missed some of these silenced ministers. "I have reason to apprehend that as many of these will upon a narrow Search be found omitted, as there are of others that are mentioned twice and at two several places".¹¹⁹ Many of these men later took positions as Nonconformist ministers. Calamy wrote that he suspected there were extant biographies and autobiographies about these silenced men, but he did not have sufficient biographical information. Therefore, "But where I had no light any of these Ways, I tho't 'twas fitter to be Silent, than to pretend to guess".¹²⁰ He listed some of the silenced ministers but did not include degrees for them, even though he suspected they had obtained a degree. Calamy

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 341.

¹¹⁶ William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts* (London, 1884), p. 168.

¹¹⁷ Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 42.

¹¹⁸ Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in the Berks*, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Calamy, *An Abridgment*, p. iv.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 14.

understood he had made mistakes but “’twill be much more easie hereafter to supply those Defects, than it was to lay such a Foundation”.¹²¹ He wrote:

If any complain of my omitting the Characters of many Persons who were as considerable as most of those mention’d, besides my want of Information, I have this to Alledge; that the Characterizing all, was fitter to be a work by itself than an Addition by way of Supplement. But having several Memoirs by me, some of which were too long, and others came too late to be here inserted, I purpose... some time or other hereafter to cast them into a separate account of these Ministers in which as I shall be ready to insert such particulars concerning their friends and Acquaintance, here omitted, as any shall think fit to communicate, that are well attested, so I’ll also be careful to rectifie such Mistakes...¹²²

Calamy then wrote that at the end of each shire listing, he recorded the names of ministers who were Nonconformists but afterwards complied with the established Church. His justification for the list was to prove how few, under hardship, had deserted their principles in comparison to those who adhered to them. Calamy apologised in advance for any mistakes he had made in these lists. He also offered his apologies to the families of the ministers for whom he did not include a biography, writing that “Tis a pity the World should not have a full account of them”.¹²³

A significant problem Calamy faced was listing the ejected in Wales. Some of these men were not Presbyterians, which complicated Calamy’s quest for orthodox, educated, Presbyterian ministers. To remedy this difficulty, Calamy made an editorial decision to not pick and choose who he would include when writing about Welsh clergy. He included illiterate ministers as well as those who lost their positions because of false charges of immorality. Calamy writes:

It seems to me to be much the same here. Had any such Persons as these upon fair Tryal, bin Ejected as incompetent, their Names might have remain’d bury’d in Oblivion for me: But when they were cast out in a Heat without any Difference, under an Hardship in their Ejection, and had the Honour conferr’d upon them too be Sufferers in a Good Cause.¹²⁴

His decision on Welsh clerical listings begs the question as to whether he picked and chose clergy who would be included in his lists from England. Did he have any denominational, moral, or educational criteria for those he chose to include and those he cast aside? I propose four possible explanations. First, Calamy did not include all the names of the men in *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, since he did not have access to the document. Calamy wrote that a catalogue describing the ejected ministers was printed in two sheets in 1662 but it had become such a rarity that he could not find a copy until after his 1702 list had gone to print. This “catalogue” only contained the names of the ministers ejected from London, Essex and eight other

¹²¹ Ibid, p. xi.

¹²² Ibid, p. 15.

¹²³ Ibid, p. v.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. xii.

counties yet it bore the name of an “Exact Catalogue.” This count would damage the reputation of all those dissenting ministers who had claimed that around 2000 men had been ejected. His later editions do not mention the inclusion of the names of the ministers listed in *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of their Livings in Several Counties of England*.

Calamy admitted that he did not know with certainty all the names of the ejected ministers. He warned: “And yet after all, dare not undertake, that my List is even yet Exact: But I hope it may Pave the Way for one, that at length may deserve that Name”.¹²⁵ Frank Bates, one of the primary historians of Restoration dissent, enumerates some of those weaknesses.

Much, however, remains to be done by local researchers before trustworthy figures can be arrived at...the chief, and indeed the only complete, sources of information concerning the ejected clergy, are the works of Calamy and Palmer. Since they appeared, various counties have been handled with more or less success...But no one has yet attempted, what must prove to be a tremendous task, the correction of Calamy and Palmer. It is not difficult to point out the ways in which these works might be corrected and improved. In many cases the date of ejection is missing, the names of the persons and places are inaccurate, and dates, when given, are not to be implicitly trusted.¹²⁶

Furthermore, Calamy did not have all the sources he needed to produce a comprehensive account of the names of the ministers. Local historians note this weakness in Calamy’s book.

Brian Dale, historian of Yorkshire stated:

This [Calamy work] still remains our most important treasury of information about the ejected ministers, and is not likely to be wholly superseded. But the diligent research which has been pursued by lovers of Puritan history, since the Bicentenary Commemoration in 1862 has brought to light vast stores of material to which neither Calamy nor Palmer had access, and the very existence of which was unknown to them...¹²⁷

Congregationalist denominational historian, William Henry Summers, was also concerned with the inadequacies of Calamy’s records when he wrote:

The accuracy of Calamy’s lists has been loudly called into question. But both the Anglicans who have attacked him and the Nonconformists who have championed him have overlooked the fact that he did not merely profess to give a list of all who were ejected in 1662, but included those who had been deprived on the ground of unsatisfactory title in 1660, and whose path to future preferment was effectually barred by the later Act. On the other hand, his list is certainly incomplete.¹²⁸

Secondly, Calamy could not have known all the ejected Presbyterian pastors ministering in England, let alone the Congregationalists and Baptists, in spite of the help he received from other

¹²⁵ Calamy, *An Abridgment*, p. iii.

¹²⁶ Frank Bates, *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672* (Liverpool, 1908), Appendix II, p. ix.

¹²⁷ Dale and Crippen, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity*, p. 3.

¹²⁸ Summers, *History of the Congregationalist Churches in Berks*, p. 4.

authors. Calamy admitted in his 1702 *Abridgment* that his work was incomplete, and he asked for more information from his readers. He arranged the content by alphabetizing the ministers and organising them into shires. The modern historian has access to other sources such as Surman's *Index of Congregationalist Ministers*, and names found in sundry local histories. Another large source of names of ministers not listed in Calamy but were nonetheless ejected, and yet later obtained a license, came from G. Lyon Turner's *Original Records of Nonconformity Under Persecution*. Turner noted those names he discovered from Calamy, but also others who were not found in Calamy. In addition, Alexander Gordon wrote about the lives of those ejected after the Act of Uniformity in his book, *Freedom after Ejection*. Those names have also been included in my research list of men not mentioned by Calamy.

In the remainder of the chapter, I will provide short case studies of particular Nonconformist ministers within the shires of Cheshire, Leicestershire, and the region of East Anglia, who shifted from an originating ecclesiastical identity to that of another or even multiple identity. Some of the illustrations provided have intentionally been gleaned from primary and secondary sources outside of Calamy. The examples will serve in place of statistics, yet are intended to undergird my original premise that Calamy's numbers are not comprehensive, and cannot be the sole authority for formulating an adequate profile of Nonconformist identities.

Nonconformity in Cheshire (1662-1672)

William Urwick wrote that in Cheshire, the Presbyterians believed right up to the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity that the King would grant an indulgence for them.¹²⁹ As late as the Saturday evening before 24 August 1662, a report had reached Cheshire stating that an indulgence was forthcoming. However, the indulgence did not arrive. Urwick quoted a letter in which Geoffrey Shakerley, one of the deputy-lieutenants for the county and governor of Chester Castle described a meeting he broke up in Chester. He described the conventicle held in the home of Thomas Harrison, former chaplain to Henry Cromwell, which numbered about one hundred people. When the soldiers broke through the doors, the worshippers fled, hiding under beds and in closets throughout the house. The officer caught 60 men and women who were fined. The number included Harrison, Edward Bradshaw, and Peter Lee, James Jolly and Richard Kirby. Harrison, Bradshaw and Lee (Leigh) were ejected ministers while James Jolly might have been related to John Jolly, minister in Norbury. James Jolly had been the former mayor of Norbury.¹³⁰ Urwick

¹²⁹ William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1865), p. xli.

¹³⁰ Thomas Jolly, *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly: A.D. 1671-1693*, Vol. 33 (Chetham, 1895), pp. xxxi, 138-139.

counted at least sixty-two ministers who were ejected from their cures in Cheshire between 1660 and 1662. However, he believed that there were probably more.¹³¹

Those not listed by Calamy included Thomas Aspinwall who had been ordained by the Manchester Classis and was ejected from Ashley Chapel, Bowdon.¹³² Aspinwall was a graduate from Brasenose, Oxford and licensed himself as a Presbyterian in 1672.¹³³ Ralph Aynsworth was ejected from Great Budsworth and later served at Brombro in Wirral and Rivington.¹³⁴ Aynsworth (Ainsworth) had attended Trinity College in Dublin. He succeeded the father of Thomas Kynaston at Whitley Chapel.

John Boyer was ejected in 1660 from Barrow, Cheshire. I chose to count Boyer because A. G. Matthews did and because he and his fellow ministers who lost their ministries as a result of the placement of sequestered ministers were just as ejected as their fellow ministers in 1662.¹³⁵ The primary reason I counted them was that they were the victims of future Archbishop Sheldon's legal strategy as much as those who suffered from the next round of legislation. Those expelled and driven out of their positions in 1660-1661 suffered the same under the Act of Uniformity as those who later were expelled. Many men in the earlier expulsion could no more assent or consent to Book of Common Prayer and the practices of the Church than those who had to make the decision in 1662. Therefore, to decline to count these ministers as ejected, simply because they technically faced a forced ejection earlier, and did not locate another official parish position in the interim, minimizes their convictions in 1662. It is unlikely that Boyer, who had signed *An Attestation to the Testimony...Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire*, at their meeting 2 May and added his subscription at their next meeting, 6 June, 1648 would have recanted and remained within the Church of England as a subscriber. Urwick listed Boyer as ejected in 1662 from the Deanery of Chester, making his ejection a certainty, but the ejection date uncertain.¹³⁶

Nonconformity in Leicestershire (1662-1672)

According to Pruitt, in Leicestershire, only one-fifth of Leicestershire's parish clergy, consisting primarily of Presbyterians and non-sequestered Anglicans refused to assent and consent.¹³⁷ Out of

¹³¹ Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity*, p. xlii. For a listing of ministers in Cheshire see Appendix 8.

¹³² *Surman's Congregational Ministers Database*, (Dr. William's Library, London)

¹³³ J. G. Bell, *The Cheshire and Lancashire Historical Collector: 1853-54* (Manchester, 1855), Vol. 1, p. 108.

¹³⁴ Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*, p. 204. Walter H. Burgess, *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Vol. 3 (1923), p. 76.

¹³⁵ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 554.

¹³⁶ Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity*, p. lxvi. See also Frederick Powicke, *A History of the Cheshire County Union of Congregational Churches* (Manchester, 1907), p. 274.

¹³⁷ John H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy Under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (Champaign, IL, 1978), p. 23.

the 205 parishes with 155 rectories, 76 vicarages and fourteen perpetual curacies, thirty-one parishes had sixty-five chapels. Pruitt cites 270 clerical livings.¹³⁸ My research uncovered a total of 290 rectors, vicars, curates and ministers working in Leicestershire between 1660 and 1662. Eighty-six ministers subscribed, and the subscription of three more ministers is likely, but unconfirmed.¹³⁹

Calamy primarily focused on Presbyterians as well as some Congregationalists who were aligned with the Presbyterians. However, the Baptists and Congregationalists in Leicestershire suffered under the same draconian penal laws as the ejected, and therefore should be included as part of a holistic study of the larger picture of Nonconformity. For example, in 1660, the Baptist leaders of congregations in Leicestershire signed the document entitled *A Further Testimony to Truth* declaring their loyalty to the King and requesting mercy and leniency for themselves and their congregations. Approximately forty of these Baptist leaders refused to subscribe or conform. Though these ministers were not ejected, they would still generally be considered as Nonconformists. Many of these Baptist ministers were probably still serving in Leicestershire in 1662.

Calamy would not have recorded the majority of Baptist and Congregational Nonconformists, since they never held parish livings, and were not ejected. However, he also chose not to include, or was not aware of, some Leicestershire Presbyterians. Calamy's oversight can be seen in the following examples. George Brotherhood was ejected from Thornton, yet was licensed at the same place as both a Presbyterian and a Baptist.¹⁴⁰ Brotherhood was not mentioned by either Calamy or his later editors. John Grace was ejected from a sequestered rectory at Rearsby, and records indicate he was still preaching there in 1669 as a Presbyterian.¹⁴¹ After his ejection he farmed in Staffordshire and ministered at Shenstone and Rugely until he was forced to move due to the Five Mile Act. Grace was licensed as a Presbyterian at Rugely. His ecclesiastical identity was further complicated by his familial relation to Archbishop Sheldon, who later took care of two of the rector's children.¹⁴² Grace's standing as an ejected Nonconformist has been challenged by John and Thomas Spencer who declared Grace to be a subscriber.¹⁴³ It is possible that Grace may have been ejected by the incumbent from Rearsby, though perhaps he remained with the Church of England for a while. Another example is found in the records of Matthew Leadbeater, who was

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

¹³⁹ See Appendix 9.

¹⁴⁰ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, pp. 756, 769.

¹⁴¹ Gordon, *Freedom from Ejection*, p. 274. See also John and Thomas Spencer, *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries and Antiquarian Gleaner* (London, 1892), Vol. 1, p. 92.

¹⁴² Gordon, *Freedom from Ejection*, p. 274; Spencer, *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes*, p. 92.

¹⁴³ Gordon, *Freedom from Ejection*, p. 274; Spencer, *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes*, p. 92.

ordained by the Wirksworth Classis and was ejected from Hinckley. He was later licensed as a Presbyterian at Sandbach, Cheshire, and he also had private congregations in Wirral and Hermitage.¹⁴⁴ John Sheffield, another minister not listed by Calamy, was ejected from Ibstocke or Stoke Golding and licensed at Upper Kibworth.¹⁴⁵ In addition, Edmund Spencer was ejected from the rectory of Gumley, Leicestershire, and later preached as a Congregational minister around 1680 in Leicester. Once again, Spencer was not listed by the Calamy historians or his later editors. Only a few of the ejected and other Nonconformist ministers in Leicester filed for licenses in 1672, yet it is evident that the majority of those who filed identified themselves as Presbyterian. However, some identity sliding among the examples provided is evident.

Nonconformity in East Anglia (1662-1672)

Some examples of ministers who served in East Anglia, but were not listed by Calamy include Edmund Brome Sr., who was ejected from Southreppes in 1662.¹⁴⁶ After ejection, he chose to exercise his ministry in private amongst his former parishioners. Brome died in 1667. John Browne described him as a moderate excellent preacher.¹⁴⁷ Another minister not listed by Calamy was Andrew Chaplin (Chaplyn), the son of the previous minister at Hessett, Norfolk who died in 1662, and was ejected from his ministry before February, 1663. Chaplin had signed the 'Petition of the Suffolk Ministers to the House of Peers concerning Church Government as a Presbyterian' on 29 May 1646, with his father. No record has been found that Chaplin applied for a license in 1672.¹⁴⁸ Andrew is not listed by Calamy, Palmer or Matthews.

In another example, Alexander Gordon mentioned Henry Collett who was ejected from Claydon, Suffolk and was licensed as a Congregationalist in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire in 1662, yet was not mentioned by Calamy or either of his later editors.¹⁴⁹ Collett was likely the son of

¹⁴⁴ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, p. 789.

¹⁴⁵ Gordon, *Freedom from Ejection*, p. 350.

¹⁴⁶ Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 300. See also Herbert Arthur Doubleday, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1906), Vol. 2, p. 297.

¹⁴⁷ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp. 77, 555. See also Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 3, p. 10; Surman, Charles E., 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013). <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>. Edmund Bohun, *The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun* (Beccles, 1853), p. 5; Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 300.

¹⁴⁸ Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 607. Signed Petition of the Suffolk Ministers to the House of Peers concerning Church Government 29 May 1646 'House of Lords Journal Volume 8: 29 May 1646', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 8, 1645-1647* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 337-339 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol8/pp337-339> [accessed 24 February 2015].

¹⁴⁹ Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 240; Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 596.

Philologus Collett (d. 1648) and brother of Benjamin, Bridget, Dorcas, and Martha.¹⁵⁰ Pastor John Collins was also not mentioned by Palmer and Matthews, but was nonetheless ejected from Haddiscoe and Toft Monkes in Norfolk.¹⁵¹ Neither Palmer nor Matthews mention as well an Edmund Duncan, who was ejected from Wood Dalling, Suffolk. Walker claimed him, but erroneously, according to Browne who stated that the parish position was vacant in March 1662 due to an earlier ejection.¹⁵² Duncan, an alumni of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and the son of Eleazer, was probably replaced in 1660. He was ordained priest in 1630 and was first vicar at Wood Dalling and rector at Swannington, Norfolk in the 1650s. John Venn stated that Duncan later conformed, as he was the rector at Friern Barnet, Middlesex, from 1663-1673, where he died at the age of seventy-two.¹⁵³ Duncan's later conformity could be why Walker claimed him as a subscriber.

G. Lyon Turner stated that Mathyas Elsegood was ejected from Oxwick, Norfolk and later licensed as a householder there as a Baptist and Congregational in 1672.¹⁵⁴ Gordon also wrote that Edward Fenwick was ejected from All Saints', King's Lynn, Norfolk, and was later licensed there as a Presbyterian.¹⁵⁵ In Norfolk, three brothers with the surname Shipdam ministered in Pattisley and Necton. Matthews and Calamy recorded the Shipdam ministers as Israel and Isaiah, but failed to list Esdras at Pattisley.¹⁵⁶ All three men were licensed as Independents, with Isaiah applying for both a Congregationalist and a Presbyterian license. A close comparison of their very brief biographical information makes it clear that Esdras was a different individual than his other two brothers.¹⁵⁷

Conclusion

Although Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Narrative*, Samuel Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, and A. G. Matthews' *Calamy Revised* are not all-inclusive in their account of ejected Nonconformist ministers, Calamy's histories, in particular, prove useful for Nonconformist historians for numerous reasons. Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Narrative* can be considered a primary source in comparison to other Nonconformist histories. Furthermore, it holds the prestige of being quoted, sometimes verbatim, in local histories, biographies, political histories,

¹⁵⁰ Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* (Exeter, 1908), Vol. 2, p. 354.

¹⁵¹ Browne, *History of Congregationalism*, p. 592.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 595.

¹⁵³ John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 2011), Vol. 1, p. 74.

¹⁵⁴ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 2, pp. 558-559. See also Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 298.

¹⁵⁵ Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, p. 298.

¹⁵⁶ Browne, *History of Congregationalism*, p. 593. The Norfolk parish is Tittleshall cum Godwick and Pattisley.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 593; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 440; Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 3, p. 6; Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2, p. 196.

and social histories. The *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Narrative* still remains the most extensive source history to date for many Nonconformist ministers. Calamy's research has served to enlighten generations of historians regarding the lives of ejected ministers, taking account of the education, character as well as the suffering of the individual ministers, their family ties, and their biographical information. Calamy believed that the purpose of his books was to encourage not only those readers in his own age but students in the future. He wanted to bequeath a book that provided a legacy for future Dissenters and ensure that the ejected ministers and their exemplary lives would not be forgotten.

Calamy also serves as a starting point in the effort of tracking the identities of the Nonconformist clergy beyond their rudimentary positions of Nonconformity or Dissent. In addition, Calamy meticulously noted in his biographies any minister whose self-identity varied from that of Presbyterian. Nonetheless, the careful historian who desires to gain a more accurate rendering of Nonconformist ejected clergy should be aware of Calamy's research methods and his reasons for including certain ministers in his listing while intentionally excluding others. One must subsequently evaluate Calamy's numbers by leveraging new methods of research and employing advanced technologies so as to understand more completely how the Act of Uniformity served as a catalyst to conjoin not only Presbyterians, but Congregationalists, and Baptists as well during the Restoration years.

Chapter 7

Evidence of Rapprochement in the 1672 Licenses

Chapter Seven is an examination and comparison of two primary sources of ministerial ecclesiastical identification, that of the 1669 Episcopal Returns or “Census” and that of the 1672 ministerial licenses. In addition, I will undertake an explanation of how G. Lyon Turner located and recorded ministerial licenses in his registry, and how the licenses were originally requested, received and recorded. Finally, using a small sample of ministers from my ministerial database, I will discuss the potential shifting of Nonconformist ministerial identities.

In 1665 and 1669 Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon ordered a count of all those Nonconformists ministering in conventicles within the boundaries of England. G. Lyon Turner, editor of *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* examined these census records and compiled a more readily accessible record of these returns. Although the 1665 census records are of little use, as very few original records have been preserved, the 1669 census records provide valuable geographical information about the ministers and their conventicles.¹ However, relying on the 1669 census records alone to tally the number of active ministers in 1669 and their ecclesiastical identities is ill advised.

G. Lyon Turner’s Methodology

G. Lyon Turner spent years working on organising the license data and recording ministerial identities on those licenses. He shared that as he examined the information, he found himself surrounded by small scraps of paper, representing signed license requests, as well as second party license requests. Turner related that the licensing documents that he studied came in miscellaneous sizes and shapes. Some were so small that two or three would fit on a single sheet of paper while others were two or three pages in length. The majority of the licenses were applied for by the minister. Some were signed and dated, while others had no signature or date. Some were delivered at Whitehall by messenger while others were sent to the Treasurer or the Chief of Secretaries of State office. In certain cases, applications contained a list of men needing licenses.

The licenses offer to historians an accurate identification of thousands of first, second and third generation ministers in 1672, and provide tangible evidence that Nonconformist clerical identities were not static between 1662 and 1672. Turner considered the license and census records

¹ G. Lyon Turner, “Of the 1665 Returns (very few which are preserved) I printed only those reporting Nonconformist physicians and schoolmasters, or the whereabouts and attitude of ministers ejected in 1662.” *Original Records*, (London, 1911), Vol 1, Preface viii. See also Allan Brickett, *Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650-1875* (Manchester, 1962), p. 26.

to be a valuable source of data, when compiled with other documentation, and added depth to the information already known of the ejected ministers. He writes:

Of the ministers ejected in 1662, facts may be gathered here, and at first hand, which are not to be found elsewhere. Where these grand men were, and what was the character and extent of their active service, in the years 1665, 1669, and 1672, is given us in these documents on evidence no one can gainsay. And a multitude of stalwart Nonconformists, women as well as men, are here brought to light, whose deeds should be preserved and whose memories should be cherished as the true Peerage of Stuart Puritanism, the genuine aristocracy of Nonconformity.²

Turner pointed out that his task of organising these records was not an easy one as revisions and corrections “almost without end” were necessary when errors and omissions were found, even at the last moment, before the work was sent to press. This sentiment I can empathise with greatly. The work of organising the known records of Nonconformist ministers is indeed a lifelong task. However, Turner listed the names of the ministers by the city locations of their homes or ministries. He placed the men in his records into two categories of Teacher and Householder. On many occasions, the Householder served also as Teacher. These men are then arranged geographically by shire names. Turner divided the ministers into four categories: Presbyterians, Congregationalists or Independents, Baptists or Anabaptists, and lastly Quakers, according to information on each license. He also noted the Roman Catholics or Papists as needed. After sorting out the licenses by self-asserted identities, Turner then organised the licenses from each city under a denominational header, and then listed the ministerial names associated with each individual license. By organising in this way, Turner wrote that “The chaos of names in the original documents has thus been reduced to an intelligible order in the Classified Summary”.³

Turner shared his desire to complete such extensive work so as to make “many of those named in these Volumes live again as leaders of an exceeding great army of spiritual champions of Truth and Liberty”,⁴ a purpose similar to that of Calamy. Turner also pointed out that his research uncovered unexpected information, something that is bound to happen when details are compared with details. One such surprising discovery appears to be the differentiation between what the congregations called their leaders and what the bishops called the Nonconformist leaders. In the license documents, and petitions, the leaders are called ministers and pastors, while the Episcopal bishops called the leaders teachers or preachers. In Turner’s estimation, the Episcopal assigned identities were meant to demean the calling of the Nonconformist ministers.⁵

² Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 1, p. xiv.

³ Ibid, p. xviii.

⁴ Ibid, p. xiv.

⁵ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 3, p. 31.

An astute observation Turner shared from the Indulgence documents was the zeal that ministers exhibited by traveling all the way to London from their residence, often far away from London, to file their petitions. The license documents describe as well those Nonconformist citizens in London who were willing to travel to Lord Arlington's office to file for licenses for their friends and acquaintances in the country. However these discoveries of apparent "friendship" may need to be tempered by what appears to be professional couriers who charged the ministers to file their petitions. Valuable as well, according to Turner, are the names of the cities and places mentioned in the licenses since some of these sites no longer exist. Yet another advantage gained by examining these documents is the identification of the Nonconformist peerage who supported these Nonconformist ministers. Though this thesis does not examine closely those names, such a study is worthy.

1669 Episopal Return Analysis

One set of documents Turner closely examined was the 1669 Episcopal Returns. As helpful as the Returns are for geographical data, it is dangerous for one to assume that all the Nonconformist ministers are listed within the census Returns. In actuality, the 1669 Returns available to Turner for scrutiny contain approximately 43 percent of the ministers active in their conventicles at the time. Of the approximate 3000 active ministers serving in 1669, the census only recorded the names of 1284 ministers. However, if the census is to be taken alone as the sole indicator of Nonconformist ministerial ecclesiastical identity, Table 7.1 compares the assigned ministerial identity in 1669 to the asserted license identity of 1672, just three years later.

Table 7.1: 1669 Census Accuracy to 1672 Licenses

1669 Census Compared to 1672 Licenses	Percentage of Licensing Data Accuracy to Census Data	CENSUS RECORDS
Census 100 % Match	32%	413
Census Partly Match	14%	176
Census Records Incorrect	9%	116
Census Identity Undeclared	12%	152
1672 Licenses Undetermined	33%	427
TOTALS	100.00%	1284

Sources: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3.

Unfortunately, the census lists 152 ministers under the category of "Nonconformist" which poses problems in determining a precise ecclesiastical identity. Of the 1284 ministers, the bishops seem

to be more accurate than not when assigning an identity to the 701 ministers for which Turner found a 1672 license. It should be noted that the bishops were wrong in identifying the ecclesiastical denomination in one out of five ministers. This margin of error needs to be taken under consideration when using the 1669 census records to definitively identify the ecclesiastical denominational affiliation of these ministers. In addition, I could not determine a license for 427 ministers listed in the 1669 census, thereby making it impossible to make a side-by-side comparison. Table 7.2 provides a statistical comparison of the accuracy of 1669 Returns information with actual 1672 self-asserted licensing information.

Table 7.2: Evaluation of 1669 Census Entries with 1672 Ministerial Licenses Taken

1669 Census Entries Compared to 1672 Licenses	% 1669 Census Entries Compared to 1672 Licenses	Census Records
Entry More Radical than License	12%	160
Entry More Conservative than License	10%	128
Entry Neutral/Same As License	32%	413
Entry Undeclared/License Unavailable	46%	583
TOTALS	100.00%	1284

Sources: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3.

In my analysis, the bishops were correct in their identity determination 32 percent of the time. In the remainder of cases, the bishops were nearly evenly split in their identity determination of ministers whom they consider more radical or more conservative than the 1672 licenses indicated. Significantly the combination of these errors in judgment constitute 22 percent of the total. Unfortunately, forty-five percent of the ministers in the census records cannot be tracked to a 1672 license taken by the same minister. In order to produce a more accurate analysis of the Episcopal census accuracy, many more of the 1672 licenses need to be found. However, this may not be possible if the minister chose not to take out a license in 1672.

In some ways, the 1669 Returns aided the Nonconformist ministers. Under persecution, the Nonconformists shielded from their persecutors both their convictions and their locations. Consequently, the bishops encountered difficulties in gathering information about them. The Episcopal Returns only contain a minimal amount of information about Nonconformist identity and strength for this very reason. Furthermore, the bishops naturally “shut their eyes to much which they might have heard in order to make good their contention that the Nonconformists were a

thoroughly contemptible set-both in numbers and station, and character, and so to comment their ministerial activities to their superiors, as having largely stamped out this accursed pets”.⁶

The Act of Indulgence (1672)

In May, 1670, Archbishop Sheldon sent a letter to his bishops stating his pleasure that the late Act had passed and that he was hopeful for the “peace and settlement of the Church and the uniformity of God’s service in the same way.”⁷ He informed his bishops that it was now their job to help in the enforcement of the Act. They were to call before them all officials, registers, and other ecclesiastical officers and to remind them of their duty before God, the King and the Church. The bishops were to call the parsons, vicars, and curates to appear and consequently remind them that they were to live strict and sober lives and to punish transgressors and encourage parishioners to live orderly lives. They were to do their best to win over all Nonconformists and Dissenters back to obedience to the King’s laws and unity with the church. If that was not possible, the bishops and the clergy were to take notice of all “Nonconformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors of conventicles and unlawful assemblies, under pretence of religious worship, especially of the preachers and teachers in them, and of the place wherein the same are held...”⁸ Locating Nonconformist ministers would have been possible since the bishops retained the names of these Nonconformist ministers and their dissenting parishioners in their census records. The parish clergy were ordered to turn these offenders in to the civil magistrates and justices. If these edicts were obeyed, then the Church would see a return to the parish of many of those that had been deceived into following the seditious and self-serving Nonconformist teachers.

Charles II seemed to betray his Nonconformist ministerial friends again when he ordered all justices to prosecute every offender. He placed soldiers at the disposal of his local officials and authorities. Sutch wrote that

“as a result, conventicles in London and elsewhere throughout the country—some of which had never been touched before—now found their meetings ruthlessly broken up, and their leaders hustled off to jail. In London alone, Sheldon had ‘several meeting houses used illegally by nonconformists for years’ delivered into his hands, and he forthwith appointed orthodox and loyal Anglicans to their pulpits.”⁹

Thus began one of the more intense persecutions in which Sutch quotes Samuel Parker, “it drove the Schismatics to quiet for the time being”.¹⁰ Sutch believed that the King’s action was simply a

⁶ Ibid, p. 28.

⁷ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 3, p. 53.

⁸ Ibid, p. 55.

⁹ Victor Sutch, *Gilbert Sheldon, Architect of Anglican Survival, 1640-1675* (The Hague, 1973), p. 115.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 116. Samuel Parker, *History of His Own Time* (London, 1777), p. 134.

tactic in Charles II's long range plan for a future toleration, which sought to include the Catholics. The Presbyterians in 1667-8 had been reluctant to back such an indulgence. Charles had sent Orlando Bridgman to the Presbyterians to deliver His message that if they wished to have toleration for themselves, they would have to consent to the same for the Papists and Congregationalists. The Presbyterians rejected Charles II's offer so the King decided to teach them a lesson by backing government-endorsed legal prosecution and persecution.¹¹ The King expected full cooperation when next he offered toleration. However, at the same time, He paid one of the Nonconformist ministers 1000 guineas to assist the persecuted ministers that now resided in prison.

It is understandable then, why the Nonconformists would be quite reluctant to file for licenses in 1672. Not only were they justifiably concerned about the legality of the Declaration of Indulgence, but they had learned from former experience what could happen when the State or the Church had in their possession the location of either minister or conventicle.

The 1672 Ministerial Licenses

Under the Indulgence of 1672, the Nonconformists were free to emerge from the shadows and reclaim authority to preach and worship as they chose.¹² John Spurr wrote that "The indulgence was an undoubted turning point in the slow process by which even the most conservative sections of dissent sacrificed their hopes of reunion with the Church and began to look towards toleration as their goal".¹³ In light of this freedom, it is easier to see the strength of Nonconformity as represented in the number of licenses issued. However, Turner pointed out that an examination of the licenses for the purpose of judging Nonconformist strength has limited value. Licenses only represented those who desired to preach and teach and those who sought permission to hold worship services in their own homes. Missing are the significant numbers of congregants to whom the pastors ministered.

Also missing are those who refused to file for a license for whatever reason, including those who believed that no matter how benevolent the King was in granting an indulgence, the power to license, seized by the King, was not worth the benevolence. "Rather than obtain relief by

¹¹ Sutch, *Gilbert Sheldon*, p. 116.

¹² Barbara Shapiro, *John Wilkins, 1614-1672: An Intellectual Biography* (Berkeley, CA, 1969), p. 116; See also J. S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 248; Durso, *No Armor for the Back*, p. 81; Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity*, p. 74; Ira Katznelson, 'Regarding Toleration and Liberalism: Considerations from the Anglo-Jewish Experience', *Religion and the Political Imagination* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 66; N. H. Keeble, 'Attempting Uniformity', *Settling the Peace of the Church: 1662 Revisited*, N. H. Keeble, (ed.) (Oxford, 2014), p. 27; Paul Seaward, 'Shaftesbury and the Royal Supremacy', *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683*, John Spurr (ed.) (Farnham, 2011), p. 63; Malcom Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 244.

¹³ John Spurr, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol. 41 (July 1990), p. 410.

means so unconstitutional as this, many preferred a perpetuation of their disability and suffering under Penal Statutes which, at any rate, were passed by a freely elected Parliament”.¹⁴ Furthermore, a number of Baptists and Independents did not file for licenses because they believed that applying for a license tacitly conceded that the magistrate had the authority to determine matters of religion. In their opinion, only God had that right over His ministers.

Although a fair number of Baptists did choose to file for a license, many chose not to do so. One Baptist minister who did file for a license was Andrew Gifford of Bristol. Gifford’s license, located in a scrapbook during my research visit, is a part of the collection of the Bristol Baptist Archives. Although other sources indicated that Gifford took out a Baptist license,¹⁵ it appears that Gifford applied for a Presbyterian license as well.¹⁶ The Baptist license reads as follows:

We do hereby permit and license Andrew Gifford, of our city Bristol, of the persuasion commonly called Baptists, to be a teacher, and to teach any placed licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration. Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the Twenty-Fifth day of September in the Twelfth year of our reign, 1672. Gifford, a Teacher. “By His Majesty’s Command,(sic) “Arlington.”

¹⁴ Turner, *Original Records*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

¹⁵ George Gould, *Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich*, (Norwich, 1860), p. cxii. Although Gould states Gifford took a Baptist license, he writes, “Andrew Gifford was Pastor of Church meeting in the “Fryers” in Bristol, a Strict Baptist Church, and he too was styled a Presbyterian”. p. cxi. See also Joseph Adshead, *The Progress of Religious Sentiment* (London, 1852), p. xi; Crosby, *A History of the English Baptists*, Vol. 3, p. 154; Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

¹⁶ For the full text of Gifford’s Presbyterian license see Appendix 12.

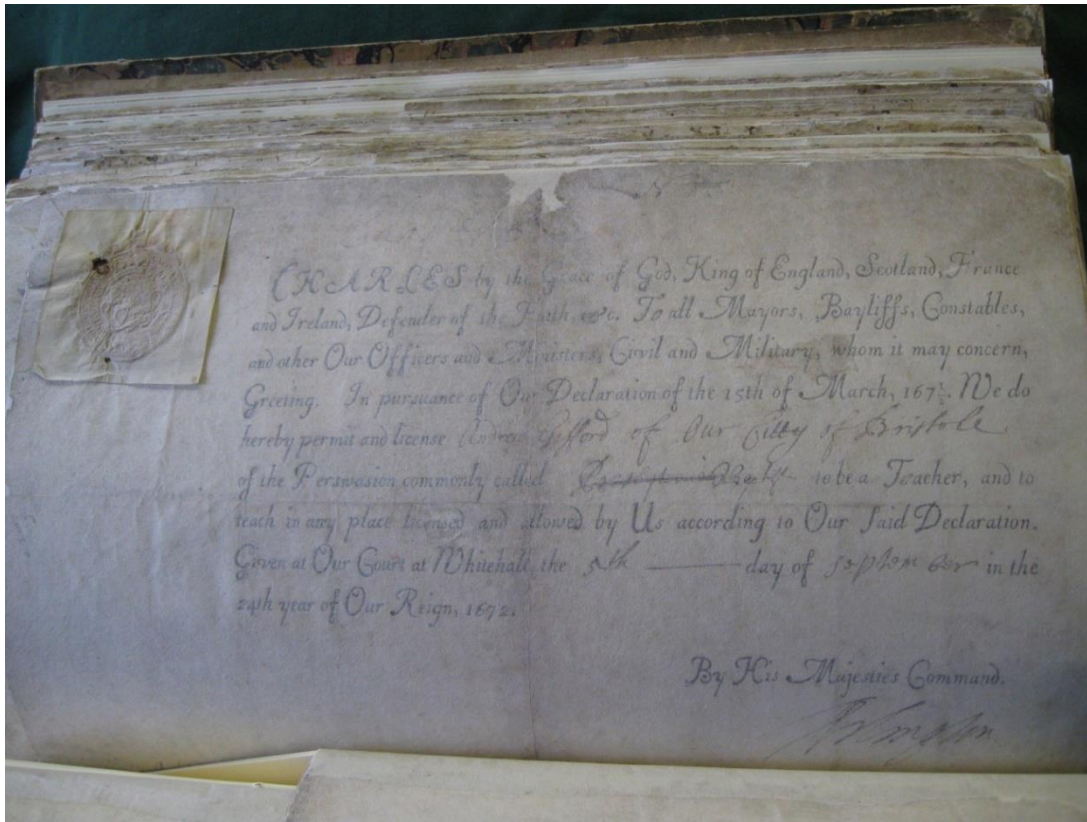


Illustration 7.1: Presbyterian License issued for Andrew Gifford, Bristol, 5 September 1672

The wording of the Presbyterian license in the illustration was similar to that of the Baptist license, and includes a governmental seal, providing good evidence that both of Gifford's licenses were likely authentic. As noted before, it was not uncommon for a minister to take out both a Presbyterian as well as a Baptist license.

Individual Ministerial Licenses

The study of ministerial licenses has historical relevance to the understanding of ministerial identity shifting. However, a license to preach meant that a minister could emerge from hiding and once again publicly serve both his God and his people. In addition several men who had earlier subscribed found the courage to apply for a Nonconformist license. Richard Baxter applied for a license as a Nonconformist¹⁷ but also as a Presbyterian. It was not at all unusual for ministers to apply for a license as a Nonconformist and then as a Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Baptist. Though the Declaration of Indulgence is only mentioned a few times in the diaries of the

¹⁷ Paul Chang-Ha Lim, *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty*, (Leiden, NL, 2004), p. 224.

Nonconformist ministers, receiving their license was for some, a time of celebration. Adam Martindale wrote that the King's license helped

...to cleare my way to doe that which I would have done without it, if I could have beene suffered; being (as I believed) illegally rent from my people by the patron and bishop and that the Papists and all others must have their libertie, whether I would or noe; I resolved to take mine, that I might helpe to counterworke them...¹⁸

Oliver Heywood wrote that on 17 April 1672, he went to Manchester and spent the forenoon in prayer with Mr. Finch and Matthew Newcome before joining with eighteen other ministers to discuss whether it was spiritual and lawful to apply for a license in response to the King's declaration. Their meeting ended in "sweet harmony".¹⁹ Philip Henry wondered about the political machinations involved in the passing and enforcing of the law as well as what the law would do to the church in general. He worried that "the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish-order, which God hath owned, and to beget divisions and animosities among us".²⁰ He wrote that the conformists were displeased, the Presbyterians glad, the independents very glad and the papists triumphant.²¹ Henry believed he had three choices, to turn independent, to join the Conformists or to remain silenced and suffer. He chose to form a congregation that was not "rigid or schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend...upon those administrations which they found most lively and edifying, and most hopeful to them in the great business of working out their salvation".²² In his case, friends in London applied for a license for his house without his knowledge. However, Henry did not seem to object to the license identity.²³ Thomas Manton was part of a delegation that presented a letter of thankfulness to the King on 15 March 1672 for their licenses.²⁴ After Henry Newcome received his license, his congregation built a meeting house for him in Cross Street, Manchester.²⁵

Unfortunately, on 6 February 1674 when his license was recalled, Adam Martindale chose not to continue preaching at his licensed meeting place because he was not going to be accused of sedition. He hoped to live peaceably until the license would be restored. However, if the license was not restored, Martindale feared there would be trouble if he preached without it. In addition, several other ministers he knew had decided to forfeit the option of public preaching, and return to

¹⁸ Martindale, *The Life of Adam Martindale*, R. Parkinson (ed.), p. 198.

¹⁹ Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography* (London, 1882), Vol. 1, p. 289.

²⁰ Matthew Henry, *The Life of Philip Henry* (London, 1825), p. 128.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 128.

²² *Ibid*, p. 133.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 129.

²⁴ Thomas Harley, *Matthew Poole: His Life, His Times, His Contributions* (Bloomington, IN, 2009), p. 60.

²⁵ Henry Newcome, *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.* (Chetham, 1852), p. xiii.

privately conducting their ministries. Furthermore, Martindale's public preaching could impoverish his people, since they would have to raise the funds for his fines. Therefore, he chose to return to private services.²⁶ All across the nation, ministers weighed their options, measured the consequences, and made their decisions as to whether to continue public preaching or return to a private ministry.

Analysis of License Identity Data

The question then remains, did the 1672 licenses present a different picture of the ecclesiastical identities from that of the census returns of 1669? In order to confirm or deny the question, the historian needs to tally Turner's recorded licenses and tabulate the results. However, to document all the licenses would require too many pages in my appendix. On the other hand, to document only the licenses issued within a single shire might skew the results if the shire under study was overly populated with a particular denomination of ministers. Therefore, a smaller sample not focused on a single shire might represent a sense of that new identity. My sample consists only of those licenses granted to ministers whose surnames began with A-D. This kind of sample is large enough to minimise irregularities in the data but small enough to document all significant results. The results of my sample study of ministerial license identities are as follows:

Table 7.3: 1672 Ministerial License Sample: Ministerial Surnames A-D

Total	Total Licenses	A	B	BC	C	CP	I	IC	IP	N	NI	P	PB	PBC	PIC	PN
1583	1134	4	87	21	267	140	3	9	9	1	8	551	26	4	2	2

Sources: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3. Legend: A=Antinomian, B=Baptist, C=Congregationalist, I=Independent, N=Nonconformist, P=Presbyterian

Interestingly, at least thirty of those ministers Calamy listed as not Congregationalists (likely Presbyterians) licensed themselves as Baptists in 1672.²⁷ At least 125 of those who licensed themselves as Congregationalists or Congregational Presbyterians are listed in Calamy as not Congregationalists.²⁸ On the other hand, eight ministers identified as holding Congregational convictions by Calamy licensed themselves as Presbyterian.²⁹ As seen in previous chapters, those

²⁶ Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B. A., 1630-1702*, Vol. 1, p. 304.

²⁷ See Appendix 13.

²⁸ See Appendix 13.

²⁹ The ministerial licences were: Stephen Bayley (Independent/Presbyterian), Thomas Bonner (Congregationalist/ Presbyterian), Robert Brilsworth (Congregationalist), William Butler (Congregationalist), Joseph Cawthorn (Congregationalist/Presbyterian), Isaac Chancy (Congregationalist), Thomas Crompton (Congregationalist/Presbyterian), John Cromwell (Congregationalist).

ministers who took a Presbyterian license still outnumber those who took other licenses or combinations. What is different in this sample is that when the combination licenses are added together, they outnumber the strictly Presbyterian licenses (583/551). This may be a peculiarity associated with my sample and would need to be correlated with other sample studies. However, if the results prove to be similar in other samples in a majority of studies, the trending would seem to indicate that Nonconformist ministers moved from being “core” Presbyterians identified by Calamy to those with different and even multiple ecclesiastical identifications.

Conclusion

Ministerial ecclesiastical identities did not remain static during clerical careers both before and after the Restoration for many reasons. In this thesis, I have attempted to formulate an hypothesis that ministerial identity shifting may be documented and observed amongst the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists between the years 1640 and 1672. Religious identity was critical to the life of a Nonconformist minister because it described their “deepest beliefs about life, the universe and everything”.³⁰ I have defined the term “identity” and have established four categories of identity, (assigned, assumed, asserted, multiple). The label “Nonconformist” has taken on broader implications in light of a closer study of its etymology. In addition, the appellation “minister”, interpreted by its own contextual usage within the confessions of faith, applied to Nonconformist clergy who did not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity or graduate from episcopal universities. In order to demonstrate ecclesiastical identity shifting, it was necessary to document ecclesiastical identification throughout the careers of more than 14,000 ministers at significant historical events. I have explained the methodology used in my compilation of a Nonconformist ministerial database, and have taken into consideration as well the inherent limitations of database and statistical studies.

Once identity shifting was demonstrated by ministerial data analysis, the natural question follows, “What motivated these men to be fluid in their religious affiliation?” Possible motivations included the following: educational influences and networks, common enemies and common friends, ministerial associations, shared career experiences, external persecution, and doctrinal affinity. Biographical examples of ministers whose ecclesiastical identities shifted over the course of their ministries add flesh to the bones of the statistics.

One of the difficulties in establishing identities for Restoration ministers is the reliance on one contemporary author to enumerate and illustrate their lives. I have questioned the accuracy of Edmund Calamy’s number of ejected ministers by providing reasons why Calamy’s methodology is

³⁰ John Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (Chippenham, 2004), p. 172.

problematic, and needs supplemental data from sources beyond Calamy's sphere of knowledge. I have offered reasons why contemporary research is essential in the quest to provide a more accurate rendering of the numbers of ejected ministers, as well as the nature, the strength and composition of Nonconformity in the Restoration period. Challenging the historiography, I have proven that not only were there more Nonconformists than what was commonly assumed, but that the laws passed during the early years of the Restoration intentionally degraded the influence of Nonconformity in general, and the ministers in particular, by the threat of sedition. In addition, assumed and asserted identities remained dynamic throughout the Restoration and ministers frequently collaborated across denominational lines. Another weakness of the historiography is its firm reliance upon Episcopal censuses for ministerial numbers and ecclesiastical identities. I have provided evidence that an overemphasis on the 1669 Episcopal Returns as a fully reliable measure of the identity of Restoration Nonconformist ministers rests on untenable assumptions. The licences of 1672, when compared with earlier primary source asserted identities, prove conclusively that my initial hypothesis that such ecclesiastical ministerial identity shifting did indeed occur. Though a majority of ministers appear to have remained within a Presbyterian identity, movement from a Presbyterian to a Congregationalist or Baptist identity is clearly evident.

Furthermore, evidence gleaned from attestation, classis, confessions of faith, census and license documentation revealed that in the ecclesiastical experience of some Nonconformist ministers, shifting was even more radical, trending from Presbyterian to Quaker. Such findings lead to additional historical questions needing research, including how these men may have networked together after the Restoration, and how instances of cooperation across denominational lines might be further explored. In addition, more data gathering needs to be undertaken to augment my Nonconformist ministerial database from secondary sources yet to be thoroughly researched. I trust that subsequent efforts will allow the initial database to become useable for queries in the research of ministerial networks and in biographical searches on individual ministers as well as inquiries on historic geographical concentrations of Nonconformity during the Restoration.

Appendix Abbreviations

NOTE: In the Appendices, clerical identities for 1669 and 1672 are derived directly from the visitation and license records. Determining whether a minister was ejected is a more difficult endeavour. I have supplemented Calamy by consulting a variety of other sources on 1660-62 listed in detail in Appendix 2. However, my identification of ejections is necessarily more tentative than for 1669 and 1672 because of the problematic and fragmentary nature of some sources. The list of ejected ministers should be treated as provisional rather than definitive and is subject to further research.

For ease of reference, the following abbreviations are used in the ministerial license, educational and identity data tables of the Appendices. Some abbreviations are also provided at the top or end of each table, in each appendix.

Denominational Abbreviations:

B – Baptist	I – Independent
C – Congregationalist	P – Presbyterian
E – Church of England	Q – Quaker

Educational Abbreviations:

BA – Bachelor of Arts	BD – Bachelor of Divinity
MA – Master of Arts	DD – Doctor of Divinity

License Abbreviations:

A – Antinomian	F – Fanatick	NL – No License
B – Baptist	I – Independent	P – Presbyterian
C – Congregationalist	N – Nonconformist	Q – Quaker

Shire Abbreviations:

ENGLAND – BDF (Bedfordshire); BRK (Berkshire); BKM (Buckinghamshire); CAM (Cambridgeshire); CHS (Cheshire); CON (Cornwall); CUL (Cumberland); DBY (Derbyshire); DEV (Devon); DOR (Dorset); DUR (County Durham); ESS (Essex); GLS (Gloucestershire); HAM (Hampshire); HEF (Herefordshire); HRT (Hertfordshire); HUN (Huntingdonshire); KEN (Kent); LAN (Lancashire); LEI (Leicestershire); LIN (Lincolnshire); LND (London); MDX (Middlesex); NFK (Norfolk); NTH (Northamptonshire); NBL (Northumberland); NTT (Nottinghamshire); OXF (Oxfordshire); RUT (Rutland); SAL (Shropshire); SOM (Somerset); STS (Staffordshire); SFK (Suffolk); SRY (Surrey); SSX (Sussex); WAR (Warwickshire); WES (Westmorland); WIL (Wiltshire); WOR (Worcestershire); YKS (Yorkshire)

WALES – AGY (Anglesey); BRE (Breconshire); CAE (Caernarfonshire); CGN (Cardiganshire); CMN (Carmarthenshire); DEN (Denbighshire); FLN (Flintshire); GLA (Glamorgan); MER (Merionethshire); MON (Monmouthshire); MGY (Montgomeryshire); PEM (Pembrokeshire); RAD (Radnorshire)

Technical Abbreviations:

AP – Signed codecil against Presbytery	DEC – Deceased
d. 16XX – Death Year (Example: d. 1666 – died in 1666)	[E] – Ejected [N] – Not Ejected

Appendix 1: Nonconformist/Puritan Ministerial Education by College (1620-1662)

Name/Matriculation|Admission_Yr/BA_Yr/MA_Yr/BD|DD_Yr/[E]jected|[N]ot
Ejected/License|NoLicense|DECeased/Death_Yr

CAMBRIDGE PURITAN COLLEGES	EMMANUEL GRADUATES (1620-1662)
EMMANUEL GRADUATES (1620-1662)	Cawthorn, Edward /1629/1634/1637/ / [N]/DEC/ d.1664
Ainsworth, William /1622/ / / / [N]/DEC/d.1671	Chadwick, Daniel /1642/1645/ / [E]/C/d.?
Allen, John /1629/1632/ / / [N]/NL/ d.1695	Chadwick, Joseph /1651/1655/ / [E]/P/d.1690
Alliston, Matthew /1629/ / / / [E]/NL/d.1693	Charnock, Stephen /1642/1646/ / [E]/NL/d.1680
Ambrose, (?) / / / / [E]/?/ d.?	Church, Joseph /1647/1648/1652/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1671
Ames, William Jr. /1638/1641/ / / [E]/CP/d.1689	Churchill, Joshua / / / / [E]/C/ d.1693
Anderton, Philip /1646/1650/1655/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1669	Clark, Samuel Sr. / / / / [E]/NL/d.1672
Angier, John Jr. /1647/ / / / [E]/NL/ d.1673	Cleland, Benjamin /1618/1622/ / [E]/NL/d.1676
Angier, John Sr. /1622/1625/ / / [E]/CP/ d.1677	Clopton, William /1631/1634/1637/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1670
Arthur, John /1629/1632/1636/ / [E]/?/d.?	Coates, Samuel Sr. /1634/1637/ / [E]/P/d.1683
Ashe, Simeon / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1662	Collinges, John /1639/1642/1653BD,1658DD/[E]/P/d.1690
Aynsworth, William /1622/ / / / [N]/B/d.1671	Cradock, Samuel /1637/1641/1651BD/[E]/P/d.1706
Bachiler, John /1632/1635/1639/ / [E]/?/d.?	Creswick, James /1635/1639/1642/ / [E]/NL/ d.1692
Bacon, Francis / /1619/1623/1634BD/ / [N]/?/ d.?	Crompton, John / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1669
Bacon, Isaac /1660/ / / / [E]/C/d.1698	Crump, John /1650/ / / [E]/DEC/d.1667
Baker, Joseph /1647/1647/1651/ / [E]/DEC/d.1668	Day, James / / / / [N]/BC/d.?
Baldock, Samuel /1614/1617/1621/ / [N]/DEC/ d.1668	Dod, Timothy /1612/1615/1619/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1665
Bantoffe, Samuel /1638/1642/1645/ / [E]/P/d.1692	Doughty, Samuel /1637/1640/1644/ / [E]/P/ d.1679
Basnett, Samuel /1644/1648/1651/ / [E]/DEC/d.1666	Eccleshall, Joseph /1650/1653/ / [E]/P/d.1692
Beck, George Jr. /1653/1656/1660/ / [N]/?/d.?	Eeles, Nathaniel / / / / [E]/C/ d.1678
Bedford, Isaac /1634/1638/1641/ / [E]/I/d.1672	Ellis, Humphrey / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1676
Bedford, James /1643/1646/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1680	Ellisson, Matthew /1642/ / / [E]/NL/d.1695
Benton, Jeremy /1634/1638/1641/ / [E]/?/ d.?	Emlyn, Thomas / / / / [N]/NL/d.1745
Bidbanke, William /1650/1655/1659/ / [E]/C/d.1693	Everard, Hugh / / / / [E]/DEC/d.1667
Blower, Joshua /1631/1633/1637/ / [N]/?/d.?	Fairclough, John / / / / [E]/P/ d.?
Booker, James /1654/1654/1658/ / [E]/?/d.?	Fairclough, Richard / / / / [E]/P/d.1682
Bourn, Samuel / / / / [E]/B/d.1719	Fairclough, Samuel Jr. /1644/1646/1650/ / [E]/C/ d.1691
Breres, John /1621/1624/1628/ / [N]/?/ d.?	Fincher, Richard /1647/1650/ / / [E]/CP/ d.1692
Briars, John /1620/1625/1628/ / [E]/I/d.1696	Fisher, James /1622/1625/1629/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1667
Bridge, William /1619/1622/1626/ / [E]/DEC/d.1670	Fisher, James /1625/1627/1631/ / [E]/CP/ d.1691
Bridges, Samuel /1627/ / / / [E]/P/d.?	Fownes, George / / / / [E]/C/ d.1685
Brinsley, John /1615/1619/1623/ / [E]/DEC/d.1665	Franklyn, Robert / / / / [E]/P/ d.?
Brinsley, Robert /1653/1657/1660/ / [E]/B/d.?	Gibbon, John / / / / [E]/P?/d.?
Brooks, Thomas /1625/ / / / [E]/C/d.1680	Gilson, Thomas /1645/ / / / [E]/P/d.1680
Bryan, Jarvis /1640/1643/ / [E]/P/d.1689	Goldam, Thomas /1640/1643/1647/ / [N]/P/ d.1691
Bryan, John Dr. /1620/1626/1645BD,1651DD/[E]/P/d.1675	Golding, Bartholomew /1614/1617/1621/ / [E]/NL/d.1678
Bryan, John, Jr. /1644/ / / [E]/NL/d.1699	Goodwin, Richard /1632/1635/1639/ / [N]/P/ d.1685
Bull, Daniel /1647/1649/ / [E]/P/d.1697	Gurnall, William /1632/1635/1639/ / [N]/P/d.?
Bunn, John / / / / [E]/C/ d.1691	Habergam, Samuel /1641/1644/1648/ / [E]/P/d.?
Burwell, Jeremiah /1644/1648/[E]/ /B/d.?	Harris, Malachi / /1626/1630/1637BD,1660DD/[N]/NL/ d.1684
Bushnell, John /1640/ / / [E]/NL/d.1679	

Nonconformist/Puritan Ministerial Education by College - 2 (1620-1662)

Name/Matriculation|Admission_Yr|BA_Yr|MA_Yr|BD|DD_Yr|[E]jected|[N]ot
Ejected/License|NoLicense|DECeased/Death_Yr

EMMANUEL GRADUATES (1620-1662)	EMMANUEL GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Hayhurst, Bradley /1629/1632/ / / [E]/NL/d.1685	Tristram, Andrew /1647/ / / / [E]/P/d.1682
Higginson, Francis / / / / [E]/NL/d.1673	Tuckney, Anthony /1613/1616/1620/ / [E]/DEC/d.1669
Hildersham, Samuel / / /1616/1623BD/[E]/NL/ d.1674	Venning, Ralph /1643/1646/1650/ / [E]/CP/d.1673
Hulse, Edward /1656/1656/1660/ / [E]/NL/ d.1711	Walker, Thomas / / / / [E]/P/ d.?
Illingworth, James /1645/1648/1652/1659BD/[E]/P/ d.1695	Ward, Joseph /1629/1632/1636/ / [N]/?/ d.?
Jacomb, Thomas / / / / [E]/P/d.1687	Warren, Thomas /1634/1635/1639/ / [N]/P/ d.1693
Janeway, William Sr. /1623/1626/1630/ / [N]/?/d.?	Watson, Thomas /1635/1638/1642/ / [E]/NL/ d.1685
Jordan, John /1645/1649/ / / [E]/P/d.?	Whitaker, William / / / / [E]/P/ d.1672
Leigh, Peter /1645/1647/1653/ / [E]/P/d.1693	Whitlock, John /1642/1645/1649/ / [E]/P/ d.1708
Lomax, John /1650/1653/1657/ / / [E]/PIC/ d.1694	Wickins, William / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1699
Malkinson, William / / / / [E]/P/d.?	Wightwick, John /1646/1649/ / / [E]/P/ d.?
Manning, John /1634/1637/1641/ / [E]/C/d.1694	Williams, Peter / / / / [E]/P/d.1680
Manning, Samuel Jr. /1631/1633/1637/ / [E]/C/d.1698	
Marshall, Stephen /1615/1620/1624/1629BD/[E]/DEC/d.1655	MAGDALENE GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Meadowes, John /1639/1643/ / / [E]/P/d.1696	Bartlet, John Jr. / / / / [E]/CP/ d.?
Nott, John /1642/1646/1650/ / [E]/P/d.1702	Beck, George /1625/1629/1632/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1666
Orlebar, Matthew /1657/1661/ / / [E]/P/d.?	Bell, William Sr. /1623/1626/1630/ / [E]/P/ d.1683
Ottiwell, Joseph /1651/ / / / [N]/?/ d.?	Benton, Thomas Sr. /1652/ / / / [E]/C/ d.1690
Oxenbridge, John /1625/ /1631/ / [E]/NL/ d.1674	Bingham, John / /1631/1636/ / [N]/C/ d.1688
Park, Robert /1615/1618/1622/ / [E]/P/ d.1668	Burnam, Nathaniel /1652/ /1626/ / [E]/P/ d.?
Parkin, James /1631/1633/1637/ / [E]/?/d.?	Coleman, Henry / / / /1631BD/[E]/?/ d.?
Polweil, Theophilus /1644/ /1651/ / [E]/C/ d.1689	Crodacott, John /1641/1645/ / / [E]/?/ d.?
Pool, Matthew /1645/1648/1652?/ / [E]/NL/d.1679	Cromwell, John / /1652/1656/ / [E]/P/ d.1685
Poole, Ralph /1632/1635/1639/ / [E]/DEC/d.1661	Davis, John / / / / [E]/C/ d.1676
Postlethwaite, Walter /1643/1646/ / / [E]/?/d.?	Drake, Michael /1639/ / / / [E]/P/ d.1696
Prigg, Nicholas /1634/1637/1641/ / [E]/?/d.?	Eaton, Samuel / /1624/1628/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1664
Ranew, Nathaniel /1617/1620/1624/ / [E]/P/d.1672	Eyre, Daniel / / /1618/1622BD/[E]/?/ d.?
Rathband, William /1643/1646/ / / [E]/P/ d.1695	Hammond, Samuel / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1666
Raymond, Henry / / /1623/ / [E]/P/ d.?	Hill, Joseph / / /1651/1660BD/[E]/NL/ d.1701
Reynolds, William /1641/1644/1648/ / [E]/CP/d.1698	Hill, Richard / / / / [N]/IC/ d.?
Sadler, John /1631/1634/1638/ / [E]/NL/d.1674	Holdsworth, Joseph / /1629/ / / [E]/C/ d.1677
Sadler, Richard /1637/ / / / [E]/P/d.1675	Leighton, John /1651/ / / / [E]/P/ d.1699?
Simes, William /1619/1622/1626/ / [E]/DEC/d.1669	Mansfield, Nathaniel / /1647/1654/ / [E]/P/ d.1708
Slater, Samuel /1645/1647/1658/ / [E]/P/ d.1704	Tallents, Francis / / /1640/1645BD/[E]/NL/ d.1708
Snowden, Benjamin /1642/1645/ / / [E]/P/d.1696	Tallents, Philip / /1651/1654/ / [E]/PB/ d.1704
Spurstow, William /1623/1626/ / / [E]/DEC/d.1666	Whitaker, Robert / /1661/ / / [E]/P/ d.1717
St. Nicholas, John /1619/ / / / [E]/P/d.1698	Wood, John / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1692
Sterry, Peter /1629/1633/1637/ / [E]/CP/d.1672	
Talbot, James / /1661/ / / [E]/DEC/ d.1665	
Taylor, Edmund / /1647/1651/ / [E]/P/d.1715	
Towner, George /1651/1654/1659/ / [E]/C/d.1685	

Nonconformist/Puritan Ministerial Education by College - 3 (1620-1662)

Name/Matriculation|Admission_Yr|BA_Yr|MA_Yr|BD|DD_Yr|[E]jected|[N]ot
Ejected/License|NoLicense|DECeased/Death_Yr

SIDNEY SUSSEX GRADUATES (1620-1662)	OXFORD PURITAN COLLEGES
Alford, Robert /1619/1623/ / / [E]/C/ d.?	NEW INN GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Allen, Thomas / / / / [E]/?/ d.?	Addington, Richard /1637/1641/ / / [N]/P/ d.?
Ansell, Reginald /1616/1619/1623/ / [N]/NL/ d.1679	Alleine, William /1631/1634/1637/ / [E]/P/ d.1667
Bacon, W. (William?) /1630/ / / / [N]/?/ d.?	Allen, Richard / / / /1633BD/[N]/NL/ d.1681
Barcroft, Hugh /1620/1623/1627/1634BD,1660DD/[E]/C/ d.?	Avery, William /1638/1642/ / / [N]/?/ d.?
Benlows, Thomas /1647/1650/1654/ / [E]/P/ d.1706	Babb, Robert / /1641/1644/ / [N]/?/ d.?
Blackerby, Samuel / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1674	Bailey, William /1621/1624/1640/ / [E]/C/ d.1672
Calamy, Edmund II /1651/1655/ / / [E]/CP/ d.1685	Baker, John / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1685
Calvert, Thomas /1622/1626/1629/ / [E]/NL/ d.1679	Ballard, Henry /1641/ / / / [E]/?/ d.?
Cockaine, George /1636/1640/ / / [E]/CP/ d.1691	Ballum, John (?) /1635/1639/1642/ / [E]/?/ d.?
Donne, John / / / / [E]/C/ d.1691	Barston, John /1652/1656/ / / [E]/PB/ d.1701
Elwood, John /1648/1652/1656/ / [E]/?/ d.?	Bartlet, John /1650/ / / / [E]/NL/ d.1679
Gibbs, Samuel / / / / [N]/NL/ d.1684	Bartlet, William /1631/ / / / [E]/CP/ d.1682
Leaver, Robert /1642/ / / / [E]/CP/ d.1690	Barton, Nathaniel /1634/1638/1641/1649BD/[E]/CP/ d.1700
Moxon, George / / / / [E]/CP/ d.1687	Bates, William /1641/1644/1648/1661D/[E]/CP/ d.1699
Negus, Strickland / / / /1640BD/[E]/C/ d.1692	Batt, John /1631/1635/1640/ / [E]/P/ d.1684
Perrot, Richard / /1648/1652/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1691	Batten, Richard / / /1653/ / [E]/P/ d.?
Pickering, Robert / / /1659/ / [E]/C/ d.1680	Baxter, Stephen /1635/1639/1642/ / [E]/NL/ d.1682
Rand, Richard /1645/1647/ / / [E]/C/ d.?	Baynard, John / /1616/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1678
Resbury, Richard /1625/1629/1633/ / [N]/C/ d.1674	Biscoe, John /1623/1627/ / / [E]/C/ d.1679
Robinson, Joseph /1649/ 1652/1659/ / [E]/NL/ d.1672	Blinman, Richard /1635/1636/ / / [E]/NL/d.1681
Rowlet, John / /1644/1647/ / [E]/P/ d.1675	Brinley, Samuel / /1642/ / / [N]/P/ d.1695
Ryther, John / / / / [E]/C/ d.1681	Browne, Edward /1638/1642/ / / [E]/PB/ d.1682
Scortwreth, George /1628/1631/1635/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1659	Burges, Daniel Sr. /1634/1635/1638/ / [E]/NL/d.1679
Scurr, Leonard / / /1652/ / [E]/NL/ d.1680	Burt, William / / / / [N]/NL/ d.1679
Searle, Henry /1633/1636/1640/ / [E]/CP/ d.?	Charman, Stephen / / / / [E]/?/ d.?
Seyliard, Thomas / /1635/1638/ / [E]/B/ d.?	Charman, Stephen Jr. / /1671/1671/ / [E]/P/ d.?
Sherborn, Robert / / /1655/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1671	Clare, Ambrose /1634/1635/ / / [E]/CP/ d.?
Stables, Samuel / / / / [E]/P/ d.?	Coles, Edmund / / / / [N]/NL/ d.1692
Swinhow, George /1631/1634/1638/ / [E]/P/ d.1705	Collier, Abel /1650/1653/ / / [E]/C/ d.1695
Taylor, Michael /1647/1650/ / / [E]/P/ d.1705	Cooper, Richard /1627/1630/1633/ / [E]/P/ d.?
Thorne, George /1640/1643/1647/ / [N]/?/ d.?	Cope, Joseph /1642/ / / / [E]/P/ d.1704
Thorp, Richard /1654/1657/1661/ / [E]/CP/ d.1716	Cornish, Henry /1631/1634/1637/1648BD,1649DD/[E]/P/ d.1698
Ward, Ralph / /1650/1654/ / [E]/C/ d.1691	Cuffley, Francis / / /1624/ / [E]/?/ d.?
Warren, John / /1644/1648/ / [E]/C/ d.1696	Danson, Thomas / / / / [N]/P/ d.1694
Watts, Henry /1645/1647/1651/ / [E]/P/ d.1690	Day, (?) / / / / [E]/?/ d.?
Wheeler, James /1644/1647/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1681	Devenish, John / / /1635/1637BD/[E]/P/ d.?
Wildbore, John /1647/1651/ / / [E]/?/ d.?	Doddridge, John /1638/ / / / [E]/P/ d.1689
	Facy, Lewis /1655/ /1658?/ / [E]/P/ d.1702
	Fido, John / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1664
	Flower, John / / / / [E]/P/ d.?

Nonconformist/Puritan Ministerial Education by College - 4 (1620-1662)

Name/Matriculation|Admission_Yr|BA_Yr|MA_Yr|BD|DD_Yr|[E]jected|[N]ot
Ejected/License|NoLicense|DECeased/Death_Yr

NEW INN GRADUATES (1620-1662)	NEW INN GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Forward, Thomas /1631/1631/ / / [N]/P/ d.1687	Votier, James /1639/ / / / [E]/P/ d.?
Galpine, John Sr. / / /1658/ / [N]/P/ d.1698	Wells, Samuel /1632/1633/ / / [E]/P/ d.1678
Goddard, Philip /1636/1640/ / / [N]/NL/ d.1686	Wheatley, Thomas /1638/1642/ / / [E]/P/ d.1698
Harston, John / /1656/ / / [N]/NL/ d.1701	Yeo, William /1634/1637/ / / [E]/P/ d.1699
Hathway, John / / / / / [E]/P/ d.?	
Herring, John Jr. /1662/ / / / [E]/B/ d.?	MAGDALEN GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Hooke, Richard /1632/1635/1641/ / [E]/CP/ d.1679	Allen, James /1649/1652/1654/ / [E]/C/ d.1710/ Hall
Hopkins, George /1637/1641/1648/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1666	Antrobus, Robert / /1631/1633/ / [N]/?/ d. / College
Hughes, William /1634/1638/1640/ / [N]/C/ d.1687	Arderne, Thomas /1630/1630/1632/ / [N]/?/ d. / Hall
Jeanes, Henry /1626/ / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1662	Ashley, William / / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1695/ Hall
Jephcot, Jonathan /1627/ / / / [E]/NL/ d.1673	Ashurst, James / / / / / [E]/P/ d.1679/College
Kirby, Joshua /1634/1637/1640/ / [E]/CP/ d.1676	Aspin, Thomas /1623/1630/ / / [N]/?/ d.?
Kyltly, Edward /1651/1654/1657/ / [E]/P/ d.1701	Atterbury, Francis /1620/1623/1626/ / [E]/?/ d. / Hall
Lawrence, George /1634/1636/1639/ / [N]/NL/ d.1691?	Averie, Richard / /1656/ /1659/[E]/NL/ d.1679/College
Lloyd, (?) / / / / / [E]/B/ d.?	Aynscomb, Thomas /1623/1626/ / / [N]/DEC/ d.1668/ Hall
Lockyer, Nicholas /1631/1633/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1684	Babb, Thomas /1657/ / / / [E]/?/ d. / College
Luffe, John /1634/1637/1639/ / [E]/CP/ d.?	Baden, Thomas /1653/1656/ / / [N]/NL/ d.1673/ Hall
Malbon, Samuel /1651/1651/ / / [E]/DEC/ d.1670	Bainbridge, Richard / / /1640/ / [N]/?/ d.?
Millward, John /1637/1641/ / / [E]/P/ d.1684	Banger, Josiah /1645/1648/1651/ / [E]/P/ d.1691/College
Morland, Thomas / / /1637/ / [N]/?/ d.?	Banning, Thomas /1632/1634/ / / [N]/?/ d. / Hall
Oglander, John / / / / / [N]/P/ d.?	Barnard, Samuel /1607/1610/1613/1621BD,1639DD/[N]/DEC/ d.1657/College
Osborne, John /1635/ / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1665?	Barnes, Joseph /1632/1634/1637/ / [N]/DEC/ d.1671/ Hall
Paine, John /1634/1636/1638/ / [E]/P/ d.?	Barnsdale, John /1635/1639/1642/ / [E]/NL/ d.1680/ Hall
Parsons, William / / / / / [N]/DEC/ d.1671	Baron, James / / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1683/College
Paston, Edward /1635/1639/1642/ / [E]/?/ d.?	Bateman, John /1652/1656/ / / [E]/?/ d.?
Payne, John /1634/1636/1638/ / [E]/P/ d.?	Baylie, Thomas / / /1604/1607BD,1621DD/[E]/DEC/ d.1663
Penwarden, Richard / / /1648/ / [E]/?/ d.?	Baynard, Abdiel /1623/1625/ / / [N]/P/ d.1669
Pinney, Robert /1656/ / / / [E]/NL/ d.1698?	Beale, William /1624/1628/1632/ / [E]/CP/ d.1679/ Hall
Rogers, Christopher / / / / / [E]/C/ d.?	Benson, George /1636/ / / / [E]/IP/ d.1692
Rood, Onesiphorus /1637/1641/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1712	Bicknel, William /1651/1655/1657/ / [E]/PB/ d.1696/ Hall
Rowe, Thomas / / /1657/ / [E]/P/ d.?	Birkett, John / / /1648/ / [E]/P/ d.1685/College
Sacheverell, John /1632/1636/ / / [E]/DEC/ d.1665	Blower, Samuel /1649/1652/1654/ / [E]/C/ d.1701/College
Safford, Thomas / /1641/ / / [E]/PB/ d.1706	Bowden, Joshua / / / /1648BD/[E]/NL/ d.1686/ Hall
Scudamore, Samuel /1631/1634/ / / [E]/DEC/d.1671	Brace, Thomas /1647/ /1648/1660BD/[E]/NL/ d.1675/ Hall
Smyth, William /1641/ / / / [E]/PB/ d.1686	Bridge, Robert /1653/1656/ / / [N]/?/ d. / College
Stackhouse, John /1664/ / / / [E]/C/ d.1707	Buckley, John / /1633/ / / [E]/NL/ d.1679/ Hall
Strong, James /1636/ /1657/ / [E]/P/ d.1694	Burgess, Benjamin Sr. /1623/1626/ / / [E]/P/ d. / Hall
Tickle, John / /1649/ / / [E]/P/ d.1694	Burgess, Daniel Jr. /1660/ / / / [E]/P/ d.1712/ Hall
Tidcombe, Tobias / / / /1648BD/ [E]/P/ d.1690	Burnand, Nathaniel / / / /1626BD/[E]/IP/ d.1710? / Hall
Troyt, Thomas / / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1670	Bynard, Henry /1637/1638/1641/ / [E]/NL/ d.1677
Vaughn, Edward / / / /1648BD/[N]/DEC/ d.1662	Byfield, Nathaniel /1623/1626/1629/ / [E]/B/ d. / Hall

Nonconformist/Puritan Ministerial Education by College - 5 (1620-1662)

Name/Matriculation|Admission_Yr/BA_Yr/MA_Yr/BD|DD_Yr/[E]jected|[N]ot
Ejected/License|NoLicense|DECeased/Death_Yr

MAGDALEN GRADUATES (1620-1662)	MAGDALEN GRADUATES (1620-1662)
Capel, Daniel / / / / [E]/C/ d.1679/College	Kerring, Nathaniel /1661/ / / / [E]/?/ d.? / Hall
Cheyne, Francis /1624/ / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1665/ Hall	Ladbrooke, Robert /1618/ /1624/ /?/ d.? /College
Claget, Nicholas / / / /1634BD/[E]/DEC/ d.1663	Maisters, Joseph /1656/ / / /B/ d.1717/ Hall
Clarke, William / /1622/1625/ / [N]/?/ d.? / Hall	Mallinson, John /1625/1630/ / / [E]/C/ d.1685/College
Clifford, Samuel /1652/1654/ / / [E]/P/ d.1699/ Hall	Masters, Joseph / / / / [E]/B/ d.? / Hall
Collins, George /1634/ / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1669/ Hall	Matthews, Thomas / / / / [E]/C/ d.?
Conway, William / / / / [E]/CP/ d.? / Hall	Maynard, John / / / /1622BD/[E]/C/ d.? / Hall
Corbet, John / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1680/ Hall	Moseley, Robert /1636/1638/1641/ / [E]/P/ d.1701/ Hall
Cowper, George / / /1655/1658BD/[E]/?/ d.? /College	Nicholson, George /1657/ / / / [E]/C/ d.1697/College
Cross, Joshua /1632/1634/1636/ / [E]/NL/ d.1676/ Hall	Nicoll, Ferdinando /1615/ /1621/ / [E]/CP/ d.? /College
Cruttenden, Thomas /1650/1651/1654/ / [E]/NL/ d.1674/College	Nye, Philip / / /1619/1622BD/[E]/C/ d.1672/College
Cudmore, John Sr. / / / / [E]/P/ d.1706/ Hall	Oxenbridge, John / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1674/College
Danson, Thomas / / /1652/ / [E]/P/ d.1694/College	Palmer, Thomas / / /1654/[E]/DEC/ d.1666? /College
Davenport, John / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1669/ Hall	Paston, Nicholas / /1621/1624/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1669/ Hall
Dewhurst, Robert / / / / [E]?/P/ d.?	Peard, Oliver /1654/1657/ / [E]/C/ d.1696/ Hall
Dorwood, George /1636/ /1638/ / [E]/?/ d.? / Hall	Pell, William /1651/1654/1658/ / [E]/P/ d.1698/College
Dowley, Richard / / / / [E]/P/ d.1702/College	Perkins, Edward / / / / [E]/P/ d.? / Hall
Downes, John /1621/1625/1629/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1670/ Hall	Phillips, Humphrey / / / / [E]/P/ d.1707/College
Dyer, Richard /1638/1642/ / / [E]/P/ d.1695/ Hall	Pinckney, Philip / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1661/ Hall
Eyre, William /1629/1632/1635/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1670/ Hall	Pinkney, John / / / / [E]/P/ d.1680/ Hall
Farrol, John / / / / [E]/PB/ d.1703/ Hall	Porter, George / / /1648/ / [E]/P/ d.1697
Fish, Robert / / / / [E]/P/ d.? /College	Sadler, John / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1674/College
Flavell, Phineas /1658/ / / / [E]/NL/ d.1708/College	Sangar, Gabriel / / / / [E]/P/ d.1678/ Hall
Flower, Roger / / / / [N]/DEC/ d.1662	Segary, William /1639/ /1648/ / [E]/NL/ d.1697/ Hall
Fowler, Christopher /1627/1631/ / / [E]/C/ d.1676/College	Serle, John / / /1634/ / [E]/P/ d.1699/College
Fowles, Henry /1655/1658/ / / [E]/P/ d.1720/ Hall	Sherwill, Nicholas / /1654/1657/ / [E]/PB/ d.1696/College
Gale, Theophilus Jr. /1647/1649/1652/ / [E]/P/ d.1677/College	Shewell, Thomas /1650/1654/ / / [E]/C/ d.1693/ Hall
Gilbert, Thomas / / / / [E]/P/ d.1673/College	Sond, Edward / /1659/ / / [N]/?/ d.? / Hall
Gilbert, William / / / /1657BD/[E]/P/ d.? /College	Speed, William /1614/1617/1620/ / [E]/?/ d.? / Hall
Gilson, Thomas / / /1648/1649BD/[E]/P/ d.1680/ Hall	Spilsbury, John /1646/1649/1652/ / [E]/P/ d.1699
Goodwin, Thomas / / / /1653DD/[E]/C/ d.1679/College	Swan, Thomas / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1681/College
Griffith, George /1638/1642/1645/ / [E]/C/ d.? / Hall	Tombes, John / / / / [E]/P/ d.? / Hall
Gunter, Humphrey / / / / [E]/NL/ d.1691/College	Trench, Edmund / / /1660/ / [E]/NL/ d.1689/ Hall
Harding, John /1616/1620/1623/1648DD/[E]/?/ d.? /College	Trevethick, William /1634/1634/1636/ / [E]/P/ d.1693/ Hall
Harmar, John / / / / [E]/DEC/ d.1670	Warner, John /1631/1632/1634/ / [E]/DEC/ d.1668? / Hall
Hickman, Henry /1648/ /1649/1658BD/[E]/P/ d.1692/College	Weaver, Humphrey /1637/1640/ / [E]/CP/ d.1696/ Hall
Higgs, Daniel /1648/1651/ / / [E]/PIC/ d.1691/ Hall	Wells, Samuel / / /1636/1636BD/[E]/P/ d.1678/ Hall
Holmes, Barham / / /1648/ / [E]/?/ d.?	Wilkinson, Henry Jr. /1634/1635/1638/1648BD,1652DD/[E]/P/ d.1690/ Hall
Hooker, John / /1653/1655/ / [E]/?/ d.? /College	Wilkinson, Henry, Dr. /1622/1626/1629/1638BD,1649D/[E]/P/ d.1675/ Hall
Hopkins, William /1647/1652/ / / [E]/P/ d.1700/College	Wills, John /1655/ /1661/ / [E]/P/ d.1703
Horseman, John /1650/1652/1655/ / [E]/?/ d.? /College	Woodbridge, Benjamin / /1638/ /1648BD/[E]/P/ d.1684/ Hall

Legend: University Degree Abbreviations: BA=Bachelor of Arts; BD=Bachelor of Divinity; DD=Doctor of Divinity; MA=Master of Arts; License Abbreviations – B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; I=Independent; NL=No License; P=Presbyterian

Sources: John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877); CCEd: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Thomas Coleman, *Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire* (London, 1853); Robert William Dale, *History of English*

Congregationalism (London, 1907); Bryan Dale and T. G. Crippen, *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* (London, 1909); Thomas William Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (London, 1863); Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Vols. 1-4 (Oxford, 1891-1892); Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection* (Manchester, 1917); Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, Vols. 1-2 (London, 1869, 1872); A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934); Thomas M'Crie, *Annals of the English Presbytery* (London, 1872); Benjamin Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity; Or, Sketches Historical & Descriptive, of the Congregational and Old Presbyterian Churches in the County* (Toronto, 1893); Benjamin Nightingale, *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland and Their Predecessors and Successors* (Manchester, 1911); Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1775); Thomas Rees, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, From Its Rise in 1633 to the Present Time*, Second Edition (London, 1883); William Henry Summers, *History of the Congregational Churches in Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks* (Newbury, 1905); Charles E. Surman, 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013); <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>; William Urwick, *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester* (London, 1864); William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts* (Manchester, 1884); William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Worcester* (Manchester, 1897); John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, From the Earliest Times to 1900*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2011); John Waddington, *Surrey Congregational History* (London, 1866).

Appendix 2: Attestation Documents, Secondary Classis Records and Nonconformist Histories

Attestation Year - 1645	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>A Letter of the Ministers of the City of London</i>
Attestation Year - 1646	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>The Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Counties of Suffolke and Essex concerning Church Government</i>
Attestation Year - 1647	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to Our Solemn League and Covenant</i> Anonymous, <i>The Warwickshire Ministers Testimony</i> Ministers of Christ, <i>A Testimony to the Truth</i>
Attestation Year - 1648	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>A Testimonie of the Ministers in the County of Stafford</i> Anonymous, <i>A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Salop</i> Anonymous, <i>An Attestation to the Testimony...Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their Meeting May 2. and Subscribed at their Next Meeting, June 6, 1648</i> Anonymous, <i>The Attestation of the Ministers of the County of Norfolk and the City of Norwich</i> Anonymous, <i>The Attestation of the Ministers of the County of Somerset</i> Anonymous, <i>The Concurrent Testimony of the Ministers in the County of Wiltes</i> Anonymous, <i>The Gloucestershire Ministers Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ</i> Anonymous, <i>The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster, with their Reverend Brethren, the Ministers of the Province of London</i> Anonymous, <i>The Hearty Concurrence of Divers Citizens and Inhabitants of the City of London with the Ministers of the Province thereof, to their Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant</i> Anonymous, <i>The Joint-Testimonie of the Ministers of Devonshire</i> Anonymous, <i>The Testimony...attested by other Ministers of Christ in the County of Northampton</i> Anonymous, <i>A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex, to the Trueth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies and Blasphemies of These Time</i> Hill, Edward, <i>Vindiciae Veritatis, or An Unanimous Attestation to Gods Blessed Truth Revealed in His Word; Together with a Serious Protestation against those Church-Desolating and Soul-Damning Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies, Which of Late have come in like a Flood upon our County and Kingdome</i> Ministers of Salop, <i>A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Salop to the Truth of Jesus Christ</i> Winston, John, <i>Ministers of Essex, A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Trueth of Jesus Christ</i>

Attestation Documents, Secondary Classis Records and Nonconformist Histories – 2

Attestation Year – 1656	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>The Agreement of Divers Ministers of Christ in the County of Worcester</i>
Attestation Year – 1658	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>The Agreement of the Associated Ministers of the County of Essex</i>
Attestation Year - 1659	Attestation Document(s) Anonymous, <i>A Further Testimony of Truth Or Some Earnest Groans for a Righteous Settlement</i> Anonymous, <i>The Agreement of the Associated Ministers in the County of Norfolk</i>

Secondary Classis Records

Classis Record Sources	Chetham Society, <i>Minutes of the Bury Presbyterian Classis, 1647-1657</i> Gordon, Alexander, <i>Freedom After Ejection</i> Halley, Robert, <i>Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity</i> , Vols. 1-2 Nightingale, Benjamin, <i>Lancashire Nonconformity; Or, Sketches Historical & Descriptive, of the Congregational and Old Presbyterian Churches in the County</i> Palmer, Samuel, <i>The Nonconformist's Memorial</i> , Vol. 2 Shaw, William, A. <i>A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660</i> , Vols. 1-3 Shaw, William A., <i>Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-1660</i> Surman, Charles E. (ed.), <i>The Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London, 1646-1659</i>
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Secondary Nonconformist History Sources

Nonconformist Histories	Browne, John, <i>History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk</i> (London, 1877). Coleman, Thomas, <i>Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire</i> (London, 1853). Cramp, J. M., <i>Baptist History From the Foundation of the Christian Church to the Close of the Eighteenth Century</i> (Philadelphia, 1869). Crosby, Thomas, <i>The History of the English Baptists</i> , Vol. 1 (London, 1738). Crosby, Thomas, <i>The History of the English Baptists</i> , Vol. 3 (Lafayette, TN, Reprint of 1748 Edition). Dale, Bryan, 'Ministers of the Parish Churches of the West Riding During the Puritan Revolution', <i>Bradford Antiquary</i> , New Series, 1 (1900). Dale, Bryan and T. G. Crippen, <i>Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity</i> (London, 1909). Dale, Robert William, <i>History of English Congregationalism</i> (London, 1907). Davids, Thomas William, <i>Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex</i> (London, 1863, Charleston, SC, Reprint, 2012). Drysdale, A. H., <i>History of the Presbyterians in England</i> (London, 1889, Charleston, SC, Reprint 2010). Evans, Benjamin, <i>The Early English Baptists</i> , Vol. 2 (London, 1864).
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Secondary Nonconformist History Sources-cont.

Nonconformist Histories – cont.	<p>Fletcher, Joseph, <i>The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England</i> (London, 1849).</p> <p>Gordon, Alexander, <i>Freedom After Ejection</i> (Manchester, 1917).</p> <p>Halley, Robert, <i>Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity</i>, Vols. 1-2 (London, 1869, 1872).</p> <p>Hanbury, Benjamin, <i>Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents</i>, Vol. 2 (London, 1841).</p> <p>Howard, George Broadley, <i>The Rise and Progress of Presbyterianism</i> (London, 1898).</p> <p>Ivimey, Joseph, <i>A History of the English Baptists</i>, Vol. 2 (London, 1811).</p> <p>M'Crie, Thomas, <i>Annals of the English Presbytery</i> (London, 1872, Reprint, Charleston, SC, 2010).</p> <p>Matthews, A. G., <i>Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2</i> (Oxford, 1934).</p> <p>Nightingale, Benjamin, <i>Lancashire Nonconformity; Or, Sketches Historical & Descriptive, of the Congregational and Old Presbyterian Churches in the County</i> (Toronto, 1893, Reprinted 2011).</p> <p>Nightingale, Benjamin, <i>The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland and Their Predecessors and Successors</i> (Manchester, 1911).</p> <p>Palmer, Samuel, <i>The Nonconformist's Memorial</i>, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1775).</p> <p>Rees, Thomas, <i>History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, From Its Rise in 1633 to the Present Time</i>, Second Edition (London, 1883).</p> <p>Rix, Samuel Wilton, <i>Brief Records of the Independent Church at Beccles, Suffolk</i> (London, 1837).</p> <p>Rix, Samuel Wilton, <i>East Anglican Nonconformity</i> (London, 1851).</p> <p>Urwick, William, <i>Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester</i> (London, 1864).</p> <p>Urwick, William, <i>Nonconformity in Herts</i> (Manchester, 1884).</p> <p>Urwick, William, <i>Nonconformity in Worcester</i> (Manchester, 1897).</p> <p>Venn, John, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, From the Earliest Times to 1900</i>, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2011).</p> <p>Waddington, John, <i>Surrey Congregational History</i> (London, 1866).</p>
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Appendix 3: Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members

Attestation Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

CHESHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	CHESHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS –cont.
Adams, Randall /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Stringer, Ro. /[N]/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Anderton, William /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Sunderland, Daniel /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Ball, Benjamin /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Swan, Thomas /E/NL/N(N)/ d.1681
Bowden, Samuel /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Upton, Thomas /N/NL/N(N)/ d.1674
Boyer, John /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Watmough, James /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Bridges, William /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Whittingham, Humphrey /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Burghall, Edward /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1665	Worthington, Nehemiah /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Burroughs, Hugh /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	
Catherall, Samuel /E/NL/N(N)/ d.1684	DEVONSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Clark, Josias /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Bailey, William /E/C/N(Y)/ d.1672
Clarke, ? /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Ball, (?) /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Cope, Joseph /E/ P/N(N)/ d.1704	Ball, William /E/P/N(Y)/ d. after 1672
Cottingham, George /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Barnes, John /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Elcock, Ephraim /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Bartlet, John /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1680
Ford, ? /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Bartlet, John Jr /E/CP/N(Y)/ d.?
Fowler, Richard /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Beare, John /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Frecleton, Robert /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Bernard, Francis /N/NL/N(N)/ d.1680
Glegge, William /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Bickley, Richard /E/P/N(N)/ d.?
Glendole, John /E/P/N(N)/ d.1676	Bowden, William /E/NL/N(N)/ d.1663
Golborne, Joshua /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Bridgman, Thomas /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1665
Griffith, Henry /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Buckley, John /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Guest, Randal /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.?	Ceely, T. /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Hall, Ralph /E/P/N(N)/ d.1684	Clare, Ambrose /E/CP/N(Y)/ d.?
Hatton, Henry /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Coles, Richard /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Hewetson, William /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Collins, William /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Holland, William /N/NL/Y(N)/ d.1682?	Conant, Richard /E/NL/Y(Y)/ d.1688
Hopwood, Richard /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Crissom, Richard /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Hulme, John /N/P/N(N)/ d.?	Down, Mark /E/P/N(Y)/ d.1680
Hutchinson, James /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Down, Thomas /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1664
Jemson, Thomas /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Downe, Anthony /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.?
Ker, Daniel /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Durant, Nathaniel /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1665
Lancaster, Nathaniel /E/NL/N(N)/ d.1660	Dyer, Humphrey /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Langley, Thomas /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Fones, Samuel /E/P/N(Y)/ d.1693
Lascells, Bryan /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Ford, (?) /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Ley, John /N/NL/N(N)/ d.1662	Forward, John /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.?
Mainwaring, George /E/NL/N(N)/ d.1669	Friend, Thomas /E/C/N(Y)/ d.?
Marbury, James /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Gale, Josiah /E/P/N(Y)/ d.?
Marigold, John /N/P/N(N)/ d.?	Garret, (?) /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Marsden, Samuel /E/NL/N(Y)/ d.1677	Goddard, Philip /N/NL/N(N)/ d.1686
Masy, Henry /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Gove, Andrew /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Mercer, Edward /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Grosse, Alexander /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Newcome, Henry /E/P/N(Y)/ d.1695	Hammond, (?) /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Pemberton, John /E/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Hancock, Richard /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Poole, Ralph /N/NL/N(N)/ d.1661	Harford, Anthony /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Potte, Nehemiah /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Herring, John /E/P/N(Y)/ d.?
Roberts, John /E/CP/N(N)/ d.?	Hill, John /E/P/N(Y)/ d.1682
Silletoe, Randall /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?	Hopkins, John /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?
Stevenson, Nicolas /N/NL/N(N)/ d. ?	Hughes, (?) /N/NL/N(N)/ d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 2

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

DEVONSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	ESSEX ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
Jellinger, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bound, George /[E]/IP/N/(Y)/ d.?
Lovay, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bowyer, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Morrice, Joshua /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Brackley, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Nicholson, George /[N]/P/N/(N)/ d.?	Brewer, Edward /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Nicoll, Ferdinando /[E]/CP/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Bridge, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Osborne, Peter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bridge, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Pearse, Edmund /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bruer, Edmond /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Pitt, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bugg, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1671
Porter, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Cardinal, Richard /[E]/CP/N/(Y)/ d.?
Preston, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Chadsley, Robert /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1691
Randall, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Chamberlin, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Read, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Church, Joshua /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Saunders, H. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Clark, John /[E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.?
Seager, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Cleyton, Richard /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Serle, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1699	Cliffe, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Serle, Philip /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Cramphorne, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Short, Amos /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?	Deeresly, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Short, Anthony /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Denn, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Skinner, Alexander /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Edwards, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Snow, Robert /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?	Ferrar, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Soreton, Francis /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Ferrity, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Sprat, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Fisher, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Squire, Joshua /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Fitch, Zachary /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1686
Stephens, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Folkingham, Nicolas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stevens, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Ford, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stidston, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1661	Gent, Jo. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stooke, William /[E]/P/N/(N)/ d.?	Gibson, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Terry, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Green, Edward /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Travers, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Greenwood, Rowland /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Trescot, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?	Hales, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Trevithick, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1692	Ham, H. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Trieze, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Harper, John /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Way, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d. before Aug 1662	Harrison, John /[E]/CP/N/(Y)/ d.1677
Whitborne, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hewit, Israel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Widdon, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hewitson, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1692
Wilcock, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hillis, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Yeo, John /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Holmes, Nathaniel Dr. /[E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.1678
Yeo, William /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1699	Horrockers, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1687?
	How, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
ESSEX ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Hoyle, Jonah /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Abbot, Robert /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1676	Hubbard, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1678
Alderson, Martin /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1680	James, Marmaduke /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Argor, John /[E]/IC/N/(Y)/ d.1670	Josselin, Ralph /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Austin, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	King, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Bates, H. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Lathum, (?)/[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Beard, Nicholas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Lathum, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Benthall, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Lawson, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1695
Benton, Jeremy /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Lyersdale, Gabriel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Borraddle, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Man, John /[E]/B/N/(Y)/ d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 3

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

ESSEX ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.	ESSEX ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
More, James /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Willis, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
More, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Wilson, George /[E]/C/N/(N)/ d.?
Newcomen, Matthew /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1669	Wilson, John /[E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.1689
Newton, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Wiston, (?) /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Nicholas, Anthony /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Yardley, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Noel, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	
Norris, James /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	GLOUCESTERSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Onge, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Albright, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Oresby, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bachelour, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Overhead, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1679	Bagley, William /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Pannell, Jo. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Barnsdale, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1680
Parkehurst, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Baxter, Benjamin /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1670
Parkin, James /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1729	Beale, William /[E]/CP/N/(Y)/ d.1679
Peck, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1688	Beesten, (?) /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Penington, Isaac /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1679	Cooper, Richard /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1666
Piggott, Alexander /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Cooper, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Powell, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Cox, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Prat, Elisha /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Davis, Jonah /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Pulley, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Davis, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Purcas, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Dolman, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Ranew, Nathaniel /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1672	Easton, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Rathband, Abiel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Edwards, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Rogers, Nehemiah /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1660	Eedes, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1686
Rogers, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Fowler, Richard /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1680
Rogers, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Fox, Helpe /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Sainthill, Peter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Grayle, Ezra /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Samons, Anthony /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Greenhall, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Sanders, Philip /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Gregory, Alexander /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1666
Sandford, William /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Gwinne, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Scott, Christopher /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?	Hall, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Scott, Franklin /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Heane, Henry /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1687?
Sherman, (?) /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Heans, Henry /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1661
Sherman, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hieron, Samuel /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1687
Siday, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Higgins, Obediah /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Smith, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1669	Hodges, William /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1691
Smith, Samuel /[E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.?	Hurst, Henry /[E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.1690
Spranger, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jackson, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1669
Steinmer, Henry /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jennings, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Sutliff, Isaiah /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jones, Benjamin /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Tayler, Walter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jones, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Torpe, James /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Kent, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Trap, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Malden, Jos. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Tuller, Ro. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Mew, William /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Ward, Nathaniel /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1667	Nelme, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Wells, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Oldisworth, Giles /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Wells, Walter /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Palmer, Anthony /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1693
Wheatly, Lavender J. /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Pilsworth, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Wilkinson, Henry, Dr. /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1690	Powell, Walter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Willet, James /[E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?	Pritchard, Walter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 4

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected|[N]ot Ejected/License|NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

GLOUCESTERSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	LANCASHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
Riland, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Furnesse, Toby / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Rutherford, Jason / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Garner, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Sare, Thomas / [E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.?	Gee, Edward / [E]/P/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Shene, (?) / [E]/NL/Y/(Y)/ d.?	Gilbody, Robert / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stamfield, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Goodwin, Richard / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1685
Stephenson, James / [E]/P/N/(N)/ d.1685	Harper, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stubbes, Henry / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1678	Harrison, John / [E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1669
Trap, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hayhurst, Bradley / [E]/NL/Y/(Y)/ d.1685
Tray, William / [E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.?	Heyrick, Richard / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Ven, George / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Holland, Thomas / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1674
Wallas, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Horrocks, Alexander / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Wharton, Timothy Jr. / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Hyet, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Wharton, Timothy Sr. / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Ingham, William (?) / [E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Wickens, Robert / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jackson, Richard / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1681
Woodward, Joseph / [E]/B/N/(Y)/ d.?	Jaques, John / [E]/NL/Y/(N)/ d.1682
Workman, Giles / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Joanes, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Worrall, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Joanes, Samuel / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
	Johnson, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
LANCASHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Kyd, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Ambrose, Isaac / [E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1663	Latham, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Addison, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Leigh, William / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1665
Alt, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Mallinson, John / [E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.1685
Angier, John Sr. / [E]/CP/N/(Y)/ d.1677	Mawdesley, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Asheton, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Moore, Matthew / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Aspinwall, William / [E]/P/Y/(Y)/ d.1702	Nevil, Kay / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Aston, Edward / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Norcot, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Atkinson, Peter / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1677	Norman, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1666
Bath, Robert / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1674	Pyke, Thomas / [E]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1676
Bell, William Sr. / [E]/P/Y/(Y)/ d.1683	Scholecroft, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Bennet, Philip / [E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.1689	Scholefield, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Benson, Richard / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Seddon, Robert (Sr.?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Boulton, H. / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Shaw, Henry / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Bradshaw, Nathaniel / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1690	Shaw, Robert / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Bradshaw, Peter / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Smith, Nicholas / [E]/C/N/(Y)/ d.?
Breres, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Smith, Peter / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Briars, John / [E]/I/Y/(Y)/ d.1696	Smith, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Brierley, John / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Smith, Timothy / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1679
Brownsword, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Smith, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Clayton, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Starkey, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.1684
Constantine, Robert / [E]/CP/N/(Y)/ d.1699	Tompson, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Cranage, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Walker, Robert / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Crichley, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Walker, William / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Crompton, Thomas Jr. / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1699	Ward, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Denny, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Welch, Henry / [E]/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1665
Dun, William / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Whitehead, Thomas / [E]/P/N/(Y)/ d.1678
Edmundson, Christopher / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Willan, Brian / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Fawcet, Thomas / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Wood, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Fleetwood, Edward / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Woolmer, Edward / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Fogge, (?) / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Worrall, James / [N]/NL/N/(N)/ d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 5

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

LANCASHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.	LONDON ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
Wright, John /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1684	Taylor, (?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.1661
Yates, Robert /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1678	Taylor, William /N/C/N/(N)/ d.?
	Thompson, Joseph /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
LONDON ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Tuckney, Anthony /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1669/AP*
After, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Walker, George /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Barham, Arthur /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1691	Wall, J. /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Bellers, Fulk /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Wallis, John /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Blackmore, William /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1684	Watkins, Stephen /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Blackwell, Elidad /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Watson, (?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Burgess, Anthony /E/P/N/(N)/ d.1664/AP*	Whately, (?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Calamy, Edmund I /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1666/AP*	Wickins, William /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1699
Case, Thomas /E/PBC/N/(Y)/ d.1682/AP*	Witham, Peter /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Cawdrey, Daniel /E/B/N/(Y)/ d.1684/AP*	
Cawton, Thomas /E/NL/N/(N)/ d.1659	NORFOLK ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Clark, (?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Bond, John /N/C/N/(N)/ d.1662
Downname, J. /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Allison, Riceus /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.1661
Fathers, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1670	Asteley, Richard /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Fawler, George /E/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Boyes, John /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.1728
Gataker, Thomas /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Brabiter, Richard /E/C/N/(Y)/ d.1663
Glascok, John /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Brinsley, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1665
Gouge, Thomas /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1681	Brome, Edmund /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1667
Gouge, William /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Butler, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1696
Gower, Stanley /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1660/AP*	Carter, John /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Harrison, William /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Crabtree, Elias /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1662
Haviland, Matthew /E/C/N/(Y)/ d.?	Daniel, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Jackson, Arthur /E/B/N/(Y)/ d.1666	Hall, William /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Jenkyn, William /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1684	Henant, Thomas /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Love, Christopher /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Jocelyn, Nathaniel /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?
Mercer, (Chr.?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	Johnson, Richard /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Nalton, James /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1662	Lambe, William /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Offspring, Charles /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.1659	Martin, John /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Peck, Francis /E/NL/Y/(Y)/ d.?	Michell, Nathaniel /E/PB/N/(Y)/ d.?
Proffet, Nicholas /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?	More, Richard /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.?
Roberts, Francis /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.1675	Peck, Robert /N/P/N/(N)/ d.?
Robinson, Ralph /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.?	Pitt, Nicholas /E/NL/N/(Y)/ d.1671
Seaman, Lazarus /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1675/AP*	Rose, Isaac /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Sheffield, John /E/P/N/(Y)/ d.1680	Sap, Thomas /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Staniforth, Nathaniel /E/C/N/(Y)/ d.?	Smith, Samuel /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?
Stern, John /E/NL/N/(Y)/d.	Swaine, (?) /N/NL/N/(N)/ d.?

*AP=Signed codicil against Presbytery

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 6

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

NORFOLK ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Theoderick, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Lyon, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Watson, Robert /{E}/B/N/(Y)/d.?	Markham, Francis /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Worseley, Edward /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Martin, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Yates, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Morgan, Edmund /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
	Owsley, Richard /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Paine, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Allen, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Palmer, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Andrewes, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Perkins, Timothy /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Atterbury, Francis /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Pheasant, Henry /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Aynsworth, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Ponder, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Balgaye, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Price, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Ball, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Richards, Ra. /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
■Barlee, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Schloer, Frederick /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Baynard, John /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.1678	Shilborne, Robert /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bazely, John Jr. /{E}/C/N/(Y)/d.1667	Shortgrave, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bird, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Spalding, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bullyvant, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Spencer, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bunn, Josias /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Spinkes, Edmond /{E}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Burroughs, Thomas /{E}/CP/N/(Y)/d.?	Symmer, Arch. /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Cave, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Symonds, Jasper /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Clewer, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Tabor, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Cley, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Templer, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Cupper, Vincent /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.1670	Tomkins, Benjamin /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Dawkes, Thomas /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.?	Trueman, Richard /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Eyre, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Ventris, Thomas /{E}/CP/N/(Y)/d.1671?
Fisher, Richard /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Warren, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Gifford, Richard /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Whitfield, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Gilpin, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Wilding, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Glover, Samuel /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Willes, Henry /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.1687
Goodrick, (?) /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Winston, John /{E}/C/ Y/(Y)/d.?
Hall, Joshua /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Harris, Thomas /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	SOMERSET ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Hart, Theophilus /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Abbott, Nathaniel /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Hart, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Albin, Henry /{E}/NL/N/(Y)/d.1696
Hensman, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Alflatt, Matthew /{E}/P/N/(Y)/d.1674
Hodges, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Baker, John /{E}/NL/N/(N)/d.1685
Holmes, William /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Balsome, Robert /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Hooke, Richard /{E}/CP/N/(N)/d.1679	Batchiler, John /{E}/NL/Y/(N)/d.1674
Howes, John /{N}/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Batt, Timothy /{E}/CP/N/(Y)/d.1692

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 7

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

SOMERSET ATTESTATION SIGNERS –cont.	SOMERSET ATTESTATION SIGNERS –cont.
Beadon, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Popjoy, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bell, Richard /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1686	Pretty, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bennett, Edward /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1673	Randal, Matthew /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Bernard, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Read, Christopher /[E]/NL/Y/(Y)/d.?
Berrier, Stephen /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Robinson, Alexander /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1688
Bindon, George /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1685	Shallel, Joseph /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Bradford, Peter /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Snead, Thomas /[E]/B/ Y/(Y)/d.?
Budd, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.?	Swaffeild, Joseph /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1681
Chappel, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Thomas, William /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1667
Cheswell, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Tilly, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Chetwind, John /[E]/NL/Y/(Y)/d.1692	Tomkins, Jacob /[E]/NL/Y/(Y)/d.?
Conduit, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Torner, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Creese, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1698	Tyrling, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Crooke, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Westoby, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Darby, John /[N]/P/N/(Y)/d.?	Whitbourne, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Dolling, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Williams, David /[N]/IC/N/(N)/d.?
Eliot, James /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Wright, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Fairclough, Richard /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1682	Wyat, Josiah /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Forward, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1687	Yeo, Bartholomew /[E]/P/NL/N/(Y)/d.1693
Gregory, William /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	
How, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	STAFFORDSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Jeanes, Henry /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1662	Bould, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Ladde, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Bowyer, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Langdale, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.?	Boyer, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Langford, John /[E]/PB/N/(N)/d.?	Brooks, William Sr. /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Laurence, Christopher /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Burdall, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Luffe, John /[E]/CP/N/(N)/d.?	Crofton, Zachariah /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1672
Lye, Thomas /[E]/PBC/N/(Y)/d.1684	Crosse, George /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1665
Middleham, Purifie /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Dowley, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Moore, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Frankland, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Morgan, Edward /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Hamilton, Gawin /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Newton, George /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1681	Hinde, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Norman, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1669	Hoce, Alexander /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Northesworthy, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Jackson, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Oliver, Samuel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Jenning, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Owfield, Joseph /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Langley, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Parker, William /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1688	Mounteneys, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Pearde, Hugh /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Nevill, (?)/[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Pinney, John /[E]/PB/N/(Y)/d.1706	Newton, Sampson /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 8

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected|[N]ot Ejected/License|NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

STAFFORDSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS-cont.	SUFFOLK ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
Phynihouse, Deliverance /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Pledger, Elias /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1676
Sharp, Phillip /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Searle, Henry /[E]/CP/N/(N)/d.?
Smart, Ithiell /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.1662	Smith, George /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1664
Smith, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Smith, Samuel /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.1662
Sound, Joseph /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Spring, Samuel Jr. /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.?
Storre, Francis /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Sutton, Daniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.1664
Stubbs, Henry /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Syer, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Turnor, Christopher /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Thomas, Edward /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Ward, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Voice, Edward /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Winne, Charles /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Wall, John /[E]/C/N/(Y)/d.?
	Watson, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.1685
SUFFOLK ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Webb, Robert /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1675
Agar, John /[E]/P/N/(N)/d.1681	Weld, John Sr. /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.1665
Asty, Robert /[E]/C/N/(Y)/d.1667	Wilson, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.1667
Babington, Richard /[E]/B/N/(Y)/d.1682	Wood, John /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Beard, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1662	Wragg, Christopher /[E]/P/N/(N)/d.1678
Benson, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1682	
Cade, Robert /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.1666	WARWICKSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS
Caley, Abraham /[E]/C/N/(Y)/d.1672	Abel, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Candler, Mathias Sr. /[E]/C/N/(Y)/d.1663	Bean, (?) /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Carr, Gamaliel /[E]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Bosse, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Carr, Nathaniel /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1666	Bryan, John Dr. /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1675
Carter, Bezaleel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Butler, Henry /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Cary, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Clerk, Nicholas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Cave, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Cooper, Henry /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1671
Chapman, William /[N]/P/N/(N)/d.?	Dowley, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Clarke, John /[N]/PB/N/(Y)/d.?	Draiton, Nathaniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Fairfax, Benjamin /[E]/C/N/(Y)/d.1676	Dugard, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.1683
Ferriby, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Dunscorn, George /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Glover, Hugh /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1678	Eyre, Daniel /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Havers, Henry /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1705-1713?	Francis, Thomas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.
Howlet, Robert /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1671	Glover, Thomas /[N]/B/N/(Y)/d.?
Hudson, Samuel /[E]/NL/Y/(Y)/d.1683	Grew, Obadiah /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1689
Jennings, Richard /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.1709	Hart, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Lavender, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1670	Herring, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Leverton, Nicholas /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.1660	Hodges, Ralph /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Nuttall, Thomas /[E]/P/N/(N)/d.?	Ladbroke, Robert /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Peachie, John /[E]/C/N/(N)/d.?	Lesley, George /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?
Pindar, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.?	Mede, William /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 9

Attestation Format:Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/License/NoLicense/LaterConform(Y/N)/CalamyEject(Y/N)/Death_Yr

WARWICKSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS– cont.	WILTSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS – cont.
Pain, John /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?	Massy, John /[E]/B/Y/(Y)/d.?
Richardson, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Maton, Roger /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Roe, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Millet, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Smith, Francis /[E]/BC/N/(N)/d.?	Newham, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.1672
Smithman, Henry /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Noake, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Spencer, John /[N]/PB/N/(Y)/d.?	Norrington, Samuel /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Spencer, Thomas /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Noyes, Nathan /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Spicer, Benjamin /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Olden, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.1680
Tickner, Samuel /[E]/NL/N/(Y)/d.?	Parker, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Underhill, John /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Phippe, John /[E]/P/N/(Y)/d.?
Vennour, Richard /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Pinckney, Philip /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.1661
Wadhul, Anthony /[N]/NL/N/(N)/d.?	Powell, Roger /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
	Priaulx, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.1674
WILTSHIRE ATTESTATION SIGNERS	Ring, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Burges, Daniel Sr. /[E]/ NL/N/(Y)/d.1679	Sanger, (?) /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Babb, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Sharpe, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Baylie, George /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Stevens, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Baylie, William /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Stubbs, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Castilian, Douglas /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Stubbs, Thomas /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Chaundelour, Richard /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Swaine, George /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Colepeper, Henry /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Teate, Faithful /[E]/ NL/N/(Y)/d.?
Combe, Henry /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Towgood, Matthew /[E]/ NL/N/(Y)/d.1669
Conant, John /[E]/ NL/Y/(Y)/d.1693	Warriner, William /[N]/P/N/(N)/d.?
Coxe, Samuel /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Whitfield, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Dewell, Timothy /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	Wright, Samuel /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?
Dickenson, Leonard /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.1663	
Dyar, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Eburne, James /[E]/ NL/N/(Y)/d.?	
Eburne, Richard /[N]/P/N/(N)/d.1666	
Grayle, John /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Hadfield, George /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Harper, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Hayter, Richard /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Hewlat, Robert /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Hotchkis, Thomas /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Hunt, (?) /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Ince, Peter /[E]/CP/N/(Y)/d.1683	
Jenkins, George /[N]/ NL/N/(N)/d.?	
Leg, John /[E]/ NL/N/(Y)/d.?	

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 10

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

BARSTABLE CLASSIS MEMBERS	CHESTER CLASSIS MEMBERS
Moyse, M. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Browne, Robert /[N]/None/NL/Y?/d.?
	Hicke, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
BATH & BRUTON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Newcome, Henry /[E]/None/P/N/d.1695
Allen, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1681	
Parker, William /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1688	CLAVERING & UTTLESFORD CLASSIS MEMBERS
	Archer, Giles /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
BATH & WRINGTON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Bentfield, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ashton, James /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Glover, Hugh /[E]/None/P/N/d.1678
Bowden, Joseph /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1671	Greenwood, Rowland /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Crook, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Haughton, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Gregory, William /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Moore, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Long, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Prime, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Luffe, John /[E]/None/CP/N/d.?	Prynne, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Parker, Anthony /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Willet, James /[E]/None/P/N/d.?
Thomas, William /[E]/None/P/N/d.1667	Wilson, George /[E]/None/C/N/d.?
Tilly, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Tompson, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	COLCHESTER CLASSIS MEMBERS
Westoby, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Harmer, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Piggott, Alexander /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
BRAINTREE CLASSIS MEMBERS	Wyersdale, James /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Allen, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Folkingham, Nicholas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	CROYDON SURREY CLASSIS MEMBERS
Foord, Edmond /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Arthur, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Hofman, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Booth, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1671
Jackson, (?)/[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Maynard, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Latham, (?)/[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Roberts, Richard /[E]/None/P/N/d.1676
Lee, (?)/[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Temple, (?) Dr. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Maidissone, Humphrey /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Morsse, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	DARKING SURREY CLASSIS MEMBERS
Slaughter, (?) /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Cozens, (?)/[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Watson, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fisher, James /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1691
	Gerry, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
CHELMSFORD CLASSIS MEMBERS	Steere, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Burr, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Winge, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Eley, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Fuller, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	DARLINGTON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Guy, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hammilton, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Harrison, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Linsey, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Manning, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Marsh, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Mott, Mark /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1667	Middleton, John /[N]/None/P/N/d.?
North, Seath /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Vincent, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ragg, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Ranew, Nathaniel /[E]/EastClassisOfHinkford/P/N/d.1672	
Rathborne, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Sutcliffe, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Veasie, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Watts, William, Dr. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Willis, John /[E]/None/NL/P/d.?	

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 11

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

DENGIE CLASSIS MEMBERS	EAST CLASSIS OF HINCKFORD MEMBERS
Andrews, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Brinsley, John /E/None/NL/N/d.1665
Buckley, William /E/None/NL/N/d.?	Burroughs, Thomas /E/None/CP/N/d.?
Gutry, William /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Clarke, Thomas /E/None/C/N/d.1688
Harrison, Nathaniel /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Gawden, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Hewet, Israel /N/None/NL/N/d.1663	Hills, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Maldon, James /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Holton, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Sams, Anthony /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Hubbard, John /E/None/NL/N/d.1678
Seridg, Isaac /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Issack, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Sherman, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Manninge, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Walker, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Rogers, Daniel /N/None/NL/N/d.?
	Smith, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
DUNMOWE & FRESHWELL CLASSIS MEMBERS	Sparrow, William Jr. (?) /E/None/NL/N/d.1679
Alderson, Martin /E/None/NL/N/d.1680	Tharbey, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Bates, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Warrin, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Beadle, John /E/None/P/N/d.1667	Weald, Daniel /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Chadwick, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?	
Cleyton, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.?	EIGHTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS
Coale, John /E/None/NL/Y/d.1673	Atkinson, Peter /E/None/P/N/d.1677
Hall, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Barnet, Nehemiah /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Hearne, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Jackson, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.1681
Holbitch, Martin /E/None/NL/N/d.1670	Jaques, John /E/None/NL/Y/d.1682
Johnson, (?) Dr. /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Sill, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Leichfield, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Smith, Nicholas /E/None/C/N/d.?
Lunne, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Walker, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Newton, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Whitehead, Thomas /E/None/P/N/d.1678
Nichols, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	
Nowell, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	EIGHTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Penington, Isaac /N/None/NL/N/d.1679	Billingsley, John Sr. /E/None/NL/N/d.1683
Perkins, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Blackwel, Elidad /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Powell, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Nanton, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Sherwood, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Porter, Thomas /E/None/C/N/d.?
Staple, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Reynolds, William /E/None/CP/N/d.1698
Veale, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Shute, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.1686
Wallis, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Spurstow, William /E/None/NL/N/d.1666
DURHAM CLASSIS MEMBERS	EIGHTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Esthorpe, Ruben /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Ashburne, John /N/None/NL/N/d.1661
Forbes, Patrick /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Beadle, William /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Gilpin, Isaack /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Chamberlaine, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Hall, John /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Clegate, Nicholas /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Lapthorne, Anthony /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Crosby, Thomas /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Lee, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Ferian, (?) /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Saunderson, Thomas /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Herdson, Francis /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Sedgwick, William /E/None/NL/Y/d.1663	Holmstead, Richard /N/None/NL/N/d.?
	Luddington, Thomas /N/None/NL/N/d.?
EASINGTON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Meredith, Reeves /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Bowey, John /E/None/NL/N/d.?	Randall, John /N/None/NL/N/d.1681
Johnson, William /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Raynham, Paul /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Nesbett, Phillip /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Smart, Ezechiel /N/None/NL/N/d.?
Yong, Edward /N/None/NL/N/d.?	Underwood, Robert /N/None/NL/N/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 12

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

EIGHTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS-cont.	FIFTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS-cont.
Ward, Joseph /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fairfax, Benjamin /[E]/None/C/N/d.1676
Wragg, Christopher /[E]/None/P/N/d.1678	Leverton, Nicholas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1660
	Philips, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
ELEVENTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Wood, Seth /[E]/ThirteenthSuffolk/NL/N/d.?
Catlin, Zachary /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1675	Young, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Clegate, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Cradock, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	FIRST LANCASHIRECLASSIS MEMBERS
Gibbon, John /[E]/None/P/N/d.1663	Angier, John Sr. /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1677
Hale, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Barnet, Humphrey /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Sainthill, Peter /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Furnes, Toby /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Salisbury, Ambrose /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Harrison, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1669
Wall, John /[E]/None/C/N/d.?	Heyrick, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Write, Edward /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Jones, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Walker, William /[N]/ThirdLancashire/P/N/d.?
FIFTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS	
Bell, William Sr. /[E]/None/P/Y/d.1683	FIRST LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Bolton, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Seaman, Lazarus /[E]/None/P/N/d.1675
Donne, William /[N]/None/P/N/d.1695	Walker, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ellison, David /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Fog, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1670	FIRST SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS
Johnson, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Betton, James /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Kid, John /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.?	Fisher, Samuel /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Norcot, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Garbet, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Pickering, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Pagett, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Port, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Smith, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Seddon, Robert (Sr.?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wright, Francis /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Starkie, James /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Thompson, Joseph /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1670?	FIRST SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Ward, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Asty, Robert /[E]/None/C/N/d.1667
Warrall, James /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Clifford, Joseph /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Yates, Robert /[E]/None/P/N/d.1678	Coxe, Gilbert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Trebick, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
FIFTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Warren, Thomas Sr. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ashe, Simeon /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1692	Wicks, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Conant, John /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.1693	
Tuckney, Anthony /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1669	FOLKINGHAM CLASSIS MEMBERS
	Drake, Michael /[E]/None/P/N/d.1696
FIFTH SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS	Morton, James /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1663
Barkeley, Samuel /[B]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Barton, Edmund /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	FOURTEENTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Panter, (?)/[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Adrean, Bartholomew /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1670
Rusbatch, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Allot, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Blackerby, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
FIFTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Blakerby, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Browne, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Boardman, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Cockraym, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Cook, Roger /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Cockrayne, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fairclough, Samuel Sr. /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1677
Douglas, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Dowglasse, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 13

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

FOURTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS	HAMPSHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS
Atherton, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Newnham, Thomas /[E]/None/C/N/d.1689
Crompton, Thomas Sr. /[E]/None/P/N/d.1691	Say, Giles /[E]/None/C/N/d.1692
Hayhurst, Bradley /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.1695	
Leigh, William /[E]/None/P/N/d.1695	HARLOW & WALTHAM CLASSIS MEMBERS
Modesley, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Cramphorne, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Norman, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1666	Denne, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Plant, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1662	Dike, Jeremy /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Shaw, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hales, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Smith, Timothy /[E]/None/P/N/d.1679	Harper, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Tonge, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Price, Gabriel /[E]/None/B/N/d. post 1705
Woods, James /[E]/None/P/N/d.1666	Spranger, Edward /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Wright, John /[E]/None/P/N/d.1684	Toxey, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Warren, John /[E]/None/C/N/d.1696
FOURTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Wilkinson, Henry Dr. /[E]/None/P/N/d.1690
Bellers, Foulke /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wilson, Jo. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Caryl, Joseph /[E]/None/C/N/d.1673	Yarley, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Clifton, Zachary /[E]/None/C/Y/d.?	
Hume, Abraham /[E]/None/P/N/d.1706	ILCHESTER & ILMISTER CLASSIS MEMBERS
Lee, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Batt, Timothy /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1692
	Braine, John /[N]/None/CP/N/d.?
FOURTH SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS	Budd, Thomas /[E]/None/P/N/d.?
Bisby, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Debancke, Nathaniel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Boughey, Francis /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Elliott, James Dr. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Cooke, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Laurence, Christopher /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Haughton, Aylmer /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Leslie, Rainhold /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Nicolls, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Maine, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Parson, Andrew /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Moore, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Randal, Matthew /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
FOURTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Tomkins, Jacob /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.?
Bathoe, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wyatt, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Carey, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1668	
Jarmy, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	IXWORTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Nuthall, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Deverex, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Pearce, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fenton, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Powell, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Norwich, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Searles, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Page, John /[E]/None/C/N/d.1674
Swayne, John /[E]/SeventhSuffolk/NL/N/d.?	Stafford, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1661
Thirlby, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Syre, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
GODALMING CLASSIS MEMBERS	KENDALL CLASSIS MEMBERS
Diggle, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Archer, Richard /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Duncumb, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Cole, Samuel /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Johnson, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Cole, William Dr. /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.1674
Stoughton, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Harison, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Wood, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Mary, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Moone, (?) /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
GUILDEFORD CLASSIS MEMBERS	Wilson, Henry /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Cuffley, Francis /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Platt, John /[E]/None/B/N/d.1669	
Raynar, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Sympson, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 14

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

KINGSTON SURREY CLASSIS MEMBERS	ONGAR CLASSIS MEMBERS
Byfield, Richard /[E]/None/CP/N/d.?	Bentall, Edward /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Dingley, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Browne, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Hartford, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Carr, Gamaliel /[E]/Lexden/NL/N/d.?
Houghton, Edward /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Constantine, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
More, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fetch, Zecharia /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Havers, Henry /[E]/None/P/N/d.Between 1705-1713
LEXDEN CLASSIS MEMBERS	Hoard, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Battee, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	King, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Buckley, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Lanenden, Jonathan /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Bugg, Nathaniel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1671	Lince, Simon /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Farrar, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Poole, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Hubbord, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Rogers, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Jocelin, Ralph /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Sanders, Philip /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ludgate, Jo. /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Watkinson, Peter /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.1688
Newcome, Matthew /[N]/None/P/N/d.?	Whiston, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Okeley, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1690	Willis, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Rand, Richard /[E]/None/C/N/d.?	
Samms, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	REIGATE SURREY CLASSIS MEMBERS
Smith, George /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Bedford, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Tomson, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hampton, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1677
Turner, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Leo, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Wharton, Lancelott /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Mercer, (Chr.?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Parr, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
MANCHESTER CLASSIS MEMBERS	Pope, Edward /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1672
Constantine, Robert /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1699	
	ROTCHFORD CLASSIS MEMBERS
NINTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS	Agar, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Bennet, Philip /[E]/None/C/N/d.1689	Beard, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1662
Brown, Gerard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Caley, Abraham /[E]/None/C/N/d.1672
Kempe, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Church, Joshua /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Marigold, John /[N]/None/P/N/d.?	Forward, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Willow, Bryan /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Gibson, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Hopkins, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
NINTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Orsby, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Clendon, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Packhurst, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Valentine, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1665	Peck, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1668
Wallis, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Purchas, George /[E]/None/CP/N/d.1676
	Warley, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
NINTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Wells, Martin /[E]/None/C/N/d.1685
Chaplayne, Abraham /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Harris, Robert /[E?]/None/NL/N/d.?	SAMFORD POLSTEAD CLASSIS MEMBERS
Proud, Richard /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1666	Cade, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1666
Symonds, John /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Carter, Bezaleel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Clifford, Joseph /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
NORTHUMBERLAND CLASSIS MEMBERS	Coxe, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Bernard, Nathaniel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hudson, Samuel /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.1683
Davison, Alexander /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Frewren, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	SECOND LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS
Gilbert, Eleazer /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Alte, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Owens, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Ashton, William /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Shafto, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Bath, Robert /[E]/None/P/N/d.1674
Wallis, Mark /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Harper, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Wolsall, Thomas /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Horrocks, Alexander /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 15

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

SECOND LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS-cont.	SEVENTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS-cont.
Lathom, Andrew / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Penn, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Pyke, Thomas / [E]/None/P/N/d.1676	Sotheby, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Scolfield, Jonathan / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1667	Spring, Samuel Jr. / [E]/None/P/N/d.?
Tilsely, Jo. / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Walton, James / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1664	SIXTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS
	Gee, Edward / [N]/None/P/N/d.?
SECOND LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	Hyet, James / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Haviland, Matthew / [E]/None/C/N/d.?	Langley, James / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Reyner, William / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1666	Lathom, Paul / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Thomas, William / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Marsden, Ralph / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Welch, Henry / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1665
SECOND SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS	
Browne, Francis / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	SIXTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Lewis, Stephen / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Calamy, Edmund I / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1666
Nevett, Rowland / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Jackson, Arthur / [E]/None/B/N/d.?
Richardson, Joshua / [N]/None/P/N/d.?	Johnson, Peter / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Thomas, Oliver / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Wilderson, Samuel / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	SIXTH SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS
Wildinge, James / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Barkley, George / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Froysell, Thomas / [E]/None/P/N/d.1675
SECOND SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Hawkes, (?) / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Fuller, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Heath, Richard / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1666
Harrison, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Lawson, George / [N]/None/NL/N/d.1674
Lawrence, Matthew / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Lewis, Edward / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Stansby, Robert / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Stanton, Nicholas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	SIXTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Ward, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Aldrich, James / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Warren, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Allen, John / [E]/None/P/N/d.?
	Barber, Edmund / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1662
SEVENTH LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS	Clarke, John / [N]/None/PB/N/d.?
Ambrose, Isaac / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1663	Cock, George / [N]/None/NL/N/d.1673
Cranage, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hodgeskin, Willam / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Edmundson, Christopher / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Fleetwood, Edward / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	STAINDROP CLASSIS MEMBERS
Harrison, Cuthbert / [E]/None/CP/N/d.1681	Junesse, James / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Sumner, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Rogers, John / [E]/None/CP/N/d.1680
SEVENTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	STOCKTON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Cawton, Thomas / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Bushell, Daniel / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Cooke, Leonard / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Crough, Robert / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Harris, Robert / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Doughty, Henry / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Newton, Charles / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Tonstall, Ralph / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Short, Amos / [E]/None/P/N/d.?	
	TAUNTON, BRIDGEWATER & DUNSTER CLASSIS MEMBERS
SEVENTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Baker, John / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1685
Bathe, Samuel / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Bindon, George / [E]/None/P/N/d.1685
Candler, Mathias Sr. / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1663	Chapple, William / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Candler, Matthias / [N]/None/C/N/d.?	Forward, Thomas / [E]/None/P/N/d.1687
Catlyn, Jeremy / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hill, John / [E]/None/P/N/d.?
Cooper, Henry / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	James, Henry / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 16

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

TAUNTON, BRIDGEWATER & DUNSTER CLASSIS MEMBERS	THIRTEEN SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Langford, John /[E]/None/P/N/d.?	Gurnall, William /[N]/None/P/N/d.?
Newton, George /[E]/None/P/N/d.1681	Leigh, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Norman, John /[N]/None/P/N/d.?	Mott, Thomas /[E]/None/C/N/d.?
Pretty, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Petchy, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Robinson, Alexander /[E]/None/P/N/d.1688	Smith, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Safford, Bartholomew /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1662	Sutton, Daniel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.1664
Smith, Richard /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Thornbeck, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Tirling, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Walker, Thomas /[E]/None/P/N/d.?
Walrond, Thomas /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Yeo, Bartholomew /[E]/None/P/N/d.1693	TUNDERING CLASSIS MEMBERS
	Carr, Nathaniel /[E]/None/P/N/d.1666
TENTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Cole, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Howlett, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Dowell, Edward /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Jacob, Philip /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Maiden, John /[E]/None/P/N/d.?
Legate, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Pibus, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Monus, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Seamer, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ray, Clement /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.?	
Speede, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	TWELFTH LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS
	Gouge, Thomas /[E]/None/P/N/d.1681
THIRD LANCASHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS	Stronge, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Boulton, Adam /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Bradshaw, James /[E]/None/P/N/d.1702	TWELFTH SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS
Bryers, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Browing, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Ingham, William (?) /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Burkitt, Miles /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1669
King, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Harrison, Isaac /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.?
Morrice, Henry /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Maile, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Redman, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Munning, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Worthington, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wield, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
THIRD LONDON CLASSIS MEMBERS	WELLS & BRUTON CLASSIS MEMBERS
Cardel, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Balsum, Robert /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Chambers, Humphrey /[E]/None/NL/N/d.1662	Darlie, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Rawlinson, John /[E]/TenthLondon/P/N/d.?	Fairecloth, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Robinson, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Fletcher, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Glasbrooke, Peter /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
THIRD SALOP CLASSIS MEMBERS	Middleham, Purifie /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Adney, George /[E]/None/NL/Y/d.?	Oliver, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Baxter, George /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Reede, Christopher /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Paston, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Whitchott, Benjamin /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Sound, Joseph /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Whiteburne, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Spilsbury, (?) /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wright, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Walden, Gilbert /[E]/None/P/Y/d.?	
	WEST CLASSIS OF HINCKFORD MEMBERS
THIRD SUFFOLK CLASSIS MEMBERS	Aynsworth, Samuel /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Goulty, Richard /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Boradale, J. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Gyles, John /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Brewer, Edmund /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Lindsay, Patrick /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Chadsey, (?) /[E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Nickolets, Charles /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Clarke, William /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Redgrave, W. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Firmin, Jo. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Sayer, Robert /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Gent, Jo. /[N]/None/NL/N/d.?

Future Nonconformist Attestation Signers and Classis Members - 17

Classis Format: Name/[E]jected/[N]ot Ejected/Classis2_Name/License/NoLicense/LaterConformed(Y/N)/Death_Yr

WEST CLASSIS OF HINCKFORD MEMBERS-cont.	WIRKSWORTH CLASSIS MEMBERS-cont.
Giggins, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Buxton, Henry / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Letmalem (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Buxton, Richard / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Lumley, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Charles, Samuel / [E]/None/CP/N/d.1693
Mosely, Richard / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Heapie, John / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Overed, Jo. / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Mellor, Thomas / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Pannell, Jo. / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Miles, Thomas / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Simmonds, (?) / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Oldfield, John / [E]/None/C/N/d.1692
Thomas, Edward / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Pole, Edward / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1697
	Porter, Robert / [E]/None/P/N/d.?
WESTMORELAND CLASSIS MEMBERS	Rudyard, John / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Bate, Alexander / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Sclater, John / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Bousfell, Joseph / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Storer, Edward / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Burton, Richard / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Storer, John / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Curwen, William / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Storer, Robert / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Dolton, John / [E]/None/NL/Y/d.1671	Storer, William / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Fawcett, Thomas / [E]/None/NL/Y/d.?	Stubbing, Thomas / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Fothergill, George / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Topham, Martin Sr. / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1660
Guy, Edward / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Varden, Richard / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Hall, William / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Wallis, Gilbert / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?
Hutchinson, Lancelot / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Hutton, Henry / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	WITHAM CLASSIS MEMBERS
Johnson, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Blower, Joshua / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Leasdall, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Hull, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Lowther, Lancelot / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Lisle, George / [E]/None/NL/N/d.1687
Moreland, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Rowles, Richard / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Mowson, Edward / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Smethes, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Richardson, William / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Sparhawke, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Robinson, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Sparke, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Simpson, Robert / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Stallom, (?) / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Tully, Timothy / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Strutt, Richard / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Vaux, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	
Wilkinson, Matthew / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	YORKSHIRE CLASSIS MEMBERS
Winter, John / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?	Angill, Charles / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
	Bosville, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
WIRKSWORTH CLASSIS MEMBERS	Clarke, John / [E?]/None/NL/N/d.?
Addams, James / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Clarke, Thomas / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Allen, Edward / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Clayton, Luke / [E]/None/CP/N/d.1674
Allsopp, William / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	Gryffan, William / [N]/None/NL/N/d.?
Buxton, German / [E]/None/NL/N/d.?	

Legend: AP=Signed Codecil against Presbytery; B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; I=Independent; NL=No License Taken; P=Presbyterian

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); CCEd: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection* (Manchester, 1917); A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934); William Shaw, *A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660*, Vols. 1-3; Charles E. Surman, 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013). <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>; Turner, G. Lyon, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911) See also the list of Nonconformist Histories in Appendix 2.

Appendix 4: Ministerial License Data from Worcestershire Association Subscribers (1656)

Minister Name	Ministry Parish or Town	Ejected	License	Conformed Later or Subscribed According to COE Clergy Database
Baker, Joseph	Worcester	Ejected	Unknown	Conformed
Baldwin Jr., Thomas	Clent	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Baldwin Sr., Thomas	Chaddesley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Baldwin, Thomas	Wolverley	Ejected	Unknown	Unknown
Banton, Thomas	Hightington	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Baxter, Benjamin	Baxter upon Sovern	Ejected	Congregationalist/ Presbyterian	Not Listed
Baxter, Richard	Kidderminster	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Baxter, Stephen	City Unknown	Ejected	Presbyterian	Not Listed
Beeston, Richard	Breedon	Ejected	Congregationalist	Not Listed
Boraston, John	Ribsford, Bewdley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Bourchier, Edward	Churchhill	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Bowater, Samuel	Astley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Bridges, William	Hardington	Died before Ejection	Unknown	Not Listed
Bromwick (Bromwich), Thomas	Kemsey	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Brown, Robert	White Lady Aston	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Bryan, Jarvis (Gervice)	Old Swinford, Stourbridge	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Collier, Giles	Blockley	Ejected	Unknown	Conformed
Dalphine, John	Honiborne	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Dedicot, John	Abbotsley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Dowly (Dowley), Richard	Stoke Prior	Ejected	Presbyterian	Not Listed
Durham, William	Tredington	Ejected	Unknown	Conformed
Eades, Richard	Beckford, Gloucestershire	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Easton, Thomas	Batesford, Gloucestershire	Ejected	Unknown	Conformed
Eavans, Thomas	Evans, Welland	Ejected	Congregationalist/ Presbyterian	Not Listed
Fincher (Frucher), Richard	Worcester	Ejected	Presbyterian	Not Listed
Francis, Thomas	Dodderhill	Ejected	Congregationalist	Not Listed
Franck, Thomas	Naunton Beauchamp	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Freeston, John	Hampton Lovet	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Good, Thomas	Cowley, Salop	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Hill, John	Clifton upon Teme	Unknown	Congregationalist/ Presbyterian	Not Listed

Minister Name	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	License	Conformed or Subscribed According to COE Clergy Database
Hopkins, George	Evesham	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Hyat, Francis	Eckington	Ejected	Unknown	Unknown
Jackman, Thomas	Barrough	Conformed	Unknown	Conformed
Juice, Thomas	Worcester	Ejected	Presbyterian/Baptist	Not Listed
Kimberley, William	Redmarley	Ejected	Unknown	Conformed
Lole (Cole), William	Pirton	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Mat(t)hews, Thomas	Evesham	Ejected	Congregationalist/ Presbyterian	Not Listed
Nott, Charles	Sholfly	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Nott, John	Sherrif Hales, Staffordshire	Ejected	Presbyterian/Baptist	Conformed
Oasland, Henry	Bewdley	Ejected	Presbyterian	Not Listed
Reignolds, John	Wolverhampton	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Reynolds, Francis	Bishampton	Unknown	Unknown	Conformed
Rock(e), Joseph	Rowley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Sergeant, Richard	Kidderminster, Stone	Ejected	Presbyterian	Unknown
Smith, Samuel	Kinver	Died before Ejection	Unknown	Not Listed
Sparry, Ambrose	Martley	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Spicer, William	Stone	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Spilsbury, John	Bromsgrove	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Taylor, John	Dudley	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Tristram (Trisham, Trusteram), Andrew	Clent	Ejected	Congregationalist/ Presbyterian	Not Listed
Waldern, Humphrey	Broom (Broome)	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Warmestry, Thomas	City Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Warwick, James	Hanley Castle	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Willes, William	Littleton	Unknown	Unknown	Conformed
Willmot, John	Pershore	Unknown	Unknown	Conformed
Willmot, Joseph	Pershore	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Wilsby, Thomas	Wornborne	Ejected	Presbyterian	Conformed
Wolley (Wooley), Mr.	Giles	Ejected	Unknown	Not Listed
Wolley, Richard	Salwarpe	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Wright, Thomas	Hartlebury	Unknown	Unknown	Not Listed
Total Ministers = 60	Total Parishes = 60	Total Ejected = 40	No License Found = 45 Presbyterian = 6 Congregationalist/Pres = 5 Presbyterian/Baptist = 2 Congregationalist = 2	Total Conformed = 11

Sources: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672*; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Worcestershire Association: Its Membership', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 1, Issue 02, July 1950 (Cambridge, 1950); Frederick Powicke, *A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615–1691*; G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records*, Vols. 1-3.

Appendix 5: Parliamentary Acts Defining Sedition (1660-1672)

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
The Sedition Act (1661)	<p>“...that whosoever shall by word or deed, by sign or writing, defend or justify the said treasonable Covenant, shall be esteemed as an enemy to His Sacred Majesty, and to the peace and tranquillity of his Church and kingdom.”¹</p> <p>The Act required a repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant. As fictitious Theophilus Timorcus declared: We fear the great and living God, who hath said, You shall not swear by my Name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the Name of thy God: Having therefore at the Command of Lords and Comons Assembled in-Parliament, Anno 1643, 1644. lift up our hands unto God, and sworn; that we would endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy...we cannot go back... And (which God forbid)if any thing of that nature (should by any mistake) be commanded by you, we humbly acknowledge it our duty (without any thoughts of rebelling against you) to exercise our Faith and Patience, in suffering what shall be imposed upon us, committing the cause of our souls to him who judgeth righteously.</p>	<p>Primary Sources: John Cowell, and Thomas Manley, <i>Nomothetes, the Interpreter: Containing the Genuine Signification of Such Obscure Words and Terms Used Either in the Common or Statute Lawes of this Realm</i> (London, 1684), “Covenant” entry. John Lamont, <i>The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton 1649-1671</i> (Edinburgh, 1830), p. 131; Sir Walter Scott, <i>A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Entertaining Subjects</i> (London, 1812), p. 123.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: David Appleby, <i>Black Bartholomew’s Day</i> (Manchester, 2007), p. 27; Hilary M. Carey, <i>God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World</i> (Cambridge, 2011), p. 179; Church of England, <i>The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662</i> (Oxford, 2011), p. 747; J. G. Craighead, <i>Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil: The Early History of the Scotch and Irish Churches and Their Relations to the Presbyterian Church of America</i> (Philadelphia, PA, 2009 Reprint of 1878 Edition), p. 227; Juliet Cummins, <i>Milton and the Ends of Time</i> (Cambridge 2003), p. 208; Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, <i>The History of England</i> (London, 1733), Vol. 2, p. 629; Brian Albert Gerrish, <i>Thinking with the Church</i> (Cambridge, 2010), p. 6; Tim Harris, <i>London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II</i> (Cambridge, 1987), p. 63; Craig Horle, <i>The Quakers and the English Legal System 1660-1688</i> (Philadelphia, PA, 1988), p. 50; Ronald Hutton, <i>Charles II</i> (Oxford 1989), p. 166; N. H. Keeble, <i>The Restoration: England in the 1660s</i> (Oxford, 2002), p. 139; George Lord, <i>Poems on Affairs of State</i> (New Haven, CT, 1963), p. 289; Mark Knight and Emma Mason, <i>Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature</i> (Oxford, 2006), p. 19; Daniel Neal, <i>History of the Puritans</i> (London, 1738), Vol. 4, p. 284; Robert Pope (ed.), <i>T & T Clark Companion to Nonconformity</i> (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 680; George Frank Sensabaugh, <i>That Grand Whig, Milton</i> (Stanford, CA, 1952), Vol. 11, p. 21; John Spurr, <i>The Post-Reformation 1603-1714</i> (Harlow, 2006), p. 145; Jason Vickers, <i>Invocation and Assent: The Making and Remaking of Trinitarian Theology</i> (Grand Rapids, MI, 2008), p. 63.</p>

¹ J. G. Craighead, *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil: The Early History of the Scotch and Irish Churches and Their Relations to the Presbyterian Church of America* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009 Reprint of 1878 Edition), p. 227.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
Act for Disbanding the Armed Forces (1661)	<p>“I do declare, and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position, that arms may be taken by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such military commissions.”²</p> <p>Militia under control of the King used to break up meetings, search homes and arrest ministers. Molly McClain, Beaufort: The Duke and His Duchess, 1657-1715 (New Haven, 2001), p. 72, “In order to enforce these laws, militia troops were ordered to ride out in posses to break up conventicles or to dig up Quakers graves. We can only imagine the anger felt by nonconformists who were driven from their congregations, forced to give up their weapons, imprisoned and stripped of their civil liberties. They must have hated the arrogance of officers like William Levett who, in 1663 wrote Colonel Charles Seymour ‘a brief account of our martial exploits’ in Wiltshire ‘and how we carried all before us according to your command’. Levett told of riding into Marlborough where he and a small party ‘assaulted the burial place of the Quakers at Wanton and laid it waste, leaving all the prey to the owners’ disposal...”</p>	<p>Primary Sources: Great Britain, <i>The Statues at Large: From the Thirty-ninth Year of Q. Elizabeth to the Twelfth Year of K. Charles II</i> (Cambridge, 1763), Vol. 7, p. 461; Great Britain House of Commons, <i>Journals of the House of Commons</i> Vols. 91-92 (London, 1803), p. 39; David Charles Douglas and Andrew Browning, <i>English Historical Documents, 1550-1714</i> (Oxford, 1996), p. 782.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Richard Ashcraft, <i>Revolutionary Politics and Locke’s Two Treatises of Government</i> (Princeton, NJ, 1986), p. 118; Robert Bucholz and Newton Key (eds), <i>Sources and Debates in English History: 1485-1714</i> (Chichester, 2009), pp. 214-15; John Childs, <i>The Army of Charles II</i> (London, 1976), p. 2; Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, <i>The History of England</i> (London, 1733), Vol. 2, p. 629; Ernest Fisher, <i>Guardians of the Republic</i> (Casemate, 1994), p. 21; Anthony Fletcher, “Militian Rates and Militia Statutes,” <i>Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England</i> (New Haven, CT, 1986), p. 110. Fletcher writes, The militia acts of 1662 and 1663 “provided a sound militia system which could be misused by the Crown.” Ian Frederick and William Beckett, <i>The Amateur Military Tradition: 1558-1945</i> (Manchester, 1991), pp. 49-51; Tim Harris, <i>Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarch 1685-1720</i> (New York, 2007), pp. 84, 187, 341; N. H. Keeble, <i>The Restoration: England in the 1660s</i>, (Chichester, 2008), p. 80; Desmond Keenan, <i>Ireland 1603-1702</i> (Bloomington, IN, 2013), p. 320; J. P. Kenyon, <i>The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688</i> (Cambridge, 1986), p. 236; Ann Lyon, <i>Constitutional History of the UK</i> (Abington, 2003), p. 349; Frederic William Maitland and Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, <i>The Constitutional History of England</i> (Union, NJ, 2001), pp. 326-328; Joyce Lee Malcom, <i>To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right</i> (New Haven, CT, 1996), p. 194; Kenneth Morgan, <i>The Birth of Industrial Britain: 1750-1850</i> (Oxford, 2013), p. 79; Thomas Mortimer, <i>A New History of England from the Earliest Accounts of Britain to the Ratification of the Peace of Versailles, 1763</i> (London, 1766), p. 608; Daniel Neal, <i>The History of the Puritans</i>, Vol. 4, pp. 76, 220; Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, <i>Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain</i> (Cambridge, 1993), p. 235; J. R. Pole, <i>The Gift of Government: Political Responsibility from the English Restoration to American Independence</i> (Athens, GA, 2008), p. 1; Joseph R. Tanner, <i>English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689</i> (Cambridge, 1928), p. 224; Mark Thomson, <i>A Constitutional History of England 1642-1801</i> (London, 1938), p. 160; Clifford Walton, <i>History of the British Standing Army</i> (London, 1894), p. 472.</p>

² de Rapin-Thoyras, *The History of England*, Vol. 2, p. 629.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
Act against Tumults and Disorders upon Pretence of Preparing or Presenting Publick Petitions (1661)	<p>“...redress of pretended grievances in church or state, or other publick concerns, have been made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, gotten in power, to the violation of the publick peace, and have been a great means of the late unhappy wars, confusions, and calamities in this nation: for preventing the like mischief in future.”³</p> <p>The power of this act over the ministers was twofold. First, it not so indiscreetly labelled the ministers and leaders of the previous regime as factious and seditious. Schism and sedition were grounds for more legal troubles. Secondly, the law restricted the influence of the future Nonconformists by limiting the force of a petition to only ten signatures, particularly when the petition was for a change in Church or State laws. Fewer people would be aware of a law under petition, preventing the mobilization of the common man against an odious law. Parliamentary laws promoting changes back to the traditional Church would essentially have no competition.</p>	<p>Primary Sources: Great Britain, House of Commons, <i>Public Bills</i> (London, 1874), p. 349; Great Britain, House of Commons, <i>Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons and Command</i> (London, 1881), Vol. 4, p. 171; Great Britain, House of Lords, <i>The Journals of the House of Lords</i> (London, 1660), Vol. 11, p. 330; Great Britain, <i>The Statutes at Large</i>, p. 6; N. H. Keeble, <i>The Restoration</i>, pp. 91-92; Sir Walter Scott, <i>A Collection of Scarce and Valuable tracts on the Most Entertaining Subjects</i> (London, 1812), p. 123.</p>
An Act for Confirmation of Marriages (1661)	Authority of ministers undermined and power given again to the bishops.	<p>Primary Sources: Great Britain, House of Commons, <i>Journal of the House of Commons, Vols. 91-92</i> (London, 1803), p. 38; Great Britain, House of Lords, <i>The Journals of the House of Lords</i> (London, 1660), Vol. 11, p. 330; Great Britain, <i>The Statutes at Large</i> p. 6; <i>The Scots Magazine</i> (Edinburgh, 1755), Vol. 17, p. 311.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Annie Harrower-Gray, <i>Scotland's Hidden Harlots and Heroines</i> (Barnsley, 2014), p. 27; Rebecca Probert, <i>Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century</i> (Cambridge, 2009), p. 171; Leonard Sheldord, <i>A Practical Treatise on the Law of Marriage and Divorce</i> (Philadelphia PA, 1841), p. 67; Adolphus William, <i>The Cambridge Modern History</i> (Cambridge, 1907), p. 94.</p>

³ Scott, *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, p. 123.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
The Quaker Act (1662)	<p>“Whereas of late times certaine persons under the names of Quakers and other names of Separation have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous Opinions and Tenents and (amongst others) that the taking of an Oath in any case whatsoever although before a lawfull Magistrate is altogether unlawfull and contrary to the word of God and the said persons do daily refuse to take an Oath though lawfully tendred whereby it often happens that the truth is wholly suppressed and the Administration of Justice much obstructed And whereas the said Persons under a pretence of Religious Worship do often assemble themselves in great numbers in several parts of this Realm to the great endangering of the Publick Peace and Safety and to the terror of the People by maintaining a secret 'and' strict correspondence amongst themselves and in the meane time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his Majesties good and loyall Subjects and from the Pubilick Congregations and usual Places of Divine Worshipp”⁴</p> <p>Under the Act, a penalty was imposed upon the Quakers for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy and for meeting to worship illegally. As a result, Quakers were forced to choose between their government and their faith.⁵</p>	<p>Primary Sources: Charles II, ‘1662: An Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and Others refusing to take lawfull Oaths.’, <i>Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80</i> (1819), pp. 350-351.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Stephen W. Angell, <i>The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies</i> (Oxford, 2013), p. 31; William Charles Braithwaite, <i>The Second Period of Quakerism</i> (London, 1919), p. 23; Andrew Coleby, <i>Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649-1689</i> (Cambridge, 1987), p. 135; John Henry Ferguson, <i>Politics Quaker Style: A History of the Quakers from 1624 to 1718</i> (San Bernadino, CA, 1995), p. 104; Juliet Gardiner, <i>The Columbia Companion to British History</i> (New York, 1997), p. 630; Richard Greaves, <i>Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677</i> (Stanford, CA, 1990), p. 137; Tim Harris, <i>London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II</i> (Cambridge, 1987), p. 63; Peter C. Herman, ‘The Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Early Restoration (1642-71)’ in <i>A Short History of Early Modern England: British Literature in Context</i> (Chichester, 2011); Nathaniel Haycroft, <i>Heroes and Lessons of St. Bartholomew’s Day A.D. 1662</i> (London, 1862), p. 31; Rebecca Larson, <i>Daughters of Light</i> (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), p. 28; David Loewenstein, <i>Representing Revolution in Milton and his Contemporaries</i> (Cambridge, 2004), p. 246; R. C. Richardson, (ed.) <i>Town and Countryside in the English Revolution</i> (Manchester, 1992), p. 218; Alan P. F. Sell, <i>The Great Ejection of 1662</i> (Eugene, OR, 2012), p. 73; William Sewell, <i>The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers</i> (London, 1799), Vol. 1, pp. 551-560; Thomas P. Slaughter, , <i>The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition</i> (London, 2009), p. 72; Jenny Uglow, <i>A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration</i> (London, 2009), p. 575; Kasper von Greyerz, <i>Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe: 1500-1800</i> (Oxford, 2008), p. 171; George Whitehead, <i>Memoirs of George Whitehead, A Minister of the Gospel</i> (York, 1830), Vol. 1, p. 235; John Whiting, <i>Persecution Exposed: In Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting</i> (London, 1791), p. 258; John Thomas Wilkins, <i>1662—And After</i> (London, 1962), pp. 91-93.</p>

⁴ Charles II, ‘1662: An Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and Others refusing to take lawfull Oaths.’, *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80* (1819), pp. 350-351.

⁵ Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition* (London, 2009), p. 72.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
The Corporation Act (1661)	<p>Repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant again. The reason expressed for action against the Covenant was to prevent the “many evil spirits” from working presently and in the future.⁶</p> <p>MP Communion Oath effectively removed the majority of practicing Presbyterians from the ranks of Parliament. Any ministerial hopes of Parliamentary representation were further diminished. Together, the Communion Oath and the Corporation Act stripped legislative powers from both the Congregationalists and Presbyterians by excluding their intervention in future acts of Parliament that would directly affect them even more severely.⁷ The Corporation Act not only purged those already in office but also barred future office takers. Samuel Gardiner wrote, “This Act did more than exclude from corporations those who objected to submit to its injunctions. In many towns the corporations elected the members of the House of Commons, and hence, by excluding non-conformists from corporations in towns, Parliament indirectly excluded them from any seats in the House of Commons.”⁸</p>	<p>Primary Sources: R. Hunter, <i>Abstract of the Corporation and Test Acts</i> (London, 1828), p. 3.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Francis Bremer, <i>Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America</i> (Santa Barbara, CA, 2006), Vol. 1, p. 346; Samuel Rawson Gardiner, <i>A Student’s History of England, from the Earliest Times</i> (London, 1913), Vol. 2, p. 585; Bonnelyn Young Kunze, <i>Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism</i> (Stanford, 1994), p. 140; Joseph Loconte, <i>God, Locke, and Liberty: the Struggle for Religious Freedom in the West</i> (Lanham, MD, 2014), p. 41; Ann Lyon, <i>Constitutional History of the UK</i> (London, 2003), p. 236; Alan P. F. Sell, <i>The Great Ejection of 1662</i> (Eugene, OR, 2012), p. 61; Paul Weller, <i>Religion or Belief, Discrimination and Equality: Britain in Global Contexts</i> (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 17.</p>
Act concerning Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes (1661)	The act outlawed the presbyterian form of government and restored the authority of the archbishop, the bishops, the vicar-general, the chancellor and any delegate appointed by these clergy members.	<p>Primary Sources: Great Britain, Danby Pickering (ed.) <i>Statutes at Large from the Twelfth Year of King Charles II to the Last Year of King James II Inclusive</i> (Cambridge, 1763), Vol. 8, p. 20; Archibald John Stephens, <i>The Statutes Relating to the Ecclesiastical and Eleemosynary</i> (London, 1845), Vol. 1, pp. 564-565, Footnote, p. 566.</p>

⁶ Hunter, *Abstract of the Corporation and Test Acts*, p. 3.

⁷ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *A Student’s History of England, from the Earliest Times* (London, 1913), Vol. 2, p. 585; See also Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford, CA, 1994), p. 140; Lyon, *Constitutional History of the UK*, p. 236; Paul Weller, *Religion or Belief, Discrimination and Equality: Britain in Global Contexts* (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 17.

⁸ Gardiner, *A Student’s History of England*, p. 585; See also Joseph Loconte, *God, Locke, and Liberty: the Struggle for Religious Freedom in the West* (Lanham, MD, 2014), p. 41.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
The Licensing Act (1662)	<p>“Whereas the well-government and regulating of Printers and Printing Presses is matter of Publique care and of great concernment especially considering that by the general licentiousnes of the late times many evil disposed persons have been encouraged to print and sell heretical schismatical blasphemous seditious and treasonable Bookes Pamphlets and Papers and still doe continue such their unlawfull and exorbitant practice to the high dishonour of Almighty God the endangering the peace of these Kingdomes.”⁹</p> <p>The Licensing Act legally censored ministers since a manuscript written for publication had to be approved by the bishop who oversaw the diocese in which the minister performed his duties. Thomas Ford remarked “Until the Licensing Act of 1662 expired in 1695, the printing trade in England was confined to London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the English city of York.”¹⁰ Randy Robertson writes that the Act not only prohibited heretical, seditious, and schismatical books but also offensive books.¹¹ More disturbing than the suppression of the publishing of Nonconformist literature was the warning again that any literature, and by proxy, any writer of illegal literature could be charged with sedition. Law-abiding</p>	<p>Primary Sources: Great Britain, House of Commons Journal Volume 11: ‘17 April 1695’, <i>Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11: 1693-1697</i> (London, 1803), pp. 305-308.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Anonymous, <i>The Character of a Presbyter</i> (London, 1660), p. 9; Stephen Bardle, <i>The Literary Underground in the 1660s</i> (Oxford, 2012), pp. 29ff.; Michael Barone, <i>Our First Revolution: The Remarkable British Upheaval that Inspired America</i> (New York, 2007), p. 19; Richard Baxter, <i>Richard Baxter His Account to His Dearly Beloved</i> (London, 1662), pp. 10, 36, 38; Lee B. Becker, <i>Copyright and Consequences</i> (New York, 2003), pp. 40-43; John Bramhall, <i>A Fair Warning for England to take Head of the Presbyterian Government of Scotland</i> (London, 1661), p. 13; Robert Bucholz, <i>Early Modern England 1485-1714</i> (Chichester, 2009), p. 281; John Corbet, <i>The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion</i> (London, 1661), p. 133; Thomas Corns, <i>The Milton Encyclopedia</i> (New Haven, CT, 2012), p. 210; Kathryn Seidler Engberg, <i>The Right to Write</i> (Lanham, MD, 2010), p. xix; William Robert Feyerharm, <i>Censorship of the Press in the Reign of Charles II</i> (Madison WI, 1963), p. 35; Thomas K. Ford, <i>The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg</i> (Williamsburg, PA, 1958), p. 6; Ronald H. Fritze, <i>Historical Dictionary of Stuart England, 1603-1689</i> (Westport, CT, 1996), p. 453; Richard Greaves, <i>Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent</i> (Stanford, 2002), pp. 152, 156; Peter Heylyn, <i>Ecclesia Restaurata</i> (London, 1660), Last page of “the Epistle Dedicatory” (no page number); Stefan Horlacher, <i>Taboo and Transgression in the British Literature from the Renaissance to the Present</i> (London, 2010), p. 100; Ramsay Muir, <i>A Short History of the British Commonwealth</i> (New York, 1922), Vol. 1, p. 498; John Owen, <i>Fiat Lux</i> (London, 1661), p. 65; Mohinder Singh Pannu, <i>Partners of British Rule</i> (New Delhi, 2005), p. 77; Earl A. Reitan, <i>Eighteenth-Century England</i> (Bloomington, IN, 2009), p. 16; Randy Robertson, <i>Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-century England</i> (University Park, PA, 2009) p. 165; Paul Seaward, <i>The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667</i> (Cambridge, 1988), p. 72; Alan P. F. Sell, <i>The Great Ejection of 1662</i> (Eugene, OR, 2012), p. 70; Harold Weber, <i>Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship Under Charles II</i> (Lexington, KY, 1996), p. 152.</p>

⁹ 'Charles II, 1662: An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses', *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80* (1819), pp. 428-435.

¹⁰ Ford, *The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, p. 6.

¹¹ Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict*, p. 165; See also Becker, *Copyright and Consequences*, pp. 40-43; Great Britain House of Commons Journal, Volume 11: 17 April 1695, *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11: 1693-1697* (London, 1803), pp. 305-08. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=39156> Date accessed: 18 April 2014 Number 15; Feyerharm, *Censorship of the Press*, p. 35.

	<p>ministers who had been leaders in their communities for years suddenly found themselves in the position of being traitors to their country if they dared to write and publish something contrary to the views of their bishop and Archbishop. The threat of sedition undoubtedly forced Presbyterians and Congregationalists who still held parish positions to consider their options carefully.</p>	
Conventicle Act (1664)	<p>The Act was formerly named <i>A Royal Proclamation against all Seditious Sectaries and other Disloyal Persons</i> before it became The Conventicle Act, emphasizing the fact that Nonconformity was considered to be synonymous with sedition.¹²</p> <p>This act prohibited congregants from attending and any minister from leading any religious meeting consisting of more than five persons not of the same household. It also permitted justices to break into houses where they had information of a conventicle. Furthermore, any adult attending a conventicle would be liable to penalties escalating to transportation or banishment. Thus a minister or congregant could risk being treated as a slave and transported to Barbados, which was equivalent to a death sentence.</p>	<p>Secondary Sources: Richard Baxter, <i>The Practical Works of Richard Baxter</i> (London, 1707), Vol. 1, p. 285. See also Charles II, 'An Act to Prevent and Suppress Seditious Conventicles', <i>Statutes of the Realm</i> (London, 1819), Volume 5: 1628-80, pp. 648-651; Juliet Cummins, <i>Milton and the Ends of Time</i> (Cambridge 2003), p. 208; Michael Farris, <i>From Tyndale to Madison</i> (Nashville, TN, 2007), p. 218; Ronald H. Fritze, <i>Historical Dictionary of Stuart England</i> (Westport, CT, 1996), p. 99; Samuel Rawson Gardiner, <i>A Student's History of England</i> (London, 1896), p. 588; Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, <i>The Jews and the English Law</i> (Oxford, 1908), p. 135; Barry H. Howson, <i>Erroneous and Schismatical Opinions</i> (Leiden, NL, 2001), p. 44; N. H. Keeble, <i>The Restoration: England in the 1660s</i> (Hoboken, NJ, 2008), p. 144; Bonnelyn Young Kunze, <i>Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism</i> (Stanford, CA, 1994), p. 140; Joseph Loconte, <i>God, Locke, and Liberty</i> (New York, 2014), p. 44; Gwenda Morgan, <i>Banishment in the Early Atlantic World</i> (New York, 2013), p. 70; John Owen, <i>The Works of John Owen</i> (London, 1826), Vol. 21, p. 420; Samuel Pepys, <i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> (London, 1904), p. 197; Kristin A. Pruitt, <i>Milton's Legacy</i> (Selinsgrove, PA, 2005), pp. 84-85; Edward Terrill, <i>The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-1687</i> (Bristol, 1974), p. 63.</p>

¹² Cummins, *Milton and the Ends of Time*, p. 208.

Parliamentary Act	Sedition Charge	Sources
The Five Mile Act (1665)	<p>“And whereas they or some of them and diverse other person & persons not ordained according to the Forme of the Church of England, and as have since the Act of Oblivion taken upon them to preach in unlawfull Assemblyes Conventicles or Meeteings under colour or pretence of Exercise of Religion contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome have settled themselves in diverse Corporations in England sometimes Three or more of them in a place thereby taking an oportunity to distill the poysonous Principles of Schisme and Rebellion into the hearts of His Majestyes Subjects to the great danger of the Church and Kingdome.”¹³</p>	<p>Primary Source: Charles II, ‘1665: An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations’, <i>Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80</i> (1819), pp. 575. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=47375&strquery=1665 Five Mile act Date accessed: 05 November 2014.</p> <p>Secondary Sources: Richard Baxter, <i>Reliquiae Baxterianae</i> (London, 1696), Part III, pp. 8, 10, 13-25. See also Thomas Walker Horsfield, <i>The History and Antiquities of Lewes and Its Vicinity</i> (Lewes, 1824), Vol. 1, p. 204; Samuel I. Thomas, <i>Creating Communities in Restoration England</i> (Leiden, NL, 2012), p. 47.</p>

¹³ Charles II, ‘1665: An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations’, *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5:1628-80* (1819), pp. 575.
<http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=47375&strquery=1665> Five Mile act Date accessed: 05 November 2014.

Appendix 6: A Select Listing of Visitation Records (1662-1672)

Articles of Visitation and Inquiry...Bath and Wells...William by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Chichester...Henry by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Chichester (London, 1662).

Articles of Inquiry...Durham...John by Divine providence Lord Bishop of Durham (London, 1662).

Articles of Enquiry...Ely...R. Reverend Father in God, Matthew Lord Bishop of that Diocese (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Exeter...Seth...Lord Bishop of Exeter (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Hereford...Herbert by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Hereford (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation Enquiry...Landaffe...Hugh...Lord Bishop of Landaffe (London, 1662).

Articles of Inquiry...Lichfield and Coventry...John by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Lincoln...Robert. By Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Lincoln (London, 1662).

Articles to be Enquired of...Lincolne, Dr. Raphael Throckmorton, Arch-Deacon of Lincolne (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation...Lincolne...Benjamin...Lord Bishop of Peterborough (London, 1662).

Articles to be Enquired...Norwich...Edward Lord bishop of Norwich (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Oxon...Robert by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Oxon (Oxford, 1662).

Articles to be Enquired of ...Salisbury...Humfry Lord Bishop of Sarum (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Winchester...George...Lord Bishop of Winchester (London, 1662).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Worcester...John Lord Bishop of Worcester (London, 1662).

Articles to be Enquired...Carlisle...Timothy Garthwait (London, 1663).

Articles of Visitation...Lincolne...Benjamin...Lord Bishop of Lincolne (London, 1663).

Articles to be Enquired of ...Langford...Robert Sharrock (Oxford, 1663).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Gloucester...William by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Gloucestershire (London, 1664).

Articles of Enquiry...London...Humfry Lord Bishop of London (London, 1664).

Articles of Enquiry...Sarum...John Lord Bishop of Sarum (London, 1664).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Worcester...Robert Lord Bishop of Worcester (London, 1664).

Articles of Enquiry...Ely...Matthew Lord Bishop of that Diocese (London, 1665).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Exeter...Seth...Lord Bishop of Exeter (London, 1665).

Articles of Inquiry...Lichfield and Coventry...John by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (London, 1665).

Articles to be Enquired...Carlisle...Edward Lord Bishop of Carlisle (London, 1666).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Oxon...Walter...Lord Bishop of Oxon (Oxford, 1666).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...St. Mary of Lincoln...Michael Honywood (London, 1667).

Articles of Inquiry...Lichfield and Coventry...John by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (London, 1668).

Articles to be Enquired of within the diocese of Lincolne...William...Lord Bishop of that Diocese (London, 1668).

Articles to be Enquired in the Primary Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Rochester (London, 1668).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Winchester...George...Lord Bishop of Winchester (London, 1668).

Articles to be Enquired of in the Metropolitanical Visitation ...Richard...York (York, 1669).

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry...Chichester...Peter, by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Chichester (London, 1670).

Articles to be Enquired of within the diocese of Lincolne...William...Lord Bishop of that Diocese (London, 1671).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...William, Lord Bishop of Saint David (London, 1671).

Articles for Visitation...Ely...Benjamin by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Ely (Cambridge 1671).

Articles of Visitation & Enquiry...Nathaniel Lord Bishop of Oxford (London, 1672).

Appendix 7: Enumerated Totals of Ejected Ministers (By Author and Publication Date)

A listing of Restoration authors who enumerated the total number of ejected Nonconformists

Author	Number	% (of COE) Ejected	Publication Date
Agnew, Thomas	Approx. 2,000		1830
Airy, Osmund	Approx. 2,000		1904
Appleby, David	1,700		2007
Aston, Nigel	Approx. 2,000		2001
Aylmer, G.E.	Approx. 2,000		1963
Backscheider, Paula	1,800		1989
Barnard, Toby	2,209	10 %	2008
Barrett, D. W.	Approx. 2,000		1902
Bate, Frank	1,800		1908
Bell, James	A large number		2008
Bendall, Sarah	Approx. 2,000		1999
Bremer, Francis J.	Many		1994
Brown, John	Hundreds		1909
Browne, John	Approx. 2,000		1876
Carpenter, Edward	936+824 or (1760)		1971
Carswell, John	Approx. 2,000		1954
Clark, George	1,000		1980
Clark, J. C. D.	2,029		2000
Cliffe, J. T.	Approx. 2,000		1993
Coffey, John and Paul Lim	1,900		2008
Coke, Thomas and Henry Moore	2, 000		1843
Cole, Rufus	Approx. 2,000		1959
Coleman, Thomas	Approx. 2,000		1853
Colligan, J. Hay	Approx. 2,000		1915
Coward, Barry	1,700 and 1,909		2003, 2012
Cragg, Gerald	Approx. 2,000		1957
Craik, Henry	Approx. 2,000		1911
Cramp, J. M.	Approx. 2,000		1869
Dale, R. W.	1,500-2,000		1907
Davids, Thomas William	Calamy: 2,188 Palmer: 2,196 Cotton Mather: 2,500 John Davenport: 1,500-1,600		1863
Davies, J.	Approx. 2,000		1875
Davies, R. Trevor	Various estimates		2011
De Krey, Gary S.	900+700	20%	2007
Drysdale, Alexander Hutton	Approx. 2,000	20%	1889
Dunan, Anne	Approx. 2,000		1995
Ella, George M.	Approx. 2,000		1995
Fletcher, Joseph	Approx. 2,000		1849
Fritze, Ronald H. and William Robison	Approx. 2,000		1996
Gilley, Sheridan and W. J. Sheils	Approx. 2,000		1994
Goldie, Mark	Approx. 2,000	20%	2007
Greaves, Richard	Matthews: 1,760 ministers, 149 men at universities and schools		1986
Greaves, Richard	Gilbert Sheldon: 1138		1992
Green, John Richard	Approx. 2,000	20%	1879
Gruber, Michael	Approx. 2,000		1967
Gwatkin, Henry	Approx. 2,000	20%	1917
Halley, Robert	2, 000		1872
Harris, Tim	Hundreds, 1,000		1990, 1993, 2005

Author	Number	% (of COE) Ejected	Publication Date
Holmes, Geoffrey	936 Parish ministers Watts: 2,029		1993
Hooper, Thomas	Approx. 2,000		1907
Hutton, Ronald	961 parish clergymen	10%	1989
Hylson-Smith, Kenneth	1760		1996
Ivimey, Joseph	Palmer's Numbers		1811
Jennings, Arthur Charles	1,800		1882
Jones, G. F. Trevallyn	Approx. 2,000		1967
Jones, J. R.	Approx. 2,000		1978
Keeble, Neil	Approx. 2,000		
Kishlansky, Mark	1,000		1996
Lacey, Douglas R.	1,600		1969
Lathbury, Thomas	Less than 2,000		1836
Lumby, J. Rawson	A multitude		1870
Manning, John E.	Approx. 2,000		1900
McBeth, H. Leon	Percentage	20%	1987
McElwee, William	Approx. 2,000		1956
McKilliam, A. E.	Approx. 2,000		1913
M'Crie, Thomas	Approx. 2,000		1872
Miller, John	1660: 700		1997
Moleswoth, William Nasau	A large number		1882
Morrill, John	One in five		1984?
Mountfield, D.	Approx. 2,000		1881
Nightingale, B.	Calamy used as a source		1911
Nuttall, Geoffrey	1,760 – 1,800		1965
Ogg, David	Approx. 2,000		1967
Patterson, Melville W.	Approx. 2,000		1909
Perry, G. G.	1,800-2,000		1870
Rivers, Isobel and David L. Wykes	Approx. 2,000		2011
Rosman, Doreen	Approx. 2,000		2003
Seaward, Paul	Hundreds		1991
Selbie, W. B.	Approx. 2,000		1912
Smith, David L.	700 + 936 + 120 or (1756)		1998
Smyth, Jim	Approx. 2,000		2001
Southcombe, George and Grant Tapsell	1,900 + 120 or (2020)		2010
Speck, W. A.	Approx. 2,000		1988
Spurr, John	936 + 700 or total of 1760 English and 120 Wales and 200 lecturers, university dons and schoolmasters		2006
Stephens, W. R. W	1,200		1913
Stoughton, John	Many hundreds		1870
Stowell, W. H.	Approx. 2,000		1849
Sturdy, D. J.	1,760 + 120 + 200 or (2080)		2002
Summers, William Henry	55 heads of colleges, fellows, and students		1905
Sykes, Norman	Many incumbents		1956
Tanner, J. R.	Approx. 2,000	20%	1971
Thomson, Andrew	Approx. 2,000		1849
Ugnow, Jenny	Thousands		2009
Urwick, William	Nearly 3,000		1897
Vaughan, Robert	Many hundreds		1862
Venables, George	Approx. 2,000		1862
Von Ranke, Leopold	Approx. 2,000		1875
Waddington, John	Multitudes, 2,000		1866, 1863

Author	Number	% (of COE) Ejected	Publication Date
Walker, Austin	Hundreds		2004
Wallace, Dewey D.	Approx. 2, 000		2011
Watson, E. W.	Approx. 2,000		1917
Watts, Michael	Matthews: 2029		2002
Waugh, E., and T. Fawcett	Approx. 2,000		1851
White, B. R.	Matthews: 1,760		1983
Whiting, C. E.	3,334 of which 2,399 were clergy		1931
Williams, John	Approx. 2,000		1846
Wood, Harold	1660-1: 324 1662: 1873 Uncertain: 152 Silenced: 98 Total: 2,447		1963
Woolrych, Austin	1,760		2004
Wroughton, John	1,000 on St. Bartholomew's Day		2006

Sources: To reference titles authored by each historian, see Bibliography, Secondary Sources.

Appendix 8: Cheshire Ejected Ministers (1660-1662)

Minister Name	Ministry Town	Second Ministry Town	Calamy Ejected	Ejected Identity	License
Aspinall, Thomas	Ashley Chapel, Bowdon			P(?)	P
Astell, Ralph Jr.	Frodsham			P(?)	C
Aynsworth, Ralph	Whitley Chapel in Great Budworth			P(?)	C
Baker, (?)	Doddleston		Yes	P	
Barker, (?)	Bromborough			P(?)	
Barton, John	Egerton	Mobberley	Yes	P	C
Bethel, Hugh	Burton		Yes	P	
Boyer, John	Barrow			P(?)	
Bradshaw, James	Macclesfield		Yes	P	
Bradshaw, Thomas	Grappenhall			P(?)	
Breck, Thomas	Runcorn			P(?)	
Brereton, John	Wilmslow		Yes	P	
Brook, Thomas			Yes		C
Bruce (Bruice), William (?)	Marbury		Yes	P	P
Buckley, John (?)	Goostrey, Sandbach		Yes	P-Ejection Uncertain	
Burch, Robert	Ackworth			P(?)	C
Burgal, Edward	Acton		Yes	P	B
Burroughs, Thomas	Harthill		Yes	P	Later Conformed
Bury, Edward	Bolas			P(?)	P
Cartwright, John	West Kirby		Yes	P	
Clark, Sabbath	Tarvin		Yes	P	
Cockayne, James	Frodsham			P(?)	CP

Minister Name	Ministry Town	Second Ministry Town	Calamy Ejected	Ejected Identity	License
Colley, (?)	Bruera		Yes	P	Later Conformed
Cook, William	Chester		Yes	P	CP
Cope, Joseph	Sandbach		Yes	P	P
Cope, Thomas	Sandbach			P(?)	
Cresswell, (?)	Disley			P(?)	
Eaton, Robert	Daresbury		Yes	P	
Eaton, Samuel	Chester			C	
Edge, Thomas	Gosworth		Yes	P	CP
Edgley, Samuel	Thornton		Yes	P	Later Conformed
Edwards, Richard	Christleton		Yes	P	Later Conformed
Fisher, Samuel	Thornton-in-the-Moor		Yes	P	P but was also a B and a Q
Garside, John	Chester	Bosley	Yes	P	P
Gelborne, Joshua	Eccleston			P(?)	
Glendole, (Glendal), John	Chester		Yes	P	C
Goodman, Christopher	Chester			P-Ejection Uncertain	
Griffith, John	Shocklach		Yes	P	
Guest, Randal	Pulford		Yes	P	
Harrison, Thomas	Chester		Yes	P	PCB
Harvey, John	Lynton		Yes	P	P
Hassell, William (?)	Haslington		Yes	Identity Unknown	BC
Henry, Phillip	Worthenbury			P(?)	
Henshaw, Hugh	Chelford and Prestbury		Yes	P	P
Higgison, Samuel	Church Minshull		Yes	P	

Minister Name	Ministry Town	Second Ministry Town	Calamy Ejected	Ejected Identity	License
Hunter, Robert	Knottesford (Knutsford)		Yes	P	
Jenkins, Matthew	Shotwick		Yes	P	Later Conformed
Jollie, John	Norbury		Yes	P	P
Keyes, (?)	Heswall			P(?)	
Langley, Samuel	Swettenham			P(?)	
Leigh, Peter	Chester			P(?)	
Levelay, James	Great Budworth		Yes	P	P
Machin, John	Whitley		Yes	P	
Mainwaring, George	Malpas		Yes	P	
Marigold, John	Cartmel		Yes	P	P
Marsden, Samuel	Neston		Yes	P	
Martindale, Adam	Chaplain to Lord Delamer (n.p.)		Yes	P	P
Moxon, George	Newbold Astbury		Yes	P	C
Norbury, Robert	Knutsford		Yes	P	P
Ravenshaw, John	Homes Chapel	Churchholm and Wybunbury	Yes	P	P
Shelmerdine, Francis	Mottram		Yes	P	CP
Slater, Samuel	Christleton	Hargrave, and Tarvin	Yes	P	Unknown License
Smith, John	Barthomley		Yes	P	P
Stephenson, Nicholas	Alderley			P(?)	Later Conformed
Upton, Thomas	Chester			C	
Wilson, John	Backford		Yes	P	CP
Wright, Richard	Bidston			P	CP
Wright, Robert	Bidston		Yes	Unknown	C

Legend: B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; I=Independent; NL=No License Taken; P=Presbyterian

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*; Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); CCEd: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection* (1690-1692) (Manchester, 1917); A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934); Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2 (London, 1775); Surman's Congregational Ministers Database (Dr. William's Centre for Dissenting Studies, London), <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>; G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911).

Appendix 9: Leicestershire Nonconformist Ministerial Names (1660-1662)

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Adam, Richard	Humberston	Yes			P(?)	
Adams, Richard	Mount Sorrell, Loughborough	Yes	BD		Unknown	BC
Ainsworth, William	West Langton (?)	Yes			Unknown	
Airay, Richard	Sheepy, Ratcliffe Culey			Yes	Unknown	
Armstrong, John	Barwell (?)	Yes			P	P
Aspin, Thomas	Somewhere in Leicestershire	Yes			Unknown	
Aynsworth (Hainsworth), William				Yes	Unknown	B
Bagett, Thomas	Ibstock	Yes			P	P
Baldwin, Richard	South Croxton	Yes			Unknown	
Barrowes, John	Somewhere in Leicestershire	Yes			Unknown	
Baumskill, Oliver	Loughborough			Yes	Unknown	
Bennet, John	Whitwich	Yes			P(?)	C
Bennett, John Sr.	Whitwich	Yes			P(?)	P
Berington, Thomas	Loughborough				B	
Bishell, Thomas	Waltham				B	
Bishnell, Jo.	Narborough				B	
Black., William	Sadington	Yes	PE		P	Conformed
Bloint (Blount), Edward	Winswoud				B	
Boheme, George	Sleaford	Yes			Unknown	B
Bohemus, Mauritius	Hallaton	Yes	P		P	
Boosh, Richard	Blabey	Yes	P		Unknown	BC
Booth, Richard	Ratby				B	
Brotherhood, George	Thornton cum Bagworth	Yes	P		Unknown	PB
Browning (Browneing), Thomas	Desborough	Yes	PCN		Unknown	B
Bunchley, Edward	Somewhere in Leicestershire			Yes	Unknown	

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Bunney, Steven	Thornton				B	
Burdett, William	Mosley			Yes	Unknown	B
Burnaby, Hugh	Gumley	Yes	N		Unknown	
Burroughs, St. John	Houghton on the Hill	Yes	P		Unknown	
Case, Thomas	Desford	Yes			Unknown	
Cave, John	Theddingworth, Pickwell			Yes	Unknown	CP
Charton, William	Langton			Yes	Unknown	
Cheshire, John	Woodhouse	Yes	P		Unknown	
Chester, John Sr.	Witherley	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Clarke, Matthew	Narborough Harborough (?)	Yes	CN		Unknown	CP
Cox, Bartholomew	Langton				B	
Cox, Daniel	Ratby			Yes	Unknown	
Cox, William	Ratby				B	
Cranwell, Luke	Kegworth	Yes			Unknown	CP
Cross, William	Loughborough	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Darker, Jo.	Waltham				B	
Dixy, (?)	Somewhere in Leicestershire	Yes	PN		Unknown	
Doughty, Samuel	Sibbeston (Sibston)	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Doughty, Thomas	Medburne	Yes	PE		Unknown	PCB
Dowel, John	Barkby, Melton Mowbray	Yes			Unknown	
Dowely (Dewly, Dowley), Peter	Somewhere in Leicestershire	Yes			Unknown	
Drayton, Richard	Shangton (Shankton)	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Farmer, James	Leare	Yes	P		Preached as P and B in 1669	

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Farmer, Richard	Somewhere in Leicestershire	(?)			Unknown	BC
Feaks, Thomas	Winswold				B	
Feilding, Eustace	Ashby Folville cum Barly			Yes	Unknown	
Fletcher, Richard	Thornton			Likely	Unknown	
Foxon, John	Blaby	Yes			Unknown	P
Garner, Jo.	Ratby				B	
Grace (Grane), William	Rearsby	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Graunt, Thomas	Thornton				B	
Green, John	Theidingworth (Theddingworth)	Yes	P		Unknown	C
Grewcock, Thomas	Langton	Yes			Unknown	
Hartshorn, Henry	Langton				B	
Heath, John	Great Bowden	Yes			Unknown	C
Hiffe, Richard	Fleeney (Fleckney)	Yes			Unknown	B
Higgs, William	Earl Shilton (?)	Yes			Unknown	B
Hill, Richard	Twyford				B	
Hopkins, George	Leicester	Yes			Unknown	
Hornby, Walter	Laughton (Langton)	Yes	P		Unknown	Unknown License
Hubbard, George	Rearsby (?)	Yes			Unknown	P
Iminges, Thomas	Langton	Yes			Unknown	
Inge, William	Leicester	Yes			P(?)	
Jenkin, (?)	North Kilworth	Yes	PE		Unknown	P
Jenkyn, Thomas	North Kilworth, Theddington			Yes	Unknown	
Jennings, John	West Langton	Yes			Unknown	P

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Johnson, George	Horneinghold	Yes			Unknown	P
Jordan, William	Westerby	Yes			Unknown	P
Kendall, William	Sileby, Mountsorrell			Yes	Unknown	P
Kestian (Kestin, Keslin, Krestyran, Keston), Nicholas	Gumley	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Keston, Richard	Leicester	Yes			Unknown	P
King, John	Wetherley (Wetherby)	Yes			Unknown	P
Kitchin (Kitching), John	Shalton (Shilton), Lutterworth, and Leyre	Yes			Unknown	B
Langdale (Landen), Thomas	Great Bowden	Yes			Unknown	P
Langdale (Langden) Thomas	Great Bowden	Yes	P		Unknown	C
Lawrey, Thomas	Harborough	Yes			Unknown	CP
Lea, John	Bagworth	Yes			Unknown	P
Leadbeater, Matthew	Leicester	Yes			Unknown	P
Leadbeater, Thomas	Hinckley	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Leake, Gabriel	Winswold				B	
Lee, Joseph	Cotesbach (Cotsbatch, Cottesbatch) and Burton-Penwardin	Yes	P		Unknown	B
Louth, Jo.	Twyford				B	
Lowe, Samuel	Somewhere in Leicestershire	(?)			Unknown	
Lowrey (Lowry), Thomas	Market Harborough	Yes	P		Unknown	
Luddington, Theophilus	Somewhere in Leicestershire	(?)			Unknown	
Maitland, Patrick	Somewhere in Leicestershire			Yes	Unknown	
Matthews, Michael (Michayah, Micah)	Bardon, Mount Sorrell	Yes			Unknown	

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Meade (Mead), Matthew	Sibbeston or Shadwell	Yes	PD		Unknown	
Measure, John	Bourn, Market Deeping, and Narborough				B	
Mobery, William	Twyford				B	
Morley, Benjamin	Ravensthorpe				B	
Musson, Obadiah	Langton	Yes	P		Unknown	
Musson, Richard	Laughton	Yes			Unknown	B
Muston, Samuel	Hungerton	Yes	P		Unknown	B
Newbould, William	Thornton				B	
Oldershaw, Samuel	Coleorton	Yes	P		Unknown	C
Olley, William	Somewhere in Leicestershire	(?)			Unknown	
Paget, Matthew	Wanlip	Yes			Unknown	
Parker, William	Loughborough			Yes	Unknown	P
Parre, John	Somewhere in Leicestershire			Yes	Unknown	CP
Paske, William	Ayleston				B	
Patchet, Matthew	Thurmaston and Wanlip	Yes	P		Unknown	
Peale, Robert	Loughborough				B	
Perkinson, Edmund	Leicester	Yes			Unknown	
Perkinson, Edmund	Leicester				B	
Pharren, Thomas	Leicester				B	
Pierce, Henry	Claybrook	Yes	PE		Unknown	
Pike, Thomas	Diseworth (?)	Yes			Unknown	
Pocklington, William	Twyford				B	
Quinton, Jo.	Loughborough				B	
Redgate, Henry	Waltham on the Wolds			Yes	Unknown	
Shaw, Samuel	Long Whatton	Yes	PD		Unknown	

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Sheffield (Sheffefield), William	Ibstock or Stoke Golding	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Shuttlewood (Sittlewood), John	Raunston and Hoose, (possibly Ibstocke)	Yes	PN		Unknown	P
Simms, William	Leicester	Yes	P		Unknown	
Sketchley, Ed.	Thornton				B	
Smith (Smyth), William	Packington, Diseworth Grange (Dyseworth), Bastle Dovington	Yes	P		Unknown	PCB
Smith, John	Wanlip	Yes	P		Unknown	C
Smith, Peter	Waltham				B	
Smith, Samuel	Glooston	Yes			Unknown	
Smith, Thomas	Castle Dunnington	Yes	P		Unknown	CP
Southwood, Benjamin	Kingcott (Kimcote)	Yes	P		Unknown	CP
St. Nicholas, John	Lutterworth	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Stephens (Stevens), Nathaniel	Fenny Drayton,	Yes	P		Unknown	PB
Symkin, Peter	Ratby				B	
Symmes, Edward	Leicester	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Taylor, Richard	Sketchley			Yes	Unknown	P
Templeman, Ed (?)	Waltham				B	
Thornson, Edward	Winswoud				B	
Tomlinson, George	Loughborough				B	
Vincent, (?)	Possibly Wyrardsbury or Colebrooke	Yes			Unknown	P
Wall, John	Thorton	Yes			Unknown	P
Watson, Tobias (Tobias)	Waltham in the Wolds			Yes	Unknown	P
Watts, Henry	Swepton	Yes	PDN		Unknown	P
Wells, William Sr.	Leicester				B	P

Minister	Ministry Cit(ies)	Ejected	Calamy Listing	Ministering but not Ejected	1660-1662 Identity	Licensing Identity
Weston, (?)	Lubbenham	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Whiston, Josiah	Norton	Yes			Unknown	
White, Steven	Ratby				B	
Wilson, John	Foxton	Yes	P		Unknown	
Wilson, William	Foxton, Gt. Bowden			Yes	Unknown	P
Wright, Dennis	Langton				B	
Wright, John	Edmonthorpe	Yes	P		Unknown	P
Yaxley, John	Kibworth	Yes	P		Unknown	C

Legend: B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; D=Dissenter; E=Episcopal; I=Independent; N=Nonconformist; P=Presbyterian

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); CCED: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection* (1690-1692) (Manchester, 1917); A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934); Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2 (London, 1775); John Spencer and Thomas Spencer, *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries and Antiquarian Gleaner*, Vol. 1 (London, 1892); Surman's Congregational Ministers Database, (Dr. William's Library, London); G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911).

Appendix 10: Nonconformists in Norfolk and Suffolk¹⁴

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Abbes, Christopher		P	Suffolk	1603	1672
Adrean, Bartholomew	Yes		Suffolk	1621	1662
Agas, Edward			Suffolk	1643	1681
Alexander, Samuel	Yes	C	Norfolk	1640s	1672
Alison, Rice		B	Norfolk	1637	1660
Alldred, Robert	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1672
Allen, John Sr.	Yes	PCB	Suffolk Norfolk	1643 1662	1665 1672
Alsop, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	1657	1701
Ames, William Jr.	Yes	CP	Suffolk	1645	1689
Amyraut, Christopher	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1669
Amyrout, Christopher Jr. (?)	Yes		Norfolk	1652	1697
Amyrout, Paul	Yes	P	Norfolk	1622	1672
Asteley, Richard	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Astie, Robert	Yes	C	Suffolk	1638	1662
Asty, Robert	Yes	C	Suffolk	1638	1672
Atkinson, Richard			Suffolk	1641	1661
Backlar, Samuel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1649	1687
Baker, Georgii (sic)	Yes		Norfolk	1637	1662
Balhoe, Thomas			Suffolk	1645	1674
Ball, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	1634	1687
Banister, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Bankes, Giles	Yes		Suffolk	1662	(?)
Bantoffe, Samuel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1650	1692
Barber, Edmund	Yes		Suffolk	1644	1662
Barbor, Francis	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Bareham, William		P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Bargrave, Joannes	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1670
Barker, Edward	Yes		Norfolk Suffolk	1650 1650	1669 1669
Barnham, John	Yes	PI	Norfolk	1662	1672
Bathe, Samuel			Suffolk	1645	1662
Batho, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1646	1662
Bathoe, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Bayes, Thomas			Norfolk	(?)	1662
Bayes, Robert	Yes		Suffolk	1661	1702
Beadle, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1623	1667

¹⁴ Six unidentified Nonformist ministers, three of whom the records indicated ministered in Norfolk, and two of whom the records indicated were from Suffolk were ejected and licensed as Congregationalists, but were omitted from this table since the data cannot be validated with other historical records without a ministry city location.

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Beck, George	Yes		Norfolk	1638	1656
Bell, William Sr.	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1672
Bellamy, Edmund			Suffolk	1650s	1672
Ben, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Benton, Thomas Sr.	Yes	C	Norfolk Suffolk	1654 1669	1660 1690
Benton, Thomas, Jr.	Yes	C	Norfolk Suffolk	1662 1669	1690 1672
Berrow, John	Yes	C	Norfolk	1661	(?)
Bidbanck, George		C	Norfolk	1662	1710
Bidbanke, William	Yes	C	Norfolk	1656	1693
Billings, Robert			Suffolk	1662	1675
Billio, Robert Jr			Norfolk	(?)	1662
Birkett, Miles	Yes	C	Suffolk Norfolk	1643 1660	1660 1661
Blackerby, Richard			Suffolk	1646	1662
Brabiter, Richard	Yes	C	Norfolk	1647	1663
Bradstreet, Simon		C	Suffolk	1627	1672
Brett, Henry	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1672
Bridge, William	Yes		Norfolk	1631	1662
Brinsley, John	Yes		Norfolk	1625	1664
Brome, Edmund	Yes		Norfolk	1647	1667
Bromwich, Lancelot	Yes		Norfolk	1635	1667
Broome, Edmond	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Browing, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Brunning, Benjamin Sr.	Yes	C	Suffolk	1656	1688
Burkitt, Miles	Yes		Suffolk	1643	1660
Burrough, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Butler, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Cade, Robert	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Candler, Mathias Sr.	Yes	C	Suffolk	1629	1672
Candler, Philip	Yes		Suffolk	1660	1689
Carter, Bezaleel			Suffolk	1645	1662
Carter, John	Yes		Norfolk	1647	1662
Catlin, Jeremiah	Yes		Suffolk	1643	1702
Chaplin, Andrew	Yes		Suffolk	1646	1662
Claget, Nicholas	Yes		Suffolk	1647	1663
Clare, Robert		C	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Clark, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1642	1672
Clarke, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1660	1674
Clegate, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Cockrayne, George			Suffolk	1645	1662

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Cocksedge, John			Suffolk	1646	1682
Cole, Theodore			Norfolk	1649	1684
Collett, Henry	Yes	C	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Collinges, John	Yes	P	Norfolk	1646	1691
Collins, John	Yes		Norfolk	1662	(?)
Cook, Roger			Suffolk	1645	1662
Cooper, Henry	Yes		Suffolk	1644	1662
Corbet, Edward	Yes		Norfolk	1634	1662
Cory, John	Yes	C	Norfolk	1656	1698
Cox, Andrew			Suffolk	1662	1680
Coxe, George			Suffolk	1645	1662
Crabtree, Elias	Yes		Norfolk	1643	1662
Cradock, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Cronshay, Robert			Norfolk	1658	1675
Crosby, Thomas			Suffolk	1645	1662
Crossman, Samuel Sr.	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Crow, Francis	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Curtis, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk Norfolk	1644 1661	1670 1672
Daines, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Daniel, John	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Danson, Thomas	Yes	P	Suffolk	1660	1662
Davis, Edward	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Day, Edmund			Norfolk	(?)	1662
Deersley, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Dominick, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Douch, John			Norfolk	1620	1666
Douglas, William			Suffolk	1645	1662
Duncan, Edmund	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Durant, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Durham, William	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Ellis, Thomas	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1672
Ellis, (?)	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Ellts, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Elsegood, Mathyas		BC	Norfolk	1662	1672
Elston, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1686
Elwood, John	Yes		Norfolk	1661	1668
English, Francis	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1669
Fairclough, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Fairclough, Samuel Sr.	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Fairfax, Benjamin	Yes	C	Suffolk	1645	1672
Fairfax, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1700
Fairfax, Nathaniel	Yes		Suffolk	1662	(?)
Fayrefax, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Fenwick, Edward (?)	Yes	P	Norfolk	1662	1672
Fenwick, John	Yes		Suffolk Norfolk	(?) (?)	1662 1662
Finch, Martin	Yes	CP	Norfolk	1662	1697
Foanes, Samuel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Folkes, William	Yes	CP	Suffolk	1662	1690
Forbee, John	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Foster, Edward	Yes		Suffolk	1646	1681
Fowler, Christopher	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Fowler, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1665
Francis, Jonathan	Yes		Norfolk	1660	1672
Franklyn, Robert	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Fyson, Thomas			Suffolk	1647	1662
Garnham, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1661	1671
Garrad, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1685
Gedney, James	Yes	P	Norfolk	1662	1672
Glanvil, Richard			Suffolk	1646	1662
Godbed, William			Norfolk	1657	1696
Gofferod, Jonathan	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Goldebrough, Giles	Yes		Suffolk	1627	1678
Gooch, John	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1669
Goodchild, John	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1711
Goodrich, William	Yes	PB	Suffolk	1646	1672
Gouge, Robert	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Goult, Richard			Suffolk	1645	1662
Green, John Jr	Yes	C	Norfolk	1655	1707
Green, John Sr.	Yes	C	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Greenwood, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Grew, Jonathan	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1660
Gyles, John		B	Suffolk	1645	1662
Habergam, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1650	1672
Hale, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Hannot, James	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1690
Harris, Robert			Suffolk	1636	1661
Harrison, Isaac	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1675
Harrison, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Harrold, Thomas(?)	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Hasbart, John	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Havel, George	Yes	P	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Herbert, William			Suffolk	1646	1681
Herdson, Francis			Suffolk	1645	1662
Hinton, William	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Hodgeskin, Willam			Suffolk	1645	1662
Holborough, Thomas Jr.	Yes	C	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Holborowe, Thomas Sr.	Yes	C	Suffolk	1662	1672
Holmstead, Richard		BC	Suffolk	1645	1662
Home, John	Yes	B	Norfolk	1662	1672
Hooke, John	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1672
Hooker, John	Yes	B	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Hooker, John	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1669
Horne, John	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1676
Howel, (?)	Yes	C	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Howel, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1656	1698
Howlett, Robert	Yes		Suffolk	1627	1672
Hudson, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1631	1683
Hurnon, John		C	Suffolk	1662	1672
Jacob, Philip			Suffolk	1645	1662
Jacob, William	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	1661
James, Thomas	Yes	P	Suffolk	1650	1683
Jarmy, George		C	Suffolk	1645	1662
Jennings, Richard	Yes	P	Suffolk	1646	1678
Jermin, Thomas			Norfolk	1661	1724
Jocelyn, Nathaniel	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Johnson, Richard	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Jones, George			Suffolk	(?)	1662
Keymer, Henry			Norfolk	1669	1672
King, Henry	Yes		Suffolk	1658	1662
King, James Jr.	Yes	PI	Suffolk	1653	1672
King, John	Yes		Suffolk	1623	1674
King, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1660	1683
Kipping, Robert			Norfolk	1669	1672
Knight, John			Norfolk	1656	1700
Knyvet, Rad		CP	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Lane, Samuel	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	(?)
Langston, John	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Larson, Thomas			Norfolk	(?)	1662
Lawrence, Matthew			Suffolk	1645	1662

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Lawrence, Richard	Yes	C	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Lawson, Thomas	Yes	Unknown	Suffolk Norfolk	1655 1649	1672 1662
Leg, Tobias	Yes		Suffolk	1650	1700
Legate, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
L'Estrange, Hamon			Norfolk Suffolk	1644 1660	1660 (?)
Leverton, Nicholas	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Levington, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Lewis, Mark	Yes	C	Norfolk	1656	1661
Lindsay, Patrick			Suffolk	1645	1663
Lougher, John	Yes	CP	Norfolk	1661	1686
Lucus, John	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Lupton, Thomas	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1672
Maile, Samuel			Suffolk	1645	1646
Malbon, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1656	1662
Manning, John	Yes	C	Suffolk	1656	1694
Manning, Samuel		C	Norfolk	1662	1672
Manning, Samuel Jr.	Yes	Unknown	Suffolk	1654	1698
Manning, William	Yes	C	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Mayhew, Richard	Yes	B	Suffolk	1662	1672
Meadowes, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1653	1696
Mercer, Robert	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Michell, Nathaniel	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1672
Mills, Thomas	Yes	BC	Suffolk	1662	(?)
Mitchell, Nathaniel	Yes	P	Norfolk	1658	1681
Molt, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Money, John	Yes	IB	Norfolk	1633	1673
Monus, (?)		P	Suffolk	1645	1662
Moore, John Jr (?)	Yes	CP	Suffolk	1662	1689
More, Richard	Yes	P	Norfolk	1648	1667
Morley, John			Norfolk	1662	1672
Morrey, Mungo			Norfolk	1658	1662
Mote, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1672
Mott, Mark	Yes		Suffolk	1639	1672
Mott, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1634	1672
Munning, William		C	Suffolk	1645	1662
Newman, Thomas	Yes	I	Norfolk	1652	1672
Newton, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Nickolets, Charles			Suffolk	1645	1662
Northcross, Nathaniel	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Odey, (?)	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1663
Ottee, Robert	Yes	I	Suffolk Norfolk	1656 1669	1689 1672
Packler, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1669
Page, John	Yes		Suffolk	1644	1672
Pearce, Samuel			Suffolk	1645	1662
Pearch, (?)	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Peck, Robert	Yes	BC	Norfolk	1605	1672
Penn, John		I	Suffolk	1645	1662
Pert, (Robert?)	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1669
Petchy, Richard			Suffolk	1645	1662
Pettaugh, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk Norfolk	1648 1662	1662 1672
Pew, John	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Peyto, Samuel	Yes	C	Suffolk	1648	1711
Phillip(s) John	Yes	C	Suffolk	1609	1672
Pindar, John	Yes	P	Suffolk Norfolk	1646 1662	1672 1682
Pitt, Nicholas	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Pittedate, (?)	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Plumstead, Augustine	Yes	PIC	Suffolk	1661	1716
Pool, Stephen	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1672
Porter, George	Yes	P	Suffolk	1662	1697
Porter, Samuel	Yes	C	Suffolk	1662	1706
Powell, William			Suffolk	1645	1662
Proud, Richard	Yes	P	Suffolk	1622	1666
Purt, Robert	Yes	C	Norfolk	1654	1715
Randolph, Robert			Norfolk	1662	1666
Ray, Clement	Yes	P	Suffolk	1640	1663
Ray, Daniel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1657	1660
Rayment, Thomas		P	Suffolk	1662	1670
Raynham, Paul		P	Suffolk	1645	1662
Reiner, Edward	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1669
Remington, Joannes			Norfolk	1661	1678
Reyner, John	Yes		Norfolk	1656	1660
Reynolds, John	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1672
Ringwood, Thomas			Norfolk	1647	1664
Rose, Isaac	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Sainthill, Peter	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Salkeld, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1654	1699
Sampson, Henry	Yes		Suffolk	1654	1660
Sanders, John	Yes	CP	Suffolk	(?)	1662

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Scandaret, Stephen	Yes	P	Suffolk	1659	1706
Scandarett, John	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1669
Sclater, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1672
Searles, (?)		CP	Suffolk	1645	1662
Seele, William		C	Norfolk	1643	1672
Sheffield, John	Yes	B	Norfolk	1662	1672
Sheldrake, William	Yes	C	Norfolk	1652	1685
Shepard, John	Yes	P	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Shepherd, William			Suffolk	1615	1673
Sherman, Edward	Yes	P	Suffolk	1656	1672
Shipdam, Esdras		I	Norfolk	1662	1672
Shipdam, Israel	Yes		Norfolk	1655	1672
Shipdam, Isaiah	Yes	PIC	Norfolk	1655	1683
Short, William			Suffolk	(?)	1662
Simonds, (?)	Yes		Suffolk	1659	1672
Simson, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1642	1672
Slater, Samuel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1651	1672
Slayter, William			Suffolk	1662	1672
Small, James	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Smart, Ezechiel			Suffolk	1645	1662
Smart, Nathaniel			Suffolk	1646	1662
Smith, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Smith, Robert	Yes	CP	Suffolk	1662	1705
Smith, Zephaniah	Yes		Suffolk	1656	1660
Snelocke, John		BC	Suffolk	1646	1672
Snowden, Benjamin	Yes	P	Norfolk	1661	1696
Soanderell, John			Suffolk	1662	1669
Sotheby, Thomas		P	Suffolk	1645	1662
Sparrow, William	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Galielmi Sparrow	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Spatchett, Thomas	Yes	C	Norfolk	1653	1662
Spring, Samuel	Yes	P	Suffolk	1646	1672
Spring, Samuel Jr.	Yes	P	Suffolk	1646	1672
Spurdance, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1655	1662
Stansby, Robert			Suffolk	1645	1662
Stanton, Nicholas		C	Suffolk	1645	1662
Stark(e), John	Yes	C	Suffolk Norfolk	1654 1672	1672 1701
Steffe, John			Suffolk	1660	1683
Stephens, Henry	Yes		Suffolk	1662	1672
Stoneham, Samuel			Norfolk	1648	1672

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Stonham, Benjamin	Yes	P	Suffolk	1655	1662
Storer, John	Yes		Suffolk	1662	(?)
Stover, John			Suffolk	(?)	1662
Strowger, John	Yes	IC	Suffolk	1662	1672
Sumpter, Charles	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Sutton, Samuel	Yes		Suffolk	1633	1673
Swayne, John	Yes		Norfolk Suffolk	1635 1645	1663 1660
Syer, John Jr.			Suffolk	1660	1669
Symonds, John	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Tailor, James	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Taylor, Thomas	Yes	P	Suffolk	1655	1674
Theoderick, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Thirlby, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Thomas, Ed.	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Thornbeck, (?)			Suffolk	1645	1662
Tookey, Henry			Norfolk	1650	1676
Tookie, Job	Yes		Norfolk	(?)	1662
Townsend, Sampson	Yes		Norfolk	1655	1661
Trebick, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Vin, Richard	Yes	PI	Norfolk	1660	1672
Voice, Edward	Yes	C	Norfolk Suffolk	1640 1644	1662 1660
Voice, Richard (?)	Yes	B	Suffolk	(?)	1662
Votier, Jacob	Yes	P	Suffolk	1653	1692
Votier, James	Yes	P	Suffolk	1658	1690
Waite, John	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1662
Waite, Joseph	Yes		Suffolk	1654	1670
Walker, Thomas	Yes	PB	Suffolk	1636	1672
Wall, Daniel	Yes		Suffolk	1655	1670
Waller, James	Yes	PB	Suffolk	1659	1697
Ward, (Joseph or possibly Richard)	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1672
Ward, John			Suffolk	1651	1662
Warren, Thomas	Yes		Suffolk	1645	1662
Waterhouse, Thomas	Yes	BC	Suffolk	1662	1681
Watson, Robert	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1672
Weld, John Sr.	Yes		Suffolk	1643	1660
Wells, Francis	Yes	CP	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Wenburn, John	Yes		Suffolk	1660	1672
Whincop, Edmund	Yes	C	Suffolk	1662	1674
Whiting, John	Yes		Suffolk	1638	1672

Minister Name	Ejected	License	Shire A	Ministry Began	Ministry Ended
Wicks, Robert		C	Suffolk	1645	1662
Wield, John			Suffolk	1645	1662
Wilborne, (?)	Yes	C	Norfolk	1662	1669
Wilkinson, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1646	1675
Willes, Henry	Yes	C	Suffolk	1662	1687
Williamson, Henry	Yes		Suffolk	(?)	1698
Windres, Thomas	Yes		Norfolk	1662	1672
Winston, John	Yes	C	Norfolk	(?)	1662
Wood, John			Suffolk	1647	1662
Woodall, Frederic	Yes	CP	Suffolk	1645	1681
Woods, John	Yes	P	Suffolk	1649	1672
Woodward, (?)	Yes		Suffolk	1660	1662
Woodward, Enoch	Yes	C	Norfolk	1658	1698
Woorts, Thomas	Yes	B	Norfolk	1662	1672
Worseley, Edward	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Worts, Richard	Yes	C	Norfolk	1649	1686
Worts, Thomas	Yes	CP	Norfolk	1622	1697
Write, Edward		P	Suffolk	1645	1662
Yates, John	Yes		Norfolk	1648	1662
Yonger, Hyman		C	Suffolk	1646	1662
Young, Henry			Suffolk	1645	1662
Young, Roger	Yes	C	Suffolk	1654	1688
Young, Thomas			Suffolk	1645	1662

Legend: B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; I=Independent; P=Presbyterian

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); John Browne, *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (London, 1877).CCEd: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Alexander Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection* (1690-1692) (Manchester, 1917); A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934); Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Vol. 2 (London, 1775); Surman's Congregational Ministers Database, (Dr. William's Library, London); G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911).

Appendix 11: Nonconformist Minister Database (1669-1672)

A-ATH

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Abbes, Christopher [N]/SFK/ /P(N)	Alison, Samuel [N]/SFK/P/P(N)	Anderton, Philip [E]/ESS/ / /Y)
Abbot, (?) [N]/MON/ /C(N)	Allred, Robert [E]/NFK/ / /N)	Anderton, Roger [E]/SOM/ /P(N)
Abbot, John [E]/SSX/ / /Y)	Allein, Richard [E]/SOM/CP/ /Y)	Anderton, Thomas [N]/LIN/ /P(N)
Abbot, Robert [E]/DOR/ /C(N)	Alleine, John [E]/LIN/ /C(N)	Andrews, (?) [N]/WAR/N/ /N)
Abbot, Robert [E]/ESS/ /CP(Y)	Alleine, Joseph [E]/SOM/ / /Y)	Andrews, Thomas [E]/NTH/P/CP(Y)
Abbott, Ralph [N]/KEN/ / /N)	Alleine, William [E]/GLS,WIL/ /P(Y)	Ange, Richard [E]/WAR/ /P(N)
Abbott, Thomas [N]/LAN/ / /N)	Allen, (?) [E]/WIL/ /P(Y)	Angier, John Sr. [E]/LAN/ /CP(Y)
Abdy, James [E]/ LIN/ /P(Y)	Allen, Edmund [N]/NFK/ / /N)	Angier, Samuel [E]/OXF/ /C(Y)
Abercromby, Thomas [N]/LIN/ /P(N)	Allen, Jeremy [N]/HAM/ / /N)	Angier, Samuel Jr. [E]/LAN/ /P(N)
Ackworth, Allen [E]/SRY/ /P(Y)	Allen, John [N]/LEI/ / /N)	Angler, John [E]/LAN/ / /N)
Acton, (?) [N]/HAM/P/P(N)	Allen, John Jr. [E]/OXF/ /C(N)	Anguish, Richard [N]/NFK/ / /N)
Adam, John [N]/SAL/N/ /N)	Allen, John Sr. [E]/NFK/ /P(N)	Annand, William [N]/KEN/ / /N)
Adams, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ /N)	Allen, Joseph [E]/CON/ /P(Y)	Annesley, Samuel [E] /LND,MDX/P/P(Y)
Adams, Charles [N]/ESS/ / /N)	Allen, Richard [N]/LND/ / /N)	Ansley, John [E]/CAM/N/ /N)
Adams, Christopher [N]/CAM/PN/ /N)	Allen, Robert [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)	Anthony, Charles [N]/YKS/ / /N)
Adams, John [E]/STS,SAL,FLN/ /C(Y)	Allen, Thomas [E]/NFK/C/C(Y)	Antram, Johes [N]/DOR/ / /N)
Adams, John [N]/CAM/P/P(N)	Allen, William [N]/SOM/PN/ /N)	Antrobus, William [N]/(?) / /N)
Adams, John [N]/BRK/B/P(N)	Allerton, William [N]/YKS/ / /N)	Applebye, Christopher [N]/NFK/C/ /N)
Adams, Joseph [N]/CAM/N/ /N)	Alley, William [N]/BKM/B/ /N)	Appletree, Philip [N]/OXF/ /CP(N)
Adams, Richard [E]/LEI/B/BC(Y)	Alleyne, Richard [N]/SOM/ / /N)	Archer, Edward [E]/STS/ /C(Y)
Adams, Richard [E]/LND/ / /Y)	Allibond, John [N]/GLS/ / /N)	Argor, John [E]/ESS/ /C(Y)
Adams, Tobias Jr. [E]/SOM/P/ /Y)	Allin, John [E]/MDX/ / /N)	Argor, John [E]/GLS/ /C(N)
Adams, Tobias Sr. [E]/SOM/ / /N)	Alliston, Matthew [E]/ESS/ / /N)	Arlush, Stephen [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)
Adams, William [N]/SSX/ / /N)	Allot, John [E]/LND/ / /Y)	Armitage, John [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)
Addenbrooke, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /P(N)	Allum, George [N]/SOM/PN/ /N)	Armitage, Robert [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)
Addington, Richard [N]/OXF/ /P(N)	Alsop, John [E]/SOM/PN/ /N)	Arnold, Elias [E]/SSX/ /C(Y)
Adkins, Robert [N]/DEV/ / /N)	Alsop, Vincent [E]/NTH/ /CP(Y)	Arthur, John [E]/KEN/B/C(Y)
Agar, John [E]/ESS/ / /N)	Alsop, William [E]/SOM/P/P(Y)	Arts, (?) [N]/GLA/P/ /N)
Agas, Benjamin [E]/BKM/ / /Y)	Ambrose Daniel Jr. [N]/YKS/ / /N)	Ashburnham Henry [E]/NBL/ /P(Y)
Agerton, Richard [E]/SOM/N/P(Y)	Ambrose, Charles [E]/BRK/B/C(N)	Ashley, Herbert [E]/BRK/ / /N)
Ainsworth, William [N]/YKS/ / /N)	Ambrose, Joshua [E]/LAN/ /C(Y)	Ashley, William [N]/(?) / /N)
Airay, Adam [N]/HAM/ / /N)	Ambrose, Laurence [E]/BRK/B/ /N)	Ashly, (?) [E]/STS/ /P(Y)
Airay, Christopher [N]/HAM/ / /N)	Ambrose, Nehemiah [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Ashton, Peter [E]/YKS/ / /Y)
Airay, Richard [N]/LEI/ / /N)	Amery, John Jr. [N]/SOM/PN/ /N)	Ashton, Roger [N]/DEV/ / /N)
Aird, James [E]/NBL/ /C(Y)	Ames, William [E]/SFK/ / /N)	Ashurst, James [E]/BDF/ /P(Y)
Aire, (?) [E]/DOR/ /CP(N)	Ames, William Jr. [E]/SFK/ /CP(Y)	Ashwell, George [N]/OXF/ / /N)
Alban, Peter [N]/SFK/P/P(N)	Amgile, Christopher [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)	Ashwell, Nicholas [N]/ESS/ /P(N)
Albin, Henry [E]/SOM/PN/ /N)	Amos, William [N]/NFK/P/P(N)	Ashwood,Bartholomew [E] /DEV/ /CP(Y)
Alchurch, John [E]/WIL/ / /N)	Amye, Edward [N]/SOM/ / /N)	Ashwood, John [E]/SOM/ / /Y)
Alcock, Nathaniel [N]/BDF/ /C(N)	Amyraut, Christopher [E]/NFK/C/ /Y)	Ashwood, Luke [E] /BDF,CAM/CN/C(N)
Alden (?) [E]/CAM/ /P(N)	Amyrout,Christopher Jr(?) [E]/NFK/ / /Y)	Aslack, William [E]/BRK,LIN/ / /N)
Aldred, Jeremiah [E]/LAN/ /C(N)	Amyrout, Paul [E]/NFK/ /P(Y)	Aspinall, Thomas [N]/CHS/ /P(N)
Aldridge, John [N]/SOM/PN/P(N)	Ancketill, Henry [N]/SOM/ / /N)	Aspinwall, Peter [E]/LAN/ /CP(Y)
Aldridge, Michael [N]/HAM/ /BC(N)	Ancketyll, Edward [N]/SOM/ / /N)	Aspinwall,William[E]/LAN,YKS/ /P(Y)
Aldwinckle, Thomas [E]/NTH/ /CP(N)	Anderson, David [E]/SRY/ /C(Y)	Astell, Ralph Jr. [E]/CHS/ /C(N)
Alexander, Edward [E]/LND/ /C(Y)	Anderson, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / /N)	Astley, Richard [E]/LAN,YKS/ /C(Y)
Alexander, Samuel [E]/NFK/ /C(Y)	Anderson, Nicholas [N]/YKS/ / /N)	Asty, John [E]/NFK/ /P(N)
Alflatt, Matthew [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)	Anderson, Robert [N]/LIN/ / /N)	Asty, Robert [E]/SFK/C/C(Y)
Alford, (?) Capt. [E]/DOR/P/P(Y)	Anderson, William [N]/CHS/ / /N)	Asty, Robert Jr. [E]/ESS/C/ /Y)
Alford, Robert [E]/DOR/ /PB(N)	Anderton, James [N]/BRK/ / /N)	Athow, Christopher [N]/NFK/ / /N)
Alison, Rice [N]/NFK/ /B(N)	Anderton, John [N]/LIN/ /B(N)	Atkin, William [N]/DEV/ /P(N)

Nonconformist Minister Database -2

ATK-BAY

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Atkins, Alexander [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Bakewell, Thomas [E]/STS/P/PBC/(Y)	Barnes,Thomas [E]/MON,GLS/CIN/IC/(N)
Atkins, Francis [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Balch, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Barnet, Andrew [E]/CHS,SAL/ / / (Y)
Atkins, Robert [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)	Balch, Thomas [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Barnet, Joshua [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)
Atkinson, James [E]/WES/ /P/(Y)	Balder, (?) [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Barnett, Alexander [N]/NFK/ / / (N)
Atkinson, Nathaniel [E]/BRK/ / / (N)	Baldwin, Daniel [E]/BKM/P/ / (N)	Barnett, Andrew [E]/SAL,NTH/ / / (N)
Atkinson, Peter [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Baldwin, Henry [E]/HRT/ / / (N)	Barnham, John [E]/NFK/P/P/(N)
Atkinson, Peter Sr. [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)	Baldwin, John [N]/LIN/ / / (N)	Barnsdale, John [E]/GLS/ / / (Y)
Atkinson, Simon [E]/CUL/N/PI/(Y)	Baldwin, Richard [E]/LEI/ / / (N)	Barret, Christopher [N]/HAM/ / / (N)
Atkinson, Wiliam [E]/CUL/ /CP/(N)	Baldwin, Roger [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Barret, George [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Attwood, Kinge [N]/SRY/ / / (N)	Baldwin, Thomas [E]/WOR/ /P/(Y)	Barret, John [E]/DBY,NTT,DOR/ / / (Y)
Atwell, William [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Baldwin, Thomas [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Barret, Michael [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Audland, Samuel [E]/WES/ / / (N)	Baldwin, Thomas [E]/STS/ / / (Y)	Barret, Philip [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Audley, Thomas [N]/(?) / / (N)	Baldwine, Thomas [E]/WAR/PN/C/(Y)	Barret, Simon [E]/BRK,WIL/ / / (Y)
Audsley, Roger [N]/YKS/ / / (N)	Balhoe, Thomas [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Barrow, Richard [N]/KEN/B/C/(N)
Augustin, Peter [N]/(?) / / (N)	Ball, (?) [N]/CAM/N/ / (N)	Barrowes, John [E]/LEI/ / / (N)
Austin, Benjamin [E]/BRK/ / / (N)	Ball, John [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Barry, Nathaniel [E]/KEN/P/P/(Y)
Austin, John [E]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Ball, Nathaniel [E]/ESS,HRT,CAM/CP/P/(N)	Barston, John [E]/HEF,WOR/ /PB/(Y)
Austine, Henry [E]/NFK/B/B/(Y)	Ball, William [E]/LND,DEV,SOM/N/P/(Y)	Bartlet, Robert [E]/DOR,SOM,WIL/PCN/PB/(Y)
Avenen, John [N]/BDF/ /C/(N)	Ballett, Gabriell [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Bartlet, Bolster [E]/SOM/N/ / (Y)
Averie, Richard [E]/HAM,BRK/ / / (N)	Ballowe, Thomas [N]/SSX/ / / (N)	Bartlet, John [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)
Avery, William [N]/SSX/ / / (N)	Balmer, Niccollas [E]/BRK/ / / (N)	Bartlet, John Jr. [E]/DEV/ /CP/(N)
Ayers, James [E]/KEN/ / / (N)	Balster, John [E]/DEV/P/CP/(N)	Bartlet, Timothy [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Ayers, William [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)	Bampffield, Francis [E]/DOR/ /PN/(Y)	Bartlet, Timothy [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Ayleward, William [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)	Bampton, Richard [N]/(?) / / (N)	Bartlet, William [E]/DEV,DOR/ /CP/(Y)
Aynsworth, Ralph [E]/CHS/ /C/(N)	Banckes, William [N]/YKS/ / / (N)	Barton, (?) [N]/DBY/N/ / (N)
Aynsworth, William [N]/LEI,YKS/B/B/(N)	Banger, Josiah [E]/SOM/P/ / (Y)	Barton, Edward [E]/NTH/ / / (N)
Baber, Edward [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Bann, Nathaniel [E]/RUT,LAN/ / / (Y)	Barton, George [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)
Babington, Humphrey [E]/WAR/ / / (N)	Bantoffe, Samuel [E]/ESS,SFK/ /P/(Y)	Barton, John [E]/CHS/ /C/(N)
Babington, Richard [E]/DEV,ESS/ /B/(N)	Barber, John [N]/YKS/C/ / (N)	Barton, Nathaniel [E]/DBY/C/CP/(Y)
Bachler, Thomas Gilbert [N]/OXF/ / / (N)	Barbolt, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Barton, Thomas [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Backaller, Henry [E]/SOM,BRK/ / / (Y)	Barces, Robert [E]/CAM/P/(N)	Barwicke(s), (?) [N]/NFK /C/(N)
Backaller, Henry [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Barcroft, Hugh [E]/WIL/ /C/(Y)	Bases, Ithel [E]/STS/ /CP/(N)
Backlar, Samuel [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Barford, Thomas [N]/LEI/ / / (N)	Bass, John [E]/SFK/C/CP/(Y)
Bacon, Christopher [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Bargrave, Joannes [E]/SFK/ / / (N)	Basset, Josiah [E]/LND/ / / (Y)
Bacon, Francis [N]/WAR/ / / (N)	Barham, Abraham [E]/(?) / / (N)	Baston, J. [E]/HEF,WOR/P/ / (Y)
Bacon, Richard [N]/SSX/ /PB/(N)	Barham, Arthur [E]/LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)	Bastone, Joane [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Baden, Thomas [N]/WIL/ / / (N)	Barker, (?) [E]/CHS/ / / (N)	Batchelour, Richard [E]/BRK/P/ / (Y)
Badland, Thomas [E]/WOR/ /P/(Y)	Barker, Edward [E]/NFK,SFK/C/ / (Y)	Bate, William [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Bagett, Thomas [E]/LEI/ /P/(N)	Barker, John [N]/STS/ /P/(N)	Bates, William [E]/MDX,LND/P/CP/(Y)
Bagnall, Robert [N]/SOM/ /P/(N)	Barker, John [E]/WIL/ /B/(N)	Bath, Robert [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Bagott, Richard [E]/SAL/ /P/(N)	Barker, Matthew[E]/LND,MDX/ / / (Y)	Batho, William [E]/SRY/ /CP/(Y)
Bagshaw, Edward [E]/LEI,BKM,WAR/N/ / (N)	Barker, Robert [E]/LND,MDX/ /C/(N)	Batt, Amos [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Bagshaw, Edward Sr. [E]/WAR/ / / (Y)	Barker, William [N]/BKM/ / / (N)	Batt, Jasper [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Bagshaw, William [E]/YKS,DBY/ / / (Y)	Barker, William [N]/YKS/ / / (N)	Batt, John [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)
Bailey, William [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)	Barksdale, Clemens [N]/GLS/ / / (N)	Batt, Joseph [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Baine, John [N]/YKS/ / / (N)	Barling, Clement [E]/KEN/ /P/(N)	Batt, Timothy [E]/SOM,DEV/PN/CP/(Y)
Baker, John [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	Barlow, Barnaby [N]/NTT/ / / (N)	Batten, Richard [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)
Baker, John [E]/SOM/ / / (Y)	Barlow, Thomas [N]/OXF/ / / (N)	Bawden, Thomas [E]/DEV/ / / (N)
Baker, John [E]/WIL,MDX,LND/P/P/(Y)	Barnard, Nathaniel [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Bawdon, Humphrey [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Baker, John [N]/BDF/ / / (N)	Barnard, William [N]/LIN/ / / (N)	Baxeley, Richard [N]/WAR/B/P/(N)
Baker, Robert [N]/SSX/ / / (N)	Barne, Miles [E]/BKM/ / / (N)	Baxter, Benjamin [E]/WOR/ / / (Y)
Baker, Samuel [N]/SFK/CP/BC/(N)	Barnes, John [N]/SFK/ /P/(N)	Baxter, Richard [N]/MON/C/P/(N)
Baker, William [E]/SOM/PN/B/(N)	Barnes, Joseph [N]/BRK/ / / (N)	Baxter, Stephen [E]/WOR/ / / (Y)
Baker, William [N]/HUN/ / / (N)	Barnes, Richard [N]/NTH/ /C/(N)	Bayes, Robert [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -3

BAY-BOS

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Bayes, Samuel [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)	Bennet, Robert [E]/BKM,OXF/ / / (Y)	Birchall, William [E]/CAM/ /P/(N)
Bayley, William [E]/STS/P/P/(N)	Bennett, Edward [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Birchetts, (?) [N]/NTT/P/C/(N)
Baylie, William [E]/LIN/ / / (N)	Bennett, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Bird, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Bayly, William [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Bennett, John Sr. [E]/LND/ /P/(N)	Bird, John [E]/CUL/ /C/(N)
Baylyes, John [N]/WAR/N/C/(N)	Bennett, John Jr. [E]/NTH/ / / (N)	Birdwood, James [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Baynard, Abdiel [N]/ESS,WIL/ /P/(N)	Bennett, Joseph Sr. [E]/SSX/B/CP/(N)	Birkbeck, Thomas [E]/YKS/P/CP/(N)
Baynard, John [E]/NTH/ / / (Y)	Bennett, Thomas [N]/SSX/PBN/ / (N)	Birkett, John [E]/LIN,NTT/ /P/(N)
Bayock, James [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Bennom, Richard [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Birkett, Miles [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)
Bazely, John Jr. [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Bennom, William [N]/BKM/ / / (N)	Bishop, Gabriel [N]/DBY/N/ / (N)
Beadle, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Benson, George [E]/CUL,WES/ /PI/(Y)	Bishop, Richard [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Beak, Robert [E]/KEN/N/P/(Y)	Benson, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Bishop, Thomas [N]/DBY/N/C/(N)
Beake, Thomas [E]/KEN/P/CP/(N)	Bentley, Eli [E]/CAM,YKS/ /P/(Y)	Bissell, John [E]/LIN/ /C/(Y)
Beale, William [E]/MDX,LND/ /CP/(Y)	Benton, Thomas Sr. [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Black, Thomas [E]/BRK/ / / (N)
Beame, Thomas [N]/KEN/P/P/(N)	Benton, Thomas, Jr. [E]/SFK,NFK/C/C/(Y)	Blackaller, George [N]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Beard, Edmond [N]/LIN/ / / (N)	Benton, William [E]/YKS/N/P/(Y)	Blackburne, William [N]/CAM/BC/P/(N)
Beard, John [N]/SAL/PN/P/(N)	Benyon, Robert [N]/SAL/N/P/(N)	Blackmore, Chewing [E]/WOR/ /P/(N)
Beard, William [N]/SSX/N/ / (N)	Bere, Peter [E]/DEV/ /CP/(N)	Blackmore, James [E]/KEN/B/P/(Y)
Bearman, William [E]/SRY,LND/ /C/(Y)	Bereman, (?) [N]/LND,MDX/C/C/(N)	Blackmore, William [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)
Beaton, Henry [N]/DOR/ /CP/(N)	Beresford, Samuel [E]/DBY,SAL,STS/PN/CP/(Y)	Bladon, Thomas [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)
Beaton, John Jr. [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Bernard, (?) [E]/CUL/ /CP/(N)	Blagrove, William [E]/BDF/ /C/(Y)
Beaton, John Sr. [N]/SSX/ /C/(N)	Bernard, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)	Blake, Benjamin [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Beck, Thomas [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)	Bernard, John [N]/SRY,WIL/B/ / (N)	Blake, Edward [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Becket, John [N]/SRY/P/B/(N)	Bernard, William [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)	Blake, Henry [E]/BRK,HAM/ /P/(Y)
Becket, William [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Berrow, John [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)	Blake, Malachi [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)
Beddos, William [N]/MGY/C/C/(N)	Berry, Benjamin [E]/DEV,SOM/PN/CP/(Y)	Blake, Thomas [E]/HAM/ / / (Y)
Bedford, Isaac [E]/HRT/ /I/(Y)	Berry, Henry [E]/SOM,DEV/PN/CP/(Y)	Blakely, (?) [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)
Bedford, James [E]/HUN/ / / (Y)	Berry, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Blinman, John [N]/SOM/BN/P/(N)
Bedle, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Berry, John [N]/LND/ /P/(N)	Blinman, Richard [E]/SOM,GLS/ / / (Y)
Bee, Henry [E]/NTT,LEI,DBY/ /CP/(Y)	Berry, Nathaniel [N]/KEN/P/P/(N)	Blinman, Thomas [N]/SOM/BN/ / (N)
Beeby, John [E]/STS,DBY/ /CP/(Y)	Berry, William [N]/LAN/ /P/(N)	Bloom, Matthew [E]/YKS/P/CP/(Y)
Beech, Thomas [N]/STS/ /B/(N)	Best, James [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)	Blount, (?) [N]/STS/P/ / (N)
Beecher, Edward [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Bettesworth, Arthur [E]/SSX/PIC/ / (N)	Blower, Joshua [N]/ESS/ / / (N)
Beeston, Richard [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Bevis, Nathaniel [N]/WIL/C/ / (N)	Blower, Samuel [E]/OXF/ /C/(Y)
Behant, Peter [E]/HAM/P/CP/(Y)	Bickley, Richard [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Bloxom, Barnabas [N]/LND,MDX/C/C/(N)
Belcher, Thomas [E]/WAR/N/ / (Y)	Bicknel, William [E]/HAM/ /PB/(Y)	Blundell, Edmond [N]/SRY/ /B/(N)
Bell, (?) [E]/WAR/ / / (Y)	Bidbanck, George [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)	Blunt, Robert [E]/NBL,LND/ /P/(Y)
Bell, Christopher [E]/CAM/ /B/(Y)	Bidbank, Robert [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)	Blythe, Joseph [N]/LEI/BC/B/(N)
Bell, Humphrey [E]/NBL/ / / (Y)	Bidbanke, William [E]/NFK/C/C/(Y)	Board, Edmond [N]/BKM/ / / (N)
Bell, Richard [E]/WOR,WAR,STS/ /P/(N)	Bifeild, (?) [E]/DEV/ /C/(N)	Boden, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Bell, Richard [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Bigg, Edward [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)	Boheme, George [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)
Bell, William [E]/WAR/PN/ / (Y)	Bigley, John [E]/ESS,SFK/P/P/(Y)	Bolster, Joseph [E]/SOM/C/P/(N)
Bell, William Jr. [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Billaway, W. [E]/ESS/P/P/(N)	Boncle, John [E]/LND/ /C/(N)
Bell, William Sr. [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Billingsley, John [E]/NTT/P/CP/(N)	Bond, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Bellamys, Edmund [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Billingsley, Nicholas Sr. [E]/GLS/ / / (Y)	Bond, (?) [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)
Ben(n), William [E]/DOR/CP/C/(N)	Billingsley, Richard [E]/HAM/ / / (Y)	Bond, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)
Bender, Josias [N]/SOM/N/CP/(N)	Billio, Robert Sr. [E]/ESS/P/PI/(N)	Bond, Sampson [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)
Bendlows, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Bimister, Richard [N]/KEN/C/ / (N)	Bonner, Thomas [E]/LIN/ /P/(N)
Benion, Robert [N]/SAL/P/P/(N)	Bindon, George [E]/SOM,DEV/PN/P/(Y)	Boole, Jonathan [E]/NTT,LIN/ / / (Y)
Benlows, Thomas [E]/NBL/P/(Y)	Bineton, John [N]/DOR/P/P/(N)	Boosh, Richard [E]/LEI/ /BC/(N)
Benn, William [E]/DOR/ / / (N)	Bingham, John [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)	Borne, (?) [N]/CAM/CN/P/(N)
Bennet, John [E]/DBY/ /C/(N)	Binmore, Richard [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Bosse, Thomas [E]/LEI/ / / (Y)
Bennet, Joseph [E]/SRY/ / / (N)	Birch, Robert [E]/LAN,CHS/ /PI/(Y)	Bostock, Henry [N]/CAM/CN/ / (N)
Bennet, Matthew [N]/WIL/C/P/(N)	Birch, Samuel [E]/BRK/ /P/(Y)	Boswell, (?) [N]/DBY/ /C/(N)
Bennet, Philip [E]/CUL/ /C/(Y)	Birchall, Richard [N]/LAN/ /P/(N)	Bosworn, Thomas [E]/NTT/ /B/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -4

BOS-BYF

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Bote, Ralph [E]/LAN,SAL/ / (Y)	Bristow, Simon [N]/DBY/C/C(N)	Bugby, Isaac [E]/ESS/ /C(N)
Boucher, Edward [E]/WOR/ /P(Y)	Brittaine, Theophilus [E]/LIN/ /B(Y)	Bulkley, John [E]/MDX/ /P(Y)
Boult, Thomas [N]/DOR/ / (N)	Broadley, Daniel [E]/CUL/ /P(Y)	Bull, Daniel [E]/DOR,LND/P/P(Y)
Bound, George [E]/ESS/ /PI(Y)	Brockman, William [N]/BRK/C/P(N)	Bulstrode, Samuel (Sir)[N]/WIL/ /C(N)
Bourn, Samuel [E]/WIL,DBY/ /B(N)	Brodnax, William Sir [N]/KEN/CP/P(N)	Bumstead, William [E]/ESS/ / (N)
Bovel, Francis [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)	Brokesby, Francis [N]/YKS/ /CP(N)	Bunkley, John [E]/BRK/ /C(Y)
Bowater, Samuel [E]/WOR/ / (N)	Bromfield, Patrick [E]/NBL/ / (Y)	Bunn, John [E]/WAR,DOR/C/C(N)
Bowden, Jonathan [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Bromhall, Andrew [E]/DOR/ /C(Y)	Bunn, William [N]/DOR/C/C(N)
Bowden, Joseph [E]/SOM/ / (N)	Bromley, (?) [N]/BRK/C/ (N)	Bunny, Richard [N]/HAM/B/BC(N)
Bowden, Joshua [E]/DOR/ / (Y)	Bromwich, Thomas [E]/WOR/ / (N)	Bunyon, John [N]/BDF/ /C(N)
Bowles, Edward [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)	Brook, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /C(Y)	Burch, Robert [E]/CHS/ /C(N)
Bowne, Ralph [N]/DBY/CP/ (N)	Brooke, Ambrose [N]/SOM/BN/ (N)	Burchil, William [E]/CAM/ / (Y)
Bowyer, Benjamin [E]/KEN/B/B(Y)	Brooke, George [N]/CAM/N/ (N)	Burdett, William [N]/LEI/ /B(N)
Boyer, Elias [E]/NTT/B/ (Y)	Brookes, John [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)	Burdsall, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / (N)
Boyle, William [E]/HEF/ / (N)	Brookes, Richard [E]/WAR/PN/ (Y)	Burdwood, James [E]/DEV/ /P/PI(Y)
Brabourne, William [E]/DOR/ / (N)	Brookman, William [N]/BRK/FAN/P(N)	Bures, Richard [E]/KEN,SRY/ /P(Y)
Brace, Thomas [E]/BDF/C/ (Y)	Brooks, Richard [E]/(?) / (N)	Burges, Daniel Sr. [E]/WIL,BRK/PN/ (Y)
Braden, Roger [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Brooks, Thomas [E]/LND/P/C(Y)	Burgess, Anthony [E]/WAR/ /P(Y)
Bradford, Daniell [E]/NFK/B/ (Y)	Brooks, William Jr. [E]/WAR/ /P/ (Y)	Burgess, Benjamin Jr. [E]/HAM,DEV,BRK/P/ (Y)
Bradley, Alexander [N]/ESS/ / (N)	Brooksbanke, John [E]/YKS/ / (N)	Burgess, Benjamin Sr. [E]/HAM/ / (N)
Bradley, William [N]/NTT/BC/C(N)	Broome, (?) [E]/LND/ /P(N)	Burgess,Daniel Jr.(Dr.)[E]/WIL/P/P(N)
Bradshaw, James [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Broome, John [N]/SOM/PBN/ (N)	Burgess, John [E]/MDX/ /P(Y)
Bradshaw, Nathaniel [E]/CAM/ /P(Y)	Broome, Thomas [E]/NTH/ /P(N)	Burkit, William [E]/SFK/ / (N)
Bradstreet, Simon [E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Broster, (?) [E]/HEF/ /P(Y)	Burkitt, Miles [E]/NFK/ / (Y)
Bragg, Matthew [E]/DOR/ /PB(N)	Broster, John [E]/SAL/ /P(N)	Burnam, Nathaniel [E]/YKS/ /P(N)
Bragg, Robert Sr. [E]/HRT,LND/P/P(Y)	Brotherhood, George [E]/LEI/PB/ (N)	Burnand, Nathaniel [E]/DUR/PI/(Y)
Bragg, William [E]/DOR/ / (N)	Broughton, Andrew [E]/RUT/ /P(N)	Burnet, Andrew [E]/LND/ / (N)
Braiser, John [N]/CAM/CN/ (N)	Brounker , Thomas Jr. [E]/CHS/ / (Y)	Burnet, Samuel [E]/OXF/ /B(Y)
Brampton, Edward [N]/SOM/PN/ (N)	Brown, James [E]/HAM/P/CP(Y)	Burnet, William [E]/LND/ /P(Y)
Brand, Thomas [E]/KEN/ /PB(N)	Brown, James [E]/HAM/ /P(N)	Burnet, William [N]/SRY/ / (N)
Branker, (?) [N]/DOR/P/P(N)	Brown, John [N]/WIL/C/C(N)	Burrens, (?) [N]/BRK/C/P(N)
Brantoffe, Samuel [E]/ESS/ /P(N)	Brown, Joseph [E]/ESS/ / (Y)	Burroughs, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /P(N)
Brereton, John [E]/CHS,LAN/ /P(Y)	Brown, Thomas [E]/HAM/P/ (Y)	Burroughs, William [N]/WAR/B/P(N)
Brett, Henry [E]/NFK/C/C(N)	Browne, (?) [N]/SAL/B/ (N)	Burt, William [N]/HAM/ / (N)
Brett, John [E]/SSX/ /CP(Y)	Browne, Edward [E]/KEN/ /PB(Y)	Burthogge, Richard [N]/DEV/ / (N)
Brett, Samuel [N]/NTT/B/ (N)	Browne, Henry [N]/LIN/ / (N)	Burton, William [E]/LIN/ /B(Y)
Brewer, Nicolas [N]/SSX/CN/C(N)	Browne, John [N]/SAL/ / (N)	Burwell, Jeremiah [E]/HRT/ /B(Y)
Briars, John [E]/LAN/ /I(Y)	Browne, John [E]/SFK/ / (Y)	Bury, Edward [E]/STS/ / (Y)
Brice, (?) [N]/BRK/P/ (N)	Browne, William [N]/WIL/P/P(N)	Bush, John [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)
Brice, (?) Sr. [N]/BKM/P/ (N)	Browning, Thomas [E]/NTH/ /B(Y)	Bushnell, John [E]/SSX/ / (Y)
Brice, Bolster [N]/SOM/N/ (N)	Bruice, William [E]/LND/P/C(N)	Butler, (?) [E]/NTH/ /C(Y)
Brice, John Jr. [E]/SOM,DOR/C/ (Y)	Brunning, Benjamin Sr.[E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Butler, Henry [E]/SOM/PCN/CP(Y)
Brice, John Sr. [E]/BRK,KEN,BKM/ / (Y)	Brunning, Benjamin Jr.[E]/NTT/ /P(Y)	Butler, Hugh [E]/BKM,MDX/ /P(Y)
Brice, William [E]/OXF,BRK/P/P(Y)	Bryan, Henry [E]/WAR/BN/ (Y)	Butler, John [E]/NFK/ / (Y)
Bricknal, Samuel [E]/SSX/ /P(Y)	Bryan, Jarvis [E]/WOR/ /P(Y)	Butler, John [E]/STS/ / (Y)
Bridge, William [E]/NFK,SRY,SFK/P/ (Y)	Bryan, John Dr. [E]/WAR/PN/P(Y)	Butler, John [N]/WAR/B/ (N)
Bridges, Samuel [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)	Bryan, John, Jr. [E]/SAL/ / (Y)	Butler, William [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)
Bright, Edward [E]/KEN/ / (Y)	Bryan, Nathaniel [E]/STS/ /B(Y)	Buttall, Samuel [E]/LND/ / (Y)
Brighting, Thomas [E]/NFK/C/ (Y)	Bryan, Samuel [E]/WAR/PN/P(Y)	Butter, Henry [E]/SOM/N/P(Y)
Brinley, Samuel [E]/ESS,NFK/ /P(Y)	Buckler, Edward [E]/DOR/P/ (N)	Button, (?) [N]/SOM/P/ (N)
Brinsley, Robert [E]/NFK/ /B(Y)	Buckler, William [N]/WIL/P/P(N)	Button, Ralph [E]/OXF,MDX/ /C(Y)
Briscoe, James [E]/LAN/ / (N)	Buckley, John [E]/CHS/ /P(Y)	Buxton, Thomas [E]/STS,WAR/PN/CP(Y)
Briscoe, Michael [E]/LND,YKS/ /C(Y)	Buckley, John [E]/SSX/ / (Y)	Byat, Henry [E]/STS/ / (Y)
Bristow, Samuel [N]/DBY/N/ (N)	Budd, Thomas [E]/SOM/ /P(N)	Byfield, Richard [E]/SRY/ /CP(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -5

BYR-COL

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Byrde, John [E]/OXF/ /P(Y)	Castle, Laurence [E]/SOM/ /P(Y)	Clark, Matthew Jr. [E]/LND/ / / (Y)
Byrdsell, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Caswel, Solomon [E]/CPN,ESS/ / / (N)	Clark, Peter [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)
Byrom, John [E]/CHS/ / / (N)	Cater, Andrew [E]/HRT/ /P(Y)	Clark, Richard [N]/STS/P/P(N)
Caffyn, Matthew [E]/SSX/ /CP(Y)	Cater, Samuel [N]/CAM/BQ/ / / (N)	Clark, Samuel [E]/BDF/PB/CP(Y)
Calamy, Edmund II [E]/ESS,LND,MDX/ /CP(Y)	Catheral, George [N]/BKM/ / / (N)	Clark, Thomas [E]/HAM,LIN/ /P(Y)
Calandrine, Lewis [E]/ESS/ / / (Y)	Catlin, Jeremiah [E]/SFK/ / / (N)	Clarke, (?) [E]/LND/ /P(Y)
Calderwood, David [E]/SOM/ /P(Y)	Catlin, Zachary [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Clarke, Christopher [N]/DEV/P/P(N)
Caler, Roger [E]/WIL/B/ / (Y)	Cauthorn, Edward [E]/NTH/ /C(Y)	Clarke, John [E]/BRK/P/P(Y)
Caley, Abraham [E]/ESS,SFX/ /C(Y)	Cave, James [E]/LND,BKM/ /CP(Y)	Clarke, John [N]/SFK/ /PB(N)
Callacot, J. [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Cave, John [N]/LEI/ /CP(N)	Clarke, John [N]/SRY/B/C(N)
Callandrine, Lewis [E]/ESS/ /P(N)	Cave, John [E]/OXF/ /P(Y)	Clarke, Matthew [E]/LEI/P/CP(Y)
Callis, Henry [E]/NTT/ / / (Y)	Cawdrey, Daniel [E]/NTH/ /B(Y)	Clarke, Robert [N]/DBY/B/ / (N)
Callow, Miles [N]/SFK/P/C(N)	Cawthorn, Joseph [E]/LIN,LND/ /P(Y)	Clarke, Samuel [E]/SFK/ / / (N)
Calvert, James [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)	Cawton, Thomas [E]/LIN/ /PB(Y)	Clarke, Thomas [E]/ESS/ /C(Y)
Calvert, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Ceely, Edward Esq. [N]/SOM/P/ / (N)	Clarke, Timothy [E]/ESS/ / / (N)
Cambridge, John [E]/CON/ /P(N)	Ceely, Lancelott [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Clarkson, David [E]/SRY/ /P(Y)
Cambridge, Thomas [N]/CAM/BN/ / (N)	Chadwick, Daniel [E]/NTT/ /C(Y)	Clayton, John [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Camelford, Gabriel [E]/LAN/ /C(Y)	Chadwick, Joseph [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)	Clayton, Luke [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)
Campion, Samuel [E]/SAL,WAR,LEI,STS/PCN/ / (Y)	Chambers, Robert [E]/LND,MDX/P/P(N)	Cleare, Abraham [E]/CON/ /P(N)
Campsall, John [N]/NTT/P/ / (N)	Chancy, Isaac [E]/HAM,WIL/P/P(Y)	Cleland, Benjamin [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)
Candler, John [E]/SFK/ / / (N)	Chancy, Isaiah [N]/HAM/B/PCB(N)	Clement, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Candler, Mathias Sr. [E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Chandler, Benjamin [E]/SSX/ /P(N)	Clement, Obadiah [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)
Candler, Philip [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Chandler, Samuel [E]/HAM/ /C(N)	Clement, William [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Cane, James [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)	Chantry, Richard [E]/DBY/ /C(N)	Clement, William Jr. [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Canne, John [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)	Chapman, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Clements, Richard [N]/NFK/C/C(N)
Capel, Daniel [E]/GLS/ /C(N)	Chapman, Samuel [E]/NFK/ / / (Y)	Clerke, William [E]/DOR/ /C(N)
Carden, James [N]/LIN/ /B(N)	Chappell, Samuel [N]/SOM/PN/P(N)	Cleyton, Richard [E]/STS/ / / (Y)
Cardinal, Richard [E]/ESS/ /CP(Y)	Charles, Samuel [E]/DBY/ /CP(Y)	Clifford, Samuel [E]/WIL/P/P(Y)
Carel, Robert [E]/DEV/P/P(Y)	Charleton, James [N]/LAN/ /P(N)	Clifford, William [E]/WAR/ /P(Y)
Carill, Robert [E]/CAM/PN/ / (N)	Charlton, Nathaniel [E]/SOM/P/P(Y)	Clifton, Zachary [E]/SSX/ /C(Y)
Carlile, John [E]/SOM/ /P(Y)	Charman, Stephen [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Clopton, William [E]/ESS/ / / (Y)
Carmichael, Alexander [N]/LND/ /P(N)	Charteris, Thomas [N]/LAN/ /C(N)	Cloyton, (?) [N]/SSX/B/ / (N)
Carpenter, John [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)	Chauncey, Ichabod [E]/SOM,LND/ /P(Y)	Coale, John [E]/ESS,SFK/P/ / (N)
Carr, Nathaniel [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)	Chauncey, Isaac [N]/WIL/ / / (N)	Coape, Joseph [N]/CHS/ /P(N)
Carrill, Robert [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Cheesman, John [E]/KEN,BRK/B/C(N)	Coates, Matthew [E]/LIN/ /PIC(N)
Carrington, John [E]/LAN/ /C(N)	Cheesman, Thomas [E]/BRK/ /CP(Y)	Coates, Samuel Sr. [E]/NTT/ /P(Y)
Carslake, William [E]/LND/PN/P(Y)	Cherry, (?) [E]/LND/B/C(Y)	Cock, George [N]/SFK/ / / (N)
Carswell, Solomon [E]/CON/ /P(Y)	Chesman, Thomas [E]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Cock, Henry [N]/BKM/ / / (N)
Cart, John [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Chester, John Sr. [E]/LND/P/P(Y)	Cockayne, James [E]/CHS/ /CP(N)
Carter, Francis [N]/SOM/PN/P(N)	Chetwind, John [E]/SOM,GLS/ / / (Y)	Cocken, Thomas [N]/CON/ /P(N)
Carter, John [N]/(?) / / (N)	Chewney, Nicholas [N]/BKM/ /B(N)	Cocksedge, John [N]/SFK/ / / (N)
Carter, Richard [E]/BKM/ / / (N)	Chiddicke, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Cokain, George [E]/LND/ / / (Y)
Carter, Robert [E]/BKM/ / / (N)	Chidlow, Arthur/MGY/N/ / (N)	Coldham, John Esq. [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)
Carter, Thomas [E]/KEN,LND/ / / (Y)	Chiswell, John [E]/LND,MDX/ /PB(N)	Cole, (?) [N]/HAM/ / / (N)
Carter, Thomas (?) [E]/BKM,LND/P/ / (N)	Cholmely, (?) [N]/LND/C/C(N)	Cole, Thomas [E]/OXF,HAM/ /CP(Y)
Cartwright, John [E]/CHS/ / / (Y)	Christian, William [N]/LEI/B/C(N)	Cole, Thomas [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)
Cary, John Esq. [N]/SOM/CN/ / (N)	Christopher, Jacob [E]/GLA/ /IC(Y)	Coleman, Henry [N]/ESS,LIN/ / / (N)
Cary, Nicholas [E]/LND/ / / (N)	Chroucher, Thomas [E]/SSX/BN/ / (Y)	Coleman, John [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)
Caryl, Joseph [E]/LND/C/C(Y)	Church, Joseph [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Coleman, Richard [N]/LEI/ /BC(N)
Caryl, Robert [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Churchill, Joshua [E]/DOR,WIL/CP/C(Y)	Coles, Edmund [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Caryl, Sampson [E]/SRY/ /P(Y)	Clapp, William [N]/DOR/ /P(N)	Colewhone, James [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)
Case, Thomas [E]/LND/ /CP(Y)	Clark, John [E]/NTT/ /C(Y)	Colford, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Case, Thomas [E]/LEI/ / / (N)	Clark, John [E]/SFK/ /P(Y)	Collard, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Castle, John [E]/CAM/ /P(Y)	Clark, Joseph [E]/LIN/ / /C(Y)	Collens, Samuel [E]/SAL/P/ / (Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -6

COL-DES

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Colley, (?) [E]/CHS/ / / (N)	Coulstock, Richard [E]/SSX/B/ / (Y)	Cruso, Timothy [E]/LND/ / / (N)
Collier, Anthony [E]/HEF,GLS/ /P/(Y)	Council, John [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Cruttenden, Thomas [E]/MDX/ / / (N)
Collier, Gilbert [N]/SFK/P/P/(N)	Courtman, John [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Cudmore, Daniel [N]/DEV/ /CP/(N)
Collier, John [N]/GLS/ / / (N)	Couzens, John [N]/BDF/ /C/(N)	Cudworth, Nicolas [E]/LAN/ /C/(Y)
Collier, Thomas [E]/SOM/ /PCB/(Y)	Coven, Stephen [E]/DEV,OXF/P/C/(Y)	Cuffley, Francis [N]/SRY/ / / (N)
Collinges, John [E]/NFK/PI/P/(Y)	Cox, Christopher [E]/WAR/P/B/(Y)	Cumberland, John [N]/NTT/P/P/(N)
Collins, (?) [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Cox, Daniel [N]/LEI/ / / (N)	Cumming, John [E]/SOM/ / / (N)
Collins, Benjamin [E]/SOM/ /B/(Y)	Cox, Henry [E]/HAM/ /P/(N)	Curl, Thomas [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)
Collins, George [E]/SSX/ / / (N)	Cox, Nehemiah Sr. [E]/BDF/ / / (Y)	Cusse, Henry [E]/HAM/ /CP/(Y)
Collins, John [E]/LND/C/C/(Y)	Cox, Robert [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)	Dagnall, Stephen [E]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Collins, Robert [E]/DEV/PN/P/(Y)	Cox, Robert [N]/SOM/B/ / (N)	Daines, Thomas [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)
Collyer, John [N]/SFK/ /P/(N)	Coxe, Henry [E]/HAM/ /C/(Y)	Dallison, Jeoffrey [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)
Collyer, Thomas [E]/SOM/BN/ / (Y)	Crab, Thomas [N]/CAM/BQ/C/(N)	Damer, Edward [E]/DOR/ /C/(N)
Colquhoun, James [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Crabb, Joseph [E]/DOR/ /C/(Y)	Dando, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Combes, Samuel [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Crabb, William [E]/WIL/ / / (Y)	Dandy, Francis [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)
Comyn, Richard [E]/BRK/ /P/(Y)	Craddock, William [N]/BDF/C/C/(N)	Danstal, (?) [E]/STS/ /CP/(Y)
Conant, Richard [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)	Cradock, Richard [E]/GLA/CIN/P/(N)	Danvers, Henry [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Constable, Robert [E]/ESS/ / / (Y)	Cradock, Samuel [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Darby, Charles [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)
Constable, Stephen [N]/HUN/ / / (N)	Cradock, William [N]/BDF/ /C/(N)	Darby, John [N]/SOM/ /P/(N)
Constantine, Henry [E]/YKS/ /C/(N)	Cragg, James [E]/CUL/ /P/(Y)	Darnal, Anthony [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Constantine, Robert [E]/DBY,LAN/ /CP/(Y)	Cramlington, Robert [E]/LIN/ /CP/(Y)	Darnton, John [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Conway, William [E]/WIL/PI/CP/(N)	Crane (Craine), Thomas [N]/DOR/ / / (N)	Darvall, Peter [N]/BRK/B/ / (N)
Conyer, Tobias [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)	Crane, George [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)	Davenport, John (?) [E]/STS/ /P/(Y)
Cook, George [E]/NTT/ /C/(Y)	Cranford, (?) [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	David, William [N]/MGY/IC/ / (N)
Cook, John [E]/HAM/ /P/(Y)	Cranwell, Luke [E]/LEI/ /CP/(Y)	Davies, James [N]/CMN/ /C/(N)
Cook, Richard [E]/WOR/ /C/(Y)	Crawley, John [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)	Davis, (?) [E]/ESS/ /C/(Y)
Cook, William [E]/CHS/ /CP/(Y)	Cray, Alexander [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Davis, John [E]/NBL/ /C/(Y)
Cooke, (?) [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Cray, Jeremiah [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Davis, Richard [E]/(?) / /P/(N)
Cooke, Anthony [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Cray, William [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Davis, William [N]/CAM/ / / (N)
Cooke, John [N]/DBY/N/ / (N)	Creese, Thomas [E]/SOM/P/P/(Y)	Davison, John [N]/SOM/ /B/(N)
Cooke, John [N]/SFK/C/C/(N)	Crichlow, Henry [N]/STS/ / / (N)	Davison, William [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)
Cooksay, Thomas [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	Crisp, Stephen [N]/(?) / / (N)	Davy, John [E]/CUL,NFK/C/C/(N)
Coombes, Bartholomew [N]/KEN/C/ / (N)	Crispe, John Jr. [N]/CAM/N/ / (N)	Dawney, Edward [N]/NFK/ / / (N)
Cooper, Anthony [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Crodacott, John [E]/CON/ / (?) / (Y)	Daws, Thomas [E]/CUL/ / / (N)
Cooper, Henry [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Croft, Thomas [N]/LIN/ /P/(N)	Dawson, Abraham Sr. [E]/YKS/ / / (N)
Cooper, Joseph [E]/WOR/ /P/(Y)	Crofton, Zachariah [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)	Dawson, Joseph [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Cooper, Joseph [E]/HEF/ / / (Y)	Crofts, John [E]/HAM/P/C/(Y)	Day, George [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)
Cooper, Richard [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Crofts, Robert [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)	Day, James [E]/CAM/ /BC/(Y)
Cooper, Thomas [N]/BDF/B/C/(N)	Crompton, John [N]/LAN/ /P/(N)	Day, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Coore, Richard [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Crompton, Thomas Jr. [E]/LAN,LND/ /P/(Y)	Day, Richard [N]/BRK/B/C/(N)
Cop, Tristram [N]/DEV/ /CP/(N)	Crompton, Thomas Sr. [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Dearing, Henry [N]/BRK/B/ / (N)
Cope, Joseph [E]/CHS,STS,WAR/P/P/(Y)	Crompton, William [E]/DEV/PN/P/(E)	Deesley, (?) [E]/NTT/B/B/(Y)
Coplestone, Coriolanus [N]/DEV/ / / (N)	Cromwell, John [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Dells, John [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)
Coppin, Edward [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)	Crooke, John [E]/CAM/N/C/(Y)	Dener, George [N]/BKM/ / / (N)
Cops, (?) [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)	Crooke, John [E]/YKS/ /A/(N)	Denne, John [N]/CAM,HUN/B/B/(N)
Corbet, John [E]/HAM,LND,SSX,HRT/N/ / (Y)	Crooke, John [N]/WIL/P/ / / (N)	Dennis, Benjamin [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Corbett, Edward [N]/OXF/ / / (N)	Crosland, Abraham [E]/LEI/ /P/(N)	Dennis, John [N]/BRE,CAM/BN/C/(N)
Corbin, Samuel [E]/CAM,LND/CN/CP/(Y)	Cross, Francis [E]/SOM/P/PB/(Y)	Denny, Thomas [N]/NTT/ / / (N)
Cornewell, Francis [N]/KEN/B/ / (N)	Cross, William [E]/NTT,LEI/ /P/(Y)	Dent, Edward [N]/CAM/N/C/(N)
Cornish, Henry [E]/OXF/ /P/(Y)	Crossman, Samuel Sr. [E]/GLS/ /P/(N)	Dent, Henry [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)
Cory, John [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)	Crouch, John [E]/SSX,WIL/ /CP/(Y)	Denton, Daniel [N]/YKS/ / / (N)
Coslyn, (?) [E]/DEV/ /B/(Y)	Crow, Francis [E]/BRK,SFK/ / / (Y)	Denton, Nathaniel Sr. [E]/YKS/P/C/(Y)
Cotes, Samuel [E]/NTT/ / / (Y)	Crow, John [E]/HRT/ /I/(Y)	Desmore, (?) [N]/LND,MDX/C/P/(N)
Coule, William [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Crump, James [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Devenish, John [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -7

DEV-FEA

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Deverell, George [N]/BKM/B/P/(N)	Dunch, Major [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Elliott, Robert [E]/HAM/ /C/(Y)
Dewhurst, Robert [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Duncon, Samuel [N]/NFK/C/ /(N)	Ellis, Edmund [N]/GLA/ /IC/(N)
Deyor, John [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Dunkinson, (?) [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Ellis, Thomas [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)
Diamond, Tristram [E]/WAR/N/B/(Y)	Dunon, (?) [E]/SFK/P/P/(Y)	Ellisson, Matthew [E]/ESS/ / /(Y)
Dible, John [N]/WIL/B/B/(N)	Dunstan, (?) [N]/CHS/ /C/(N)	Ellyot, Henry [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Dickenson, (?) [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)	Dunstan, John [N]/BKM/P/P/(N)	Elmes, (?) [N]/LND,MDX/P/ /(N)
Dickenson, John [E]/NTT/ / /(N)	Durant, John [E]/KEN,SRY/ /CP/(N)	Elsegood, Mathyas [E]/NFK/ /B/(Y)
Dickings, John [N]/LND/ /P/(N)	Durant, Robert [E]/YKS/C/C/(Y)	Elston, Thomas [E]/SFK/ / /(N)
Dickinson, Thomas [N]/STS/P/P/(N)	Durant, William [E]/NBL/ /C/(Y)	Ely, Samuel [E]/ESS,HRT/ /P/(Y)
Dikes, W. [E]/HRT,LND/P/P/(N)	Durham, William [E]/WOR/ / /(Y)	Emerton, William [N]/BKM/B/B/(N)
Dineley, (?) [N]/YKS/P/P/(N)	Dury, David [E]/LAN/ /C/(N)	Emling, Silvester [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)
Ditton, (?) [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Dyer, John [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)	Emms, Jonathan [N]/DOR/C/C/(N)
Dixon, (?) [N]/STS/P/P/(N)	Dyer, Richard [E]/OXF,LND/ /P/(Y)	English, Francis [E]/NFK/P/ /(Y)
Dixon, Thomas [E]/DUR/ / /(Y)	Dyke, Daniel [E]/HRT,LND/ / /(N)	Escott, Richard [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Dobin, John [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Dyman, (?) [E]/HAM/ /C/(Y)	Essex, William Jr. [N]/WAR/B/ /(N)
Doble, Henry [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Eades, Richard [E]/GLS/ / /(N)	Etherington, Christopher [E]/YKS/ / /(Y)
Doble, William [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Eagleson, (?) [E]/WAR/ /C/(Y)	Etherington, Willam [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Dod, James [N]/SAL/ /C/(N)	Earl, John [E]/SSX/PN/ /(Y)	Eubank, (?) [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)
Dod(d), Robert [E]/ESS/ /CP/(N)	Earle, John Jr. [E]/SSX/P/C/(N)	Euernden, (?) [E]/KEN/N/ /(Y)
Doddridge, John [E]/MDX/ /P/(Y)	Eason, John [E]/SSX/ /C/(Y)	Evan, David [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)
Dodson, Thomas [E]/WES/ / /(Y)	Eastman, William [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Evan, Watkin John [N]/MON/CIN/IC/(N)
Doelittle, Thomas [E]/LND,ESS/ / /(N)	Eaton, John [E]/SOM/PN/C/(N)	Evan, William [N]/MON/N/ /(Y)
Dole, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Eaton, Robert [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Evan, Thomas [E]/WAR/PN/P/(Y)
Donkinson, John [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)	Eaton, Samuel [E]/CHS/ / /(Y)	Evans, (?) [E]/WAR/P/P/(N)
Donn, William [E]/HUN/ /P/(Y)	Eaton, Theophilus [N]/NTT/P/C/(N)	Evans, John [N]/MGY/N/ /(N)
Donne, John [E]/BDF,ESS/C/C/(Y)	Ebbott, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Evans, Thomas [N]/BRE/ / /(N)
Doolittle, Samuel [E]/LND/ / /(N)	Ebburne, John [N]/WAR/BN/ /(N)	Evernden, Robert [E]/KEN/C/ /(N)
Doolittle, Thomas [E]/MDX,LND/P/P/(Y)	Eburne, James [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Eves, Edward [N]/STS/P/P/(N)
Doughty, Charles [N]/SAL/ /P/(N)	Eburne, Samuel [N]/SSX/ / /(N)	Ewins, Thomas [E]/GLS/ / /(Y)
Doughty, Samuel [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)	Eccleshall, Joseph [E]/STS,WAR/P/P/(Y)	Eyloe, Christopher [N]/BRK/B/C/(N)
Doughty, Thomas [E]/LEI/ /PCB/(Y)	Ecclesole, Ralph [E]/STS/P/P/(N)	Eyre, Daniel [N]/WAR/ / /(N)
Dowely, Peter [E]/LEI/ / /(N)	Eckels, John [N]/WOR/B/ /(Y)	Eyre, William [E]/WIL/ / /(Y)
Dowley, Thomas [E]/WAR/PN/ /(Y)	Eddoes, Ralph [N]/SAL/PN/ /(N)	Facy, Lewis [E]/DEV/ / /(Y)
Down, Mark [E]/DEV/ / /(Y)	Edge, Richard [E]/(?) /P/(N)	Fairclough, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Downe (Down), Anthony [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Edge, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /CP/(Y)	Fairclough, Richard [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)
Downe, Richard [E]/DOR/ /C/(Y)	Edgly, Samuel [N]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Fairfax, Benjamin [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)
Dozzell, John [E]/WIL/B/B/(Y)	Edlin, Thomas [N]/SRY/P/B/(N)	Fairfax, John [E]/SFK,ESS/ /P/(Y)
Drake, John [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Edrepp, Edward [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Falconer, Edward [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)
Drake, Michael [E]/LIN/ /P/(Y)	Edsford, William [N]/KEN/P/ /(N)	Faldo, John [E]/HRT,LND/ /CP/(Y)
Drake, Robert [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Edward, John [N]/MON/B/B/(N)	Farmer, James [E]/LEI/PB/ /(Y)
Draper, Thomas [E]/KEN/P/ /(Y)	Edwards, (?) [E]/BKM/ /C/(Y)	Farmer, Ralph [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)
Drayton, Richard [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)	Edwards, George [N]/MON/IC/ /(N)	Farmer, Richard [E]/LEI,LIN/B/BC/(Y)
Drinchal, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Edwards, John [N]/KEN/C/ /(N)	Farnworth, Joseph [E]/LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)
Drury, David [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Edwards, Joseph [N]/KEN/P/P/(N)	Farrand, Richard [E]/DEV,SOM/P/P/(N)
Drye, (?) [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Edwards, Phillip [N]/WAR/P/ /(N)	Farrington, William [E]/HER,LND/ / /(N)
Duble, William [N]/SOM/N/P/(N)	Edwards, Thomas [N]/STS/B/ /(N)	Farrol, John [E]/SRY/ /PB/(Y)
Ducking, Francis [N]/CAM/C/C/(N)	Edwards, Thomas [E]/WAR/PN/ /(Y)	Fauks, Thomas [N]/DBY/ / /(N)
Dudley, William [N]/BKM/ / /(N)	Eedes, Richard [N]/GLS/ / /(N)	Faulkes, John [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)
Duffield, Huan [E]/YKS/ / /(Y)	Eeds, Richard [E]/WAR/ / /(Y)	Faux, (?) [N]/WAR/PN/ /(N)
Dugard, Thomas [N]/WAR/ / /(N)	Eeles, Nathaniel [E]/HRT/ / /(Y)	Fawler, George [E]/LND/ / /(N)
Dulling, Richard [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Eeling, Henry [N]/BKM/P/CP/(N)	Fayrefax, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Dummer, Edward [E]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Eles, William [E]/HRT/ /P/(N)	Feake, Christopher [E]/SRY/C/ /(N)
Duncanson, James [E]/NBL,YKS/ /P/(Y)	Eliot, John [E]/DEV/ /B/(N)	Feake, Samuel [N]/MDX/ /P/(N)
Dunce, John [E]/GLS/ /C/(N)	Elliot, (?) [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Feaver, Abraham [E]/SSX/BN/ /(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -8

FEC-GIL

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Feckenham, Thomas [N]/WAR/ /C/(N)	Fog, John [E]/LAN,CHS/ / / (Y)	Galpin, John [E]/SOM/P/ / (N)
Fellingham, Thomas [N]/NTT/ / / (N)	Folkes, William [E]/SFK/C/CP/(Y)	Galpine, John Sr. [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)
Fellmonger, John Ovey [E]/HRT/PB/ / (N)	Forbes, James [E]/GLS/ /IC/(Y)	Gapin, (?) [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)
Fenne, Samuel [N]/BDF/B/ / (N)	Ford, John [E]/SOM/PBN/ / (N)	Garbrand, Tobias [E]/OXF/ /C/(N)
Fenner, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Ford, Stephen [E]/LND/C/C/(Y)	Gardener, Thomas [E]/HRT/ / / (Y)
Fenner, Rest [N]/KEN/C/C/(N)	Ford, Thomas [E]/DBY,STS/N/CP/(Y)	Gardiner, John [E]/SOM/P/ / (N)
Fenwick, Edward (?) [E]/NFK/ /P/(N)	Ford, William Sr. [N]/WAR/N/ / (N)	Gardiner, Thomas [E]/BRK/P/ / (N)
Fenwick, John [E]/OXF/ /B/(Y)	Foreiners, Belcher [E]/OXF/ / / (N)	Gargrave, Cotton [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)
Ferguson, Robert [E]/KEN/ /C/(N)	Forest, Roger [E]/HAM/ /C/(N)	Garnet, John [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Ferne, Robert [E]/DBY/ / / (N)	Forth or Frith, (?) [E]/NTT/ /B/(Y)	Garnet, John Jr. [E]/BKM/B/ / (Y)
Fettpiece, Charles Esq. [N]/BRK/P/PI/(N)	Forward, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)	Garnet, John Sr. [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Feynes, John [E]/WOR/B/P/(Y)	Forward, Thomas [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Garnett, John [E]/WES/ /P/(N)
Fido, Anthony [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Foster, (?) [E]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Garrard, Philip [N]/BRK/ / / (N)
Fido, Edmund [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Foster, (?) [E]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Garret, Richard [E]/SSX/PICN/ / (Y)
Fielder, (?) [N]/HAM/P/ / (N)	Fowkes, John [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)	Garrett, John Jr. [N]/HRT/ / / (N)
Fiennes, Francis [N]/WIL/C/ / (N)	Fowler, Christopher [E]/BRK,WIL,LND/PN/C/(N)	Garrett, John Sr. [N]/HRT/ / / (N)
Fillingham, Thomas [N]/NTT/C/C/(N)	Fowler, Stephen [E]/WAR/ /P/(Y)	Garrett, Philip [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)
Filliter, George [E]/DOR/ /PB/(N)	Fowler, Stephen [E]/NTH/ /CP/(Y)	Garside, John [E]/CHS/ /P/(N)
Filpot, John [N]/KEN/P/B/(N)	Fowles, Henry [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Gascoyn, Richard [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)
Finch, Edward [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Fownes, George [E]/BKM/ /C/(Y)	Gates, John [N]/CAM/BQ/ / (N)
Finch, Henry [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)	Fownes, Samuel [E]/WAR/ /P/(Y)	Gawen, Simon [E]/WIL,SOM/P/B/(Y)
Finch, Martin [E]/NFK,LIN/C/CP/(Y)	Fownes, Thomas [E]/WAR/ /P/(Y)	Gayland, Robert [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)
Finch, Peter [E]/(?) / /P/(N)	Fox, Consolation Capt. [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Geale, Lawrence [N]/HAM/P/ / (N)
Finch, Zachary [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Fox, John [E]/GLS,SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Gedney, James [E]/NFK,BKM/C/CP/(Y)
Fincham, William [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Fox, Timothy [E]/DBY/ /P/(Y)	Gee, Edward [N]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Fincher, Richard [E]/WOR/ /C/(Y)	Foxton, John [N]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Gee, Thomas [N]/LIN/ / / (N)
Fincher, William [E]/WOR,STS,WAR/P/C/(Y)	Francis, John [E]/BRK/ /C/(Y)	Gennings, Jonathan [N]/PEM/ /P/(N)
Findlowe, Reginald [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Francklin, Robert [E]/LND/ / / (N)	Gerle, Edward [N]/WIL/C/C/(N)
Fineper, John [N]/WAR/N/ / (N)	Frankland, Richard [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Gibbon, John [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)
Firmin, Giles [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Franklin, Gracious [E]/SOM/ /B/(Y)	Gibbons, Robert [E]/WAR/B/ / (N)
Fish, Robert [E]/SSX/PBN/P/(Y)	Franklin, Henry [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)	Gibbons, Thomas [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)
Fisher (?) [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)	Franklyn, Robert [E]/LND,MDX/P/P/(Y)	Gibbs, John [E]/BKM,BDF/BI/CP/(Y)
Fisher, (?) [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Frayling, John [E]/WIL/C/CP/(Y)	Gibbs, John [N]/SFK/P/P/(N)
Fisher, James [E]/SRY/ /CP/(Y)	Freeman, George [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Gibbs, Samuel [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Fisher, James [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Freeman, Thomas [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Gidleigh, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Fisher, John [E]/ESS/ /C/(N)	Freeme, John [N]/WIL/C/CP/(N)	Gifford, Benjamin Esq.. [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)
Fisher, John [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	French, Jeremiah [E]/SOM/PN/IC/(Y)	Gilbert, Charles [N]/WIL/ /P/(N)
Fissenden, Thomas Jr. [N]/SSX/C/CP/(N)	French, John [N]/GLA/ /P/(N)	Gilbert, Michael [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Flamank, Roger [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)	French, Samuel [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)	Gilbert, Thomas [E]/MDX/ /P/(Y)
Flammack, Henry [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)	Frencham, Thomas [E]/SSX/PB/ / (Y)	Gilbert, Thomas Dr. [E]/SAL/N/ / (N)
Flavel, John [E]/DEV/ /CP/(Y)	Frewen, Paul [E]/GLS/ /B/(Y)	Gilbert, William [E]/OXF/ /CP/(N)
Flavel, Richard [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Friend, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)	Giles, John [E]/WOR/P/ / (N)
Fleetwood, Charles [N]/NFK/C/ / (N)	Frripp, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Giles, Richard [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)
Fleming, Edward [N]/DBY/CN/ / (N)	Fritton, Alexander [N]/KEN/ / / (N)	Giles, William Jr. [N]/BKM/ / / (N)
Fleming, Hugh [N]/DBY/CN/ / (N)	Frowd, Thomas [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)	Giles, William Sr. [N]/BKM/ / / (N)
Fletcher, William [E]/SSX/ /C/(N)	Froysell, Jeremiah [E]/HRT/ /P/(Y)	Gill, Jeremiah [E]/YKS/ /B/(N)
Flight, Robert [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Froysell, Thomas [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Gill, John [E]/DOR/ / / (N)
Flindell, Thomas [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)	Fry, Simon [N]/HAM/B/C/(N)	Gill, Joseph [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)
Flower, Benjamin Jr. [E]/WIL/PB/PB/(Y)	Fry, Timothy [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Gill, William [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)
Flower, Benjamin Sr. [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)	Fuller, Francis [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Gillett, Edward [N]/BRK/B/B/(N)
Flower, John [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Fynch, Martin [E]/LIN/ /CP/(Y)	Gillingham, Richard [N]/HAM/C/ / (N)
Flower, Roger [N]/WIL/ / / (N)	Gale, John [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)	Gillings, Richard [N]/SOM/P/CP/(N)
Floyd, William [E]/NTH/ / / (Y)	Gale, Josiah [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Gilpin, John [E]/SAL/ /CP/(Y)
Foanes, Samuel [E]/SFK,DEV/ /P/(N)	Gale, Theophilus Jr. [E]/SOM/ /P/(N)	Gilpin, John [E]/WAR,BKM/N/ / (Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -9

GIL-HAR

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Gilpin, Richard [E]/OXF,CUL/ /P/(Y)	Greenfield, John [N]/SRY/P/P/(N)	Hallet, Joseph [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)
Gilson, Daniel [E]/ESS/P/P/(N)	Greenhill, William [E]/MDX,LND/P/C/(Y)	Hallet, Joseph Jr. [E]/DOR/ //(Y)
Gilson, Thomas [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Greenwood, Daniel [E]/OXF/ //(Y)	Hallet, Thomas [E]/SSX/ /CP/(Y)
Gimson, David [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Gregg, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)	Hallett, Thomas [E]/SRY/ //(N)
Girle, John [N]/WIL/CP/CP/(N)	Gregory, Hierom [E]/BKM/P/P/(Y)	Halsey, (?) [E]/HRT/ /C/(Y)
Glanvil, John [E]/SOM/N/N/(Y)	Gregory, Thomas [N]/BRK/C/P/(N)	Halsey, Joseph [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)
Gleddall, John [E]/YKS/ //(N)	Gregory, William [E]/SOM/CN/ /(N)	Hamilton, Archibald [E]/BKM/ //(Y)
Glendole, John [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Grew, Jonathan [E]/WAR/ //(Y)	Hammer, Jonathan Sr. [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Glover, Hugh [E]/HRT,ESS/P/P/(Y)	Grew, Obadiah [E]/WAR/PN/P/(Y)	Hammon, George [N]/KEN/B/B/(N)
Godard, John [N]/OXF/ //(N)	Grey, Matthew [N]/KEN/C/C/(N)	Hamper, John [E]/SSX/ //(Y)
Goddard, (?) [N]/MON/N/IC/(N)	Griffin, (?) [N]/GLS/ /C/(N)	Hampton, John [N]/SRY/ //(N)
Goddard, John [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)	Griffin, John [N]/BRK/PB/ /(N)	Hampton, William [N]/SRY/ //(N)
Goddard, Robert [E]/WIL,BRK/P/ /(Y)	Griffin, Peter [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)	Hanbury, Richard [N]/MON/IC/ /(N)
Godwin, Richard [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)	Griffith, George [E]/LND,MDX/P/C/(Y)	Hancock, (?) [N]/BRK/P/C/(N)
Goldam, Thomas [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Griffith, John [E]/MGY/N/ /(N)	Hancock, Edward [E]/GLS/ //(N)
Golding, Bartholomew [N]/SFK/ //(N)	Griffith, John [N]/LND/ //(N)	Hancock, Nathaniel [N]/BDF/C/ /(N)
Golding, William [N]/SFK/ //(N)	Griffith, Walter [N]/MGY/N/C/(N)	Hancock, Rouland [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Goldwyer, John Jr. [E]/HAM/ //(Y)	Griffiths, John [E]/GLA/ /B/(N)	Hancock, Thomas [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)
Gonville, Thomas [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)	Grimes (?) [E]/LND/ /P/(E)	Hancocke, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Gooch, John [E]/NFK/ /P/(Y)	Groome, George [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Hand, Edward [N]/STS/ /C/(N)
Gooch, Stephen [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Grove, Peter [E]/LND/N/P/(Y)	Hands, George [E]/WAR/B/ /(Y)
Goodchild, John [E]/SFK/ /C/(N)	Grove, Robert [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)	Handy, Thomas [N]/WOR/ /C/(N)
Goodlad, John [N]/NTT/P/ /(N)	Grove, Thomas [E]/SOM,WIL/PCN/N/(N)	Hanford, (?) [E]/SOM/N/ /(Y)
Goodrich, William [E]/SFK/P/P/(N)	Grove, Thomas Esq. Jr. [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)	Hanmer, John [E]/RAD/ //(Y)
Goodridge, John [N]/NTT/P/B/(N)	Guie, William [N]/BKM/P/P/(N)	Hanmer, John Jr. [E]/DEV/ //(N)
Goodson, Robert [N]/BKM/ //(N)	Guilliam, Peter [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Hanmer, Jonathan Sr. [E]/DEV/ //(Y)
Goodwin, John [E]/LND/ //(Y)	Gun, Richard [E]/KEN/ /B/(Y)	Hann, William [E]/OXF/ //(N)
Goodwin, Philip [E]/HRT/ /B/(Y)	Gundery, Hugh [E]/DOR/ /IC/(N)	Hannot, James [E]/NFK/ /C/(N)
Goodwin, Richard [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Gunter, Humphrey [E]/BRK/P/ /(Y)	Hansome, Henry [N]/WAR/B/ /(N)
Goodwin, Thomas [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)	Gunter, John [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Harcliff, John [N]/OXF/ /C/(N)
Goodwin, Thomas [E]/MDX/ /CP/(Y)	Gurnall, William [N]/SFK/ /P/(N)	Harcourt, Vere [N]/NTT/ //(N)
Google, John [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Guy, (?) [N]/BKM/PI/ /(N)	Hardcastle, Thomas [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Gosnold, John [E]/LND/B/B/(Y)	Gwynne, John [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)	Harding, John [N]/HAM/ //(N)
Gouge, Thomas [E]/LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)	Gyles, John [E]/WOR/P/CP/(Y)	Harding, John Jr. [E]/NTH/ /B/(Y)
Gough, Robert [E]/ESS/ //(N)	Gyles, Richard [N]/KEN/ /B/(N)	Harding, Richard [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)
Gough, William [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Habergam, Samuel [E]/SFK/ /P/(N)	Hardridge, (?) [E]/SOM/N/ /(Y)
Gowen, (?) [E]/SOM/N/ /(Y)	Hacklin, Arthur [N]/DOR/C/P/(N)	Hardy, Samuel [E]/DOR/ //(Y)
Grace, William [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)	Hadderidg, James [E]/DEV/PN/P/(N)	Hare, Oliver [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)
Gracecourt, (?) [E]/STS/ /P/(Y)	Haddesley, John [E]/HAM,WIL/P/P/(Y)	Harford, Emanuel [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)
Granderge, Isaac [E]/ESS/ //(Y)	Haddesley, Joseph [N]/WIL/ //(N)	Haris, Samuel [E]/KEN/ //(N)
Grant, Edward [E]/WIL/B/B/(Y)	Haddon, (?) [E]/NBL/ /P/(Y)	Harmar, John [E]/HAM/ //(Y)
Grant, Jonathan [E]/YKS/Q/P/(Y)	Haddridge, James [E]/DEV/P/P/(Y)	Harmer, John [N]/NFK/ //(N)
Grantham, Thomas [N]/LIN/ /B/(N)	Hail, John [N]/YKS/ //(N)	Harnham, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Grasty, Samuel [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Haim, Francis [E]/GLS/ /B/(N)	Harper, Samuel [N]/STS/P/C/(N)
Gratton, John [N]/DBY/B/ /(N)	Hale, Robert [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Harries, John [N]/CGN/ /C/(N)
Grave, William [E]/HRT/ /CP/(N)	Halford, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)	Harris, Francis [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)
Gray, Enock [E]/GLS/ /CP/(N)	Hall, (?) [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Harris, Francis [E]/HER/ /B/(N)
Green, Edward [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Hall, John [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Harris, George [E]/LND/ /PCB/(Y)
Green, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Hall, Leather [N]/WAR/P/P/(N)	Harris, Giles [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)
Green, John [E]/LEI/ /C/(Y)	Hall, Ralph [E]/CHS/ /P/(N)	Harris, Phillip [N]/CON/ /P/(N)
Green, John Jr. [E]/NFK/ /CP/(Y)	Hall, Robert [E]/BKM/ /PI/(Y)	Harrison, Cuthbert [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)
Green, William [E]/CAM/ //(Y)	Hall, Robert [E]/BRK/ //(N)	Harrison, Edward [N]/LND,MDX/ //(N)
Green, William [E]/SFK/P/P/(Y)	Hall, Thomas [N]/BKM/ /P/(N)	Harrison, Isaac [E]/SFK/ //(N)
Greene, (?) [N]/WIL/B/C/(N)	Hall, Thomas [E]/WOR/ /CP/(Y)	Harrison, John [E]/ESS/ /CP/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -10

HAR-HOW

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Harrison, John [E]/HAM/ /P(Y)	Heming, Thomas [E]/GLS/ /C(N)	Hodson, Abraham [E]/ YKS/P/P(Y)
Harrison, John [E]/SSX/ /P(N)	Hemming, Robert [N]/KEN/C/C(N)	Holborowe, Thomas Sr. [E]/SFK/C/ /(N)
Harrison, John [E]/LAN/ / /(Y)	Henbury, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Holbrook, Richard [E]/LAN/ / /(Y)
Harrison, Michael [E]/NTH/ /P(N)	Henden, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Holcroft, Francis [E]/CAM,LEI/FAN,PICQN/CP(Y)
Harrison, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /BC(Y)	Henley, Henry Esq. [N]/SOM/P/P(N)	Holdstock, Robert [N]/BDF/ /CP(N)
Harrold, (?) [E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Henry, (?) [N]/DBY/N/ /(N)	Holdsworth, John [E]/YKS/ /C(N)
Harthill, Thomas [N]/WAR/P/ /(N)	Henry, James [N]/KEN/B/ / (N)	Holdsworth, Joseph [E]/YKS/ /C(N)
Hartley, James [E]/YKS/P/CP(Y)	Henry, Philip [E]/SAL/P/ /(N)	Holdsworth, Josiah Jr. [E]/LAN,YKS/ /P(Y)
Hartnall, James [N]/DEV/P/P(N)	Henry, Price [N]/HUN/ /P(N)	Holdsworth, Josiah Sr. [N]/YKS/ / /(N)
Hartnoll, John [N]/LND/B/ /(N)	Henshaw, Hugh [E]/CHS/ /P(Y)	Holl, John [N]/BKM/B/ / /(N)
Harvey, Elias [N]/MGY/ /IC(N)	Hepburne, John [N]/YKS/ / /(N)	Holland, Thomas [E]/LAN/P(Y)
Harvey, Emmanuel [N]/SOM/PN/B(N)	Hepworth, John [E]/YKS/ /P(N)	Holland, William [N]/CHS,LAN/ /(N)
Harvey, John [E]/CAM/N/ /(N)	Herbert, William [N]/SFK/ / /(N)	Hollingshead, Edward [E]/DBY/ /C(Y)
Harvey, John [E]/CHS/ /P(N)	Herle, Charles [N]/LAN/ /P(N)	Hollister, James [E]/SOM/PN/ /(Y)
Harvey, Jonathan Jr. [N]/CHS/ /C(N)	Herne, Samson [E]/SSX/ / /(Y)	Holloway, William [N]/WIL/B/ /(N)
Harvie, John [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Herring, John [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Holman, William [(?)]/LND/ / /(N)
Harwood, John [E]/LAN/ /C(Y)	Herring, Richard [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Holmes, Nathaniel Dr. [E]/LND,MDX/ /C(Y)
Hasbart, John [E]/NFK/ / /(Y)	Hervey, Michael Esq. [N]/DOR/ /C(N)	Holton, John [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)
Haskall, Edmund [N]/SOM/P/P(N)	Heskin, (?) [N]/BRK/P/PI (N)	Home, John [E]/NFK/C/CP(N)
Haskall, Edward [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)	Hewitson, Nathaniel [N]/ESS/ / /(N)	Homes, John [N]/NBL/ /C(N)
Hassell, William [E]/CHS/ /BC(Y)	Heywood, Nathaniel Sr. [E]/LAN/ /CP(Y)	Honylove, Thomas [N]/BDF/B/C(N)
Hatch, John [N]/DEV/ / /(N)	Heywood, Oliver [E]/YKS,LAN/ /CP(Y)	Hood, William [N]/WAR/PN/ /(N)
Hatch, Lewis [E]/DEV/P/P(Y)	Heywood, Thomas [N]/HRT/B/C(N)	Hook, John [E]/HAM,BRK/ /P(Y)
Hatherne, Nathaniel [N]/BRK/P/ /(N)	Hibbert, Henry [N]/LND/ / /(N)	Hooke, John [E]/NFK/CP/C(Y)
Hatheway, Elizeas [E]/GLS/ /C(N)	Hickes, Gaspar [E]/CON/ /P(Y)	Hooke, John [E]/SSX/N/ /(Y)
Hathway, John [E]/OXF/ /P(Y)	Hickes, John [E]/CON,DEV/ / /(Y)	Hooke, Richard [E]/NTH/ /CP(N)
Haton, George [N]/DBY/B/ /(N)	Hickman, Henry [E]/OXF/ /P(Y)	Hooker, John [E]/NFK/ / /(N)
Hatton, Richard [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)	Hicks, (?) [E]/HRT/ / /(Y)	Hoolce, John [N]/SSX/P/P(N)
Havers, Henry [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)	Hieron, John [E]/DBY/N/C(Y)	Hooper, George [N]/SOM/B/C(N)
Haviland, Matthew [E]/LND/ /C(Y)	Hieron, Samuel [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Hopkins, Elliner [N]/STS/ /C(N)
Havlycs, John [N]/WAR/P/P(N)	Higgs, Daniel [E]/GLA/ /PIC(N)	Hopkins, Henry [E]/STS/C/P(Y)
Haw, George [N]/LEI/ /(N)	Hill, John [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Hopkins, William [E]/SOM/ /P(Y)
Hawden, William [E]/YKS/C/ /(Y)	Hill, John [E]/SOM/P/P(Y)	Hoppin, John [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)
Hawes, George [N]/KEN/ /B(N)	Hill, Nicholas [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)	Hopping, William [N]/CAM,DEV/CN/ /(N)
Hawes, Samuel [E]/WAR/ / /(Y)	Hill, Ralph [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)	Hord, (?) [N]/YKS/P/C(N)
Hawker, Richard [N]/LIN/ / /(N)	Hill, Robert [E]/SOM/PN/ /(Y)	Horley, John [N]/SRY/ /(N)
Hawker, Silas [N]/KEN/ / /(N)	Hill, Thomas [E]/DBY,WAR/N/CP(N)	Horley, Phillip [N]/SRY/P(N)
Hawkes, (?) [E]/ESS/ / /(Y)	Hill, Thomas [N]/BKM/P/P(N)	Hornby, Walter [E]/LEI/ / /(Y)
Hawkins, Christopher [N]/SOM/P/ /(N)	Hillbourne, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Horne, Edward [N]/LIN/ /B(N)
Haworth, William [E]/LND/ / /(Y)	Hilliar, (?) [N]/GLA/ /IC(N)	Horne, John [E]/NFK,LIN/ /C(Y)
Hawthorn, Stephen [N]/BDF/BC/ /(N)	Hilton, Richard [E]/STS/P/ /(Y)	Horrockers, Thomas [E]/ESS/ /B(Y)
Haxard, Matthew [N]/SOM/ /P(N)	Hincks, Richard [N]/STS/ / /(N)	Horsham, William [E]/DEV/ / /(N)
Hayhurst, Bradley [E]/CHS/ / /(Y)	Hind, (?) [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Horton, Joshua [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)
Hayhurst, Joseph [E]/SSX/ /P(Y)	Hind, John [E]/BDF/ /CP(N)	Hotham, Charles [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)
Hayne, Francis [E]/GLS/ /C(N)	Hinks, Richard [E]/STS/P/C(Y)	Hough, Edmund [E]/LND/ / /(Y)
Haynes, William [N]/WAR/B/C(N)	Hitchcock, Henry [E]/LIN,OXF/ /B(Y)	Houghton, (?) [N]/BRK/P/ /(N)
Haynsworth, William [N]/LEI/P/ /(N)	Hitching, John [E]/LEI,LND/ /P(N)	Houldsworth, Joseph [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)
Hayward, Robert [N]/SFK/C/C(N)	Hobbs, Richard [N]/KEN/B/B(N)	Howard, Luke [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)
Hayword, Thomas [N]/BDF/B/C(N)	Hobson, John [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)	Howe, John [E]/DEV/ /C(Y)
Hazard, Matthew [E]/GLS/ /C(Y)	Hocker, William Jr. [E]/CON,LND/ /P(N)	Howell, Morgan [E]/CGN/ /BC(N)
Head, Joshua [E]/GLS/ /BC(Y)	Hocraft, (?) [E]/LEI/N/C(Y)	Howes, William [N]/BKM/B/PB(N)
Heighington, John [N]/DUR/PQ/ /(N)	Hodder, John [E]/DOR,SOM,DEV/P/ /(Y)	Howlett, Robert [E]/SFK/ / /(N)
Heine, Jeremy [E]/HRT/P/ /(Y)	Hodges, John [E]/MDX,LND/L/PIC(N)	Howson, George [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)
Helme, Carnsew [E]/LND/ / /(N)	Hodges, William [E]/GLS/ /P(Y)	Howtherne, Steven [N]/BDF/ / /(N)

Nonconformist Minister Database -11

HUB-KIN

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Hubbard, Francis [E]/OXF/ /PB/(N)	Jacomb, Thomas [E]/LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)	Jones, David [E]/CGN/ /C/(N)
Hucker, John [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Jaffray, James [N]/NBL/ / / (N)	Jones, Edmund [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Hucker, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Jago, Robert Sr. [E]/CON/ / / (Y)	Jones, Gamaliel [E]/CHS/ / / (N)
Hucklebridge, John [N]/SOM/ /P/(N)	Jakeys, (?) [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Jones, James [E]/SRY/ / / (N)
Hudson, John [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	James, (?) [N]/BRK/ / / (N)	Jones, Jenkin [N]/PEM/ /C/(N)
Hudson, Samuel [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	James, John [E]/CMN/ /C/(N)	Jones, John [E]/CGN/ /C/(N)
Hughes Stephen Sr. [E]/CMN/ /C/(N)	James, John [E]/NTT/ / / (N)	Jones, Robert [N]/MON/CIN/ / (N)
Hughes, Obadiah [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	James, John [E]/BRK,MDX/P/ / (Y)	Jones, Samuel [E]/GLA,MON/PIC/P/(N)
Hughes, Stephen [E]/GLA/ /IC/(N)	James, Joseph [E]/NTT/ /P/(N)	Jones, Thomas [N]/BRK/B/ / (N)
Hughes, Thomas [N]/PEM/ /B/(N)	James, Ralph [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)	Jones, Watkins [N]/MON/ /P/(N)
Hughes, William [E]/WIL/P/C/(Y)	James, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /CP/(Y)	Jordan, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Hughs, Charles [N]/BRK/P/C/(N)	James, Thomas [E]/KEN/ / / (N)	Joseph, Thomas [N]/GLA/ /B/(N)
Hulme, John [N]/CHS/ /P/(N)	James, Valentine [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)	Juge, William [N]/LEI/B/ / (N)
Hulse, Edward [E]/CAM/ /P/(Y)	Jameson, William [N]/(?) / / (N)	Juggards, John [N]/SFK/P/P/(N)
Humbleton, Ralph [N]/DBY/B/ / (N)	Janeway, James [E]/LND/ /P/(N)	Juice, Thomas [E]/WOR,BRK/ / / (Y)
Humphreys, Charles [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Janeway, William Jr. [E]/HRT/ /I/(Y)	Kaye, William [N]/(?) / / (N)
Humphries, John [E]/LND/ /C/(N)	Jarviss, William [N]/BDF/ /C/(N)	Keate, James [N]/DOR/ /CP/(N)
Hunt, (?) [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Jeake, Samuel [N]/SSX/ / / (N)	Keck, John [N]/GLS/ /P/(N)
Hunt, Clement [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Jeakes, Jaque [E]/LND/ / / (N)	Keeling, Francis [E]/SAL,STS/P/P/(Y)
Hunt, Edward [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Jeffery, James [N]/BRK/B/ / (N)	Keeling, William [N]/STS/P/P/(N)
Hunt, Nathaniell [N]/CAM/ /C/(N)	Jeffery, William [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	Keetch, Henry [N]/BKM/B/C/(N)
Hunt, William [E]/CAM/ / / (Y)	Jeffes, Thomas [E]/WAR/PN/ / (Y)	Keetch, Joseph [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Hunt, William Jr. [E]/ESS/ / / (N)	Jelinger, Christopher [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Kelley, Thomas [N]/SAL/PN/ / (N)
Hunton, Philip Jr.[N]/WIL/C/P/(N)	Jenkin, (?) [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)	Kelsay, John [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)
Hunton, Phillip [E]/WIL/ /C/(Y)	Jenkin, William [E]/LND/ / / (N)	Kemes, S. [E]/SSX/N/ / (Y)
Hurnon, John [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Jenkins, (?) [N]/HRT/ / / (N)	Kempe, Nicholas [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)
Hurst, Henry [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)	Jenkins, Thomas [N]/KEN/P/C/(N)	Kempster, John [E]/DEV,LND/ /CP/(Y)
Hurst, Thomas [E]/SSX/P/P/(Y)	Jenkyn, Thomas [N]/LEI/ / / (N)	Kendal, William [N]/NTT/B/B/(Y)
Hutchenson, Edward [N]/ESS/ / / (N)	Jenkyn, William [E]/LND,HRT/P/P/(Y)	Kendall, Henry [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)
Hutchins, Edward [E]/BRK/ /C/(Y)	Jenkyns, Matthew [E]/DEN/ /P/(N)	Kendall, William [N]/LEI/ /P/(N)
Hyarne, Robert [N]/WAR/B/C/(N)	Jennings, Jonathan [E]/LND/ /B/(Y)	Kenion, Roger [E]/YKS/C/ /C/(Y)
Hyatt, Francis [N]/WOR/ / / (N)	Jennings, Richard [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Kent, John [E]/HAM/B/B/(Y)
Hynam, Henry [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Jennings, Richard [N]/WAR/B/P/(N)	Kentish, Richard [E]/LND/C/C/(Y)
Hyrst, Edward [E]/KEN/C/ / (N)	Jennings, Thomas [E]/GLS/B/P/(Y)	Kentish, Thomas III [E]/LND/ / / (N)
Ince, Peter [E]/WIL/P/CP/(Y)	Jennison, (Thomas?) [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Kentish, Thomas Jr. [E]/DUR,LND,MDX/ /CP/(Y)
Isaac, Edward [N]/BDF/ /C/(N)	Jerome, William [N]/BRK/ /B/(N)	Kentish, Thomas Sr. [E]/DUR/ /CP/(Y)
Issak, Bowden [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Jesson, Abraham [E]/STS/P/ / (Y)	Kernes, (?) [N]/SSX/P/P/(N)
Issett, John Sr. [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Jessy, Lawrence [N]/BRK/B/B/(N)	Kerridge, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)
Issott, John Jr. [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Joake, Samuel [E]/SSX/N/ / (Y)	Kestyn, Nicholas [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)
Italy, (?) [E]/SOM/N/ / (Y)	Joanes, Christopher [N]/SOM/ /B/(N)	Keymer, Henry [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)
Ives, Jeremiah [N]/LND/ /B/(N)	John, Llewelin [N]/GLA/IC/C/(N)	Kiffin, William [N]/LND/B/ / (N)
Jackson, Arthur [E]/LND/ /B/(Y)	John, Richard [E]/MON/B/ / (Y)	Kightly, Edward [E]/ESS/ / / (N)
Jackson, Charles [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	John, Watkin [N]/MON/N/PIC/(N)	Kimble, (?) [N]/BKM/C/ / (N)
Jackson, Christopher [N]/PEM/ /P/(N)	Johnson, Anthony [N]/KEN/P/ / (N)	Kinch, John [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)
Jackson, Christopher [E]/WES/ / / (Y)	Johnson, Francis [E]/LND/ /PI/(Y)	King, (?) [N]/DBY/B/ / (N)
Jackson, James [E]/NTT/C/B/(N)	Johnson, Peter [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	King, (?) [E]/LND/ /I/(Y)
Jackson, John [E]/NTT,DBY,LND/ /CP/(Y)	Johnson, Thomas [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	King, (?) [E]/SRY/P/P/(N)
Jackson, Peter [E]/CUL/ /C/(Y)	Jollie, John [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	King, Benjamin [E]/RUT/ /P/(Y)
Jackson, Richard [N]/LAN/ / / (N)	Jollie, Timothy [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	King, Daniel [E]/CUL/ / / (N)
Jackson, Richard [E]/NFK/ / / (N)	Jolly, Ambrose [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)	King, Daniel [E]/WIL/B/P/(Y)
Jackson, Thomas [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Jolly, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /C/(Y)	King, Ezekiah [E]/CAM/ /P/(Y)
Jackson, Thomas [N]/NFK/ / / (N)	Jones, (?) [E]/STS/ /C/(Y)	King, James Jr. [E]/SFK/ /C/(N)
Jacob, John [N]/KEN/C/ / (N)	Jones, (?) [E]/MON/IC/ / (Y)	King, John [E]/HRT/ /PB/(Y)
Jacob, Nathan [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Jones, Clement [N]/NFK/C/ / (N)	King, John [E]/SFK/ /CP/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -12

KIN-MAL

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

King, Richard [E]/BRK/ / (N)	Lauder, Richard [N]/SSX/PN/P(N)	Lock, Daniel [N]/SOM/PN/P(N)
King, Simon [E]/HUN/ /P(Y)	Launders, Thomas [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)	Lock, Thomas [E]/CAM/PCN/CP(Y)
King, Thomas [E]/SFK/ / (Y)	Laurence, (?) [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Lockyer, Nicholas [E]/LND,OXF/C/ / (Y)
King, William [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)	Laurie, Thomas [E]/ESS/ /C(N)	Loder, John [E]/LND,BKM,MDX/ /CP(Y)
King, William [E]/DOR/ / (N)	Lavender, John [E]/ESS/ / (Y)	Loeff, Isaac [E]/HRT/P/ / (Y)
Kingford, Thomas [N]/KEN/C/ / (N)	Laver, Henry [N]/SOM/C/ / (N)	Lomax, John [E]/NBL/ /PIC(Y)
Kingrade, John [E]/WES/ / (N)	Lavercomb, (?) [N]/DEV/ / (N)	Long, George [E]/STS/ /PB(Y)
Kingsford, John [N]/KEN/P/B(N)	Law, John [E]/DEV/ / (Y)	Longley, Francis [E]/SSX/B/ / (Y)
Kingsnorth, Richard [N]/KEN/ /B(N)	Law, Robert [E]/DEV/ / (Y)	Loren, (?) [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)
Kippax, John [E]/LAN/ / (Y)	Law, Thomas [E]/YKS/ /B(N)	Losby, Richard [E]/WAR/ /B(Y)
Kipping, Robert [N]/NFK/P/P(N)	Lawrence, (?) [N]/DBY/N/P(N)	Lougher, John [E]/NFK/C/CP(Y)
Kirby, Joshua [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)	Lawrence, Christopher [E]/DOR/ / (Y)	Love, Samuel [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)
Kirkby, Robert [N]/NTT/P/P(N)	Lawrence, Edward [E]/SAL,LND,MDX/P/CP(Y)	Loveday, Samuel [E]/LND/ /B(Y)
Kirrid, (?) [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Lawrence, Morgan Lewis [N]/MON/CIN/ / (N)	Loveder, Clement [N]/SSX/PIC/ / (N)
Kitchin, John [E]/LEI,LND/ /B(Y)	Lawrence, Samuel [E]/LND/ /C(N)	Lovel, Jonathan [E]/SAL/ /C(Y)
Knackstone, Jonathan [N]/WIL/P/P(N)	Lawson, (?) [E]/LIN/ /B(Y)	Lovell, Henry [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Knight, (?) [E]/DEV/N/ / (N)	Lawson, Thomas [E]/SFK/CP/IC(Y)	Lovell, Thomas [N]/BDF/B/ / (N)
Knight, Isaac [E]/MDX/ /B(Y)	Lawton, James [E]/CHS,LAN/ /CP(N)	Lover, John [E]/SSX/BCN/C(Y)
Knight, John [E]/DEV/P/P(Y)	Le Marsh (?) [E]/HAM/ /P(N)	Lovet, Thomas Sr. [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)
Knight, John [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Lea, Peter [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Low, Thomas [N]/SAL/PN/P(N)
Knight, Thomas [N]/LND/C/C(N)	Lea, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /B(N)	Lowe, John [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)
Knott, John [N]/KEN/P/B(N)	Lea, William [N]/DEV/ /P(N)	Lownes, (?) [N]/HRT/B/C(N)
Knott, Laurence [N]/KEN/B/ / (N)	Leadbeater, Thomas [E]/CHS,LEI/ /P(Y)	Lowrey, Thomas [E]/ESS/ / (Y)
Knowler, Thomas [N]/KEN/P/P(N)	Learner, Richard [E]/KEN/ / (N)	Lucas, John [E]/NFK/ /P(Y)
Knowles, John [E]/LND/ /N(Y)	Leaver, John [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Lucke, William [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)
Kyltly, Edward [E]/ESS/ /P(N)	Leaver, Robert [E]/NBL,DUR/ /CP(Y)	Lucks, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Kynaston, John [N]/MGY/N/C(N)	Lee, (?) [E]/LIN/ /B(Y)	Lucus, William [N]/NTH/ /C(N)
Kynaston, Thomas [E]/CHS/ / (N)	Lee, Joseph [E]/LEI,LIN/PIC/B(Y)	Luff, John [E]/BKM/ / (Y)
Lacey, Nathaniel [N]/ESS/ / (N)	Lee, Joseph [E]/SAL/ /CP(Y)	Lukin, Henry [E]/ESS/ /C(Y)
Lad, Thomas [E]/SFK,WIL/B/P(Y)	Lee, Samuel [N]/LND/ /B(N)	Lulham, Edward [E]/SSX/PN/PCB(N)
Lamb, Nathan [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)	Lee, Samuel [E]/LND,MDX/ / (Y)	Lummock, John [E]/DUR/ /CP(N)
Lamb, Philip [E]/DOR,SRY/ /CP(Y)	Lee, Zachary [N]/KEN/C/CP(N)	Lupton, John [E]/LIN/ /C(Y)
Lame, Abel [N]/CAM,LIN/ / (N)	Legg, Tobias [E]/SFK/ / (Y)	Lupton, T. [E]/SFK/ /P(Y)
Lampitt, William [E]/LAN/ /CP(Y)	Leicester, Robert [N]/HAM/ /P(N)	Lupton, Thomas [E]/NBL/ /P(Y)
Langckford, John [N]/CON/ /P(N)	Leigh, Peter [E]/CHS/ /P(N)	Lutter, John [N]/SSX/PN/ / (N)
Lanclarke, Stephen [N]/SOM/ /B(N)	Leigh, William [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Lydden, William [E]/MGY/P/ / (Y)
Lane, Abell [N]/CAM/BQ/ / (N)	Leighton, John [E]/NTT/ /P(Y)	Lydden, William [N]/SOM/N/P(N)
Lane, John [N]/BKM/C/ / (N)	Levelay, James [E]/CHS/ /P(Y)	Lydston, John [E]/CON/ / (Y)
Lane, Samuel [E]/NFK/ /CP(Y)	Lever, Henry [E]/DUR,NBL/ /P(N)	Lye, Thomas [E]/LND/N/PCB(Y)
Langdale, John [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)	Lever, Robert [E]/NBL/ / (N)	Lyte, Stephen [N]/SOM/ /CP(N)
Langdale, Thomas [E]/LEI/ /CP(Y)	Levet, Richard [E]/RUT/ /P(Y)	Macharnis, Samuel [E]/HRT/ /P(Y)
Langfley, Henry [E]/BRK/P/CP(Y)	Lewis, Evan [N]/MON/CIN/ / (N)	Maddockes, William [E]/LND/ / (N)
Langford, John [E]/CON/ /P(Y)	Lewis, Jeremiah [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)	Maiden, John [E]/CHS,SAL/ /P(N)
Langhorne, Christopher [E]/WES/ / (Y)	Lewis, William [N]/MON/CIN/IC(N)	Maidwell, John [E]/NTH,BDF/P/CP(Y)
Langley, Henry Dr. [E]/BRK/ /CP(Y)	Lidbrooke, Nathaniel [E]/WAR/PN/ / (Y)	Maidwell, Thomas [N]/NTH/ / (N)
Langstarke, Stephen [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Light, John [E]/LND/ /CP(Y)	Mainwaring, George [E]/CHS/ / (N)
Langston (Langstone), John [E]/LND/ / (N)	Lightfoot, John [N]/DBY/ /CP(N)	Maisters. Joseph [E]/LND/ / (Y)
Langthorne, Simon [E]/YKS/ /B(Y)	Lillington, Richard [N]/DOR/P/P(N)	Malden, John [E]/SAL/ /C(Y)
Larke, Sampson [N]/DOR/ / (N)	Linch, (?) [N]/BRK/P/P(N)	Malden, Lausdeo [N]/HEF/ / (N)
Larkham, George [E]/CUL/ /CP(Y)	Lisle, George [E]/ESS/P/P(Y)	Male, Samuel [E]/LIN/ / (Y)
Larkham, Thomas [E]/DEV/ / (Y)	Lister, Anthony [E]/YKS/ / (Y)	Maliener, George [E]/STS/B/ / (Y)
Lather, William [N]/SRY/ P/B(N)	Littlejohn, Jerome [E]/SOM/CN/P(Y)	Malkinson, William [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)
Lathum, Paul [E]/LAN/ /C(Y)	Lloyd, (?) [E]/YKS/ / (Y)	Mall, Thomas [E]/DEV/PCN/P(Y)
Laughtorn, Simeon [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)	Lloyd, Joshua [N]/MON/CIN/BIC(N)	Mallery, Richard [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)

Nonconformist Minister Database -13

MAL-MOR

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Mallinson, John [E]/LAN/ /C/(Y)	Masters, Thomas [E]/WIL/ /B/(Y)	Miller, (?) [N]/YKS/C/ /(N)
Mallory, Thomas [E]/HUN,LND/ //(Y)	Mather, Nathaniel [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)	Miller, John [N]/DOR/ /C/(N)
Malthus, Robert [E]/MDX/ //(Y)	Mathurm, (?) [E]/CAM/ /C/(N)	Miller, Joshua [N]/GLA/ /PIC/(N)
Man, John [E]/BRK/ /BC/(Y)	Matthews, Edmund [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Miller, Thomas [N]/SOM/B/B/(N)
Manning, Daniel [E]/MDX/ /C/(Y)	Matthews, Marmaduke [E]/GLA/ /IC/(N)	Millman, William [N]/MON/BIC/IC/(N)
Manning, John [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Matthews, Michael [E]/LEI/ //(N)	Mills, Benjamin [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)
Manning, Lancelot [N]/CAM/ /CP/(N)	Matthews, Thomas [E]/WAR/B/C/(N)	Mills, John [N]/BKM/P/P/(N)
Manning, Samuel Jr. [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Matthews, Thomas [E]/WOR/ /C/(Y)	Millward, John [E]/LND/ //(N)
Manning, William [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Maudsley, Richard [E]/DBY/ /B/(Y)	Milner, Jeremiah [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)
Mansell, Richard [E]/WAR/PN/ /(Y)	Mauduit, John [E]/DEV/P/CP/(Y)	Milward, (?) [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)
Mansfield, Nathaniel [E]/WAR/PN/P/(Y)	Maule, Thomas [N]/DEV/ /C/(N)	Minshue, John [N]/HRT/C/CP/(N)
Manship, John [E]/SRY/ /P/(N)	Maurice, Henry [E]/SAL/ /C/(Y)	Minty, William [N]/DOR/ //(N)
Manton, Thomas [E]/LND,MDX/ P/CP/(Y)	Maurice, John [N]/MON/ /IC/(N)	Mitchel, John [E]/DOR/ //(Y)
Marbury, James [N]/CHS/ //(N)	Mawditt, John [N]/CAM/N/ /(N)	Mitchell, Nathaniel [E]/NFK/P/P/(Y)
Marigold, John [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	May, Samuel [E]/LND/ //(Y)	Mocket, Thomas [E]/HRT/ //(Y)
Maris, George [N]/WOR/B/ /(N)	Mayhew, Richard [E]/SFK/ /IC/(Y)	Mococke, Thomas [N]/SSX/BN/ /(N)
Mark, Edward [N]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Mayle, Edmund [N]/CAM/ //(N)	Monck, Thomas [N]/LND/ //(N)
Marke, James [N]/WIL/ /CP/(N)	Maynard, John [E]/SSX/ /C/(Y)	Money, John [E]/NFK/C/ /(Y)
Marke, Nicholas Sr. [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Maynard, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /CP/(N)	Money, John [N]/SFK/ /B/(N)
Marner, Robert [N]/SSX/CN/ /(N)	Mayo, Israel [E]/HRT/ //(Y)	Monings, William [N]/KEN/P/ /(N)
Marner, Samuel [N]/SSX/N/P/(N)	Mayo, Richard [E]/SRY,LND/P/PB/(Y)	Monk, Thomas [N]/BKM,HRT/B/B/(N)
Marriott, John [E]/BKM/B/P/(N)	Mays, John [N]/GLS/ /P/(N)	Monnings, Thomas [N]/KEN/C/ /(N)
Marryot, James [E]/HAM/P/ /(Y)	Mead, Thomas [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Montague, Henry [E]/KEN,BRK/P/ /(Y)
Marsden, Gamaliel [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Meade, Matthew [E]/BDF,MDX,LEI/PIB/C/(Y)	Montague, John [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)
Marsden, Jeremiah [E]/YKS/ //(Y)	Meadowes, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(N)	Montague, John Jr. [N]/BKM/ //(N)
Marsey, Robert [N]/NTT/ /P/(N)	Medcalfe, Benjamin [N]/CAM/B/ /(N)	Moor, Archibald [E]/NBL/ /C/(Y)
Marsh, Anthony [N]/NTT/C/ /(N)	Meggs, James [N]/LND,SRY/ /C/(N)	Moor, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(N)
Marsh, William [N]/NTT/P/P/(N)	Meiggs, James [N]/ESS/ //(N)	Moor, Simon [E]/LND,MDX/ /IC/(Y)
Marshall, (?) [E]/NTH/ /B/(Y)	Mein, William [N]/NBL/ /P/(N)	Moor, Thomas [E]/DOR/ /P/(N)
Marshall, Christopher [E]/CHS/ /C/(Y)	Mell, Thomas [N]/SRY/ //(N)	Moor, Thomas [E]/OXF/ //(N)
Marshall, Christopher [E]/YKS/C/C/(Y)	Mence, (?) [N]/BDF,HAM/ //(N)	Moore, (?) [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)
Marshall, Thomas [E]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Mercer, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Moore, Edmund [E]/CAM,DEV/ /B/(Y)
Marshall, Walter [N]/HAM,SOM/P/P/(N)	Meredith, Edward [N]/MGY/C/C/(N)	Moore, Edmund [N]/YKS/ /C/(N)
Marshall, William Dr. [E]/LAN,LND/ /P/(Y)	Meredith, Humphrey [N]/MGY/C/C/(N)	Moore, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(N)
Marston, Thomas [N]/WAR/ //(N)	Meredith, Samuel [N]/MGY/C/C/(N)	Moore, John [N]/SOM/ //(N)
Marten, Samuel [E]/SSX/ //(Y)	Meredith, Thomas [N]/MGY/C/P/(N)	Moore, John Jr (?) [E]/SFK/ //(N)
Martin, (?) [N]/WAR/BN/ /(N)	Merner, Samuel [E]/SSX/ /C/(N)	Moore, Joseph [E]/DBY/ /PCB/(Y)
Martin, John [E]/HAM/ /IC/(N)	Merrill, Zachary [E]/LND/ /P/(N)	Moore, Richard [E]/NFK/C/C/(Y)
Martin, John [N]/HER/ /P/(N)	Merriman, Benjamin [E]/BRK/ //(N)	Moore, Richard [E]/WOR/ /P/(Y)
Martin, Richard [N]/SOM,LND/ /B/(N)	Merriman, Benjamin Sr. [E]/BRK/ //(N)	Moore, Robert [N]/KEN/P/ /(N)
Martin, Richard [E]/WAR,NTH/PN/ /(N)	Merriman, Thomas [N]/BRK/B/ /(N)	Moore, Stephen [N]/HAM/ //(N)
Martin, Stephen [E]/SSX/ /CP/(N)	Merryweather, John [N]/WIL/B/B/(N)	Moore, Thomas [N]/SRY/P/P/(N)
Martin, Thomas [E]/DEV/ //(Y)	Metcalf, Benjamin [N]/CAM/ //(N)	Moore, Thomas [N]/SOM,DOR/PN/P/(N)
Martin, William [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Mew, William [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Moorhouse, (?) [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Martindale, Adam [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Michell, Nathaniel [E]/NFK/P/B/(N)	More, Henry [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Marty, Michael [N]/SSX/B/C/(N)	Middleton, John [N]/DUR/ /P/(N)	More, Hugh [N]/NFK/ //(N)
Martyn, Richard [E]/WAR/ //(Y)	Miles, John [N]/GLA/ /IC/(N)	More, Robert [E]/DBY/ /P/(Y)
Martyn, Thomas [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)	Miles, Thomas [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)	More, Stephen [N]/LND/ /CP/(N)
Martyn, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /CP/(Y)	Miles, Thomas [N]/BKM/P/P/(N)	More, William [E]/LAN/ /CP/(N)
Mascall, Thomas [N]/CAM/B/ /(N)	Miles, Thomas [E]/DBY/ //(N)	Moreton, Daniel [N]/DEV/ //(N)
Mason, John [N]/SAL/PN/P/(N)	Miles, William [N]/BRK/B/P/(N)	Morgan, Edmund [N]/MON/BN/ /(N)
Mason, Oliver [N]/BDF/C/C/(N)	Milford, (?) [N]/KEN/ /C/(N)	Morgan, George [N]/MON/N/IC/(N)
Massy, John [E]/WIL/ /B/(Y)	Millard, George [E]/SOM/PN/ /(Y)	Morgan, Giles [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)
Masters, Joseph [N]/HRT/B/B/(N)		Morgan, Joane [N]/GLA/CIN/B/(N)

Nonconformist Minister Database -14

MOR-PAR

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Morgan, John [N]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Newberry, John Sr. [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Organ, John [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Morgan, John [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)	Newcome, Henry [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Orgene, James [N]/WIL/ /PB/(N)
Morgan, Nathaniel [N]/MON/CIN/ /(N)	Newham, Joseph [N]/DBY/CN/C/(N)	Orlebar, Matthew [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)
Morgan, Thomas [N]/MON/CIN/IC/(N)	Newman, Thomas [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)	Osborne, William [E]/KEN/ /B/(Y)
Morgan, William [N]/MON/ / /(N)	Newnham, Thomas [E]/HAM/ /C/(Y)	Osbourne, Joseph [N]/KEN/ / /(N)
Morice, Thomas [N]/NTH/ /CP/(N)	Newton, Edward [E]/SSX/P/P/(Y)	Osburne, Thomas [N]/NFK/C/ /(N)
Morland, Martin [E]/MDX/ /P/(N)	Newton, George [E]/DEV/PN/P/(Y)	Osland, Henry [E]/STS,WOR/CP/CP/(N)
Morley, (?) [E]/WAR/B/ /(Y)	Newton, John [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Osman, Roger [N]/WIL/B/ /(N)
Morley, Benjamin [N]/YKS/ / /(N)	Newton, Samuel [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Ottie, Robert [E]/SFK,NFK/C/I/(Y)
Morley, John [N]/CAM/CN/ /(N)	Neyle, (?) [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)	Outlar, Willam [N]/CAM/ /I/(N)
Morley, John [N]/NFK/P/P/(N)	Nicholas, Edward [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Overhead, John [E]/ESS/ /P/P/(Y)
Morrice, Richard [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)	Nichols, Charles [E]/KEN/C/CP/(Y)	Overrande, John [N]/CAM/C/ /(N)
Morrice, Roger [E]/DBY/ / /(Y)	Nicholson, George [E]/CUL/ /C/(Y)	Ovey, John [N]/OXF/ / /C/(N)
Morris, Robert [N]/BRK/ /B/(N)	Nicholson, George [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Owen, Charles [E]/DEN/ / /(N)
Morris, Thomas [N]/LEI/B/P/(N)	Nicholson, Giles [E]/CUL/ /C/(N)	Owen, John [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)
Mortimer, (?) [N]/WIL/B/ /(N)	Nickson, Zacharies [E]/YKS,NTT/B/C/(Y)	Owen, John [E]/NBL/ /CP/(Y)
Mortimer, George [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Nicoll, Ferdinando [E]/DEV/ /CP/(Y)	Owen, Thankful [E]/LND/ /C/(Y)
Mortimer, John [E]/DEV,LND/ /P/(Y)	Nicolls, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Owsley, (?) [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Morton, (?) [N]/BKM/P/ /(N)	Noble, David [E]/YKS/ / /(N)	Pace, Thomas [E]/SRY/P/PB/(Y)
Morton, Charles [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)	Noble, John [E]/CUL/ /P/(N)	Packler, Samuel [E]/SFK/P/ /(Y)
Morton, Daniel [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Noble, John [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Page, John [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)
Moseley, Robert [E]/DBY,CHS/ /P/(N)	Norbury, Robert [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Paine, Jeremiah [N]/SOM/B/PB/(N)
Moses, William [E]/CAM/ / /(Y)	Norcrosse, Nathaniel [N]/NFK/ /CP/(N)	Paine, John [E]/HRT/ /P/(Y)
Mostom, Ambrose [E]/DEN,OXF/ /PIC/(N)	Norfolk, John [N]/LIN/ / /(N)	Painter, (?) [N]/WIL/B/ /(N)
Mote, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Norman, Adam [N]/DEV/P/ /(N)	Palk, Thomas [E]/DEV/ / /(N)
Mott, John [E]/STS/P/ /(Y)	Norman, John [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)	Palmer, Anthony [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Mott, Mark [E]/SFK,ESS/ /CP/(Y)	Norrice, William [E]/SOM/PN/ /(Y)	Palmer, Anthony Sr. (?) [E]/GLS/ /C/(N)
Mott, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	North, John [N]/OXF/ / /(N)	Palmer, John [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)
Moulden, James [N]/ESS/ /C/(N)	Nosworthy, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Palmer, Nicholas [N]/MDX,BRK/CP/P/(N)
Moulton, Richard [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)	Nott, John [E]/STS,LND/ /P/(Y)	Palmers, John [E]/DEV/ / /(N)
Moxam, William [N]/WIL/B/B/(N)	Nowel, Samuel [E]/DBY/ / /(Y)	Par, Edward [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Moxon, George [E]/CHS,STS/ /CP/(Y)	Nowell, Samuel [E]/NTT/ /C/(Y)	Parish, George [E]/DUR/ /P/(Y)
Munn, Daniel [N]/BKM/P/ /(N)	Nuttal, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /CP/(Y)	Park, Robert [E]/LAN,SRY/ /P/(Y)
Mugg, William [N]/LEI/B/C/(N)	Nye, Philip [E]/LND,MDX/P/C/(Y)	Park, Robert [E]/CAM,SSX/CN/ /(N)
Murray, John [E]/NBL/ /C/(Y)	Oakes, John [N]/STS/P/ /(N)	Parker, Edward [N]/WIL/ /P/(N)
Musgrave, Lawrence [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Oakes, John [E]/ESS/ /C/(Y)	Parker, William [E]/LEI/B/P/(Y)
Musgrove, John [E]/SOM/PN/ /(Y)	Oakes, John Sr (?) [E]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Parker, William [N]/NTT/B/ /(N)
Musson, Richard [E]/LEI/ /B/(N)	Oasland, Henry [E]/WOR/ / /(Y)	Parkhurst, John [N]/ESS/ / /(N)
Muston, Samuel [E]/LEI/ /B/(Y)	Oatefeild, John [N]/DBY/ / /(N)	Parleys, William [N]/NFK/C/P/(N)
Myles, Thomas [N]/STS/ /B/(N)	Oddey, Joseph Jr. [E]/CAM/FANPIQBN/CP/(N)	Parr, Edward [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Myriel, John [E]/CUL/ /C/(Y)	Oddy, Joseph Sr. [E]/CAM/N/ /(Y)	Parr, John [E]/LAN/ /CP/(Y)
Myrrald, Joshua [E]/DBY/ / /(N)	Ogden, Samuel [E]/DBY,YKS/CN/CP/(Y)	Parr, Richard [N]/WIL/ /C/(N)
Naden, William [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)	Ogle, John [E]/NBL/ /C/(N)	Parr, Richard [N]/SRY/ / /(N)
Napper, William [N]/SSX/ / /(N)	Ogle, Luke [E]/NBL/ /PIC/(Y)	Parr, Richard [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Nash, (?) [N]/HAM/B/C/(N)	Okey, Thomas [N]/WIL/B/B/(N)	Parrett, John [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)
Nash, George [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)	Olden, Robert [N]/WIL/ / /(N)	Parsons, Andrew [E]/LND/ / /(Y)
Nayle, (?) [N]/BKM/ / /(N)	Oldershaw, Samuel [E]/LEI/ /C/(Y)	Parsons, Henry [E]/SOM,DOR/P/ /(Y)
Naylor, James [E]/LND/ / /(Y)	Oldfield, John [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)	Parsons, John [N]/DOR/ / /(N)
Naylor, Peter [E]/LAN,YKS/P/P/(Y)	Oldham, John [E]/GLS/ / /(Y)	Parsons, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)
Neall, Nehemiah [N]/HRT/B/P/(N)	Olive, John [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)	Parsons, Thomas [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)
Nedler, Benjamin [E]/LND,MDX/P/P/(N)	Oliver, John [E]/SOM/ / /(Y)	Parsons, William [N]/ESS/ / /(N)
Negus, Strickland [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Oliver, Thomas [E]/NTH/ / /(Y)	Partridge, Nathaniel [E]/LND,MDX/C/C/(Y)
Nesse, Christopher [E]/YKS/C/CP/(Y)	Oliver, William [E]/CON/ /P/(N)	Partridge, Thomas [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)
Nesworthy, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Only, John [N]/WAR/B/ /(N)	
Nevet, Rowland [E]/SAL/CN/CP/(Y)	Ord, Edward [E]/NBL/ / /(Y)	

Nonconformist Minister Database -15

PAS-RAN

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Paske, William [N]/DBY/ / / (N)	Phillips, Humphrey [E]/SOM/ / / (N)	Postlethwaite, Walter [E]/SSX/IC/ / (Y)
Paston, Edward [E]/WOR,STS/ / / (Y)	Phillips, Peregrine [E]/PEM/ / / (Y)	Potter, Nathaniel [N]/WAR/ / / (N)
Paul, John [E]/GLS/ /P/(Y)	Phillips, Peregrine Jr. [E]/PEM/ /C/(N)	Powel, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)
Payne, (?) [E]/ESS/ / / (N)	Phip, John [E]/WIL/ /PB/(Y)	Powell, John [E]/GLA,MON/CIN/IC/(N)
Payne, John [E]/HRT/ /P/(N)	Piatt, John [E]/SRY/P/ / (N)	Powell, Rees [E]/GLA/N/ / (N)
Payton, Edward [N]/CAM/BQ/B/(N)	Pibus, George [N]/STS/P/CP/(N)	Powell, Richard [N]/RAD/ /P/(N)
Peace, Richard [N]/WAR/ / / (N)	Pickering, Robert [E]/YKS/ /C/(Y)	Powell, Thomas [E]/DEV/C/IC/(Y)
Peach, Richard [E]/DBY/ / / (N)	Pierce, George [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Powell, Thomas [E]/SRY/ /P/(N)
Peachie, John [E]/LND/ /C/(N)	Pigot, John [E]/YKS/ /P/(N)	Powell, Vavasor [N]/MGY/CN/IC/(N)
Peake, George [E]/NTT/B/ / (Y)	Pike, Samuel [E]/KEN/ / / (N)	Powell, William [E]/ESS/ /P/(N)
Pearce, George [N]/SOM/ /B/(N)	Pilsworth, Daniel [N]/GLS/ / / (N)	Power, William [N]/WAR/B/B/(N)
Peard, Oliver [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)	Pindar (?) [N]/ESS/ /B/(N)	Poyntel, Daniel [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)
Pearse, Edward [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Pindar, John [E]/NFK,SFK/P/C/(Y)	Prescot, Edmund [E]/KEN/BI/B/(Y)
Pearse, William [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Pinkney, John [E]/HAM/ /P/(Y)	Prestwood, Michael [N]/CON/ /P/(N)
Pearson, Ralph [N]/NTT/B/B/(N)	Pinney, John [E]/DOR,SOM/P/PB/(Y)	Priaulx, John [N]/WIL/ / / (N)
Pease, Richard [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)	Pinney, Robert [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Price, Charles [E]/MDX,LND,SOM/ /C/(N)
Peck, Robert [N]/NFK/ /P/(N)	Pitfeild, Henry [N]/DOR/P/P/(N)	Price, Christopher [N]/MON/B/B/(N)
Peck, Simon [N]/BRK/P/C/(N)	Pitts, Aaron [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Price, David [N]/CMN/ /B/(N)
Peckering, Robert [E]/YKS/ /CP/(Y)	Pitts, George [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)	Price, Edward [N]/MGY/C/C/(N)
Peckes, Josua [E]/WAR/P/ / (Y)	Pixe, William [E]/SSX/ /PB/(Y)	Price, Gabriel [E]/MDX,ESS/ /B/(Y)
Pecket, Philip [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Plackstone, (?) [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Price, Samuel [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)
Peene, Henry [N]/KEN/ /B/(N)	Planner, John [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Prideaux, Edmund Esq. [N]/DEV/P/ / (N)
Peirce, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)	Platt, John [E]/SRY/ /B/(Y)	Pridham, Gabriel [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Pell, William [E]/DUR/ /P/(Y)	Plaxton, John [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Prigg, Nicolas [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)
Pemberton, Mathias [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)	Pleasance, Robert [E]/DUR/ /P/(Y)	Prime, Edward [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)
Pen, Henry [N]/WIL/B/B/(N)	Pledger, Elias [E]/LND,MDX,ESS/ /P/(Y)	Primrose, George [E]/HER/ /P/(Y)
Pendlebury, Henry [E]/LAN/PIQD/P/(N)	Plomer, Francis [E]/HRT/ / / (N)	Prin, Richard [N]/DBY/C/C/(N)
Penson, William [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)	Plough, Edward [N]/SFK/ /CP/(N)	Prince, James [E]/SRY/ /P/(Y)
Perkines, John [E]/WAR/ /PB/(Y)	Plumstead, Augustine [E]/SFK/ /CP/(Y)	Pringle, John [E]/NBL,SAL/ / / (Y)
Perkins, Benjamin [E]/BRK/P/P/(Y)	Pole, Simon [E]/HAM/P/P/(Y)	Prinne, Phillip [N]/DBY/CN/ / (N)
Perkins, Richard [N]/GLS/ /B/(N)	Pollard, Robert [N]/CAM/BQ/ / (N)	Pritchard, William [N]/PEM/ /C/(N)
Perkins, William [E]/KEN/ /CP/(N)	Polweil, Theophilus [E]/DEV/PCN/C/(Y)	Procter, Anthony [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Perkins, William [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Pomfret, Samuel [N]/ESS/ / / (N)	Procter, John [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)
Perrot, Richard [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Ponder, Nathaniel [N]/LND/ /C/(N)	Procter, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)
Perry, Samuel [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Ponder, Samuel [E]/CAM/ /CP/(Y)	Prosser, Walter [N]/GLA,MON/IC/IC/(N)
Perry, Thomas [N]/SOM/CN/ / (N)	Pone, Robert [N]/LND/P/ / (N)	Prosser, William [N]/MON/N/ / (N)
Persons, John [N]/HER/ /P/(Y)	Pool, (?) [E]/NFK/ /C/(N)	Proud, Thomas [N]/GLA/ /P/(N)
Persons, John [E]/DOR/ / / (N)	Pool, Everard [E]/DBY /C/(Y)	Prythro, Rice [E]/CMN/ / / (N)
Pert, (Robert?) [E]/NFK/ / / (Y)	Pool, Matthew [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Purdon, John [E]/WAR/B/P/(Y)
Pettaugh, Samuel [E]/NFK/C/C/(Y)	Pool, Thomas [E]/STS/ /P/(Y)	Purdwood, James [N]/DEV/N/P/(N)
Petter, John [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	Poole, Francis [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Purt, Robert [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)
Petter, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Poole, George [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Pyke, Richard [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)
Pettit, Samuel [N]/CAM/ / / (N)	Poole, John [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Pyke, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)
Peyto, Samuel [E]/SFK,NFK/C/C/(N)	Pope, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Pym, William [N]/KEN/B/ / (N)
Phelps, Charles [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Pordage, John [E]/BRK/ /C/(N)	Quarme, Walter [N]/CON/ /P/(N)
Philips, David [N]/MGY/C/ / (N)	Port, Robert [N]/LND/ /P/(N)	Quarrel, James [N]/SAL/ / / (N)
Phillips, Humphrey [E]/DOR,WIL,SOM/P/ / (Y)	Porter, George [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Quarrell, Thomas [E]/MGY,GLA,MON,SAL/CIN/IC/(Y)
Phillips, Humphrey, Sr. [N]/SOM/ /B/(N)	Porter, George [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Quicke, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Phillips, Samuel [E]/HER/ /P/(N)	Porter, John [N]/NFK/C/P/(N)	Quicke, Joseph [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Phillip, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Porter, Robert [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Rabons, Major [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)
Phillips, (?) [E]/WAR/BN/ / (N)	Porter, Samuel [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Rabould, James [E]/STS/P/ / (Y)
Phillips, Alslatt [E]/SOM/ / / (Y)	Porter, Thomas [E]/CHS/ /C/(Y)	Ramsey, Henry [N]/MON/N/P/(N)
Phillips, Daniel [E]/GLA/CIN/BC/(N)	Pory, John [N]/NFK/ / / (N)	Rance, John [E]/(?) / /C/(N)
	Post, (?) [N]/HAM/B/CP/(N)	Rand, Richard [E]/ESS/CP/C/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -16

RAN-SAY

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Randall, (?) [E]/DEV/ /C/(Y)	Risley, Thomas [E]/LAN/ / / (Y)	Rowlet, John [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)
Randall, John [N]/SFK/ / / (N)	Ritch, John [E]/BKM/ /C/(Y)	Rowlett, John [E]/WAR/ / / (N)
Randall, William [E]/SOM/BN/B/(N)	Riter, Clement [N]/WOR/ /C/(N)	Rowsall, Robert [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)
Ranew, Nathaniel [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Ritschel, George [E]/NBL/ /P/(Y)	Rumney, Jeoffory [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)
Ranger, (?) [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Rixam, James [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	Rumsey, Henry [N]/MON/IC/ / (N)
Rasbury, Richard [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Roach, James [N]/SOM/P/P/(N)	Rundell, (?) [N]/DEV/ /CP/(N)
Rashley, Jonathan [E]/WIL/ / / (Y)	Robert, David [N]/(?)CIN/ / (N)	Russell, (?) [N]/HRT/B/P/(N)
Rashley, Thomas [E]/WIL/ /B/(Y)	Roberts, Abraham [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)	Russell, John [N]/KEN/B/ / / (N)
Rastrick, John [E]/LIN/ /C/(Y)	Roberts, Edward [N]/LND/ /P/ (N)	Russell, William [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Rattum, John [N]/CAM/BQ/ / (N)	Roberts, Edward [N]/MER/ / / (N)	Rust, Jeremy [E]/SFK/C/ / (Y)
Ravenshaw, John [E]/CHS/ /P/(Y)	Roberts, Francis [N]/SOM/ / / (N)	Ruthey, William [E]/BRK/ /BC/(Y)
Rawlinson, John [E]/SRY/ /P/(Y)	Roberts, Gerard [N]/MDX/P/P/(N)	Rutledge, William [N]/BRK/B/B/(N)
Rawson, Edward [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)	Roberts, John [E]/DEN/ /CP/(N)	Rutt, Stephen [N]/WIL/C/C/(N)
Rawson, James [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)	Roberts, Richard [E]/SRY,HRT/P/P/(Y)	Rutty, Thomas [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)
Ray, Daniel [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Robinson, Alexander [E]/SOM,DEV/ /P/(Y)	Ryder, Dudley [E]/WAR,NFK/ /P/(Y)
Ray, John [E]/CHS/ / / (Y)	Robinson, George [E]/MON/IC/IC/(N)	Ryther, John [E]/LIN,YKS,LND/ /C/(Y)
Rayes, Thomas [N]/NFK/ /CP/(N)	Robinson, Isaac [E]/NTH/ / / (N)	Ryther, John Jr. [E]/NTT/ / / (N)
Raymond, Henry [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)	Robinson, John [N]/YKS/ /P/(N)	Ryves, Bruno [E]/LND/ / / (Y)
Rayner, Daniel [E]/SRY/ /CP/(N)	Robinson, Nathaniel [E]/HAM/I/PBC/(N)	Sacheverell, Philologus [E]/ESS/ /C/(Y)
Rayner, John [N]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Robotham, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Sacheverill, Timothy [E]/DOR/ /PB/(Y)
Read, (?) [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)	Rock, Josiah [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Sadler, (?) [N]/DBY/ /C/(N)
Read, John [N]/BDF/BC/ / (N)	Rock, William [E]/STS/ / / (Y)	Sadler, (?) [N]/WAR/B/ / (N)
Read, Jonathan [N]/BRK/P/P/(N)	Rockett, John [E]/LIN,DBY/P/C/(Y)	Sadler, John [E]/DOR/ / / (Y)
Read, Joseph [E]/WOR/ /PB/(Y)	Rogers, Christopher [E]/OXF/ /C/(N)	Sadler, Richard [E]/SAL/N/P/(Y)
Read, Richard [N]/BKM/P/P/(N)	Rogers, Edward [E]/SAL/ / / (Y)	Sadler, William [E]/WAR/B/B/(Y)
Reader, Thomas [N]/KEN/P/P/(N)	Rogers, Hopkin [N]/MON/CIN/BC/(N)	Safford, James [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Rede, John Col. [N]/WIL/ / / (N)	Rogers, Hugh [E]/MGY/ /CP/(N)	Safford, John [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Redgate, Henry [N]/LEI/B/ / (N)	Rogers, James [N]/BKM,HRT/P/C/(N)	Safford, Thomas [E]/SOM/PN/PB/(Y)
Rees, Howell [N]/GLA/IC/IC/(N)	Rogers, John [E]/CUL,DUR/ /CP/(Y)	Sagar, Charles [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)
Rees, Phillip [N]/GLA/N/B/(N)	Rogers, Nathan [N]/(?)N/B/(N)	Sager, Charles [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)
Rees, William [N]/GLA/CIN/ / (N)	Rogers, Robert [E]/OXF,BRK/N/C/(Y)	Saile, James [E]/YKS/ /CP/(Y)
Reeve, John [E]/ESS/ /PB/(Y)	Rolls, William [E]/MDX/ /C/(Y)	Salisbury, Ambrose [N]/SFK/ / / (N)
Reeve, William [E]/WAR/B/ / (Y)	Rolt, Edward [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Salkeld, Edward [E]/NBL/ /P/(Y)
Reeves, Thomas [E]/SSX/PN/ / (Y)	Roman, John [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)	Salkeld, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Reiner, Edward [E]/NFK/ / / (N)	Rood, Onesiphorus [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Salter, Thomas [E]/NTT/ / / (Y)
Revell, Theophilus [E]/(?) /P/(N)	Roome, John [N]/DBY/CN/ / (N)	Sames, John [E]/ESS/C/CP/(N)
Reyner, John [E]/CAM/ /B/(Y)	Roose, Henry [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)	Sampson, Thomas [N]/NTT/P/P/(N)
Reynolds, John [E]/STS/ / / (Y)	Root, Thomas [E]/KEN/ / / (N)	Sampson, William [E]/DOR,SOM/PN/CP/(Y)
Reynolds, John [E]/WAR/ /P/(N)	Root, Timothy [E]/ YKS/ /P/(Y)	Sampson, William [N]/ESS/ /B/(N)
Reynolds, John [E]/SRY/B/P/(N)	Roper, Samuel [N]/WAR/ /C/(N)	Sams, John [E]/ESS/ /CP/PB/(Y)
Reynolds, John [E]/NFK/ /P/(N)	Rosch, James [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)	Sanders, Humphrey [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Reynolds, William [E]/NTT/ /CP/(N)	Rose, Thomas [E]/NTT/P/P/(Y)	Sanders, Richard [N]/DEV/ / / (N)
Rice, Philip [E]/MON/CIN/IC/(N)	Rose, Thomas Jr. [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Sanders, Thomas [E]/HAM,SOM/ / / (N)
Rich, Nathaniel Esq. [E]/BRK/B/ / (N)	Roswell, Thomas [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)	Sanders, Thomas (Colonel) [N]/DBY/C/C/(N)
Richard, William [E]/MON/ /IC/(N)	Row, John [N]/WIL/P/B/(N)	Sanderson, William [N]/CUL/ /C/(N)
Richardson, (?) [E]/DBY/N/N/(N)	Row, Nathaniel [E]/KEN/ /B/(Y)	Sangar, Gabriel [E]/MDX/P/P/(Y)
Richardson, Christopher Sr. [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Row, Thomas Sr. [E]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Saunders, Jeremiah [N]/WAR/B/B/(N)
Richardson, Edward [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Row, Toby [N]/NFK/C/C/(N)	Saunders, Luke [N]/HRT/ / / (N)
Richardson, John [N]/NTT/P/ / (N)	Rowe, John [N]/DEV/ / / (N)	Saunders, Richard [E]/DEV/P/P/(Y)
Richardson, Joshua [E]/SAL/ /P/(N)	Rowe, Thomas Jr. [E]/DOR/ / / (Y)	Saunderwick, Jacob [N]/DEV/ / / (N)
Ridge, John [E]/HAM/ / / (Y)	Rowe, William [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)/	Savage, John [N]/LND/ / / (N)
Ridwater, (?) [E]/STS/ /P/(Y)	Rowell, Andrew [E]/HAM,SRY,SSX/PI/C/(N)	Savery, John [N]/KEN/ / / (N)
Rightly, Edward [E]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Rowell, John [E]/HAM/C/ / (Y)	Sawry, Roger Col. [E]/LND/ / / (N)
Ringstad, John [N]/NFK/ /C/(N)	Rowland, Ellise [E]/DEN,CAE/ /P/(Y)	Say, Giles [E]/HAM/P/C/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -17

SAY-SOU

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Say, Thomas [N]/LND/ / / (N)	Shelmerdine, Daniel [E]/DBY,STS/PCBN/C/(Y)	Smallwood, William [E]/STS/P/P/(N)
Sayer, John [E]/BRK/ /P/(Y)	Shelmerdine, Francis [E]/CHS/ /CP/(Y)	Smallwood, William [E]/BKM,OXF,KEN/PB/P/(Y)
Sayer, Richard [N]/BRK/ /P/(N)	Shelmerdine, Samuel [E]/DBY/ /CP/(N)	Smart, William [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Scandaret, Stephen [E]/SFK/P/P/(Y)	Shelmerdine, Thomas [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)	Smeeden, Thomas [N]/STS/P/C/(N)
Scandarett, John [E]/SFK/ / / (N)	Shelwood, John [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Smith, Francis [E]/LND,SRV/ /BC/(Y)
Scargil, William [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Shemhold, George [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Smith, George [E]/ESS,CAM/ / / (Y)
Scholes, Jeremiah [E]/LAN/ /CP/(N)	Shepardson, Matthew [N]/NTT/P/C/(N)	Smith, James [E]/BRK/P/ / (Y)
Scholes, Nathaniel [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)	Shepherd, Mordecai [E]/NTT/P/P/(Y)	Smith, John [E]/BRK,CHS/ /P/(Y)
Sclater, Samuel [E]/SFK/P/P/(Y)	Shepherd, William [E]/HUN/ / / (Y)	Smith, John [E]/CAM/ /C/(Y)
Sconderel, John [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Shepherdson, Mathew [N]/NTT/P/P/(N)	Smith, John [N]/NFK/ /C/(N)
Scott, Christopher [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Sherley, James [N]/ESS/ / / (N)	Smith, John [N]/WIL/ B/B/(N)
Scott, Henry [N]/CAM/PN/ / (N)	Sherman, Edward [E]/SFX,ESS/P/CP/(Y)	Smith, Jonathan Jr. [E]/WIL,GLS/ /C/(Y)
Scott, Oliver [E]/CAM,BDF,HRT/BC/C/(N)/	Sherwill, Nicholas [E]/DEV/ /PB/(Y)	Smith, Jonathan Sr. [E]/WIL,GLS/ /C/(N)
Scott, Thomas [N]/KEN/ /BC/(N)	Sherwin, William [E]/CAM/ / / (Y)	Smith, Joseph [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)
Scurr, John [E]/YKS/ /CP/(N)	Sherwood, Joseph [E]/CON/ / / (Y)	Smith, Matthew [N]/YKS/ / / (N)
Seabourne, Philip [N]/WIL/P/B/(N)	Shewell, Thomas [E]/KEN/ /C/(Y)	Smith, Richard [E]/SOM/P/ / (Y)
Seaman, Thomas [N]/SRY/P/P/(N)	Shilton, Daniel [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	Smith, Robert [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)
Searl, James [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Shilton, Joseph [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	Smith, Samuel [N]/CAM/CN/B/(N)
Searle, Edward [N]/DEV/ / / (N)	Shipdam, Isaiah [E]/NFK/ / / (Y)	Smith, Samuel [E]/LND/P/ / (Y)
Searle, Henry [E]/NTH/ /CP/(Y)	Shipdam, Israel [E]/NFK/ /CP/(Y)	Smith, Samuel [E]/SAL/ /C/(Y)
Searle, John [E]/DEV/C/C/(Y)	Shore, Andrew [N]/SOM/N/ / (N)	Smith, Samuel [E]/LND/ / / (Y)
Seaton, John [E]/NTH,NBL/ /CP/(Y)	Short, Amos [E]/DOR,DEV,SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Smith, Samuel Jr. [E]/HER,BRK/ /CP/(Y)
Seddon, Robert [E]/DBY,NTT/CN/CP/(Y)	Short, John [E]/DOR/ / / (N)	Smith, Thomas [E]/GLS/ / / (Y)
Seele, George [E]/GLS/ /CP/(N)	Shotters, Roger [N]/SSX/N/ / (N)	Smith, Thomas [E]/LEI/ /CP/(Y)
Seele, William [N]/NFK/ /C/(N)	Shute, Richard [N]/ESS/ / / (N)	Smith, Thomas [E]/SOM/ / / (N)
Seeley, (?) Jr. [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)	Shuttlewood, John [E]/NTH/ /C/(N)	Smith, Thomas [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)
Segary, William [E]/BRK/ / / (Y)	Shuttlewood, John [E]/LEI/P/P/(Y)	Smith, Thomas [E]/WAR/ /P/(Y)
Seliyard, Samuel [E]/KEN/ /P/(N)	Sidwell, Hammond [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Smith, Thomas [N]/GLS/ /P/(N)
Sellerke, Robert [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Sillito, Thomas [N]/STS/ /B/(N)	Smith, Timothy [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Senior, Nathaniel [N]/CAM/ /C/(N)	Simkins, Jeffery [N]/WIL/ /P/(N)	Smith, William [E]/GLS,OXF/ /BC/(Y)
Senior, Thomas [E]/LND,MDX/ /B/(Y)	Simmonds, (?) [E]/LND/ /P/(Y)	Smith, William [E]/LEI/ /CP/(Y)
Sergeant, Richard [E]/WOR/ /PI/(Y)	Simmonds, Edward [N]/CAM/CN/ / (N)	Smith, Zachary [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)
Serle, John [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Simmons, Joseph [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Smyth, (?) [N]/WOR/ /P/(N)
Serle, Samuel [E]/DEV/ /B/(N)	Simms, (?) [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Smyth, Edward [N]/LEI/C/ / (N)
Sesethon, Francis [E]/ /P/(N)	Simonde, James [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	Smyth, Henry [N]/SSX/N/ / (N)
Sewster, John [N]/BDF/B/C/(N)	Simonds, (?) [N]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Smyth, Hugh [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Seyliard, Thomas [E]/KEN/ /B/(Y)	Sims, John [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Smyth, Richard [E]/SOM/N/ / (Y)
Sharp, Phillip [E]/KEN/ /P/(Y)	Sims, William [E]/SRY/P/P/(N)	Smyth, Richard [N]/SSX/N/ / (N)
Sharp, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Simson, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Smyth, Thomas [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)
Sharpe, Christopher [E]/SOM/N/ / (Y)	Singleton, John [E]/HRT/ /C/(Y)	Smyth, William [E]/LEI/P/PB/(N)
Sharpey, Joshua [N]/KEN/B/ / (N)	Skeete, James [N]/KEN/B/BC/(N)	Smyth, William [E]/YKS/P/ / (Y)
Sharples, Richard [N]/CUL/ / / (N)	Skinner, George [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Smythe, (?) [N]/WOR/ / / (N)
Shaw, John [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Skinner, John [E]/GLS/ /C/(N)	Snead, Thomas [E]/SOM/ /B/(Y)
Shaw, Joseph [E]/YKS/N/P/(N)	Skinner, John [E]/HER/ /C/(Y)	Snell, Anthony [N]/LIN/ /C/(N)
Shaw, Samuel [E]/LEI/ / / (Y)	Slape, John [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Snell, Christopher [E]/SSX/IC/CP/(Y)
Sheerwill, Nicholas [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Slater, Samuel [E]/CHS/ / / (Y)	Snelocke, John [N]/SFX/ /C/(N)
Sheffield, Edward [E]/CON/ / / (Y)	Slater, Samuel [E]/SFK,LND/ /P/(Y)	Snow, Robert [E]/DEV/P/P/(Y)
Sheffield, John [E]/MDX,LND/ /P/(Y)	Slater, Samuel Sr. [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Snowden, Benjamin [E]/NFK/P/P/(Y)
Sheffield, John [E]/NFK/ /B/(Y)	Slayter, William [N]/SFK/P/C/(N)	Soanderell, John [N]/SFK/ /P/(N)
Sheffield, John [E]/LEI,WAR/ / / (Y)	Sleigh, Anthony [E]/CUL,KEN/ /CP/(Y)	Sond, Edward [N]/SSX/ / / (N)
Sheffield, William [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)	Slowcomb, (?) [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)	Sourton, Francis [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Sheldrake, William [E]/NFK/C/C/(Y)	Small, James [E]/DEV,ESS/ /CP/(Y)	South, Compton [E]/WIL/P/PB/(Y)
Sheldrake, William [E]/LIN/ / / (Y)	Smalley, Robert [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Southall, Richard [E]/LEI/PN/PB/(Y)
Sheldreck, John [E]/CAM/ /C/(Y)		

Nonconformist Minister Database -18

SOU-THO

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Southwell, John [E]/WOR/ /C(N)	Sterry, Peter [E]/LND/ /PBC(Y)	Swift, Henry [E]/YKS/C/ /Y(Y)
Southwood, Benjamin [E]/LEI/ /CP(Y)	Steven, Nathaniel [E]/DOR/P/P(N)	Swift, Richard [E]/MDX/ / /Y(Y)
Southwood, Michael [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)	Stevens, Edward [N]/BKM/P/ /(N)	Swift, Thomas [N]/MDX/P/P(N)
Spatchett, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /C(N)	Stevens, John [N]/SRY/P/ /(N)	Swinfen, Richard [E]/STS/P/PB(N)
Spear, Robert [E]/SOM/ /B(Y)	Stevenson, James [E]/SOM/ /P(Y)	Swinhow, George [E]/BKM/P/P(Y)
Spence, Edward [N]/CAM/BC/C(N)	Stevenson, William [N]/BRK/P/C(N)	Swinton, Laird [E]/DUR/P/P(Y)
Spence, Isaac [N]/CAM/BQ/P(N)	Stidson, William [E]/DEV/ /CP(Y)	Swynfen, Richard [E]/STS/ /P(Y)
Spencer, Edmund [E]/LEI/ / /(N)	Stocker, Joseph [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Syer, John [N]/SFK/C/ /(N)
Spencer, Hudson [N]/KEN/P/P(N)	Stockton, Owen [E]/ESS,SFK/CP/PIC(Y)	Sylvester, Matthew [E]/DEV,MDX,LND/ /CP(Y)
Spencer, John [N]/HRT/ /PB(N)	Stodden, Samuel [E]/SOM/PN/PB(Y)	Symonds, (?) [E]/SRY/ /B(Y)
Spencer, Thomas [N]/DEV/ /P(N)	Stokes, William [N]/WIL/B/ /(N)	Symonds, (?) [N]/DEV/ /C(N)
Spilman (?) [N]/NFK/ /P(N)	Stolling, Joseph [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Symons, Henry [E]/KEN/ / /Y(Y)
Spilsbury, John [E]/WOR/ /P(Y)	Stone, John [N]/DBY/CN/C(N)	Syms, John [E]/DEV/P/P(Y)
Sprake, Ralph [E]/DEV/ /CP(Y)	Stone, John [E]/SSX/ /PB(Y)	Tailor, Thomas [E]/CUL/ /C(Y)
Spring, Samuel [E]/SFK/ /P(N)	Stoneham, Joseph [N]/SSX/B/ /(N)	Tallents, Francis [E]/SAL,DBY/C/C(Y)
Springall, Thomas [N]/NFK/B/ /(N)	Stoneham, Samuel [E]/NFK/ /C(Y)	Tallents, Philip [E]/LIN/ /PB(Y)
Sprint, Samuel [E]/HAM/P/CP(Y)	Stones, Thomas [N]/WAR/PN/ /(N)	Tallents, Philip [E]/NTH/ /C(Y)
Squire, Arthur [E]/DUR/ /P(Y)	Stooke, John [N]/DEV/ /PB(N)	Tapper, Samuel [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)
Squire, Richard [N]/DBY/CN/C(N)	Stooke, William [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Tatnall, Robert [E]/LND,MDX,ESS/ /P(Y)
St. Nicholas, John [E]/LEI/ /P(Y)	Stopes, James [N]/BKM/ / /(N)	Taverner, Philip [E]/MDX/ /P(Y)
Stables, Samuel [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)	Stopp, David [N]/KEN/ / /(N)	Taverner, Samuel [N]/KEN/B/ /(N)
Stadden, (?) [N]/SOM/N/ /(N)	Storer, John [E]/MDX/ /P(Y)	Tayler, Thomas [E]/CAM/B/ /(N)
Stalham, John [E]/ESS/ / /Y(Y)	Storke, John [N]/NFK/C/C(N)	Taylor, (Hugh?) [E]/LAN/ /C(Y)
Stallybrasse, George [E]/HRT/ / /(N)	Story, (?) [E]/SRY/ /C(Y)	Taylor, Edmund [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)
Stancliff, Samuel [E]/MDX/ /P(Y)	Strawger, John [E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Taylor, Francis [E]/KEN/PI/CP(Y)
Standine, William [E]/SSX/ /CP(Y)	Streete, John Sr. [N]/SOM/PN/ /(N)	Taylor, Giles [E]/SOM/P/ /Y(Y)
Staniforth, John [E]/DBY/ /C(N)	Strickland, John [E]/WIL/P/P(N)	Taylor, John [E]/DEV/ /CP(N)
Staniforth, Jonathan [E]/DBY/ /CP(Y)	Strickland, Thomas [E]/SRY/ /PB(N)	Taylor, Michael [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)
Staniforth, Nathaniel [E]/OXF/ /C(Y)	Stridwick, James [N]/KEN/C/C(N)	Taylor, Richard [E]/DEN/ /C(N)
Staniforth, Timothy [E]/DBY/PCN/C(Y)	Stringer, Richard [N]/HRT/B/P(N)	Taylor, Richard [N]/LEI/ /P(N)
Stanley, John [N]/DBY/ /C(N)	Stroke, John [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)	Taylor, Richard [E]/YKS/ /CP(Y)
Stanley, Thomas [E]/DBY/ / /Y(Y)	Strong, James [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)	Taylor, Robert [E]/HER/ /P(Y)
Stannard, John [N]/SFK/C/C(N)	Strowger, John [E]/SFK/ /C(N)	Taylor, Samuel [E]/SAL/ /P(Y)
Staple, John [N]/DEV/ /P(N)	Stubbes, Henry [E]/SOM,LND,BRK,MDX,WIL/PN/P(N)	Taylor, Samuel [N]/WAR/ /P(N)
Staples, Henry [E]/SSX/PCN/ /Y(Y)	Stubbs (Stubbes), John [N]/SOM/P/C(N)	Taylor, Thomas [N]/BKM/B/ /(N)
Stark, John [E]/SFK/ /CP(N)	Stuckely, Lewis [E]/DEV/PN/C(N)	Taylor, Thomas [E]/SFK,MDX/ /C(Y)
Starkey, James [N]/LAN/ / /(N)	Studholmes, Barbary [E]/CUL/ /CP(N)	Taylor, Thomas [E]/WIL/CP/P(Y)
Starkey, John [E]/LAN/ / /Y(Y)	Stuke, William [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Taylor, Thomas William [N]/MON/IC/ /(N)
Starr, Comfort [E]/KEN/PIBC/C(Y)	Stukeley, Lewis [N]/DEV/CP/CP(N)	Taylor, Zachariah Sr. [E]/LAN/ /CP(Y)
Starre, Edward [E]/SOM/C/ /Y(Y)	Sullins, John [N]/BKM/P/ /(N)	Temple, William [N]/WIL/P/ /(N)
Staunton, Edmund [E]/OXF,HRT,BKM/P/ /Y(Y)	Summers, John [N]/HER/ /B(N)	Terry, Edward [E]/BKM/CP/C(N)
Stedman, Rowland [E]/BKM/ /P(Y)	Sumner, C. [E]/GLS/ /C(Y)	Terry, Edward [E]/BRK/P/C(Y)
Steed, Joshua [E]/GLS/ /C(N)	Sumpter, William [N]/DEV/P/ /(N)	Terry, James [E]/HAM/PN/CP(Y)
Steed, Richard [N]/BRK/B/P(N)	Sutton, Edward [N]/SOM/N/P(N)	Thelwell, John [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)
Steede, William [N]/SSX/BN/ /(N)	Swaffield, Joseph [E]/WIL/P/P(Y)	Thomas, (?) [N]/DBY/N/P(N)
Steel, Richard [E]/LND,MDX,SAL,STS,WAR/PN/P(N)	Swain, William [E]/WAR/ /P(Y)	Thomas, (?) [E]/SSX/ / /Y(Y)
Steele, (?) [N]/DBY/N/ /(N)	Swaine, Richard [E]/RAD/ /P(N)	Thomas, Howell [N]/GLA/ /BIC(N)
Steele, William [N]/NFK/B/ /(N)	Swaine, Richard [N]/SAL/P/P(N)	Thomas, Jenkin [E]/GLA/CIN/ /(N)
Stenson, William [N]/DBY/CN/ /(N)	Swan, John [E]/KEN/ /C/ /Y(Y)	Thomas, Lewis [N]/GLA/CIN/B(N)
Stephens, Henry [E]/SFK/ /C(Y)	Swan, Thomas [E]/CHS/ / /(N)	Thomas, Robert [E]/GLA/BIC/IC(N)
Stephens, Nathaniel [E]/LEI/ /PB(N)	Swethnam, Thomas [E]/DBY/ /CP(N)	Thomas, Timothy [E]/SAL/N/C(Y)
Stephens, Philip [E]/LND/ / /(N)	Swetnam, Joseph [E]/DBY/ /CP(Y)	Thomas, Titus [E]/SAL/N/ /Y(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -19

THO-WAR

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Thomas, William [E]/GLA,MON/CIN/ / (N)	Treis, William [N]/CON/P/C/(N)	Venning, Ralph [E]/LND/ /CP/(Y)
Thomas, William [E]/SOM/ /P/(N)	Trench, Edmund [E]/MDX/ / / (Y)	Ventris, Thomas [E]/KEN,HUN/C/CP/(Y)
Thomas, William John [N]/GLA/CIN/ / (N)	Trenchfield, Caleb [N]/KEN/ / / (N)	Verrey, John [N]/BKM/ /C/(N)
Thomas, Zechariah [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Trescot, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Vich ais Frye, Richard [E]/SOM/PN/ / (Y)
Thomasson, George [E]/LAN/ / / (Y)	Tresham, Andrew [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	Vin, Richard [E]/NFK/ /C/(Y)
Thome, John [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	Tress, Thomas [N]/DEV/P/P/(N)	Vincent, Nathaniel [E]/BKM,LND,MDX/P/P/(Y)
Thompson, John [E]/NBL/ /CP/(Y)	Trevethick, William [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Vincent, Thomas [E]/LND,MDX,WIL/P/P/(Y)
Thompson, Joseph [E]/LAN/ / / (Y)	Trewman, John [N]/NTH/ /B/(N)	Vincent, William [E]/CON/ / / (Y)
Thompson, Matthew [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Trewren, Thomas [N]/NBL/ /P/(N)	Vincent, William [N]/MDX/ /P/(N)
Thompson, Robert [E]/ESS/ /C/(Y)	Trickett, Mark [E]/YKS/Q/CP/(Y)	Vincke, Peeter [E]/LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)
Thone, John [N]/DOR/ /P/(N)	Triggs, Thomas [N]/CON/ / / (N)	Voice, Richard(?) [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)
Thorn, George [E]/DOR/ /C/(Y)	Tritton, Alexander [N]/KEN/B/P/(N)	Vonsdeane, William [E]/SSX/PN/B/(N)
Thornton, (?) [E]/HRT/ /P/(Y)	Tross, George [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)	Votier, Jacob [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Thoroughgood, Nicholas [E]/KEN/P/P/(Y)	Troughton, John [E]/OXF/ /P/(Y)	Votier, James [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Thorp, John [E]/SSX/PBN/CP/(N)	Troughton, William [E]/GLS/ /C/(N)	Vowsden, William [E]/SSX/PN/P/(Y)
Thorp, Richard [E]/YKS/C/CP/(Y)	Troy, William [E]/GLS/ /CP/(N)	Voyle, William [E]/HER/ /P/(Y)
Thorpe, Edmund [E]/SSX,KEN/P/P/(Y)	Troylus, Richard [N]/MGY/CN/P/(N)	Wade, John [N]/STS/ / / (N)
Thorpe, Richard [E]/NTH/ /CP/(Y)	Troyt, Thomas [N]/DOR/ / / (N)	Wade, Thomas [N]/DBY/CN/C/(N)
Thurbarne, James [N]/KEN/C/P/(N)	Trueman, John [E]/NTT/C/CP/(N)	Wadsworth, John [N]/YKS/ /CP/(N)
Tickle, John [E]/BRK,DEV/ /P/(Y)	Truman, Joseph [E]/NTT/ / / (Y)	Wadsworth, Thomas [E]/SRY,LND,HRT,MDX/P/P/(Y)
Tidcombe, Tobias [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)	Trurant, Thomas [E]/NBL/ / / (Y)	Wagstaffe, James [N]/WAR/N/N/(N)
Tilly, John [N]/SRY/P/ / (N)	Tucher, (?) [N]/DOR/ /B/(N)	Wagstaffe, William [N]/WAR/B/C/(N)
Tilsley, John [E]/LAN/ / / (Y)	Tuchin, Robert Jr. [N]/HAM/P/P/(N)	Waightes, (?) [N]/BDF/ /B/(N)
Tingcombe, Theophilus [E]/CON/ /P/(N)	Tucker, John [N]/HAM/P/ / (N)	Waite, John [E]/CAM,BDF/C/CP/(N)
Tiptoft, F. [N]/RUT/ /P/(N)	Tucker, John [N]/DOR/P/P/(N)	Waite, Joseph [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)
Tise (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Tuckney, Anthony [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Waite, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)
Todd, Cornelius [E]/YKS/ /CP/(Y)	Tuckney, Jonathan [E]/MDX/P/P/(N)	Wakeley, John [E]/DOR,SOM,DEV/PN/P/(Y)
Toft, John [E]/NFK/BC/C/(Y)	Tudge, Thomas [N]/MGY/C/ / (N)	Wakely, Nicholas [E]/DEV/ /P/(Y)
Tombs, John [E]/WIL/P/P/(Y)	Tuke, Lemuel [E]/NTT/ /C/(Y)	Walcoate, John [N]/BKM/P/B/(N)
Tombs, William [E]/CON/ / / (Y)	Tullie, Timothy [E]/CUL/ /CP/(N)	Walden, Gilbert [E]/WAR/ /P/(Y)
Tomkins, John [N]/BRK/P/C/(N)	Tunbridge, Thomas [N]/KEN/B/C/(N)	Wales, Elkanah [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)
Tomkins, John [N]/HAM/ / / (N)	Tunck, John [N]/STS/C/P/(N)	Walker, John Sr. [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Tomlins, Samuel [E]/HAM/P/P/(N)	Tupton, William [E]/STS/P/P/(Y)	Walker, Robert [E]/NTT/C/C/(Y)
Tomlinson, John [N]/STS/ / / (N)	Turner, John [E]/MDX,LND/ /P/(Y)	Walker, Thomas [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Tomlinson, William [N]/DBY/ /BC/(N)	Turner, John [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)	Walker, William [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)
Tomlyns, John [N]/HAM/ / / (N)	Turner, John [E]/SOM/PN/P/(Y)	Wall, Daniel [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)
Toms, William [N]/CON/ / / (N)	Turner, John [N]/HRT/B/B/(N)	Wall, John [E]/LEI/ /P/(N)
Tonstal, Gamaliel [N]/STS/ /B/(N)	Turner, Lewis [N]/MGY/C/ / (N)	Wall, John [E]/WOR/ /C/(Y)
Toogood, (?) [E]/STS/ /C/(Y)	Turner, Richard [E]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Wallace, William [E]/SSX/ /P/(Y)
Tooker, Edmund [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Turner, Richard [E]/SSX/PN/ / (Y)	Waller, James [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Tooker, Edward [E]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Turner, Robert [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Walter, (?) [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)
Tory, Robert [E]/HRT/ /CP/(N)	Turner, Thomas [E]/CUL/ /CP/(Y)	Walter, Edward [N]/MON/CIN/PIC/(N)
Tory, Stephen [E]/MDX,LND/ /PB/(N)	Turner, Thomas [N]/SSX/B/ / (N)	Walter, Henry [E]/MON/PICN/I/(N)
Towgood, Stephen [E]/WIL/ /B/(N)	Turton, William [E]/STS/P/CP/(Y)	Walton, Thomas [N]/ESS/ / / (N)
Towler, Christopher [N]/HRT/ / / (N)	Tuston, John [E]/STS/ /P/(Y)	Ward, (?) [E]/OXF/ /B/(Y)
Town, Robert [E]/YKS/ /CP/(Y)	Tutchin, John [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)	Ward, (Joseph?) [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Town, Robert Sr. [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)	Tutchin, Robert Sr. [E]/HAM/ / / (Y)	Ward, John [N]/CUL/ / / (N)
Townley, Henry [E]/CAM/ /B/(Y)	Tutchin, Samuel [E]/HAM/P/ / (Y)	Ward, John [N]/WOR/ / / (N)
Trasse, George [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)	Tutty, William [E]/HRT/ /C/(Y)	Ward, Noah [N]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Travers, Thomas [E]/CON/ /PB/(Y)	Tyack, Nicholas [N]/CON/ / / (N)	Ward, Ralph [E]/HRT/ /C/(Y)
Tray, William [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Upjohn, Richard [N]/HAM/ /C/(N)	Warham, Francis [E]/HRT/ /PBC/(N)
Trebell, Francis [E]/WOR/ /CP/(Y)	Upton, Thomas [N]/FLN/ / / (N)	Warham, Richard [N]/YKS/ /P/(N)
Treble, Joseph [E]/WOR/ / / (Y)	Varnden, Joseph [N]/SSX/PICB/P/(N)	Warner, Thomas [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)
Tregoss, Thomas [E]/CON/ / / (Y)	Veal, Edward [E]/MDX,LND/PI/P/(Y)	Warren, Edmund [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)

Nonconformist Minister Database -20

WAR-WIL

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Warren, Edward [N]/ESS/ /P/(N)	Wells, Samuel[E]/OXF,BKM,WAR/P/P/(N)	Whiting, Nathaniel [E]/NTH/ /C/(Y)
Warren, Hugh [N]/CON/ /P/(N)	Wells, Samuel [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Whitlock, John [E]/NTT/ /P/(Y)
Warren, John [E]/ESS/C/C/(Y)	Wells, Tobias [E]/SOM/PBN/P/(Y)	Whitlock, John Jr. [E]/NTT/ / / (N)
Warren, John [E]/HAM/ / / (Y)	Wells, William Jr. [N]/LEI/B/P/(N)	Whitlock, Robert [N]/BRK/P/ / (N)
Warren, Matthew [E]/SOM/ /P/(Y)	Wenburn, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)	Whitmarsh, George [E]/HAM,WIL/CP/P/(Y)
Warren, Thomas [E]/HAM/ /P/(Y)	Wentworth, (?) [N]/HAM/ / / (N)	Wicha, Samuel [E]/SRY/ /P/(Y)
Warren, Thomas [N]/SOM/PN/P/(N)	West, Edward [E]/MDX,LND/P/P/(Y)	Wickens, William [E]/SRY,LND,MDX/ /P/(Y)
Warter, Andrew [E]/SAL/ /P/(Y)	West, John [N]/DOR/P/P/(N)	Wickliffe, Ralph [E]/NBL/ /P/(Y)
Wateley, Thomas [E]/WAR/ /P/(N)	Westley, (?) [E]/WIL/N/ / (Y)	Widmore, (?) [N]/HAM/P/C/(N)
Waterhouse, Jonas [E]/YKS/ /B/(Y)	Westley, Bartholomew [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)	Wightwick, John [E]/OXF/ /P/(N)
Waterhouse, Thomas [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Westley, John [E]/DOR/CP/P/(Y)	Wilborne, (?) [E]/NFK/C/ / (Y)
Wateridge, John [N]/SFK/C/BC/(N)	Westloc, (?) [E]/SOM/N/P/(Y)	Wilcox, (?) [E]/CUL/ /C/(Y)
Waterson, Richard [E]/NFK/C/ / (Y)	Westmacote, John [E]/WOR/ /CP/(N)	Wilcox, John [N]/WAR/B/CP/(N)
Watkins, Rice [N]/BRK/P/C/(N)	Westmacott, Theodore [E]/WOR/ / / (N)	Wild, Robert [E]/NTH/ /P/(Y)
Watson, Robert [E]/NFK/ /B/(Y)	Westmacott, William [E]/WOR/CP/ / (Y)	Wild, Robert Dr. [E]/STS,WAR/PN/ / (Y)
Watson, Thomas [E]/LND,ESS,MDX/P/P/(Y)	Whaley, Thomas [E]/LAN/ / / (N)	Wildbore John [E]/CAM/ /B/(Y)
Watson, Tobias [E]/LEI/B/P/(Y)	Whately, Att [N]/SOM/B/BC/(N)	Wildman, (?) [N]/CAM/C/C/(N)
Watts, Henry [E]/LEI/ /P/(Y)	Whearam, Richard [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Wilkes, John [E]/STS/P/ / (Y)
Watts, Nathaniel [N]/WIL/P/BC/(N)	Wheat, Jeremy [E]/DBY/ /C/(Y)	Wilkins, John [E]/DEV/ /C/(N)
Wavel, Richard [E]/SRY/ /PB/(Y)	Wheatley, Thomas[E]/OXF,WAR,BN/CP/(N)	Wilkinson Robert [E]/KEN/ /C/(Y)
Way, Benjamin [E]/ESS,DOR/ /CP/(Y)	Wheeler , Cranfield [E]/BDF/ /C/(Y)	Wilkinson, Henry [E]/OXF,ESS,SRY/ /P/(Y)
Waynford, William [N]/NFK/C/P/(N)	Wheeler, James [E]/CAM/ / / (Y)	Wilkinson, John [E]/SFK/ /P/(Y)
Wayt, John [N]/CAM/N/ / (N)	Wheeler, John [E]/SRY/ /B/(Y)	Wilkinson, John [E]/WAR/ /P/(N)
Wayte, Thomas [E]/YKS/ / / (N)	Whetiate, Thomas [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)	Willcox, John [N]/SAL/ /C/(N)
Wearum, Richard [N]/YKS/ / / (N)	Whiddon, Francis [E]/DEV/ /CP/(Y)	Willes, Henry [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)
Weaver, Humphrey [E]/HAM/P/CP/(Y)	Whincop, Edmund [E]/SFK/ /C/(Y)	Willes, John [E]/NTH/ /C/(N)
Weaver, John [E]/RAD/ /CP/(N)	Whiston, Edward [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Willes, Samuel [E]/WAR,KEN/ /P/(Y)
Weaver, Morgan [E]/MON/CIN/ / (Y)	Whiston, Joseph [E]/KEN,SSX/ / / (Y)	Willes, Thomas [E]/SOM/P/P/(N)
Webb, Bartholomew [E]/WIL/P/ / (Y)	Whiston, Richard [N]/STS/B/ / (N)	Willet, James [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)
Webb, Christian [N]/BKM/P/ / (N)	Whitaker, Robert [E]/HAM,CAM/ /P/(Y)	Willetts, William [E]/WOR/ / / (N)
Webb, Christopher [E]/HRT/ /C/(Y)	Whitaker, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /P/(N)	William, Evan [N]/MON/N/ / (N)
Webb, Herbert [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Whitaker, William [E]/SRY,LND/ /P/(Y)	William, Harry [N]/GLA/N/IC/(N)
Webb, Nathaniel [E]/WIL/ /P/(Y)	Whitborne, John [E]/SOM/ / / (Y)	William, Thomas [N]/MON/N/IC/(N)
Webb, Noah [E]/WIL/ /CP/(Y)	White, (?) [E]/LIN/ /B/(Y)	William, Walter [N]/MON/CIN/IC/(N)
Webb, Robert [E]/HAM/ /P/(Y)	White, (?) [N]/WIL/P/ / (N)	Williams, Daniel [E]/DEN/ /P/(N)
Webb, Stephen [E]/WIL/ /PB/(Y)	White, Alexander [E]/NBL/ /C/(Y)	Williams, Evan [N]/MON/IC/IC/(N)
Webb, William [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	White, Anthony [N]/SSX/B/ / (N)	Williams, Henry [N]/CHS/ / / (N)
Webber, Robert [E]/KEN/ / / (Y)	White, George [N]/MON/IC/B/(N)	Williams, Henry [N]/GLA/IC/IC/(N)
Webster, (?) [N]/STS/ / / (N)	White, James [N]/(?) / /C/(N)	Williams, Henry [N]/MGY/C/ / (N)
Webster, Thomas [N]/DBY/CN/ / (N)	White, Jeremiah [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Williams, John [E]/CAE,MON/IC/C/(N)
Webster, Thomas [N]/YKS/ /C/(N)	White, John [E]/DOR/ /P/(Y)	Williams, John [N]/DEV/ /P/(N)
Weekes, John [E]/WIL/CP/ / (Y)	White, Thomas [E]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Williams,John [N]/MGY,RAD,DEN/N/ / (N)
Weeks, John [E]/SOM/N/P/(N)	White, Thomas [E]/LAN/P/P/(Y)	Williams, John [N]/WIL/P/P/(N)
Weeley, William [N]/WAR/ /P/(N)	White, Thomas [E]/HRT/ / / (Y)	Williams, Morris (?) [E]/MGY/CN/P/(Y)
Weld, John Jr. [E]/DUR/ /P/(Y)	White, William [E]/CON/ /P/(Y)	Williams, Peter [E]/YKS/ /P/(Y)
Weld, Thomas [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)	Whitehaire, Richard [N]/SOM/PN/ / (N)	Williams, Rice [N]/MON/IC/ / (N)
Welles, John [E]/GLS/ /C/(Y)	Whitehand, Thomas [N]/CAM/ / / (N)	Williams, Thomas [N]/MON/CIN/IC/(N)
Wellman, Thomas [E]/DEV/ /CP/(Y)	Whitehead, Thomas [E]/LAN/ /P/(Y)	Williamson, Anthony [E]/DUR/ /C/(Y)
Wells, (?) [N]/WAR/N/ / (N)	Whitehorn, Otho [N]/CON/ /P/(N)	Williamson, Henry [E]/SFK/ /IC/(N)
Wells, Edward [N]/RUT/ / / (N)	Whitehorne, Thomas [N]/DEV/ /CP/(N)	Willis, (?) [N]/WAR/N/ / (N)
Wells, John [N]/BRK/P/CP/(N)	Whitehurst, Richard [E]/YKS/ /CP/(Y)	Willis, Henry [E]/NTH/ /CP/(Y)
Wells, John [E]/LND,MDX/ /CP/(Y)	Whiteman, Benjamin [N]/BDF/ / / (N)	Willis, John [E]/ESS/ /P/(Y)
Wells, Martin [E]/HAM/ /P/(Y)	Whiteway, Richard [E]/OXF/ /P/(Y)	Willis, John [N]/SSX/ /P/(N)
Wells, Martin [E]/ESS/ /C/(Y)	Whiting, (John?) [E]/SFK/ / / (Y)	Willis, John [N]/SOM/P/ / (N)

Nonconformist Minister Database -21

WIL-YOU

Format: Minister Name/[Ejected/Not Ejected]/Shire(s) in 1669/Identity1669/Identity1672/Listed in Calamy? (Y/N)

Willis, John [E]/DOR/ /P(N)	Winter, John [N]/WES/ / / (N)	Woolston, John [E]/NFK/B/BC(Y)
Willis, John Jr. [E]/SOM/PCN/ / (Y)	Winter, Samuel [E]/RUT/ /C(Y)	Woorts, Thomas [E]/NFK/ /C(N)
Willis, Samuel [E]/WAR/PN/C(N)	Winter, Samuel [N]/YKS/ /C(N)	Wooton, (?) [E]/HER/ /B(Y)
Willis, Thomas [E]/MDX,LND/P/ / (Y)	Winterbotham, Ralph [N]/YKS/C/P(N)	Wooton, (?) [N]/SOM/ /C(N)
Willis, Thomas [E]/SOM/N/C(Y)	Wise, Lawrence [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Worden, Thomas [E]/WOR,WAR,OXF/BIC/CP(N)
Willmer, Thomas [N]/SSX/PN/C(N)	Wiseman, Francis [N]/SOM/C/ / (N)	Worrall, James [N]/LAN/ / / (N)
Willmont, Nathaniel [N]/SSX/ / / (N)	Witchell, (?) [N]/WIL/B/ / (N)	Worrall, Thomas [N]/WAR/PN/ / (N)
Willmore, James [N]/WAR/ / / (N)	Withers, Anthony [N]/HRT/ /CP(N)	Worth, John [E]/NTH,GLS/ /P(N)
Willmot, Phillip [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)	Wodsworth, (?) [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Worts, Richard [E]/NFK/ /C(Y)
Willmott, Nathaniel [N]/SSX/N/ / (N)	Wolcombe, Robert [E]/DEV/ /P(N)	Worts, Thomas [E]/NFK/C/ / (Y)
Willmott, Thomas [N]/SSX/N/C(N)	Wollaston, Thomas [N]/HRT/ /C(N)	Wragg, Christopher [E]/ESS/ /P(N)
Willoughby, Thomas [N]/LAN/ /P(N)	Wolley, Richard [E]/WOR/ / / (Y)	Wren, Gawden [N]/CUL/ /CP(N)
Willows (?) [N]/BDF/ /C(N)	Wood, (?) [N]/NFK/B/C(N)	Wressel, Nicholas [E]/YKS/ /P(Y)
Wills, Henry [E]/NTH/ /C(Y)	Wood, James [E]/DEV/ / / (N)	Wright, Edward [N]/CAM/N/ / (N)
Wills, John [E]/NTH/ /P(Y)	Wood, James [E]/LAN/ / / (Y)	Wright, George [E]/STS/B/C(N)
Wills, John [N]/BRK/ / / (N)	Wood, James [N]/SSX/B/ / (N)	Wright, James [E]/WAR/PN/P(Y)
Wills, Jonathan [E]/CON/ /P(Y)	Wood, John [E]/SRY/P/P(N)	Wright, James Jr. [E]/NTT/ / / (N)
Wills, Obadiah [E]/WIL/ /C(Y)	Wood, John [E]/CAM/ / / (Y)	Wright, John [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)
Willson, William [N]/DBY/N/ / (N)	Wood, Jorall [E]/STS/P/ / (Y)	Wright, John [E]/LIN/ /P(Y)
Wilmer, Andrew [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Wood, Ralph [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Wright, Joseph [N]/KEN/ / / (N)
Wilmer, Samuel [E]/SSX/PCN/ /C(Y)	Wood, Robert [E]/OXF/ /P(Y)	Wright, Richard [E]/CHS/ /CP(N)
Wilmer, Thomas [E]/SSX/ /C(Y)	Wood, Seth [E]/LND/ / / (Y)	Wright, Robert [E]/CHS/ /C(N)
Wilmore, James [N]/WAR/B/C(N)	Wood, Timothy [E]/LEI/ /CP(Y)	Wright, Robert [E]/SRY/ /B(Y)
Willmot, Nathaniel [E]/SSX,KEN/PCN/CP(Y)	Wood, William [N]/GLS/ /B(N)	Wright, Samuel [E]/DBY/CN/ / (Y)
Wilsby, Thomas [E]/WAR/P/ / (Y)	Woodall, Frederic [E]/SFK/C/C(Y)	Wright, Samuel [N]/LEI/P/CP(N)
Wilsebye, John [N]/WAR/PN/P(N)	Woodbridge, Benjamin [E]/BRK/P/P(Y)	Wyat, Josiah [E]/DEV/ / / (Y)
Wilson, Edward [N]/STS/ /CP(N)	Woodbridge, John [E]/BRK/ /P(Y)	Wyatt, William [N]/BKM/B/ / (N)
Wilson, George [E]/ESS/ /C(N)	Woodhouse, John [E]/NTT,LIN,STS/P/ / (Y)	Wye, Jonathan [N]/WAR/BN/P(N)
Wilson, George [E]/YKS/ / / (Y)	Woodlands, (?) [N]/DEV/ /P(N)	Wye, William [N]/SFK/P/P(N)
Wilson, John [E]/CHS/ /CP(Y)	Woodman, James [N]/SSX/B/ / (N)	Wyne, Richard [N]/SOM/P/P(N)
Wilson, John [E]/DBY/B/ / (N)	Woodman, Matthew [E]/SSX/ / / (Y)	Wyvel, Edward [N]/KEN/P/P(N)
Wilson, John [E]/HRT,ESS/ /C(Y)	Woodruff, Thomas [E]/WAR/ /C(Y)	Yardley, John [E]/ESS/ /P(Y)
Wilson, John [E]/LEI/P/ / (Y)	Woodruffe, William [N]/STS/P/ / (N)	Yardley, Robert [E]/SFK/C/ / (N)
Wilson, Joseph [E]/YKS/ /C(Y)	Woods, James [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Yates, George [E]/CUL/ / / (Y)
Wilson, Rhinald [E]/MGY/C/ / (N)	Woods, James Jr. [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)	Yates, John [E]/HAM,HRT/ /C(Y)
Wilson, Robert [E]/CAM/ / / (Y)	Woods, John [E]/SFK/ /P(Y)	Yates, John [E]/WAR/B/ / (Y)
Wilson, Thomas [E]/DUR/ /P(Y)	Woodward, (?) [E]/SFK/ /P(Y)	Yates, Robert [E]/LAN/ /P(Y)
Wilson, William [E]/LAN,WAR/PCN/P(N)	Woodward, Enoch [E]/NFK/IC/C(Y)	Yeames, Robert [N]/WIL/C/P(N)
Wilson, William [N]/LEI/ /P(N)	Woodward, Hezekiah [E]/BRK/P/P(N)	Yeelding, Richard [E]/SSX/B/B(Y)
Wilson, William [E]/SSX/BC/ / (Y)	Woodward, Joseph [E]/GLS/ /B(Y)	Yeo, William [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)
Winder, Henry [E]/WES/ / / (N)	Woodward, Thomas [E]/BRK/ / / (Y)	Yewins, Richard [N]/SOM/BN/ / (N)
Windres, Thomas [E]/NFK/ /C(Y)	Woodward, William [N]/ESS/ / / (N)	Yoe, Bartholomew [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)
Wine, Richard [E]/DOR/ / / (Y)	Woodward, William [N]/OXF/ /P(N)	York, Peter [E]/BDF/C/C(N)
Wine, Robert [E]/DEV/PCN/ / (Y)	Woodward, William Jr. [E]/HER/ /P(Y)	Young, John [E]/HRT/ /C(N)
Wingfeild, John [N]/HRT/B/ / (N)	Woolcomb, Robert [E]/DEV/ /P(Y)	Young, Richard [N]/BKM,HRT/B/ / (N)
Wingfield, William [N]/KEN/ /C(N)	Woolhouse, William [N]/NTT/B/P(N)	Young, Roger [E]/SFK/P/ / (Y)
Winney, Samuel [E]/SOM/PN/P(Y)	Woolcott, Edward [E]/SOM/N/ / (Y)	Young, Stephen [N]/PEM/ /C(N)
Winston, John [E]/NTH/ /C(Y)	Woolley, Richard [E]/WOR/ /C(Y)	Younge, William [N]/NFK/ / / (N)

Legend: B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; FAN=Fanatic; I=Independent; N=Nonconformist; P=Presbyterian; Q=Quaker
Shire Abbreviations: ENGLAND – BDF (Bedfordshire); BRK (Berkshire); BKM (Buckinghamshire); CAM (Cambridgeshire); CHS (Cheshire); CON (Cornwall); CUL (Cumberland); DBY (Derbyshire); DEV (Devon); DOR (Dorset); DUR (County Durham); ESS (Essex); GLS (Gloucestershire); HAM (Hampshire); HEF (Herefordshire); HRT (Hertfordshire); HUN (Huntingdonshire); KEN (Kent); LAN (Lancashire); LEI (Leicestershire); LIN (Lincolnshire); LND (London); MDX (Middlesex); NFK (Norfolk); NTH

(Northamptonshire); NBL (Northumberland); NTT (Nottinghamshire); OXF (Oxfordshire); RUT (Rutland); SAL (Shropshire); SOM (Somerset); STS (Staffordshire); SFK (Suffolk); SRY (Surrey); SSX (Sussex); WAR (Warwickshire); WES (Westmorland); WIL (Wiltshire); WOR (Worcestershire); YKS (Yorkshire); **WALES** – AGY (Anglesey); BRE (Breconshire); CAE (Caernarfonshire); CGN (Cardiganshire); CMN (Carmarthenshire); DEN (Denbighshire); FLN (Flintshire); GLA (Glamorgan); MER (Merionethshire); MON (Monmouthshire); MGY (Montgomeryshire); PEM (Pembrokeshire); RAD (Radnorshire)

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); CCED: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Turner, G. Lyon, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911). See also the list of Nonconformist Histories in Appendix 2.

Appendix 12: 1672 License for Rev. Andrew Gifford of Bristol

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March 1671/2. We do hereby permit and license Andrew Gifford of our City of Bristole of the Persuasion commonly called Presbyterian to be a Teacher and to teach in any place licensed and allowed by Us according to Our Said Declaration. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 5th day of September in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

By His Majesties Command

(Signature Unknown)

Source: Bristol Baptist College Archives, Bristol. The license was located within miscellaneous documents attached in a scrapbook in the archives.

Appendix 13: 1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D (Sorted by License Identity) Licenses = A , B , BC, C
Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(A) ANTINOMINIAN LICENSES	(B) BAPTIST LICENSES – cont.	(BC) BAPTIST/CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES –cont.
Crooke, John / /A/ /N]	Carden, James / /B/ /N]	Coles, Peter / /BC/ /N]
	Carnall, John / /B/ /N]	Cotrock, John / /BC/ /N]
(B) BAPTIST LICENSES (A-D)	Carter, Thomas / /B/PD/[E]	Coutines, John / /BC/ /N]
Abbott, Henry / /B/P-M/[N]	Cartiss, Robert / /B/ /N]	Crasse, Thomas / /BC/ /N]
Alchurch, John / /B/ /E]	Cawdrey, Daniel / /B/P/[E]	Culvert, Robert / /BC/ /N]
Alison, Rice / /B/ /N]	Chapman, Thomas / /B/P/[E]	Day, James / /BC/P/[E]
Anderton, John / /B/ /N]	Chapman, Thomas / /B/PE/[E]	Diggott, John / /BC/ /N]
Angeares, William / /B/ /E]	Chewney, Nicholas / /B/ /N]	
Archer, Nicholas / /B/P/[N]	Clarke, William / /B/PN/[E]	(C) CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES
Austine, Henry /B/B/PN-M/[N]	Clerke, John / /B/P/[N]	Abbot, (?) / /C/ /N]
Aynsworth, William /B/B/ /N]	Coe, Abraham / /B/P/[N]	Abbot, John / /C/P/[E]
Babbington, Richard / /B/ /E]	Cole, Peter / /B/ /N]	Abbott, M. / /C/ /N]
Baker, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Cole, Robert / /B/ /N]	Abbott, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Baker, William /PN/B/ /E]	Collier, John / /B/ /N]	Aird, James / /C/PE/[E]
Barker, John / /B/ /E]	Collins, Benjamin / /B/PN/[E]	Alcock, Nathaniel / /C/ /N]
Barnes, Thomas / /B/P/[N]	Collins, William / /B/ /N]	Aldred, Jeremiah / /C/ /E]
Batts, Thomas / /B/PN/[N]	Collison, Robert / /B/PE/[N]	Aldus, William / /C/P/[E]
Bayly, Nathaniel / /B/ /N]	Colvert, Robert / /B/ /N]	Alexander, Edward / /C/P/[E]
Beath, Theophilus / /B/ /N]	Coslyn, (?) / /B/ /E]	Alexander, Samuel / /C/P/[E]
Beath, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Courtman, (?) / /B/ /N]	Alford, Robert / /C/P/[E]
Beaty, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Cox, Christopher /P/B/P/[E]	Alleine, John / /C/ /E]
Becket, John /P/B/ /N]	Cox, Richard / /B/ /N]	Allen, Andrew / /C/ /N]
Beckford, James / /B/ /N]	Cranford, William / /B/ /N]	Allen, John Jr. / /C/ /E]
Beech, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Croome, (?) /B/B/ /N]	Allen, Philip / /C/ /N]
Bell, Christopher / /B/P/[N]	Crosse, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Ambrose, Charles /B/C/ /E]
Bell, John / /B/P/[N]	Davison, John / /B/ /N]	Ambrose, Joshua / /C/PE/[E]
Berren, Robert / /B/ /N]	Deesley, (?) /B/B/ /N]	Angile, Christopher / /C/CP-M/[E]
Billinghurst, Edward / /B/ /N]	Denne, John /B/B/ /N]	Anderson, David / /C/P/[E]
Blundell, Edmond / /B/ /N]	Diamond, Tristram / /B/P/[E]	Andrewes, Joseph / /C/ /N]
Blundell, John / /B/ /N]	Dible, John /B/B/ /N]	Andrews, Joseph / /C/ /N]
Blythe, Joseph /BC/B/ /N]	Dibnam, John / /B/ /N]	Angier, John Sr. / /C/PN-M/[E]
Boheme, George / /B/P/[E]	Dickenson, (?) / /B/P/[E]	Angier, Samuel / /C/P/[E]
Bosworn, Thomas / /B/P/[E]	Doughty, Thomas / /B/P/[E]	Archer, Edward / /C/P/[E]
Bourn, Samuel / /B/ /E]	Dozzell, John /B/B/P/[N]	Arlush, Stephen / /C/P/[E]
Bowers, William / /B/ /N]	Dry, Jeremiah / /B/ /N]	Arm, William / /C/ /N]
Bowes, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Durrant, Samuel / /B/ /N]	Arnold, Elias / /C/P/[E]
Bowyer, Benjamin /B/B/P/[E]	Dykes, William / /B/ /N]	Arthur, (?) /B/C/ /E]
Bradford, Daniell /B/B/P/[N]		Artis, Edmund / /C/ /N]
Bridges, George / /B/P/[N]	(BC) BAPTIST/ CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	Ash, William / /C/ /N]
Brinsley, Robert / /B/P/[E]	Adams, Richard /B/BC/PBD/[E]	Ashley, Gilbert / /C/ /N]
Brittaine, Theophilus / /B/P/[E]	Addridg, Robert / /BC/P/[N]	Ashton, John / /C/ /N]
Browne, William / /B/ /N]	Aldridge, Michael / /BC/ /N]	Ashwood, Luke /CN/C/ /E]
Browning, Thomas / /B/PCN/[E]	Andrew, William / /BC/ /N]	Aspin, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Bryan, Nathaniel / /B/PN/[N]	Avy, Edmund / /BC/ /N]	Astell, Ralph Jr. / /C/ /E]
Bryant, Francis / /B/P/[N]	Baker, Samuel /CP/BC/ /N]	Astley, Richard / /C/PD/[E]
Bull, Thomas / /B/ /N]	Barber, John / /BC/ /N]	Astwood, Robert / /C/ /E]
Burdett, William / /B/ /N]	Boosh, Richard / /BC/P/[E]	Asty, Robert /C/C/P/[E]
Burgal, Edward / /B/ /Y]	Booth, John / /BC/ /N]	Ault, Robert / /C/ /N]
Burnet, Samuel / /B/P/[E]	Browning, Theophilus / /BC/ /N]	Austin, Thomas / /C/P/[E]
Burton, William / /B/PE/[N]	Bryant, Thomas / /BC/ /N]	Avenen, John / /C/ /N]
Burwell, Jeremiah / /B/P/[E]	Bunny, Richard /B/BC/ /N]	Ayers, Thomas / /C/ /E]
Byfield, Nathaniel / /B/ /E]	Burne, Samuel / /BC/PE/[E]	Aynsworth, Ralph / /C/ /E]
Campbell, John / /B/ /N]	Coleman, Richard / /BC/ /N]	Bacon, Isaac / /C/ /E]

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 2 (Sorted by License Identity)

License = C

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(C) CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	(C) CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	(C) CONGREGATIONA LIST LICENSES
Bailey, William / /C/ /E]	Bishop, Thomas /N/C/ /N]	Button, Ralph / /C/P/E]
Baily, Nathaniel / /C/ /N]	Bissell, John / /C/P/E]	Button, Richard / /C/P/E]
Baker, Edward / /C/P/E]	Blagrove, William / /C/ /E]	Buxton, John / /C/ /N]
Balder, (?) / /C/P/E]	Blick, Nicholas / /C/PE/E]	Caley, Abraham / /C/P/E]
Barber, John / /C/ /N]	Blissett, Joseph / /C/ /N]	Callow, Miles /P/C/ /N]
Barcroft, Hugh / /C/P/E]	Blower, Samuel / /C/P/E]	Camelford, Gabriel / /C/PIB/E]
Barker, Robert / /C/P/E]	Bloxom, Barnabas /C/C/ /N]	Cameron, Richard / /C/ /N]
Barnes, Elias / /C/ /N]	Blundston, William / /C/ /N]	Candler, Mathias Sr. / /C/PN/E]
Barnes, Richard / /C/ /N]	Boncle, John / /C/ /E]	Canne, John / /C/P/E]
Barret, John / /C/P/E]	Bond, John / /C/P/E]	Capel, Daniel / /C/ /E]
Barrow, Richard /B/C/ /N]	Bothone, Richard / /C/ /N]	Carrington, John / /C/ /E]
Barton, John / /C/ /E]	Bouthame, John / /C/ /N]	Caryl, Joseph /C/C/P/E]
Barwicke(s), (?) / /C/ /N]	Brabiter, Richard / /C/ /E]	Cauthorn, Edward / /C/P/E]
Batch, John / /C/ /N]	Brabon, Richard / /C/PE/E]	Cave, (?) / /C/PE/E]
Baxter, John / /C/ /N]	Bradley, William /BC/C/ /N]	Chadwick, Daniel / /C/PE/E]
Bayley, Samuel / /C/ /N]	Bradstreet, Simon / /C/PN/E]	Chandler, Samuel / /C/ /E]
Baylyes (Bayly), John /N/C/[N]/	Bray, William / /C/ /N]	Chantry, Richard / /C/ /E]
Bazely, John Jr. / /C/P/E]	Brett, Henry /C/C/ /N]	Chapman, William / /C/ /N]
Bearman, William / /C/P/E]	Brett, Thomas / /C/PE/E]	Charteris, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Beat, William / /C/ /N]	Brewer, Nicolas /CN/C/ /N]	Cheesman, John /B/C/ /E]
Beaton, John Sr. / /C/ /N]	Brian, Jeremiah / /C/P/E]	Cherry, (?) /B/C/P/E]
Becket, William / /C/ /E]	Briscoe, James / /C/ /E]	Cholmely, (?) /C/C/ /N]
Beddos, William /C/C/ /N]	Briscoe, Michael / /C/C/E]	Chrispin, John / /C/ /N]
Bedingfield, John / /C/ /N]	Briting, John / /C/ /N]	Christian, William /B/C/[N] /
Beer, Thomas / /C/ /N]	Bromiley, John / /C/ /N]	Church, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Bell, Edmund / /C/ /N]	Brond, Thomas / /C/P/E]	Churchill, Joshua /CP/C/ /E]
Bell, William Jr. /C/C/ /N]	Brookes, Edward / /C/ /N]	Churchyard, Charles / /C/ /N]
Bell, William Sr. / /C/ /E]	Brooks, John / /C/ /N]	Clare, Robert / /C/P/E]
Bellamys, Edmund / /C/P/E]	Brooks, Thomas /P/C/P/E]	Clark, (?) / /C/P/E]
Ben(n), William /CP/C/ /E]	Brown, John / /C/ /N]	Clark, John / /C/P/E]
Benham, George / /C/ /N]	Brown, John /C/C/ /N]	Clarke, John /B/C/ /N]
Bennet, John / /C/P/E]	Browning, (?) / /C/ /N]	Clarke, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Bennet, Philip / /C/P/E]	Brunning, Benjamin / /C/P/E]	Clayton, Thomas / /C/ /N]
Bennett, Nicholas / /C/ /N]	Bryan, Thomas / /C/ /N]	Clements, Richard /C/C/ /N]
Benton, Thomas Sr. / /C/P/E]	Buck, Thomas / /C/ /N]	Clementson, Richard / /C/ /N]
Benton, Thomas, Jr. /C/C/P/E]	Buckler, Samuel / /C/ /N]	Clerke, William / /C/ /E]
Bereman, (?) /C/C/ /N]	Bud, James / /C/ /N]	Cliffe, Robert / /C/ /N]
Berrow, John / /C/P/E]	Bugby, Isaac / /C/ /E]	Clifton, Zachary / /C/P/E]
Best, James / /C/P/E]	Bully, Griffin / /C/ /N]	Cloudsley, Timothy / /C/ /N]
Bidbanck, George / /C/P/E]	Bulstrode, Samuel / /C/ /N]	Clough, Edward / /C/ /N]
Bidbank, Robert / /C/PN/E]	Bunburys, (?) / /C/ /N]	Coates, Robert / /C/ /N]
Bidbanke, William /C/C/P/E]	Bunkley, John / /C/ /Y]	Cockaynd, Francis / /C/ /N]
Bider, William / /C/ /N]	Bunn, John /C/C/ /E]	Collett, Henry / /C/ /E]
Bifeild, (?) / /C/ /E]	Bunn, William /C/C/ /N]	Collier, Josias / /C/ /N]
Bigley, (?) / /C/P/E]	Bunnett, Samuel / /C/ /N]	Collins, John /C/C/P/E]
Bingham, John / /C/ /E]	Burch, Robert / /C/ /E]	Coltham, Richard / /C/ /N]
Bingham, John / /C/ /N]	Burden, Thomas / /C/ /N]	Conder, Richard / /C/ /N]
Binham, George / /C/ /N]	Burroughs, John / /C/ /N]	Conquest, John / /C/ /N]
Birchetts, (?) /P/C/ /N]	Burton, William /C/C/ /N]	Constantine, Henry / /C/ /E]
Bird, John / /C/ /E]	Burtsham, Robert /C/C/PE/E]	Conyer, Tobias / /C/P/E]
Birkett, Miles / /C/P/E]	Bushnell, Edward / /C/ /N]	Cook, George / /C/PE/E]
Biscoe, John / /C/P/E]	Buswell, Roger / /C/P/E]	Cook, Richard / /C/PE/E]
Bishop, (?) / /C/P/E]	Butler, (?) / /C/P/E]	Cooke, John / /C/ /N]

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 3

(Sorted by License Identity) License = C, CA, CN, CP

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(C) CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	(C) CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	(CP) CONGREGATIONALIST/ PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES
Cooke, John /C/C/ /N]	Drury, David / /CP/[E]	Beake, Thomas /PN/CP/P/[E]
Cooper, Thomas /B/C/ /N]	Ducking, Francis /C/C/ /N]	Beale, Gabriel / /CP/ /N]
Cornwell, Gamuliell / /C/ /N]	Dudly, Thomas / /C/P/[E]	Beale, William / /CP/ /E]
Cory, John / /C/P/[E]	Dunce, John / /C/ /E]	Beaton, Henry / /CP/ /N]
Cottham, Richard / /C/ /N]	Dunkinson, (?) / /C/PEN-M/[E]	Bee, Henry / /CP/PN/[E]
Coude, David / /C/ /N]	Dunstan, (?) / /C/ /N]	Beeby, John / /CP/P/[E]
Courtman, John / /C/P/[E]	Durant, Robert /C/C/P/[E]	Behant, Peter /P/CP/P/[E]
Couzens, John / /C/ /N]	Durant, William / /C/P/[E]	Bendall, George / /CP/ /N]
Coven, Stephen /P/C/ /E]	Dyman, (?) / /C/P/[E]	Bender, Josias / /CP/ /N]
Cowdrey, Thomas / /C/ /N]		Bennett, Joseph Sr. /B/CP/ /E]
Cowper, John / /C/ /N]	(CA) CONGREGATIONALIST/ ANTINOMIAN LICENSES	Bere, Peter / /CP/ /N]
Coxe, Henry / /C/P/[E]	Coore, Richard / /CA/P/[E]	Beresford, Samuel /PN/CP/ /E]
Crab, Thomas /SAB-BQ/C/[N] /		Bernand, (?) / /CP/ /E]
Crabb, Joseph / /C/ /E]	(CN) CONGREGATIONALIST/ NONCONFORMIST LICENSES	Bernard, Alexander / /CP/ /N]
Craddock, William /C/C/ /N]	BeeBee, William / /CN/ /E]	Berry, Benjamin /PN/CP/ /E]
Cradock, William / /C/ /N]		Berry, Henry /PN/CP/P/[E]
Crees, William / /C/ /N]	(CP) CONGREGATIONALIST/ PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	Billingsley, John /P/CP/ /E]
Cressy, Nicholas / /C/ /N]	Abbot, Robert / /CP/ /E]	Birkbeck, Thomas /P/CP/ /E]
Croe, William / /C/ /E]	Adams, John / /CP/PE/[E]	Bishop, Thomas / /CP/ /N]
Crofts, John /P/C/P/[E]	Aire, (?) / /CP/ /E]	Blaky, Nicholas / /CP/ /E]
Crooke, John /N/C/C/[E]	Aldred, Robert / /CP/P/[E]	Bloom, Matthew /P/CP/P/[E]
Cudworth, Nicolas / /C/P/[E]	Aldwinckle, Thomas / /CP/ /E]	Blyth, William / /CP/ /N]
Currell, Edward / /C/ /N]	Alsop, Vincent / /CP/PEN/[E]	Borfert, George / /CP/PN/[E]
Cuzens, Henry / /C/ /N]	Ames, William Jr. / /CP/IP/[E]	Boun(s), John / /CP/ /N]
Dallison, Jeoffrey /C/C/ /N]	Andrews, Thomas /P/CP/PE/[E]	Bowring, John / /CP/ /N]
Damer, Edward / /C/ /E]	Appletree, Philip / /CP/ /N]	Bradford, Thomas / /CP/P/[E]
Daryman, Oliver / /C/P/[E]	Archer, Isaac / /CP/ /N]	Bradley, Thomas / /CP/ /N]
Davenish, Benjamin / /C/ /N]	Armitage, Robert / /CP/N/[E]	Braine, John / /CP/ /N]
David, Evan / /C/ /N]	Ashwood, Bartholomew / /CP/P/[E]	Brett, John / /CP/P/[E]
Davies, James / /C/ /N]	Aspinwall, Peter / /CP/PE/[E]	Brockman, William /C/CP/[N]/
Davis, (?) / /C/ /N]	Atkikns, Richard / /CP/ /N]	Brokesby, Francis / /CP/ /N]
Davis, Ellis / /C/ /N]	Atkinson, Peter Sr. / /CP/P/[E]	Brooks, James / /CP/ /N]
Davis, John / /C/CP-M/[E]	Atkinson, William / /CP/ /E]	Brooks, Richard / /CP/ /N]
Davisen, Richard / /C/ /N]	Atwell, Thomas / /CP/ /N]	Broughton, (?) / /CP/I/[E]
Davison, Brian / /C/ /N]	Baker, Thomas / /CP/ /N]	Brown, James /P/CP/P/[E]
Davison, William / /C/ /E]	Baldwin, Thomas /PN/CP/PD-M/[E]	Brown, Richard / /CP/ /N]
Davy, John /C/C/ /E]	Balie, Samuel / /CP/P/[E]	Bruice, William /P/CP/ /E]
Day, John / /C/ /N]	Ball, Daniel / /CP/PD/[E]	Budde, Anthony / /CP/ /N]
Day, Richard /B/C/ /N]	Balster, John /P/CP/ /E]	Bull, John / /CP/ /E]
Deasley, John / /C/ /E]	Barnes, Thomas / /CP/ /N]	Bullen, Robert / /CP/ /N]
Dennis, John /BN/C/ /N]	Barons, Samson / /CP/ /N]	Burges, Thomas / /CP/ /N]
Dent, Edward /N/C/ /N]	Bartlet, John Jr. / /CP/ /E]	Burgess, John / /CP/ /E]
Denton, Nathaniel Sr. /P/C/PU/[E]	Bartlet, William / /CP/C/[E]	Burnard, William / /CP/ /N]
Devenish, Benjamin / /C/ /N]	Barton, Nathaniel /C/CP/ /E]	Burroughs, Thomas / /CP/P/[E]
Dickin, John / /C/ /N]	Bases, Ithel / /CP/ /E]	Butler, Henry /PCN/CP/P/[E]
Dod, James / /C/ /N]	Basnet, John / /CP/P/[E]	Butler, Nicholas Dr. / /CP/ /N]
Dod, James / /C/ /N]	Bass, John /C/CP/P/[E]	Butler, William / /CP/CP-M/[E]
Dod, Robert / /C/ /E]	Bates, William /P/CP/ /E]	Buxton, Thomas /PN/CP/P/[E]
Donne, John /C/C/ /E]	Batho, William / /CP/P/[E]	Buze, Samuel / /CP/ /N]
Dort, (?) / /C/ /N]	Batt, Timothy /PN/CP/P/[E]	Byfield, Richard / /CP/P/[E]
Downe, Richard / /C/PDN/[E]	Bayes, Samuel / /CP/P/[E]	Caffyn, Matthew / /CP/PN/[E]
Driver, Thomas / /C/ /N]	Bayford, Ralph / /CP/ /N]	Calamy, Edmund II / /CP/P/[E]
Drope, William / /C/ /N]	Beak, Robert /PN/CP/P/[E]	Cardinal, Richard / /CP/ /E]

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 4

(Sorted by License Identity)

License = CP, I, IC, IP, N, P

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(CP) CONGREGATIONALIST/ PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(I) INDEPENDENT LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES
Carleton, Robert / /CP/ /N]	Bedford, Isaac / /I/PE/[E]	Alflatt, Matthew /PN/P/P/[E]
Carslake, Humphrey / /CP/ /N]	Briars, John / /I/PCE/[E]	Alford, (?) /P/P/P/[E]
Case, Thomas / /CP/P/[E]	Crow, John / /I/P/[E]	Alison, Samuel /P/P/ /N]
Casse, Edward / /CP/ /N]		Alleine, William / /P/ /E]
Cave, John / /CP/ /N]	(I) INDEPENDENT/ CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES	Allen, (?) / /P/PN-M/[E]
Chapman, John / /CP/ /N]	Alward, Lewis / /IC/ /N]	Allen, John Sr. / /P/ /E]
Charles, Samuel / /CP/ /E]	Argor, John / /IC/ /E]	Allen, Joseph / /P/ /E]
Cheesman, Thomas / /CP/ /E]	Baker, William / /IC/ /E]	Allen, Robert / /P/P/[E]
Chitty, George / /CP/ /N]	Barnes, Thomas /CIN/IC/ /E]	Alsager, Ralph / /P/P/[E]
Clare, Ambrose / /CP/ /E]	Belcher, John / /IC/PU/[E]	Alsop, William /P/P/P/[E]
Clark, Samuel /PB/CP/ /E]	Bevan, Richard / /IC/ /N]	Amos, William /P/P/ /N]
Clarke, Matthew /P/CP/PCN/[E]	Christopher, Jacob / /IC/P/[E]	Amyrout, Paul / /P/P/[E]
Clarkson, David / /CP/P-M/[E]	Cradock, Watkin / /IC/ /N]	Anderton, Roger / /P/ /E]
Clayton, Luke / /CP/PU/[E]		Anderton, Thomas / /P/ /N]
Cockaine, George / /CP/P/[E]	(IP) INDEPENDENT/ PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	Andrewes, Thomas / /P/P/[E]
Cockayne, James / /CP/ /E]	Atkinson, Simon /N/IP/ /E]	Andrewes, William / /P/ /N]
Cokman, Henry / /CP/ /N]	Benson, George / /IP/ /E]	Andrews, Daniell / /P/ /N]
Colborne, George / /CP/PE/[E]	Bignell, Timothy / /IP/ /N]	Andrews, Simon / /P/ /N]
Cole, James / /CP/ /N]	Billio, Robert Sr. /P/IP/ /E]	Ange, Richard / /P/ /E]
Cole, Thomas / /CP/ /N]	Bound, George / /IP/ /E]	Angier, Samuel Jr. / /P/ /E]
Colewhone, James / /CP/P/[E]	Burdwood, James / /IP/ /E]	Annesley, Samuel /P/P/P/[E]
Collier, Abel / /CP/PD/[E]	Burnand, Nathaniel /I/IP/ /E]	Archer, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Constantine, Robert / /CP/P/[E]	Burwood, James / /IP/ /N]	Armstrong, John / /P/ /E]
Conway, William /IP/CP/ /N]	Callacot, J. / /IP/ /E]	Armitage, John / /P/P/[E]
Cook, William / /CP/ /N]		Armyn, Evers / /P/ /E]
Coombe, Wiliam / /CP/ /N]	(N) NONCONFORMIST LICENSES	Ashburnham Henry / /P/PE/[E]
Cop, Tristram / /CP/ /N]	Anible, William / /N/ /N]	Ashford, T. / /P/ /N]
Copton, John / /CP/ /N]		Ashly, (?) / /P/PE/[E]
Corbin, Samuel /CN-FAN/CP/ /E]	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	Ashton, James / /P/ /N]
Corenton, Richard / /CP/ /N]	Abbes, Christopher / /P/ /N]	Ashurst, Henry / /P/ /N]
Cornish, William / /CP/ /E]	Abdy, James / /P/P/[N]	Ashurst, James / /P/ /E]
Cotesworth, Cuthbert / /CP/ /N]	Abell, Richard / /P/ /N]	Ashwell, Nicholas / /P/ /N]
Cox, (?) / /CP/ /N]	Abercromby, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Aspinall, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Cox, Josiah / /CP/ /N]	Ackworth, Allen / /P/P/[E]	Aspinwall, William / /P/PICBE/[N]
Cox, Samuel / /CP/ /E]	Acton, (?) /P/P/ /N]	Asty, John / /P/ /E]
Cramlington, Robert / /CP/P/[E]	Adams, John /P/P/ /N]	Atkin, William / /P/ /N]
Cranwell, Luke / /CP/ /E]	Adams, John / /P/ /N]	Atkins, William / /P/ /N]
Cranwell, Richard / /CP/ /N]	Adams, John /B/P/ /N]	Atkinson, James / /P/P/[E]
Crichlowe, John / /CP/ /N]	Adams, Peter / /P/ /N]	Atkinson, Peter / /P/P/[E]
Croe, John / /CP/ /N]	Adams, Robert / /P/P/[E]	Ayer, John / /P/ /N]
Crouch, John / /CP/P/[E]	Adams, Tobias /P/P/P/[E]	Badger, John / /P/ /N]
Cudmore, Daniel / /CP/ /N]	Addenbrooke, Thomas / /P/ /E]	Badland, Thomas / /P/P/[E]
Cusse, Henry / /CP/P/[E]	Addersley, Humphrey / /P/ /N]	Bagett, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Danstal, (?) / /CP/PE/[E]	Addington, Richard / /P/ /N]	Bagnall, Robert / /P/ /N]
Davy, John / /CP/ /E]	Addington, Richard / /P/ /N]	Bagot, John / /P/ /N]
Deane, Arne / /CP/ /N]	Adnett, Isaac / /P/ /N]	Bagott, Richard / /P/ /E]
Denton, John / /CP/ /E]	Agar, John / /P/ /E]	Bailey, David / /P/ /N]
Dickinson, Robert / /CP/ /N]	Agerton, Richard /N/P/P/[E]	Bailife, Thomas / /P/ /N]
Difion, Josiah / /CP/P/[E]	Airy, John / /P/ /N]	Baker, John /P/ P/PN/[E]
Durant, John / /CP/ /E]	Alban, Peter /P/P/ /N]	Baker, John / /P/ /N]
Dwight, Bernard / /CP/ /N]	Alcock, William / /P/ /E]	Baker, Richard / /P/ /N]
	Alden (?) / /P/ /E]	Baker, Robert / /P/ /N]
	Aldridge, John /PN/P/ /N]	Balch, Robert /PN/P/ /N]

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES
Baldwin, Roger / /P/P/[E]	Bell, Richard / /P/ / [E]	Blackmore, William / /P/P/[E]
Ball, Nathaniel /CP/P/ / [E]	Bell, Richard /P/P/ / [N]	Blackwood, Christopher / /P/ / [N]
Ball, Samuel / /P/ / [N]	Bell, Thomas / /P/ / [N]	Bladon, Thomas /P/P/P/[E]
Ball, Walter / /P/ / [E]	Bell, William Sr. / /P/P/[E]	Bladwick, John / /P/ / [N]
Ball, William /N/P/P/[E]	Bellchar, John / /P/ / [N]	Blake, Alexander / /P/ / [N]
Banger, Josiah /P/P/ / [E]	Benion, Robert /P/P/ / [N]	Blake, Henry / /P/P/[E]
Bantoffe, Samuel / /P/P/[E]	Benlows, Thomas / /P/P/[E]	Blake, Malachi / /P/P/[E]
Barby, Thomas / /P/ / [E]	Bennet, Matthew /C/P/ / [N]	Blake, Nicholas / /P/ / [N]
Barces, Robert / /P/ / [E]	Bennet, Richard / /P/ / [N]	Blethin, William / /P/ / [N]
Bareham, William / /P/ / [N]	Bennett, (?) / /P/ / [N]	Blinman, John /BN/P/ / [N]
Barham, Arthur / /P/P/[E]	Bennett, John Sr. / /P/ / [E]	Blinstone, Thomas / /P/P/[E]
Barker, (?) / /P/ / [N]	Bennett, William / /P/ / [N]	Blundell, John / /P/ / [N]
Barker, John / /P/ / [E]	Bennett, William / /P/ / [N]	Blunt, Robert / /P/P/[E]
Barling, Clement / /P/ / [E]	Bennison, William / /P/P/[E]	Board, William / /P/ / [N]
Barnadiston, Giles / /P/ / [N]	Benson, (?) / /P/ / [N]	Bolster, Joseph /C/P/ / [E]
Barnard, Nathaniel /PN/P/ / [N]	Benson, John / /P/ / [E]	Bond, (?) /P/P/ / [N]
Barnard, Philip / /P/ / [N]	Bent, William / /P/ / [N]	Bond, John / /P/ / [E]
Barnes, John / /P/ / [N]	Bentley, Eli / /P/P/[E]	Bond, John / /P/ / [N]
Barnes, Richard /N/P/ / [N]	Bentley, Timothy / /P/ / [N]	Bond, Sampson / /P/ / [E]
Barnet, Joshua / /P/PN-M/[E]	Benton, Benjamin / /P/ / [N]	Bonner, Thomas / /P/CP/[E]
Barnham, John /P/P/ / [E]	Benton, William /N/P/P/[E]	Booth, Robert / /P/ / [N]
Barry, Mathias / /P/ / [N]	Benyon, Robert /N/P/ / [N]	Boothhouse, Richard / /P/ / [N]
Barry, Nathaniel /P/P/P/[E]	Berkes, Richard / /P/P/[E]	Borfet, Samuel / /P/ / [E]
Bartlet, Timothy / /P/P/[E]	Bernard, Joseph / /P/ / [N]	Borne, (?) /CN/P/ / [N]
Bartlett, Thomas / /P/ / [N]	Berry, John / /P/ / [E]	Boswell, Thomas / /P/ / [E]
Barton, (?) / /P/ / [N]	Berry, John / /P/ / [N]	Bothamley, Nathaniel / /P/ / [N]
Basse, Robert / /P/ / [N]	Berry, Nathaniel /P/P/ / [N]	Boucher, Edward / /P/P/[E]
Bastone, Joane / /P/ / [E]	Berry, William / /P/ / [N]	Bovel, Francis / /P/P/[E]
Bath, Robert / /P/PUE/[E]	Bickley, Richard / /P/ / [E]	Bowden, James / /P/ / [N]
Batsler, John / /P/ / [N]	Biffen, Andrew / /P/ / [N]	Bowden, Jonathan / /P/ / [E]
Batt, John / /P/PE/[E]	Biges, William / /P/P/[E]	Bowdon, Samuel / /P/ / [N]
Batt, Robert / /P/ / [N]	Bigley, John /P/P/ / [E]	Bowles, Edward / /P/P/[E]
Batten, Richard / /P/ / [E]	Bill, John / /P/ / [N]	Bowman, William / /P/ / [N]
Batts, Richard / /P/ / [N]	Billaway, W. /P/P/ / [E]	Boylands, John / /P/ / [N]
Bawdon, Humphrey / /P/ / [N]	Billers, William / /P/ / [N]	Bradbeech, John / /P/ / [N]
Baxeley, Richard /B/P/ / [N]	Billing, John / /P/ / [N]	Braddock, John / /P/ / [N]
Baxter, Nathaniel / /P/PN/[E]	Billingsly, John / /P/PE/[E]	Braden, Roger / /P/ / [E]
Baxter, Richard / /P/ / [N]	Billney, Abraham / /P/ / [N]	Bradley, John / /P/ / [N]
Baxter, Richard /C/P/ / [N]	Bindon, George /PN/P/P/[E]	Bradshaw, James / /P/PD-M/[E]
Baxter, Richard / /P/P/[E]	Bineton, John /P/P/ / [N]	Bradshaw, Nathaniel / /P/ / [E]
Bayley, Frolick / /P/ / [N]	Binmore, Richard / /P/ / [E]	Brady, Thomas / /P/ / [N]
Bayley, Stephen / /P/IP/[E]	Birch, Daniell / /P/ / [N]	Bragg, Robert / /P/ / [E]
Bayley, William /P/P/PE/[E]	Birch, Samuel / /P/P/[E]	Bragg, Robert Sr. /P/P/PD/[E]
Bayly, Thomas / /P/ / [N]	Birch, Thomas / /P/P/[E]	Bransell, Oliver / /P/ / [N]
Baynard, Abdiel / /P/ / [N]	Birchall, Richard / /P/ / [N]	Bray, Thomas / /P/ / [N]
Beame, Thomas /P/P/ / [N]	Birchall, William / /P/ / [E]	Breedon, John / /P/ / [N]
Beamish, John / /P/P/[E]	Birkett, John / /P/ / [E]	Brereton, John / /P/ / [E]
Beard, John /PN/P/ / [N]	Biscoe, Richard / /P/ / [N]	Brett, Samuel / /P/ / [N]
Beard, William / /P/ / [N]	Biss, George / /P/ / [N]	Brice, John Sr. /C/P/ / [E]
Beaton, John Jr. / /P/P/[E]	Blackaller, George / /P/ / [N]	Brice, William /P/P/PED/[E]
Bedle, John / /P/ / [E]	Blackmore, Chewning / /P/ / [E]	Bricknal, Samuel / /P/P/[E]
Beene, Robert / /P/ / [N]	Blackmore, Henry / /P/P/[E]	Bridge, Edward / /P/P/[E]
Behm, Jacob / /P/ / [N]	Blackmore, John Jr. / /P/ / [N]	Bridges, Francis / /P/ / [N]

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 6

(Sorted by License Identity)

License = P

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES
Bridges, Haslefoot / /P/P/[E]	Burrew, Peter / /P/ /N]	Cattle, Robert / /P/ /N]
Bridges, Samuel / /P/ /E]	Burroughs, Thomas / /P/ /E]	Cauton, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Bridgman, John / /P/ /N]	Burroughs, William /B/P/ /N]	Cave, James / /P/ /E]
Bridsens, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Burthogge, Richard / /P/ /N]	Cave, John / /P/P/[E]
Brilsworth, Robert / /P/C/[E]	Burton, (?) / /P/ /N]	Cawthorn, Joseph / /P/PCN-M/[E]
Brinley, Samuel / /P/P/[E]	Burton, Samuel / /P/ /N]	Cawthorne, Joshua / /P/P/[E]
Broadgate, John / /P/ /E]	Burton, Theophilus / /P/ /N]	Ceager, John / /P/ /N]
Broadley, Daniel / /P/ /E]	Burton, William / /P/ /N]	Chadock, Valentine / /P/ /N]
Brodnax, William /CP/P/ /N]	Burton, William / /P/ /N]	Chadwick, Joseph /PN/P/PN/[E]
Bromely, Arthur / /P/PE/[E]	Bury, Edward / /P/PN/[E]	Chamberlain, John / /P/ /N]
Brookes, John / /P/ /N]	Bush, John /PN/P/P/[E]	Chambers, Robert /P/P/ /E]
Brookman, William /FAN/P/ /N]	Butler, Hugh / /P/ /E]	Chancy, Isaac /P/P/CD/[E]
Broome, Thomas / /P/ /E]	Butler, Robert / /P/ /N]	Chandler, Benjamin / /P/ /E]
Broster, (?) / /P/PE/[E]	Butter, Henry /N/P/ /N]	Chapman, William / /P/P/[E]
Broster, John / /P/ /E]	Butterise, Simone / /P/ /N]	Chappell, Samuel /P/P/ /N]
Broughton, Andrew / /P/ /E]	Butterworth, John / /P/P/[E]	Charleton, James / /P/ /N]
Brown, Andrew / /P/ /N]	Buttery, Joseph / /P/ /N]	Charlton, Nathaniel /P/P/P/[E]
Brown, James / /P/ /N]	Button, John / /P/ /N]	Charman, Stephen Jr. / /P/P/[E]
Browne, Edward / /P/ /N]	Button, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Chauncey, Ichabod / /P/P/[E]
Browne, Henry / /P/ /N]	Buxton, (?) / /P/ /N]	Chave, William / /P/ /N]
Browne, James / /P/ /N]	Byrde, John / /P/P/[E]	Cheatle, William / /P/ /N]
Browne, John / /P/ /N]	Cabell, Samuel / /P/P/[E]	Cheecks, John / /P/ /N]
Browne, Valentine / /P/ /N]	Cade, John / /P/ /N]	Cheney, Edward / /P/ /N]
Browne, William /P/P/ /N]	Caffyn, Matthew Jr. / /P/P/[E]	Chester, John Sr. /P/P/P/[E]
Brughton, Edward / /P/ /N]	Cake, Alias / /P/ /N]	Chidell, Richard / /P/ /N]
Bruice, Timothy / /P/ /N]	Calamy, Edmund I / /P/P-M/[E]	Chiswell, John / /P/ /E]
Brunning, Benjamin, Jr. / /P/P/[E]	Calderwood, David / /P/P/[E]	Cholwich, William / /P/ /N]
Bryan, Jarvis / /P/PDN/[E]	Callandrine, Lewis / /P/ /E]	Clapp, William / /P/ /N]
Bryan, John Dr. /PN/P/P/[E]	Calpin, Matthew / /P/ /N]	Clares, William / /P/ /N]
Bryan, Samuel /PN/P/PE/[E]	Calvert, James / /P/P/[E]	Clark, John / /P/P/[E]
Bryon, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Cambridge, John / /P/ /E]	Clark, John / /P/ /N]
Buck, William / /P/ /N]	Capel, George / /P/ /N]	Clark, Richard /P/P/ /N]
Buckley, William / /P/ /N]	Carel, Robert /P/P/ /E]	Clark, Robert / /P/ /N]
Buckler, William /P/P/ /N]	Careles, Richard / /P/ /N]	Clark, Thomas / /P/P/[E]
Buckley, John / /P/ /E]	Carey, George / /P/ /N]	Clarke, (?) / /P/P/[E]
Buckmaster, Daniel / /P/P/[E]	Cargill, Donald / /P/ /N]	Clarke, Christopher /P/P/ /N]
Budd, Thomas / /P/ /E]	Carlile, John / /P/P/[E]	Clarke, John /P/P/ /E]
Bulhead, Nicholas / /P/ /N]	Carmichael, Alexander / /P/ /N]	Clarke, Peter / /P/ /N]
Bulkley, John / /P/ /E]	Carr, Nathaniel / /P/ /E]	Clarke, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Bull, Daniel /P/P/P/[E]	Carrill, Robert / /P/ /E]	Clayton, Francis / /P/ /N]
Burbanck, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Carslake, Richard / /P/ /N]	Clayton, Samuel /P/P/ /N]
Bures, Richard / /P/PU/[E]	Carte, Robert / /P/ /N]	Cleare, Abraham / /P/ /E]
Burfett, Samuel / /P/ /N]	Carter, (?) /P/P/ /N]	Clearke, Edmond / /P/ /N]
Burgess, Anthony / /P/P/[E]	Carter, George / /P/ /N]	Clerke, Samuel / /P/ /N]
Burgess, Benjamin Jr. /P/P/P/[E]	Carter, Isaac / /P/ /N]	Clerke, William / /P/ /N]
Burgess, Benjamin Sr. / /P/ /E]	Carter, Robert / /P/ /N]	Clifford, Samuel /P/P/P/[E]
Burgess, Daniel Jr. /P/P/ /E]	Cary, George / /P/ /N]	Clifford, William / /P/PN/[E]
Burgess, John / /P/PD/[E]	Caryl, Robert / /P/P/[E]	Coads, Philip / /P/ /N]
Burgesse, (?) / /P/PD/[E]	Caryl, Sampson / /P/ /E]	Coape, Joseph / /P/ /N]
Burnall, Robert Jr. / /P/ /N]	Casse, John / /P/ /N]	Coates, Samuel Sr. / /P/P/[E]
Burnam, Nathaniel / /P/ /E]	Castle, John / /P/ /E]	Cock, James / /P/ /N]
Burnet, William / /P/P/[E]	Castle, Laurence / /P/P/[E]	Cocken, Thomas / /P/ /N]
Burrens, (?) /C/P/ /N]	Cater, Andrew / /P/P/[E]	Cocks, Digory / /P/ /N]

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 7

(Sorted by License Identity)

License = P, PA

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES	(P) PRESBYTERIAN LICENSES
Coke, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Cray, William /P/P/ /N]	Dew, John / /P/ /N]
Cole, Edward / /P/ /N]	Credindon, Joseph / /P/ /N]	Deyor, John /P/P/ /N]
Cole, Kilward / /P/ /N]	Creese, Thomas /P/P/PN/[E]	Dickings, John / /P/ /N]
Colle, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Crelock, James / /P/ /N]	Dickinson, Thomas /P/P/ /N]
Collett, William / /P/ /N]	Croft, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Dikes, W. /P/P/ /E]
Collier, Gilbert /P/P/ /N]	Crofton, Zachariah / /P/P/[E]	Dineley, (?) /P/P/ /N]
Collier, Richard / /P/ /N]	Crompton, John / /P/ /N]	Ditton, (?) /P/P/ /N]
Collines, John / /P/P/[E]	Crompton, Thomas Jr. / /P/CP/[E]	Dixon, (?) /P/P/ /N]
Collinges, John /P/P/PN/[E]	Crompton, Thomas Sr. / /P/P/[E]	Dixon, James / /P/ /N]
Collings, John / /P/ /N]	Crompton, William /PN/P/ /E]	Dixon, Philip / /P/ /N]
Collings, John Dr. / /P/ /N]	Cromwell, John / /P/CP/[E]	Dixon, Thomas / /P/ /E]
Collins, Robert /PN/P/ /E]	Crosland, Abraham / /P/ /E]	Doble, William /P/P/ /N]
Collins, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Cross, William / /P/P/[E]	Dod(d), Robert / /P/ /N]
Collyer, John / /P/ /N]	Crosse, William /P/P/ /E]	Dod, Robert / /P/ /E]
Colton, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Crossman, Samuel Sr. / /P/ /E]	Doddridge, John / /P/P/[E]
Combes, Samuel /P/P/ /N]	Crower, John / /P/ /N]	Doeley, Samuel / /P/ /E]
Comes, John / /P/ /N]	Crump, James / /P/P/[E]	Donkinson, John / /P/ /E]
Compton, John / /P/P/[E]	Cudmore, John Sr. / /P/ /E]	Donn, William / /P/P-M/[E]
Comyn, Richard / /P/ /E]	Cumberland, John /P/P/ /N]	Dooley, Richard / /P/ /E]
Coningham, James / /P/ /E]	Cumper, Robert / /P/ /N]	Doolittle, Thomas /P/P/PN/[E]
Cook, John / /P/P/[E]	Curie, John / /P/ /N]	Doughty, Charles / /P/ /N]
Cook, Robert / /P/ /E]	Curl, Thomas / /P/PE/[E]	Doughty, John / /P/ /N]
Cooke, Anthony /P/ /N]	Curtis, Leon / /P/ /N]	Doughty, Samuel / /P/P/[E]
Cooke, Austin / /P/ /N]	Curtis, Robert / /P/ /N]	Dowley, Richard / /P/P/[E]
Cooke, William / /P/ /N]	Cuttler, (?) / /P/ /N]	Down, Mark / /P/P/[E]
Coomes, John / /P/ /N]	Cutts, Richard / /P/ /N]	Downe, Anthony / /P/P/[E]
Cooper, Boniface / /P/PE/[E]	Daberon, John / /P/P/[E]	Downer, Edward / /P/ /N]
Cooper, Joseph / /P/P/[E]	Dalliber, Robert / /P/ /E]	Drake, John / /P/ /N]
Cooper, Richard / /P/ /E]	Damon, Zachary / /P/ /N]	Drake, Joseph / /P/P/[E]
Cooper, Richard /P/P/ /N]	Dan, John / /P/ /N]	Drake, Michael / /P/P/[E]
Cooper, William / /P/ /N]	Dandy, Francis / /P/P/[E]	Drake, Robert /PN/P/P/[E]
Cooper, William / /P/P/[E]	Danson, Thomas / /P/ /E]	Drayton, Richard /P/P/P/[E]
Cope, Joseph /P/P/ /E]	Darby, Charles / /P/PE/[E]	Drayton, William / /P/ /N]
Coppin, Edward / /P/P/[E]	Darby, John / /P/ /N]	Drinchal, Thomas / /P/PN/[E]
Cornish, Henry / /P/ /E]	Darby, John / /P/ /N]	Drye, (?) / /P/ /E]
Cornish, Philip / /P/ /N]	Darlish, Thomas / /P/ /N]	Duble, William /N/P/ /N]
Cotrocke, John / /P/ /N]	Darnton, John / /P/P/[E]	Duffenby, John / /P/ /N]
Cotton, William / /P/P/[E]	Dautrie, Jeoffrey / /P/ /N]	Dummer, Edward / /P/ /E]
Coule, William / /P/ /N]	Davenport, John (?) / /P/P/[E]	Duncanson, James / /P/P/[E]
Council, John /P/P/ /N]	Davies Richard / /P/ /N]	Dunch, Major /P/P/ /N]
Cox, Benjamin / /P/ /N]	Davis, Richard / /P/ /N]	Dunmed, John / /P/ /N]
Cox, Edward / /P/ /N]	Dawleing, Samuel / /P/ /N]	Dunon, (?) /P/P/P/[E]
Cox, Henry / /P/ /N]	Dawson, Joseph / /P/ /E]	Dunstan, John /P/P/ /N]
Cox, John / /P/PN/[E]	Day, George /PN/P/P/[E]	Dunsy, Thomas / /P/ /N]
Cox, Lancelott / /P/P/[E]	Deacon, Baldwin / /P/ /E]	Dyer, John / /P/P/[E]
Cradock, Richard /CIN/P/ /N]	Deane, Edward / /P/ /N]	Dyer, Richard / /P/ /E]
Cradock, Samuel / /P/PU/[E]	Deane, Salathiell / /P/ /N]	
Cragg, James / /P/ /E]	Dear, Nicholas / /P/ /N]	
Crandy, Nicholas / /P/ /N]	Dent, Henry /P/P/PN-M/[E]	
Cranford, (?) / /P/CP/[E]	Derham, John / /P/ /N]	(PA) PRESBYTERIAN/ ANTINOMINIAN LICENSES
Crawforth, Richard / /P/P/[E]	Desmore, (?) /C/P/ /N]	Dawson, Sibell / /PA/[N]
Cray, Alexander /P/P/ /N]	Devenish, John / /P/P/[E]	
Cray, Jeremiah /P/P/ /N]	Deverell, George /B/P/ /N]	

1672 Ministerial Licenses – Surnames A-D – 8 (Sorted by License Identity) License = PB, PBC, PIC, PN, LIU

Minister Name/Episcopal_Return_Identity1669/License_Identity1672/Calamy's_Classification/[E]jected/[N]ot_Ejected

(PB) PRESBYTERIAN/BAPTIST LICENSES	(LIU) LICENSE UNKNOWN	
Ads, William / /PB/P/[E]	Crodacott, John / /LIU/ /[Y]	
Aldridge, William / /PB/P/[E]	Benson, Francis / /LIU/ /[N]	
Alford, Robert / /PB/ /[E]	Bradick, John / /LIU/ /[N]	
Ashwell, John / /PB/ /[E]	Brook, George / /LIU/ /[N]	
Bacon, Richard / /PB/P/[E]	Bucklye, (?) / /LIU/ /[N]	
Barston, John / /PB/PN/[E]	Burgis, John / /LIU/ /[N]	
Bartlet , Robert /PCN/PB/ /[E]	Crampton, Thomas / /LIU/ /[N]	
Bewsies, Abel / /PB/PN/[E]	Durrant, John / /LIU/ /[N]	
Bicknel, William / /PB/PDE-M/[E]		
Blackburne, William /C/PB/ /[N]		
Blackmore, James /B/PB/P/[E]		
Blake, Richard / /PB/PE/[E]		
Bragg, Matthew / /PB/ /[E]		
Brand, Thomas / /PB/ /[E]		
Browne, Edward / /PB/P/[E]		
Bushell, Edward / /PB/ /[N]		
Carslake, William /PN/PB/ /[E]		
Cawton, Thomas / /PB/ /[Y]		
Challen, John / /PB/ /[N]		
Chishull, John / /PB/ /[E]		
Clarke, John / /PB/ /[N]		
Coale, Thomas / /PB/P/[E]		
Collington, William / /PB/ /[N]		
Cross, Francis / /PB/P/[E]		
Cutler, (?) / /PB/ /[N]		
Dunsford, Martin / /PB/ /[N]		
(PBC) PRESBYTERIAN/BAPTIST/ CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES		
Bakewell, Thomas /P/PBC/PE/[E]		
Chancy, Isaiah /B/PBC/ /[N]		
Collier, Thomas / /PBC/P/[E]		
Doughty, Thomas / /PBC/PE/[E]		
(PIC) PRESBYTERIAN/INDEPENDEN T/ CONGREGATIONALIST LICENSES		
Balme, John / /PIC/ /[N]		
Coates, Matthew / /PIC/ /[E]		
(PN) PRESBYTERIAN/ NONCONFORMIST LICENSES		
Bampfield, Francis / /PN/P/[E]		
Branker, (?) /P/PN/ /[N]		

Legend: A=Antinomian; B=Baptist; C=Congregationalist; D=Dissenter; E=Church of England; FAN=Fanatick; I=Independent; LIU=License Unknown; M=Moderate; N=Nonconformist; P=Presbyterian; Q=Quaker; U=Puritan

Sources: Anonymous, *An Exact Catalogue of the Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected*, Anonymous, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series December 1671 to May 17th, 1672* (London, 1860); CCED: Clergy of the Church of England Database, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk; Surman, Charles E., 'Surman's Index Online', Dr. Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies (London, 2013). <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/surman/intro.html>; Turner, G. Lyon, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, Vols. 1-3 (London, 1911) See also the list of Nonconformist Histories in Appendix 2.

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