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PRESBYTERIANISM IN DEVON AND CORNWALL IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Thesis presented for the Degree of M.A.  
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## PRESBYTERIANISM IN DEVON AND CORNWALL IN THE 17th. CENTURY.

The term "Presbyterian" as it was applied in this period of English history is a most confusing one. Through the relations of the Presbyterian party with the Independents, the Scottish Church, and the political movements of the times, the name was very loosely applied, but in general it is taken to mean all those who left the Church of England from 1660-1662 rather than accept the episcopal system and all that went with it, unless they definitely called themselves Baptist or Independent. This is not to say that English Presbyterianism was vague or loose in its thinking, or merely negative in its attitude to the ecclesiastical principles of the Established Church. On the contrary, it had a positive contribution to offer in the place of that of which it disapproved, and while Presbyterianism was more fully developed in Scotland and Geneva than in England, the latter had a distinct character of its own. Its advocates desired to carry the Reformation still further in the Church of England, to what they thought was a logical conclusion, and not to be content with compromise. This was to be done by changing the framework of Church government, bringing its doctrine into line with the principles of the Reformation, and by simplifying its worship and ceremonies. To these three, was added the question of the relationship of Church and State, and as this was also a burning political issue, it tended to complicate matters a little, though it is quite obvious that the fundamental issues were religious.

It is, of course, primarily a system of Church polity that the word "Presbyterianism" denotes, since it is derived from the Greek 'presbuteros' (or 'presbyteros') meaning 'an elder' and under this system each congregation, and the Church as a whole, is governed not only by ordained ministers but by laymen ordained for this task as well. Each parish was to be governed by the Session, consisting of the ministers or clergy and a number of elders elected by the people. Then each Session deputed one or two ministers, and from two to four elders to represent it at the meetings of the "Classis", also called the Classical Presbytery, which managed the affairs of a group of parishes. Next above the Classis came the Provincial Assembly, consisting of representatives of the Classes (this corresponding to the Scottish "Synod"). This Assembly came into being only in London and Lancashire. (Whiting-"Studies in English Puritanism"). The crown of the system was to have been a National Assembly, the highest court of the whole Church. In England it could never have been like the Scottish General Assembly, the court of final ecclesiastical appeal, since the English Parliament has reserved that right to itself, and in actual fact this National Assembly never met and that difficult situation did not arise.

In this system were two main points of conflict with that laid down by the Church of England. The first was over the ordination of ministers; in the Anglican system ordination by a bishop was a sine qua non, while Presbyterianism asserted that ordination by presbyters was at least equally valid. The second point was over the introduction of the 'elder', a Scottish innovation, although it had also been a part of Continental Presbyterianism too. In the eyes of many it broke the continuity of the Church of England ministry, and worse still, if Milton was right that "Presbyter was but priest writ large", it created a dozen presbyters in the parish where there had only been one priest. Thus from the side of the convinced Anglican was there reason for objection, while from the Presbyterian came the added objection of the power of the bishop, and 'prelacy' became a common term of abuse of the episcopal system. Thomas Bold of Exeter was expressing the point of view of many of the reformers when he said to Bishop Gauden-"Reverend Sir, for so I can and will call you in a point of good manners, though 'Reverend Father in God' with a 'May it please your Grace' I decline, as a title which hath in it aliquid Antichristi." (Rhetoric Restrained. 1660)

The doctrinal stand-point of the Presbyterians, as shown by the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly, was Calvinistic, and they were prepared to substitute their Confession of Faith for the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England. This doctrine they claimed was to be primitive and apostolic, i.e. ~~to~~ based only on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and although men of later generations have felt that this was doubtful, the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms represent the genuine convictions of men who believed that they were founding a scheme of Christianity originating in "the Word of God."

Arising from this stand-point came the controversy over "Ceremonies" and "Habits", that is, the forms of administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion; the abolition of certain "superstitious" usages like the sign<sup>of</sup> the Cross in the Baptismal ceremony, and of the use of a ring in Marriage; the wearing of vestments; and the reading of a Liturgy<sup>in</sup> the ordinary services of worship. The Reformers wished to simplify these, and bring them into line with their more Evangelical doctrine, and though they may seem at first secondary matters, they became for the Presbyterians vital points of conscientious objection, a logical outcome of their Reformed Faith.

These were the issues at stake in the movement which led up to the Ejections of 1660-1662, when throughout England 1,909 men resigned (or were made to resign) their livings, or posts in Universities and schools because they were unable conscientiously to accept the terms of the Act of Uniformity. (Matthews. Cal. Rev. Intro. xiii. xiv.) This Ejection was not of course, the first or last in English history. There were those which had taken place under Mary, Elizabeth, James I, and during the Commonwealth, and there was still another to come after the Revolution. But the important difference about this one was that it left a permanent result in the life of the country. With all the others there was only the removal of the clergy proscribed, and (with the exception of the Non-jurors who were small and had no popular support) there the matter ended. In this case there was a very considerable number of laymen who could not conform as well as the ministers, and who wished them to continue their work along the lines of their conviction. Thus was formed the movement of organised Dissent, or "Nonconformity" which has played and still plays a not unimportant part in the religious and social life of England.

#### The Significance of Devon and Cornwall.

These two counties are a valuable field in which to study this movement, for three reasons:-

(a) Presbyterianism in them did not differ in any important respect from that of other counties of England. They therefore offer a good <sup>cross</sup> section of the whole movement<sup>in</sup> which we can study it in more detail.

(b) It was from Devon that the largest number of ejections took place (121), the only other county to approach it being Yorkshire (110) and far exceeding those of even London and Westminster (76). Cornwall (42) represents a good average county.

(c) There is more information available for Devon and Cornwall than for any other part of the country, thanks to the zeal of Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, who cited 57 of the non-subscribers of his diocese into his court and pronounced sentence of deprivation on them. He seems to have been the only bishop<sup>who</sup> took this trouble, but the record of his sentences is very valuable, and although it does not cover all the ejections, its omissions are made good by the Institution Book, kept at the Bishop's Registry.

#### Authorities.

study of

The standard work and basis of all/the ejected ministers of the 17th. century is Edmund Calamy's 'Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times'. 1702. Calamy was deeply rooted in Nonconformity since his father and grandfather had been ejected, he was reared among some of its best representatives, and was finally ordained in 1694 by six of them. His second edition of 1713 was

much fuller in its treatment, with additions, corrections, and some rearrangement, and he followed it up in 1727 with his Appendix-'A Continuation of the Account.'

Meanwhile a High Church clergyman, John Walker, had been moved to reply to Calamy's account of the ill-treatment of the ejected, partly by comparing it with the harsh measures of the Commonwealth accorded to the loyalist ministers, and after ten years' research published in 1714 'An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England...etc.' In his references to many individual cases this is a useful source.

Calamy's work has now appeared in other revised forms, the standard one until recently being Samuel Palmer's 'The Nonconformists' Memorial' 1st edition 1775, reissued 1777 and 1778, and a 2nd edition in 1802. Palmer was prejudiced in favour of the Nonconformists, rather than in attempting to be objective, but his arrangement of place-names, and his combining of information in Calamy's 'Account' and 'Continuation' makes it a better reference book. (Abbreviation-N.M.)

The most recent form of Calamy is 'Calamy Revised' by A.G. Matthews and published by the Oxford University Press in 1934. The author has sifted Calamy's evidence carefully and compared it with all available sources such as State papers, parish registers etc. Certainly as far as Devon and Cornwall are concerned, his references are entirely accurate, and this is now our standard reference work on this subject. For a full account of Calamy, his authorities, methods, and the results of modern revision, see Matthew's Introduction.

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Gordon-'Freedom After Ejection', 1690-1692. (A review of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England/Wales. 1917.

Reliquae Baxterianae. ed. by M. Sylvester. 1696. (Rel. Baxt.)

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Turner- Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, ed. G. Lyon Turner. 3 vols. 1911-1914.

Wood- Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss. 5 vols. 1813-1815. (Ath. Ox.)

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Drysdale- History of the Presbyterians in England. (1871)

M'Crue- Annals of English Presbytery.

Colligan- Eighteenth Century Nonconformity.

For reference to the copy of 'The Joint-Testimonie of the Ministers of Devon' I am indebted to the Rev. J. Hay Colligan, President of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of England, and to the Librarian, Warrington Public Library, also to the Librarian, Dr. Williams' Library, London, for access to these books and MSS; also the Keeper of the Western MSS. Bodleian Library for photostat copies of MSS.

#### Origins.

One of the earlier influences in introducing Presbyterian doctrines into the English Church was probably that of Martin Bucer with his draft of Church reform for Edward VI. Another seed was without doubt sown by John A'Lasco, the Polish reformer, who was one of the foreign divines who came to England at the call of Cranmer, to further the Reformation. He was the founder of the "first legally organised body of Churches in England outside the pale of the national Establishment. These Churches were bound together according to a Presbyterian form of organisation, and they embodied Presbyterian principles and ideas beyond anything that the English or Scottish Reformation had yet seen" (Drysdale-p.40.) and certainly it was by a remarkable charter- the Act of Parliament of 24th. July 1550- that the foreign exiles in London were allowed to constitute an advanced Protestant Reformation in their 'Ecclesia Peregrinorum'- 'the Church of the Strangers.' Bishop Hooper with his distinctive Puritan watchwords, and his strong objections to episcopal and clerical vestments made a notable contribution to the movement, as did John Knox while he was in England from 1549-1553, and as Chaplain to Edward he had no small influence at Court. But it was during the Marian persecution that the future Presbyterianism was given its strength when men like Knox, Goodman, Hilby, Whittingham and Coverdale fled to the Continent, and to Geneva in particular where they saw the Church modelled after Calvin's ideal, for they brought back its principles to this country on their return. So strong was their influence that Perry, who shows strong "Church" views,

remarks of the Church in the succeeding reign - "The main body of the Elizabethan Bishops were Calvinists in doctrine and inclined to Presbyterianism in discipline." (Students' English Church History. vol. ii. 291)

The years 1566-1567 saw the real rise of the Presbyterian party, led by Whittingham, Grindal, and Pilkington, for a number of them broke off from public worship in the Churches, and assembled as they had opportunity in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a way which did not go against the light of their consciences. "They administered the Sacraments, ordained elders, and maintained discipline among themselves according to the order of the Geneva Service Book." (Drysdale. p. 105). An interesting point is that their type of Churchmanship was recognised, for when Whittingham was appointed Dean of Durham, his "Genevan" ordination as a minister was accepted as valid. Remote as this type of Churchmanship was from that adopted in England at the Reformation, it became obvious that it could not be reconciled to the latter, and the ecclesiastics had to watch its steady growth without being able to accommodate it (easily) in the Church.

In all these movements, the counties of Devon and Cornwall began to play their part. An important factor throughout was the influence of Exeter College, Oxford. There were 64 of its graduates, nearly all men from the west country, among the ejected ministers, which is to say that a third (at least) of those who went out from Devon and Cornwall were Exeter men, and among them was John Conant, its Rector 1649-1662.

Among the early personal factors was the influence of two natives of Devon, John Jewel and Richard Hooker. Jewel was a contemporary of Whittingham at Oxford, and the friendship continued during the exile period. He thoroughly understood the "pros" and "cons" of the "Geneva" controversy. When in 1562 he published his 'Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae' although the type of Churchmanship was unlike the "Genevan" his views met with approbation and admiration from all parties. Hooker's celebrated treatise on "Ecclesiastical Polity" was an exposition of Churchmanship called forth chiefly by the controversies of the times. It differed from that of Jewel, but compared with the arbitrary claims that arose from the time of James I, Hooker's Churchmanship was moderate.

#### The Reign of James I.

Five years before Elizabeth's long reign terminated in 1603, William Cotton had been appointed Bishop of Exeter. A valuable survey of the ecclesiastical situation in Devon at the time of his tenure of office is derived from two treatises written by Thomas Hutton, a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and at that time Archdeacon at Exeter. Bishop Cotton was a 'pluralist,' being for nearly the whole of his episcopate the Rector of Silvertown, Devon. It is not therefore surprising to learn that he opposed the Puritans (vide D.N.B.) Archdeacon Hutton appears to have been the mouth-piece of Bishop Cotton's views, and made frequent references to them from the Cathedral pulpit at Exeter.

In 1605 (the beginning of the reign of James I) he issued a book at Oxford entitled - "The First Part of an Answer...etc." (~~London. 1606~~) The following year he published "The Second Part of an Answer..." (London. 1606). This second volume has an "Appendix...of all other exceptions taken by others against the Books of Common Prayer, Communion, Homilies, and Ordination." This "Second Part" was presumably intended to be a general answer to the Puritan party and not only to "certain Ministers of Devon" who had tendered their reasons for refusing to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer. The fact that Hutton was probably the mouthpiece of the Bishop is borne out by a slip in the "Appendix". The title-page of the volume states that it came "to the hands of an honourable personage", but on page 156 it is stated that "there was sent to us from an honourable personage", and the latter statement is probably accurate.

Hutton's two books form a comprehensive survey of the points of difference between the Puritan clergy and the "prelatical" clergy at the beginning of the 17th. century. They contain a comprehensive summary of the points in dispute, and Hutton's treatment was scholarly and skilful, his method being to support his arguments by authorities recognised by the Puritans - Calvin, Beza, Luther. The impression he obviously desired to make was that the Puritans were obstinate, but the objections which Hutton set out to refute would still be maintained by many modern Nonconformists. One statement is significant-

he admits that the term "priest" in the Prayer Book is intended to signify "presbyter".

In the document received from "an honourable personage" is the following vital statement which apparently expresses the attitude of the Devon clergy -

"Wee protest before the Almighty God that wee acknowledge the Churches(sic) of England(as they are established by Authority) to be true Visible Churches of Christ; That we desire the Continuance of our Ministrie in them, above all earthlie things- as that without which our whole life would be wearisome and bitter unto us: That we dislike<sup>not</sup> a set form of Prayer to be used in our Church. Finally whatsoever followeth is not set down of any evil minde to deprave the Book of Common Prayer, Ordination, or Homilies, but only to show some reasons why we cannot subscribe unto all things contained in the same Book."

(Second Part of an Answer. pp.156 ff.)

From this statement, and from what follows, it is evident that the Devon clergy were moderate in their Churchmanship at this stage; and that they were developing the lines laid down by Cartwright rather than upon the radical policy originated at Geneva at the end of Queen Mary's reign by William Whittingham and John Bodley- the latter a Devon gentleman and father of the founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

At this period, through the moderate attitude of the Puritan clergy, a 'modus vivendi' might have been possible, but this was soon hopeless because of certain occurrences and developments, the chief of which were:-

1. The struggle between King and Parliament over the power of the monarchy, and the appearance of the theory of the 'Divine Right of Kings.'
2. The controversy over the Sabbath, aroused by James' Book of Sports (1618), whereby he essayed to settle what kind of recreations should be followed on a Sunday. He decided that those who went to Church in the morning might, indeed should spend the afternoon in dancing, archery, and jumping, but not in bowling, bear-baiting, and play-acting. This was very distasteful to the Puritan feeling of many of his subjects, who considered that Sunday should be kept in a manner similar to the Jewish Sabbath.
3. The revival of the Pre-destination controversy, resulting in the first doctrinal division of the Church. James sent representatives to the Dutch Synod of Dordrecht, or Dort(1618) to vote with the majority in favour of the denunciation and suppression of the theological professor whose Latinised name was Arminius. Arminianism was a protest against the fatalism of Calvin's teaching on the illimitability of God's will in the "fore-Ordination" of whatever comes to pass, and the "Predestination" of those whom He should "elect" to be "saved." But at home James began to accept these Arminian views and sought to check the power of the Puritans.
4. The increasing severity of the Bishops towards the Puritans, especially under Archbishop Laud, whose policy was to enforce unity on the lines of ceremonial uniformity. Whereas his opponents sought to secure unity in the Church by looking to every man's creed, he sought rather to secure acquiescence in the "Ceremonies" and use of "Habits" prescribed by the Prayer Book.
5. The counter movement against the Bishops leading eventually to the "Root and Branch" Petition (1640).
6. The Puritan demand for a democratic control of the Church- the inclusion of the laity in its constitution.

Apparently the relatively moderate claims of the Puritan clergy in von and Cornwall shown during the episcopate of William Cotton

were still in evidence during the episcopate of Bishop Joseph Hall (Bishop of Exeter 1627-1641). Hall had accompanied King James I to Scotland in 1617, and in the following year had been sent to the Synod of Dort as one of the King's representatives. Bishop Hall's policy towards the Puritans of his diocese seems to have been conciliatory, but his Churchmanship was affected by his support of the King, and he had to follow his lead from the Calvinism of Dort to repression of the Puritans. In the year 1640 Hall issued "The Divine Right of Episcopacy", with Laud's alterations (see D.N.B.) The following year he became Bishop of Norwich. Hall was an able controversialist, though given to satire, and had it not been for his Royalist views, his ecclesiastical policy would have done something to still the approaching storm. When he left the Exeter diocese in 1641, Presbyterian and Puritan clergy were established in many of the parishes of Devon and Cornwall, as is shown by the Ejection records.

(A reply to Bishop Hall's "Divine Right of Episcopacy" was written by 5 Presbyterian ministers under the title of their initials SMECTYMNUS, and although not men in Devon and Cornwall, the views of the Presbyterians generally can be inferred from this work.)

In 1641, Hall was succeeded at Exeter, by Ralph Brownrigg, a Calvinist, and later (to be) one of Parliament's nominees for membership of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. This was a fateful year for England, and there were strong indications that an open struggle was inevitable. In the summer successful negotiations were concluded between England and Scotland, strengthening their common cause against Charles, and Stephen Marshall, an eloquent Presbyterian, was directed to preach before the House of Commons. This he did in September, in a sermon afterwards printed under the title-"A Peace Offering to God"- in which he said:" You have begun well; yet there is much to be done, the root of the evil is not yet taken away. The ministry is not yet purged: cities and towns and other places of the kingdom want bread for their souls."

In November, in presenting the Grand Remonstrance, Pym said-"The greatest liberty of the kingdom is religion" and to him religion meant Puritanism, and he was speaking for Parliament, while behind Parliament stood the majority of the nation. From that time the country slowly drifted into civil war.

### The Civil War.

Despite their distance from London, and the difficulties of transport and communication, Devon and Cornwall became very much involved in the War. Cornwall- the "West Barbary" of the time- was for the King, but Devon was on the side of Parliament at the beginning, with two or three notable exceptions.

Exeter was taken by the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Lieutenant of Devon, and held by him for the Parliament. It was besieged by Sir John Berkeley, and then by Prince Maurice, and it surrendered in September 1643, after which it was regarded as one of the most secure Royalist strongholds in the country.

Exmouth was a Royal garrison until it surrendered to Sir Hardress Waller in March, 1646, Axminster also seemed to lean to the side of the Royalists, and was used by them in their approaches to Lyme. Salcombe Castle was the last place in Devon which adhered to the cause of Charles I. (Worth-History of Devonshire. 250). It fell after four months siege in 1646.

Apart from these towns in the South, Devon as a whole adhered to the Parliamentary cause which indicates their Puritan tendencies. Tiverton was in the curious position of being, as a town, strong for Parliament, but having its castle garrisoned for the King until Fairfax's forces took it in October, 1645. Barnstaple, the capital of North Devon, had strong Parliamentary sympathies, although it was held by the Royalists under Goring from September, 1644 till April, 1646, when Fairfax recaptured it. Its Puritan spirit is also indicated by the interesting fact that it was one of the western towns in which Huguenot refugees settled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the corporation gave them the chapel of St. Anne as a place of

worship, and their services were held there until 1761. Bideford, like Barnstaple, threw in its lot with Parliament with more zeal than endurance, though they did not surrender after a month's siege from Digby, until they had promise of pardon, and guarantees of safety of person and property. Tavistock, a town which had chosen the famous Pym as its representative, was naturally a staunch supporter of the Puritan cause, though having no defences, it was used by both armies from time to time. Totnes was in much a similar position. The most doughty protagonist was Plymouth, which endured successfully the longest and fiercest siege of these times. After the surrender of Essex's army in 1644, Plymouth was the only place that remained true to the Parliament in the whole of the Western Peninsula. Worth's estimate is - "Had the Royalist soldiery employed in besieging it been set free by its capture, it is certain that the struggle between the two parties would have been greatly protracted. It is even possible that it might have had another issue. Plymouth was the key to a good more than the fortunes of Devon and Cornwall." (Hist. Devonshire. 217). Although the town was blockaded from August, 1643 until January, 1646 by Digby, Prince Maurice, Sir Richard Grenville, and by the King himself with some 15,000 men, Plymouth stood firm. The population at this date did not exceed 7,000, but the deaths due to the siege were some 8,000. The history of the whole Civil War cannot supply such a parallel, and the important point is that it was the stern Puritan faith of the citizens which enabled them to stand fast, as the motto of the city indicates, since it dates from the siege - "Turris fortissima est nomen Jehova".

Cornwall was probably too far West to be drawn into much of the actual fighting, but in 1644 Essex was chased there by Charles and reduced to such straits that he was forced to escape by sea. His horse cut their way out, but at Lostwithiel on September 2nd, his infantry under Skippon had to surrender.

#### The Westminster Assembly of Divines.

The period 1641-51 (approximately) was the climacteric of Presbyterianism in England. During these years Puritanism really underwent a revolution in itself, leaving behind the mild reforms originally contemplated, for a definite form of Church discipline and government which would be rigidly used throughout the Church in place of the existing order. As Episcopacy had shown itself intolerant of the Puritanism of the parochial clergy, the Commons were resolved to assert and foster that Puritanism.

At one stage in the War, it looked as if the Royalist party would win, and the people of England appealed to the people of Scotland for help. It was to be for their mutual benefit, since both countries faced a common danger. Had the King and his party won against the Parliament and people of England, then without a doubt, "Prelacy" would have been imposed on Scotland. With this critical situation before it, the English Parliament set up the Westminster Assembly of Divines, for the preservation of that form of politics and religion which accorded most agreeably with the new aspirations of the people.

The example of Scotland in establishing Presbyterianism had stirred the admiration and envy of the Presbyterian clergy and laity within the Church of England, and another factor in this situation was the attention shown by the Reformed Churches abroad to the actions of the Church of England in this 'fluid' situation. Accordingly the Westminster Assembly was encouraged by Parliament to enter into negotiation with the Church of Scotland. At one time it was thought that Scotland might act as a mediating power, but this was found to be impracticable. Their experience of Charles' ecclesiastical policy had intensified their belief in their own ecclesiastical views, and they feared he might try to make them abandon some of these. The English Commissioners wanted a civil League, but that did not satisfy the Scots' religious interests, and they desired a Covenant as well. Agreement was eventually reached and in September, 1643, a Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up between the two nations, by which it was agreed that the Church of England would be further reformed according to the "best" Reformed Churches. The

Parliament was pledged to the adoption of Presbyterianism, and throughout the years 1643-48 the process of establishing went on in various ways. The Assembly met periodically for about five years and a half (1643-9) and left several documents which have become famous in the history of Presbyterianism, notably the Westminster Confession of Faith (still a "Subordinate Standard" of faith in the English speaking branches of the Presbyterian Church throughout the world), and the Directory of Public Worship which was ordered to supersede the Prayer Book in 1647.

As already mentioned, Bishop Brownrigg, of Exeter was nominated for membership of the Assembly in 1643, but he wrote to Dr. Featley, (another nominated 'divine' and an eminent Calvinist) declining Parliament's nomination on the ground that his "tie" as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford "lay upon him." Dr. Featley was ill at the time, and Dr. Brownrigg's letter was "openly read" in the Assembly. (vide Dr. Lightfoot's "Journal" quoted in Hetherington's "Westminster Assembly. 119. Pub. 1843)

It is interesting to note that his predecessor, Bishop Hall, now of Norwich, figured prominently in the Assembly, showing again the moderation of his views. For nearly twenty years before, all parties had been conversant with a scheme, generally described as "Ussher's Model". It consisted of a proposal put forward by James Ussher (1581-1656), an Irish Archbishop (of Armagh), who for a short time, held the Bishopric of Carlisle. Briefly, it meant Church government by a Synod of Presbyters, with the recognition of the Bishop, as 'Presbyter 'primus.' It could not have been dove-tailed at all into the scheme of the Assembly, but during the debates, a reasonable and moderate offer was made by Hall along the lines of Ussher's scheme. (A Modest Offer by Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich. 1660)

In connection with the Assembly it is appropriate to note the services rendered by Francis Rous, (or Rouse). He graduated at Oxford, and afterwards at Leyden. In 1601 he became a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1626 M.P. for Truro. In his subsequent Parliamentary career, he served the Puritan interests of Devon and Cornwall well. His metrical version of the Psalms has assured him of a place in history, since it is still substantially his version which is used in worship by many sections of the Presbyterian Church. The Westminster Assembly set itself the task of revising the Psalter, and after many discussions, and subjecting the work to the approval of the Church of Scotland, the Commons ordered on 15th. April, 1646 that Rous's Psalms should be printed, "and that the said Psalms and none other shall after the first day of January next be sung in all Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed." (Shaw. i. 382). However, there was some difficulty, since one William Barton had petitioned the House of Lords about the use of his version, and the ultimate result was that Rous's version though revised by the Assembly, and accepted by the Commons, was never accepted by the Lords, and neither it nor any other version was ever legally enjoined. Strangely enough, it was finally adopted by the Church of Scotland.

#### The Joint Testimonie of the Ministers of Devon.

Parliament in 1646 had actually authorised a Presbyterian form of Church government, but it was not acceptable to many Presbyterian divines in the Westminster Assembly and out of it, so the result was a number of manifestoes. The first was "A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them.... Subscribed by the Ministers of Christ within the Province of London, Decemb. 14, &c. 1647." The 52 signatories asserted that "the Presbyterian Government is that Government which is most agreeable to the minde of Jesus Christ, revealed in Scripture": they had put into practice as much of it as they found possible and they "sadly lament Englands generall backwardnesse to embrace, yea forwardnesse to oppose, this Government." Their main difference with Parliament was over its control, it having clearly shown that it was determined to retain its hold over ecclesiastical affairs.

As already suggested (p.1) the supreme court of the Presbyterian system was to have been a National General Assembly, consisting of Ministers and Elders, appointed by Synods and Presbyteries, and not by Parliament. It is interesting to note that the Testimony declared its signatories' firm adherence to the 'Solemn League and Covenant', and that the principle of toleration was far from their minds. Men of all parties and beliefs still believed that dire results would follow freedom of thought. As the London Testimony expressed it- "Rome itself shall not be a more odious puddle and cage of all abominations and uncleanness."

This Testimony was circulated throughout the country, and as a result the ministers of 13 counties declared themselves in agreement with their colleagues in the capital, the total signatures being eventually 900. Devon was one of the counties where strong support was obtained, there being 73 signatures to its document of attestation. Its title reads: "The Joint-Testimonie of the Ministers of Devon whose names are subscribed with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of London unto the truth of Jesus....in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Nations." Printed 1648. London. Presumably the third nation was Ireland, and it is again interesting to note the insistence on adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant, indicating that Scottish Presbytery was to be the model.

A Preface indicates that the Devon document had been sent in manuscript to London. This is the vital paragraph-

"Reverend and Beloved

It was our rejoicing to see you in such a time as this lead in this work, and we judge it our duty to follow after. We have trod in your steps as to the Enumeration of the Errors of the present time....We have transmitted the work (how weak soever) into your hands that it may see the light and show the world we are joint-witnesses with you against these Errors."

The document was strongly orthodox and on the lines indicated of the London Province. There are some marginal references to the names of the unorthodox writings and writers, the main ones being-

P.B. -This Paul Best(?1590-1657) an anti-Trinitarian who had published a tract in 1647.

(John) Bidle -an Oxford Tutor who had adopted Socinian opinions through travels in Transylvania.

H.H. - Henry Hammond(1605-1660), a chaplain to Charles I who in 1644 had published "A Practical Catechism" in which this statement seems to have aroused controversy- "That Christ was given to satisfie for all the sins of all mankind."

The most useful point about the Testimony is that it is possible to compare with Calamy and note the changes which the 14 years from 1648 to 1662 effected.

The following signatories were still living in 1662 and were ejected, a place-name in brackets indicating that they were ejected from there instead of that in which they signed:-

Geo. Hughes of Plymouth.

Fra. Widdon of Moreton Hampstead (Totnes)

Fernando Nicholls of St. Mary Arches, Exeter.

Thos. Ford of Exeter Cathedral.

J. Bartlet of St. Mary Major, Exeter.

Thos. Downe of St. Paul's, Exeter (St. Edmund's, Exeter)

Mark Downe of St. Petrock's, Exeter.

Robt. Snow of Morchard.

Thos. Trescott of Shobrook.

Nathaniel Durant of Cheriton.

Peter Osborne of Jacobstowe.

Anthony Downe of North Ham.

Geo. Pitt(s) of W. Alvington (Exeter Visitn. Bk-Curacy vacant Nov. 1662 Pitts as late Curate).

Thos. Bridgman of Inwardleigh.

Samuel Fones of Woodbury.

Ambrose Clare of Poltimore.

Wm. Yeo of (Wolborough?) or Newton Abbott.

Humphrey Saunders of Hollesworthy.  
 Francis Soreton of Honiton.  
 Richd. Bickley of Denberry (Calamy spells 'Bickell')  
 Wm. Baily of Stoak Fleming.  
 Josiah Gale of West Buckland.  
 Wm. Trevithwick of Hatherly (Petrockstow)  
 Joseph Herring of Maristow.  
 John Stephens of East Ogwell.  
 Ames Short of Topisham (Lyme Regis)  
 Geo. Hammond of Mamhead (Dorchester)  
 Wm. Bowden of Ashton.  
 Wm. Stooke of Dunchideock. (Ilsington)  
 Wm. Ball of Ottery St, Mary (Winsham, Somerset)  
 Christopher Jellinger of Brent.  
 Thos. Trevers of Plymouth (St. Columb Major)  
 Thos. Friend of Blackanton (Little Hempston)  
 Also those who subscribed in 1648 but whose names are not traceable  
in the lists of the Ejected:-  
 Richd. Babington of Sidbury.  
 Alex. Grosse of Ashburton.  
 Wm. Randall of Berry Pomrey.  
 J. Seager of Broedclift.  
 Ant. Harford of Pottlemouth.  
 Ri. Coles of Crediton.  
 Edm. Pearse of Crediton.  
 Fra. Bernard of Awton-Gyffard.  
 T. Whitborne of Upton Hellyns.  
 J. Hopkins of Sandford.  
 T. Ceely of Lapford.  
 John Preston of Thorverton.  
 John Way of Kingsbridge (Rector of Bigbury. 1650. Calamy omits him from  
 Abridgement as having died before Aug. 1662)  
 T Sprat of Talaton.  
 Thos. Wilcock of Powderham.  
 John Buckley of Thurleston.  
 Hum. Dyer of Ilsington.  
 Philip Serle of Whimble.  
 John Serle of Awliscombe.  
 Ri. Cresson of Axminster.  
 Wm. Yeo of East Buckland.  
 John Garret of Totness.  
 Ric. Conant of Otterton (Afterwards conformed)  
 J. Beare of Chittle Hampton.  
 Philip Goddard of Sowton.  
 Wm. Treise - "Minister of the Gospel"  
 J. Forward of Ottery St. Mary.  
 Thos. Lovay of Dartington.  
 And. Gove of Petertavy.  
 J. Barnes of Abbotskerswell.  
 Nathanael Terry of Paignton.  
 J. Read of Ilfracombe.  
 Robert Stidston of Mary Church.  
 Wm Collins of Modbury.  
 Francis Porter of Plymouth.  
 Josh. Morrice of Brixham  
 Alex. Skinner of Gittisham.  
 Jos. Squire of Liston.  
 Richard Hancock of North Petherwin.  
 John Hill of North Maulton.

Of these latter 40 a good proportion had probably died or retired  
 from the active Ministry by 1662, while the others must have conformed,  
 since there is no trace of them in Calamy's lists, or in any of the  
 Devon records relating to the Ejection.

In appending their signatures to the "Testimony", 12 of the men  
 call themselves "Pastor" as distinct from the "Minister" of the others.  
 One would infer from this fact that the "pastors" were "Congregational"

this being a term commonly used among them in later years. However, there is no other evidence to support this assumption in the later records, none of these gentlemen being mentioned as specifically of "Independent" or "Congregational" persuasion, and two of them are noted as being licensed in 1672 as Presbyterians.

Those who signed as "Pastors" were - Nathaniel Durant, Ames Short, Humphrey Dyer, Samuel Fones, Philip Serle, John Serle, Richard Cresson, John Forward, Humphrey Saunders, John Stephens, Andrew Gove, and Nathaniel Terry.

### The Action of Parliament and Work of the Commissions.

Up to the year 1642 the action of Parliament as regards the clergy and local Church administration was very limited for neither it nor the King had dared to go so far. An interesting example of this is taken from the history of Plymouth, where in 1635 the King appointed Dr. Aaron Wilson, "a good hater of Presbyterianism", as vicar of St. Andrew's, the City Church. Wilson began the strife by questioning certain claims of the Mayor and councillors to pews in the Church, to their appointing a Churchwarden, and charging them with trespass. The Corporation had always exercised these rights and that of the presentation of the living, but curiously enough were not disposed to argue with the Star Chamber, and assigned their right of presentation to the King. Charles, however, did not like to accept, and divided the parish, sanctioning the building of 'Charles Church' (later styled the Church of "St. Charles Ye Martyr" by a prejudiced parish clerk). This enabled the Presbyterian party among the worshippers to remove to a Church more suited to their tastes, and was a great concession. Whitfield-'Plymouth & Devonport'.p.91)

Even when Parliament took upon itself the right of 'interfering' with affairs of individual parishes, it very often was content with compromise. Through the Committee for Preaching Ministers, or the Committee for Scandalous Ministers, or the later Committee for Plundered Ministers, and the Trustees, it looked into the lives and persons of the clergy, appointed 'lecturers', and eventually replaced incumbents by those whose views were in accord with those of the Westminster Assembly, and made financial arrangements for their support, and sometimes for the sequestered incumbent.

In its early attempts at interference, the House of Commons, on its own motion, or upon the invitation of the parish, recommended, nominated, or sanctioned a lecturer, who had the use of the Church (or (usually) the Sunday afternoon, and one week day in order to deliver a "lecture". The aim was to remedy "the great scarcity of preaching ministers throughout the whole kingdom," and it could not be open to grave objection technically, for the lecture was voluntary, the ordinary endowment of the Church was neither touched or contemplated, and the rights of the incumbent were so little interfered with, since he was merely asked to lend his Church to a stranger at such times when he was not using it himself!

Thomas Ford was invited by the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth to be their lecturer at St. Andrew's, but the King exercised his rights of patronage and forbade the arrangement, 12 Sept. 1631, to which Ford cheerfully submitted.

Occasionally the arrangement was not all to the good of the Puritan cause but only led to friction. This was the case at Dartmouth, where Allan Geare, a convinced Presbyterian, was the Vicar of Townstall with St. Saviour's, while John Flavell, as convinced "Independent", was the lecturer. They disagreed so violently, answering each other's arguments week by week, that it was necessary for Francis Whaddon, the aptly named Lecturer to come over and preach on the text-Genesis xiii.8.- And Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren." (Cal.220, 252.)

Shaw, in his second volume, Appendix II has drawn up for us the necessary lists compiled from the Commons' and Lords' Journals of this aspect of the Long Parliament's activities, and from them we obtain the following references to Devon and Cornwall:-

A.

Superstitious, innovating, scandalous, or malignant clergymen dealt with by the Long Parliament before the commencement of the Royalist clerical sequestrations, so far as they appear in the journals of Parliament":

17 May, 1641 Nic. Honny, Clerk of Abbotesham, Devon.  
 13 April, 1642. Thomas Baker (? Exeter)  
 12 Oct. 1642. Nicholas Hooper, Parson of St. Edmond's, Exeter.  
 21 Oct. 1642. Mr. Googe, a Minister or Curate in Devon.

B.

"Puritan lectures or lecturers sanctioned, nominated or recommended by the Long Parliament up to the outbreak of war, so far as they appear in the Journals of Parliament:"

26 Aug. 1642 Nathaniel Giles, Lecturer of Pilton, Devon.  
 3 July, 1643 Geo. Hughes, Lecturer of Plymouth.

C.

Parliamentary sequestrations of Royalist clergy from the outbreak of war, and subsequent nominations of Puritan clergy so far as they appear in the Journals of Parliament:"

(The entry indicates that the living is sequestrated from the Royalist incumbent to the Puritan nominee).

7 Sept. 1643 Vicarage of Dulow (Cornwall) sequestered.  
 3 Feb. 1643/4 Geo. Hughes to be instituted to vicarage of Plymouth void by death of Dr. Wilson.  
 4 June, 1645 Francis Porter, Vicar of Charles Church, Plymouth.  
 11 Jan. 1645/6 John Fathers to be presented to Stoke Damerall, Cornwall, void by death of William Parson (Parker)  
 27 April 1646 John Tindall to Beare Ferris, Devon.  
 22 July 1646 Joseph Maynard to Milton Abbot, Devon.  
 4 Aug 1646 Robert Warren to Rame, Cornwall  
 14 Aug. 1646 Samuel Austin to Mynhead, Cornwall  
 1 Oct 1646 Joseph Squire to Lyfton, Devon  
 16 Oct. 1646 John Fathers to Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, kept out of possession by one Pyke.  
 11 Nov. 1646 Joseph Rowe to Buckland Monachorum, Devon.  
 22 Dec. 1646 Nicholas Oultremare to St. John's, Cornwall.  
 22 Jan. 1646/7 Richard Cresson to Axminster, Devon, void by death of Wm. Knowles.  
 10 Feb. 1646/7 Samuel Austen to Minhencott, Cornwall  
 9 Mar. 1646/7 Christopher Jelinger to Southbrent, Devon.  
 12 Mar. 1646/7 Richard Amerebeth to Landall, Cornwall  
 18 July 1647 Francis Cuffoly to Axmouth, Devon, void by death of Nathaniel Dike.  
 " " " Henry Frahocke to Witheyll, Cornwall  
 26 Nov. 1647 John Coplestone to Chageford, Devon.  
 9 Dec. 1647 Alexander Grosse to Ashburton, Devon  
 15 Jan. 1647/8 John Lidston to St. Mell, Cornwall.  
 28 Jan. 1647/8 Wm Bragg to Thorncombe, Devon.  
 15 Feb. 1647/8 Thos. Prescott to Shobrooke, Devon.  
 24 Feb. 1647/8 Wm Knapman to Bridestow, Devon.  
 13 Mar. 1648 Alexander Ley to Monckeleigh, Devon  
 22 Apr. 1648 James Forbes to Deale, Cornwall  
 23 May, 1648 Ambrose Clare to Poltymore, Devon  
 3 Aug. 1648 Wm Knaplock to Dolton alias Doleton, Devon  
 24 Aug. 1648 Wm Beare to Lewe Trenchard alias Trenchard Lewe, Devon  
 25 Aug. 1648 Jo. Leggatt to Pyworthy, Devon.  
 5 Oct. 1648 Wm Parkes to Whitchurch, Devon.  
 2 Nov. 1648 Richard Wood to Fraulington, Devon.  
 12 Nov. 1648 Wm. Wright to Anworth, Devon.

It will be noted that these lists are far from being a complete record of appointments and sequestrations, since they only provide references in the Parliamentary Journals. The rest of our data is given by the Exeter Institution Book.

We find in the records of the Ministers ejected a great deal of evidence of the work of the Devon and Cornish Commissions. (By) the Ordinance of 28th. August, 1654 (Acts & Ordinances of the Interregnum Firth & Rait. vol ii. 968) amended the scheme of the Little Parliament for the ejection of 'ignorant and scandalous ministers' by dropping its idea of visiting the counties by commissioners in six judicial circuits, and instead appointed ~~separate~~ separate bodies of commissioners for each county of England and Wales, assisted in each case by a nominated number of ministers.

In Devon the following ministers are mentioned as being "Assistants to the Devon Commission in 1654:"

Wm. Bartlet of Bideford.  
Jonathan Hanmer of Bishops Tawton.  
John Bartlet of St. Mary Major, Exeter.  
Thos. Ford of Exeter Cathedral.  
Ferdinando Nicholls of St. Mary Arches, Exeter.  
Lewis Stuckley of Exeter Cathedral.  
Humphrey Saunders of Holsworthy.  
Francis Soreton of Honiton.  
John Herring of Marystow.  
Wm Trevithick of Petrockstow.  
John Chishul of Tiverton.  
Wm Yeo of Wolborough.

and to the Cornish Commission:

Thos. Mall of Exeter. (Cathedral)  
Thos. Powell of St. Sidwell's, Exeter.  
Thos. Martyn, Lecturer of St. Andrew's, Plymouth.  
G aspar Hickers of Landrake.  
Wm. Tombs of Saltash.  
Thos. Hancock of St. Winnow.  
Leonard Welstead of Penzance.  
Thos. Travers of St. Columb Major.  
Solomon Carswill of St. Germans.

In Devon more ministerial appointments were made in 1657/8 perhaps because some of the original nominees had refused to serve, or because they were not satisfactory to the Independents (or Congregationnlists). Certainly Flavell, Wellman, and Polwhele were pronounced Independents. Those added in 1657 were:-

John Flavell of Dartmouth.  
Thomas Mall of Exeter Cathedral (came from Fowey & had assisted Cornish Commission.)  
Richard Saunders of Loxbeare.  
Thos. Wellman of Luppitt.  
Anthony Down of Northam.  
Theophilus Polwhele of Tiverton.

It is noteworthy that of the Ejected Ministers of Devon and Cornwall some 56 were admitted by these Commissions or (and these were very few) by direct authority of Parliament or Protector. Details are given in list of Ministers Ejected.

The following extracts from Shaw vol.ii. Appendix VI shows some of the financial arrangements made for the support of its adherents by Parliament or by Cromwell-

General Report on Augmentations made to the Protector by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers. November 1655.

Wee, the Trustees for Providing Maintenance for Preaching Ministers and other pious uses, have according to the trust in us reposed, taken viewe of the revenue in us vested, and of the several augmentacons by us payable out of the same; some of which wee have reduced to the particular summes hereafter limited to bee continued to the present minister of the respective places hereafter menconed, they being already approved of by the Commissioners for Approbacon of Publique teachers, viz.:-

In the County of Devon.

To the minister of Thorveton	£ 20	0	0
To the minister of Tamerton Foliat.	£ 23	0	0

To the minister of Bucklington £ 26 19 7

Wee have further taken consideration of the severall augmentacons graunted unto the ministers of the respective places hereafter mentioned which have discontinued by the departure of the ministers of the said places, or for not reviewing of the graunts by the late Committee for Plundered Ministers or Committee for the Universities according to the Act of Parliament in that behalfe where the ministers are yet remaining, and wee have thereupon thought fitt to continue unto the ministers of the said places till further order, the said ministers being first approved of by the Commissioners, theseverall augmentacons hereafter mentioned , that is to say:-

Ord. 26 June.

Cornwall.

To the minister of Foy.	£ 50	0	0
To the minister of Mylor.	£ 50	0	0
To the minister of Truro over and above the <u>25l.</u> a yeare settled on him.	£ 15	0	0

Devon.

To the minister of Broad Henbury.	£ 30	0	0
To the minister of Broadminch.	£ 30	0	0
To the minister of Buckaret.	£ 16	0	0
To the minister of Brixton	£ 10	0	0
To the minister of Pimpton Maurice.	£ 30	0	0
To the minister of Wembury	£ 22	0	0
To the minister of Totnes	£ 30	0	0
To the minister of Ipplepen.	£ 46	16	2
To the minister of Keinton.	£ 20	0	0
To the minister of Plymouth	£ 50	0	0
To the minister of Plimpton Mary.	£ 30	0	0

And lastly wee have taken into consideracon the severall addresses to us made for the graunting augmentacons to the ministers of the places hereafter menconed, and have thought fitt thereupon to graunt untill furthur order to the ministers of the said places (being first approved of as aforesaid) the severall yearley summes hereafter menconed, viz, :-

Cornwall

To the minister of Gerrans	£ 10	0	0
To the minister of Lanceston.	£ 50	0	0
To the minister of Bod wyn.	£ 30	0	0
For an assistant to the minister of Perin.	£ 30	0	0
To the schoolemr. of St. Ives.	£ 30	0	0
To the minister of Padstow.	£ 30	0	0

Devon.

To the minister of Collumpton	£	30	0	0
To the minister of Comb-Rawley	£	10	0	0
To the minister of Hewish	£	15	0	0
To the minister of Ugborow	£	15	0	0
To the minister of Hennock	£	20	0	0
To the minister of Luppit	£	30	0	0
To the minister of Beare and Seaton	£	28	0	0
To the minister of Bampton	£	20	0	0

Dec 4. To Mr. Lewis Stukeley of Exeter 100 l.

From: ACCOUNT OF THE SALES OF DEAN AND CHAPTERS' LANDS.

Sum received fro the rents and profits of the lands of the said Deans and Chapters, etc., from the time they were settled in Trustees till they were sold ; -

Deanery of Exeter £1,676 2 I.

Augmentations and Stipends settled upon Sundry Ministers and Lecturers ;

William Toms , minister of St. Stephens near Saltash, Co, Cornwall, for an augmentation settled on him by order of the <u>Plundered Ministers Committee</u> , for 6 months to 1649, September 29, by warrant of the Trustees for Deans and Chapters' Lands, of 1649-50, March 19, grounded on an order of the Plundered Ministers Committee of 1649-50, February 2.	£	25	0	0
Nathaniel Ingels, minister of Halberton, Co. Devon for 6 months to 1649, September 29, on same, as orders, etc., as above.	£	25	0	0
George Pitt, Minister of West Allington, Co. Devon, for 6 months, to 1649, August 1, on same, on orders, etc, as above.	£	20	0	0
George Hammond, minister of Kenton, Co. Devon, to 1649 December 25, on his augmentation of £40 per an., on orders, etc., as above.	£	26	13	4
John Read, minister of Ilfracombe, Co. Devon, for 6 months to 1649, September 29, on his augmentation on orders, etc., as above.	£	25	0	0
Richard Babington, Minister of Sudbury, Co. Devon, for seven months to 1649, October 1, on same, on orders, etc., as above,	£	29	0	0

Richard Cresson, minister of Axminster, for 1 yr. to 1649, December 25, on same, on orders, etc., as above.	50	0	0
James Burdwood, minister of Plimpton Morris Co. Devon, for 9 months to same date on same, on orders, etc., as above.	37	10	0
Anthony Harford, minister of Saviours in Dartmouth, for same time on same, and for same time on same, as minister of Tunstall, Co. Devon, on orders, etc., as above.	88	10	0
John Preston, minister of Thaverton, Co. Devon, for 6 months to 1649, September 29, on orders, etc., as above,	25	0	0
William Yeo minister of Woolborough (9 months)	37	10	0
George Hughes and Francis Porter, minister of the Churches of Andrews and Charles, Plymouth, on their augmentations of £3= each.	30	0	0
Edmund Mathew, minister of Rockrell (9 months)	45	0	0
Humphrey Shere, minister of Uffculme (6 months)	16	0	0
John Wilkins, Minister of Collyton (9 months)	23	12	9
John Shute, minister of Moulford, Mouldford, Disworthy (9 months)	37	10	0
John Searle, minister of Plympton Mary (6 months)	40	0	0
John Searle, for the use of the minister that did officiate in the Church of Buckereil by appointment of the late Committee for Plundered Ministers (6 months)	6	3	4
Richard North minister of Brixton (6 months)	20	0	0
Richard Conant minister of Otterton (9 months)	30	0	0
Simon Parsons minister's assistant, (Edward Pynne minister) of Branscombe (6 months)	33	11	11
Anthony Downe, minister of Northam (9 months)	14	10	4½
John Pagsleigh, minister of Landkey (9 months)	45	0	0

Schoolmasters

William Hayter, master of the Free School in Exon	45	0	0
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There is also the following in the 'Account of the Sale of Bishops' Lands-

Pensions and Augmentations allowed to several ministers:

	£.	s.	d.
Robert Needler, to the use of John Mills, minister of Morte, Co. Cornwall . . . . .	50	0	0
Robert Needler, to the use of John Tinckham, minister of Truro . . . . .	12	10	0

and these payments from the Account of Tenths, 25th. Dec, 1657 to 25th. Dec. 1658 -

Cornwall

Samuel Beale, lecturer at Pendennis Castle (half-year to 1659, Mar. 25)	20	0	0
Leonard Welstead, minister of Penzance (same)	20	0	0
Richard Kilby of Padstow (9 months to same date)	22	10	0

Devon

Geo. Hammond of Totnes ( $\frac{1}{2}$ year to same date)	15	0	0
John Taylor of Combe Rawleigh ( $\frac{1}{4}$ yrs to same date)	12	10	0
Ed. Searle of Seaton de Beare (9 months to 1658, Dec 25)	21	10	0
N. Mather of Barnestaple (3 months to 25 Mar. 1658)	15	0	0
R. Worth of Brixton ( $\frac{1}{2}$ yr to 1659, Mar. 25)	10	0	0
Francis Wilcocke of E. Budley ( $\frac{1}{2}$ yr to 1658, Dec 25)	20	0	0
John Byshopp of Plumstocke (6 months to 1658, Mar 19)	5	0	0
Jas. Kingswell of S. Moulton (6 months to 1658, Dec 25)	30	0	0
Rich. Connant, minister of Otterton (6 months to 1659, apr. 16)	15	0	0
Thos. Wellman of Luppit (6 months to 1658, Dec. 25)	10	0	0

It is curious that some of those mentioned above in lists as late as 1659 - Ingels, Read, Harford, Mathew, Parsons, Pagsleigh, Kilby, Worth, Wilcocke, Byshopp, Kingswell- are not found in the 1660-1662 Ejection records. It can scarcely be thought that all these died in the short interval, so that most of these must have conformed.

The Voluntary Associations.

In the attempt to work out the Presbyterian system in practice great difficulty had been encountered, probably because the people did not understand what the system was. Even Shaw scarcely seems to have understood, since he assumes that the exercise of discipline and censure was "the chief function of presbytery" (vol. ii. p. 141-2). The main difficulty was that the function of the lay "elder" does not appear to have been appreciated and they did not discharge their duties, or attend the meetings of the Classis of which they formed an essential part. In September, 1649 the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire was forced to issue an urgent appeal -

"The Assembly earnestly exhorteth the members of the several congregational and classical presbyteries to renew their endeavours in their disciplinary duties within their respective charges, and to attend constantly their classical congregational and provincial meetings, and to suffer no discouragements from any disaffected parties to weaken their hands in that work. The elders of the third classis are more particularly exhorted herein."

(Shaw. ii. 122)

The falling away of the eldership became so bad that by 1653 the Manchester Classis carried out a review. A great many of the ministers too were slack in their duties, so that certain abuses in administration became apparent, particularly in the administration of the Sacraments. As late as 1659, Salford was dependent on the neighbouring parish of Manchester for the regular celebration of Communion, and the classis had to interfere (ibid. 151) Wherever the clergy were in doubt about it- whether strangers were to be admitted, or the character of parishioners was not what it should have been, they ceased to administer it altogether.

It was due to these factors that the more faithful of the Presbyterian clergy saw the need of forming the Voluntary Associations from 1653 onwards. Worcestershire was the first, and a good account of it is given by Baxter in his Autobiography (i. 146-150).



Members of the Devon Association:

Accepting Shaw's emendation for the first group of names as being members of the General Association and not the First Division, these are -

Geo. Kendall, Baldwin Ackland, F. Nicolls, W. Huckenss, Thos. Ford J. Alden, J. Bartlett, F. Wilcox, Thos. Downe, R. Gaylard, Thos. Wilcox, W. Bankes, A. Hare, R. Atkins, J. Gandy, J. Tickell, M. Downe, John Nicoll, W. Bowden, W. Bake, E.D. Hunt, A. Hodge, Jd. Musgrave.  
(To which list is appended this note)

'According to the tenor of severall propositions agreed upon at the General Assembly, May 22, 1656, I subscribe to the foregoing Articles.  
Lewis Stucley. Thomas Mall. (Both of whom were Independents.)

The principal places around which the following Divisions were centred are indicated for convenience.

Division the First.

John Steephens of Eastogwell; Rob. Lawe of Hennock; Wm. Miller of Christowe; Nich. Downjno of Kingtengton; Wm. Yeo of Newton; Wm Woolcombe of Bickinhgton; Solomon Prideaux of Combtinhead; John Tooker of Kingscarswell; Joshua Bowden of Ashburton; Thos. Carew of Haccombe; Robt. Wolcombe of Morton; Richard Herring of Tainto-Drew; Stephen Bloy of Chudleigh; Thos. Spurway of Ipplepen; John Brayne of Highweeke.

This Division ordained Edmund Tucker, 24 May, 1654 (Cal. Cont. 328), and Wm. Pearce, 15 Sept. 1659 (ibid. 343).

Division the Second.

Nathaniel Perry of Payngton; Benjamin Cleland of Stockingham; John Syms of Deane-Pryor; John Serle of Rattery; Will. Baylie of Stockefleming Wm. Randall of Berrypomeroy; John Buckley of Thurleston; John Courtice of Buckfastleigh; John Burges of Aishprington; Francis Fullwood of West Alvington; John Kempster of Brixham; Nathaneel Mather of Harburton; Richard Brynmore of Woodley; Nathan Jacob of Ogborough; Geo. Hammond of Totnes; Francis Whiddon of Totnes; John Flavell...; Allan Geare of Dartmouth; Thos. Cleland of Chivelston; Geo. Mortimer of Harburton; Richard Luce of Blackauton.

This Division ordained Francis Whiddon (& others) at Dartmouth, 11th. Nov. 1657 (Cal. Cont. p. 284, 349).

Division the Third.

Geo. Hughes of Plymouth; Francis Porter of Plym(outh); Jos. Squier of Lifton; Jo. Tindall of Beerferris; Andrewe Gow of Peter's Tavy; Christopher Jelinger of S. Brent; Richard Hamme of Lamerton; John Hussey of Okehampton; Tho. Whiteharne of Budiaux; Wm. Knapman of Bridestowe; Robt. Wyne of Tamerton Folliott; Jos. Rowe of Buckland Monachora; Jas. Watson of Ermington; Chas. Lamb of Egbleckland; Sam Forde of Rinmore; Degory Polwheele of Whitchurch; John Herring of Maristow; Will. Carslake of Werrington; Tho. Martyn of Plymouth; Roger Ashton of Stowford; Peter Maye of Bickley.

This Division Ordained Thos. Martyn at Plymouth (Cal. Acc. 232.) and John Quicke, 2nd Nov 1658 (Cal. Cont. 331)

Division the Fourth.

Pet. Osborne of Jacobstowe; Nicolas Beckett of Bradford; Anthony Palmer of Bratton-Fleming; Wm. Knaplock of Doulton; Wm. Clyd of Instow; Jonathan Hanmer of Bishopstawton; Anthony Downe of Northam; Leond. Prince of Ilfardcombe; Humfry Saunders of Hollesworthy; Will. Wethicke(?) of Petrockstow; Bartholomew Yeo of Afferton; Nathaniel Haydon of Alphington; Thos. Bridgman of Inwardleigh; Jonathan Bowden of Littleham; Hum. Shute of Hunsham; Danyel Norton of Aishberry; Wm. Hutton of Northlew; Elias Eastway of Bradworthy; John Bery of Landkey; Beniamjn Mawditt of Sutcumbe; Michael Taylor of Pyewoorthy Wm. Yeo of East Bucland; Robt. Triggs of Chittlehampton; Law. Hatch of Marwoode; Lewis Bradford of Goodleigh; Samuel Symmonds.

This Division ordained Samuel Tupper, 5th. Aug, 1657.

Division the Fifth.

Tho. Trescott of Shobrooke; Nath. Durant of Cheriton; Ro. Snow of Morchard Bp.; John Hopkins of Sandford; Wm. Harris of Washfield; Edmund Condye of Nymet-tracey.

Division the Sixth.

Samuell Fones of Woodbury; Willm. Wright of Axmouth; Jno. Willing of Colyton; Robt. Parr of Clyst St. George; Richard Conant of Merton; Francis Wilcox of Budley; Philip Serle; Thos. Ayshford of Topisha; Edw. Serleof Kenton and Beare; Thos. Chanen of Harpford.

Division the Seventh.

Richard Saunders of Kentisbeare; Robt. Collins of Tallaton; Sam. Hieron of Feniton; Josiah Banger of Broade-Hembury; Wm. Crompton of Colampton; Thepoh. Polweile; Tho. Wrayford of Bradninch; Jo. Crishullof Tiverton; Francis Sourton of Honiton.

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The Beginnings of Nonconformity- the Ejections.

The year 1660 saw King and Church, Lords and Commons, back again, and to all appearance just the same as ever. It would seem that these twenty years of revolution had made no difference to the Constitution; that the efforts of the Presbyterians of the Convention Parliament to prevent the recurrence of the works of a Laud or a Strafford had in fact come to nothing; and the King remained unfettered save by his own cunningly conditional promises contained in the Declaration of Breda. Nevertheless beneath the surface these years had left their mark- the "restored" Monarchy was ~~xxx~~ not that maintained by James I and Charles I as of Divine Right, but one governing in the presence of a Parliament; and while "episcopacy" was restored as the form of government of the Church of England, its bishops were almost as Protestant as any Puritan could desire. There were other two enduring results of these years of revolution on the Church:-

(i) At first Charles II allowed his Parliament to have its own way in ecclesiastical affairs because it was more or less his own way. When, at a later period, in the interests of Roman Catholicism, he tried to get his own way of Indulgence for all who were not Anglicans, he realised that he would bring trouble on himself again if he persisted (as his brother did in 1688) and left the Royal Supremacy over the Church to be exercised by Parliament. As the bishops also preached surrender to the lay power, and were willing to accept this principle, the Church legally fell into the position of a State department, with state-made laws and state-appointed officers.

(ii) The second result was almost immediate. The National Church ceased to be in actual fact what it was in legal theory- the religious corporation of which every Englishman is a member, as in the secular realm he is a member of the State. To the "restored" National Church, the Congregationalists with their love of 'independence', and the various sects each with their one idea, were all clearly irreconcilable, but it seems fairly clear that the English Presbyterians might have been retained in their allegiance to the Church as easily as in their allegiance to the monarchy. As has been noted, they were mostly moderate in their Churchmanship, distressingly so to the more advanced members. Certainly the men whom ~~whom~~ Baxter was pleased to describe as "mere Catholics" would have been prepared to accept the terms of Archbishop Ussher's 'model' proposing a modified form of episcopacy- this was really only strengthening the traditional synodical action of the Church- and the making of certain symbols prescribed in the Prayer Book optional instead of compulsory. Unfortunately men of all parties had not yet seen and understood the virtue of toleration; that men might have differences of opinion and yet remained united in fundamentals, that some men might use the Prayer Book and others worship without it and still belong to the same Church, that some clergy might be ordained by bishops and others by elders and yet the Holy Spirit could work through them both- these were ideas foreign to the minds of those of all sections in the 17th. century, and indeed is only beginning to be completely appreciated in the 20th. Had it been seen at the Restoration, Christendom might have been spared some of the less edifying incidents of denominationalism; ~~and~~ Baxter was *unfortunately* expressing what was in nearly all men's minds when he wrote- "I abhor unlimited liberty and toleration of all; and think myself able to prove the wickedness of it." (Plain Scripture Proof. 1651.)

From this principle- that the officers and members of a Church must be of one mind- came the attempts to force men again to outward conformity, and the consequent resistance by, and ejection of, a large minority who could not accept the conditions imposed upon them. The interesting thing about them is that while they had in theory disclaimed the opposite principle -of religious liberty- their action was the chief cause in establishing it in this country.

The most immediate development arose through the claims of the Royalist clergy after the Restoration. Those who had suffered ejection by the various agencies of the Parliamentary regime now assumed that their quondam benefices would be returned to them, and some not only demanded their return, but took steps themselves to obtain redress. These violent methods were forbidden by Charles in a Proclamation of 29 May, 1660. Seven months later, on 29 December, 1660, the royal assent was given to an Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers, which ordered that the sequestered should be restored; and that clergy presented by the proper patrons but refused admission 'without lawful cause' by the Triers were to be given possession; also those presented by 'noble' patrons- a recognition of the privileges of the House of Lords- and those presented under the Great Seal between 1 May and 9 Sept. 1660. With allowance for these displacements, clergy appointed since Jan. 1642/3 were confirmed in their posts, except those who had petitioned for the trial of Charles I, opposed the Restoration, or 'given judgment' against infant baptism (a direct blow at the Baptists.)

1. List of those Ejected 1660/61.

(V)=Vicar. (R)=Rector. (C)=Curate. Adm. Comm. =admitted to living by Parliamentary Commissioners etc. 'Dev. Ass.' or 'Corn. Ass.' = member of one of the Voluntary Associations. Data for 1665 is from episcopal returns given in Turner. Ord.=ordained. 'Lic.(P)' or 'Lic.(I)' = licensed as Presbyterian or Independent, given in Turner. 'Seqn' = sequestration. 'Dep. Bp.' =deprived by Bishop's Sentence, i.e. by Bishop Seth Ward. \*=afterwards conformed. (I)= Independent.

Anstey. John Mauduit. No other evidence than Calamy for Anstey.

1663 living with father in Exeter. 1665 at Ottery St. Mary.

Lic.(P) 30 April 1672- 'His House a Meeting Place.'

Wharfedale. \*John Bullhead. Adm. Comm. 2 Jan. 1655/6 by Seqn. Successor inst. 16 Aug. 1660. Walker denies he later conformed.

Axminster. Bartholomew Ashwood. Adm. Comm. 24 Oct. 1656. Lic.(I) 1672- 'His House at Axminster a Meeting Place.'

Wormstaple. Nathaniel Mather. Adm. Comm. 12 Jan 1656/7. (I).

Worcester. William Bartlet. (I). Asst. to Devon Commission 1654. Formed Independent Church in 1658.

Worcester. Christopher Jellinger. Adm. Comm. 24 Feb. 1647/8. Refugee from Palatinate. Born near Worms. Educated Tubingen, Basle, Heidelberg, Leyden, Geneva. Invited to England by John White of Dorchester (D. A. T.) Signed Testimony 1648. Dev. Ass. When ej. removed to Marlton where Lic.(P) 1672: After lived Kingsbridge.

Worcester. Wm. Horsford. Adm. Comm. 25 Nov. 1657. Successor sequestered?; for petitioned House of Lords 23 June 1660; inst. 23 Aug 1660. According to Walker came from New England.

Worcester. John Taylor. The Seqd. R. restored. Living Exeter 1665.

Worcester. John Syms. Living seqd from and restored to Herrick the poet, whom Walker describes as a "sober and learned man." Dev. Ass. After ej. moved to Ashburton- "ye old John Syms preaching in his own house at Ashburton." Lic.(P) as of "near Ashburton."

Worcester. Richard Herring. Deprived of Rectory by Commissioners as guilty of speaking against Chas. I and II; not saying Lord's Prayer in 6 or 7 years; refusing to read Common Prayer, and not administering Sacrament for many years. Dev. Ass.

After ej. lived at Kenn near Exeter. Preached in own house: ran Grammar School for which was prosecuted but discharged through Bp. Ward who knew him at University. Lic.(P) 1672.

Worcester. William Pearse. Adm. Comm. 7 Dec 1655. Ord. by Presbyters at Wolborough 1659, (certificate given by Calamy). After ej. rented farm at Ermington. Preached at Tavistock for 19 years to

a congregation meeting in the great hall of Tavistock Abbey by permission of the Earl of Bedford. (Congregational Hist. Soc.) Lic. (P) as of Dunsford 1672. Met with much opposition; moved to London where imprisoned for holding conventicle. Came to Ashburton and was co-pastor with Palke.

- Exeter.** Thos. Ford. Preacher at Cathedral. Signed Testimony 1648. Ford opposed division of Cathedral as offensive to Anglicans, wished instead to enlarge St. Mary More and St. Laurence. For preaching at Oxford 12 June 1631 against conversion of Communion Table into Altar, was called in question by Vice Chancellor; then cited before King and Council and ordered to quit University (DNB). Corporation of Plymouth proposed to make him Lecturer, but King forbade it. Chaplain to Col. Fleetwood in service of Gustavus Adolphus. 1637 R of Aldwinkle, Northants. 1645 seqd to Croydon, but refused. Member of Westminster Assembly. Freeman of Exeter. Ford and F. Nicholls named in letter from Council of State 1650 as hostile to Government and to be examined before a magistrate. Asst. to Dev. Commission 1654. Dev. Ass. On Five Mile Act moved to Exmouth. One of 72 Devon ministers who signed Acknowledgement to Charles II for Indulgence, 1672. Lic. (P) as of Exeter - his house a meeting place, but only preached twice owing to ill health.
- Thos. Mall. Preacher at Cathedral (I). Co-pastor with Stuckley.
- Lewis Stuckley. Preacher at Cathedral (I). Began to "gather" an Independent Church 1650. Made agreement with Corporation for division of Cathedral 1656. Turned out 1660.
- Honiton.** Samuel Hieron. Adm. Comm. 7 June 1656. Dev. Ass. After ej. returned to Honiton; frequently attending Parish Church, and then preaching in own house. "Oft disturb'd, and a great sufferer for Nonconformity. Once his House was violently broken open by Order of several Justices, his Goods being rifled... Excommunicated for administering Sacrament of Baptism... Imprisoned upon the Five Mile Act in Exeter Goal (sic)... His house was a Common Receptacle of poor Ejected Ministers and private Christians, who were forc'd from their homes by the Rigour of the Times." Lic. (P) at School House Honiton. "Continu'd in Honiton till about the Time of the Duke of Monmouth's Landing, when he was forc'd out of the Country. Remov'd to London, and shortly after dy'd at Newington" (1685/6)
- Newington.** John Bartlet. (I). Lic. (P) at Bideford 1672, but application was from Independent Church. (Turner i. 234)
- Northampton.** Geo. Mortimer. Adm. Comm. 5 Feb 1657/8. Dev. Ass. 1665 living at Totnes. Lic. (P) 1672. Presented at Mayor's Court, Totnes for not attending Church 24 Oct 1675. Took Oath of Allegiance at Totnes 1682. (D. A. T. xxxii)
- Northampton.** Thos. Friend. Acc. to Walker (ii. 356) was in possession "during the whole time of the Usurpation, at the Expiration of it gave up again to Mr. Strode, and was a Very Honest, sober Man: nor was there, as far as I heard, any Exception to be made against him, the Intrusion only excepted, and his not Administering the Sacrament (as far as it appears from the Parish Accounts) for the space of 9 years." Signed Testimony.
- Northampton.** Robert Gaylard. (C). Adm. Comm. 22 Oct 1656. Seqd C restored. Living with father at Exeter 1663. Dev. Ass. Order of Privy Council 16 June 1669 for arrest of Gaylard and W. Crompton for preaching at Exeter. Lic. (P) as of Exeter. Fined £3.10s. for being at Conventicle at house of A. Down. One of ministers of Bow Meeting, Exeter 1688.
- Northampton.** Thos. Bridgman. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. 1665 'left Inwardleigh for want of Tytle; liveth in Jacobstow inoffensively and poorly.'
- Northampton.** James Ousley. Lic. (P) at his house, Wootton, Dorset.
- Northampton.** Lewis Hatch. Adm. Comm. 1 Aug 1656. Calamy gives him as ej. from Satterleigh, but no evidence for this (Walker ii. 179: Parish Register: Cal. 253) Dev. Ass. 1669 preaching at Crwys Morchard. Lic. (P) at house of Rob. Hatch, Satterleigh (Calamy probably made his assumption from this.)
- Northampton.** John Hill. Adm. Comm. 26 Mar 1652, and again 28 May 1656. Successor inst. 4 Mar 1660/1, having twice made charges of Hill's disloyalty to the Throne, not having administered Sacrament, having and

- Anabaptist to preach for him -this petition being presented to the King, who revoked Hill's rights. Lic.(P) as of Exeter 1672.
- Plymouth. Thomas Martyn. Appointed Lecturer at St. Andrew's by Corporation 1650. "Forc'd to desist from his publick Work, upon pretence of some Words which he was said to speak in private conversation" (Cal. 232, 256. Parish Register.) Ord. by Presbyters at St. Andrew's Asst. Corn. Commission 1654. Dev. Ass. Imprisoned on St. Nicholas' (now Drake's) Island 1665 with brother-in-law, Geo. Hughes whom later succeeded as pastor at Plymouth. Released on bond of £1000 not to live within 20 miles of Plymouth. Lic.(P) and(C). With J. Hickeys presented to Charles II 'the gratefull acknowledgement' of Devon ministers for Indulgence 1672. Occurs in baptismal register of Norley St congregation, Plymouth as officiating 12 June 1672-6 Aug 1673. Buried St. Andrew's 1677.
- Plympton St. Maurice. John Williams. (C). 1665 still there keeping private school, "who also preacheth there Not conformable and unlicensed."
- Plympton St. Mary. John Searle. According to Calamy ej. from here, and was certainly Curate for some time-Adm. Comm. 25 May 1648, but the evidence is infavour of his being ejected as V. of Rattery, Devon. At Devon Assizes, winter 1663, "Searle of Rattery" was bound in £40. He seems to have returned to Plympton, being licensed(P) there, 'his house a Meeting Place'. 1685 imprisoned with other ministers for 6 months at Exeter under the 5 Mile Act. 1690- "wanting a Supply." Received a grant from the Common Fund.
- Holworthy. Michael Taylor. Dev. Ass. Lic(P) as of Holworthy and of Tavistock. Received from Common Fund for service there 1690-1704. (Gordon. 365)
- St. Mary Church. Robert Stidston. Calamy gives him as a Nonconformist though he seems to have died in 1661. Signed Testimony.
- Sampford Peverell. Stephen Coven. 1665-"a wandering Seditious Seminary... sometime of Sampford Peverell, who goes about from place to place teaching Sedition, but where his Constant abode is we cannot learne." Lic.(P) Grub St. London, 1672 also (I) at Watlington, Oxon. 1690 "living in London, not fixed, poor."
- Stoke Fleming. Wm. Bayly. Sued for possession by seqd R. 3 Years Chaplain to Lord Robartes. V. Tamerton Foliot 1640. On outbreak of war fled to London. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. Remained at Stoke after ej.
- Tockenham. Benjamin Cleland. Dev. Ass. At Devon Winter Assizes, 1662, bound in £40 with sureties. Took Oxford Oath 1666. "Of an advanc'd Age when ejected, and continu'd a Nonconformist till King Chas. II his progress into the West, and coming to Dartmouth July 1671, when by the Interest of his great Friend and Patron Sir John Fowel, with the King, Mr. Cleland was indulg'd the Liberty again to exercise his Ministry at St. Petrock's, without being oblig'd to any other Terms of Conformity than the bare reading of a few Prayers, and such of them only as he thought fit."
- Ottery St. Mary. Robert Collins. Dev. Ass. 1665 conventicles held in his house at Ottery St. Mary. 1670 fined £40. 1675 fined £20. 1672 Lic.(P). 1681 arrested for refusal to take Oxford Oath, and sent Exeter Gaol. 1682 fined £20 for 2 months absence from Church, and was often prosecuted in Ecclesiastical Courts for not having his children baptised or receiving Sacrament. Was excommunicated, and a writ issued against him, and in spite of this was again prosecuted for non-attendance at Church. At length withdrew to Holland. 1690 preaching again at Ottery. In his Will was the bequest of £20 "for the best ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ advantage of the Presbyterian meeting in Ottery where I first drew my breath and whereof I were lately the Pastour."
- Tavistock. Thos. Larkham. (I.) Resigned at wish of patron, Earl of Bedford when he had been prosecuted at Assizes.
- Tiverton. John Chishul. Adm. Comm. 4 Sep. 1654. Asst. Dev. Commn. (I). Theophilus Polwhele. (I). Adm. Comm 8 Jan 1654/5. Asst. Dev. Commn.
- Tiverton. John Garret. Signed Testimony. Buried there 17 June, 1662. Calamy describes him "in resolution a sufferer for Nonconformity."
- Tiverton. Robert Carel. Successor inst. 15 Oct 1661. No other evidence. 1669 preaching at Cullompton. Lic(P) at house of Mary Kendall, Cofton 1672. Presented by churchwardens of Tiverton as dissenter 1 Oct 1681 (Act Book, Exeter.) 1690 at Crediton.
- Tiverton. Wm. Carslake. (C) Dev. Ass. After ej. went to London. 1669 "one Castlake, a Devonshire Nonconformist" preaching in Fishmonger Alley. Lic(P) as of Southwark. Acted as agent in obtaining licences for country applicants (Turner iii, 378)

- Woodbury. Samuel Fones. (C). After ej. moved to Suffolk. Lic.(P) as of E. Bergholt, 1672.
- Yarcombe. John Galpin. Went as C. of Ash Priors, Somerset whence ej. 1662.
- CORNWALL.
- Blisland. Chas. Morton. (I). Corn. Ass. Probably carried to New England 1685 the Minutes of the Association, now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Opened at Newington Green what became principal Independent Academy in London. Invited Calamy to accompany him to New England.
- Breed. Tobias Boucher. 1665 at Helston 'behaving quietly'; also as 'practising physic, supposed without licence.'
- Brennap. John Langford. Corn. Ass. 1665 living at Constantine 'peaceable' Lic.(P) at Falmouth 1672 also at Redruth.
- Buckdock. \*Wm. White. Successor inst. 10 Aug. 1660. 1665 'living at Newlyn, an Ej. Min. who frequents the Publique Ordinances.' R. of Warleggan 5 July 1671.
- Budeglos. Jonathan Wills. Corn. Ass. Lic.(P) 1672 as of Helligon, manor-house in St. Mabyn parish, which was lic. used as a meeting place in the name of Anne Silly. 1690 still living there 'his maintenance scanty'.
- Burghawgan in Meneage. Sampson Bond. Adm. Comm. 16 Feb. 1648/9. Successor inst. 21 Aug. 1660. Appointed minister in Bermudas by Company in London 1662: continually at loggerheads with authorities. Wished liberty granted to Christian negroes. Dismissed Islands 1670. Returned to England, reinstated by Company 1672. (Lefroy. Early Settlement of Bermudas ii. 369).
- Burheniot. Samuel Austin. Adm. Comm. 14 Aug 1646, on petition from parishioners; by seqn. of Hall, Bp of Chester. Imprisoned with Hughes and others at Golden Fleece, 1665.
- Little Petherick. Otho Whitehorn. Seqd. R. who preached again first after his restoration 25 Dec. 1660, took legal proceedings against Whitehorn. Corn. Ass. After ej. reported as at one time forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. Lic.(P) at his house, Lower Trevathan, St. Merryn. 1672
- Breock. James Innes. 30 Aug. 1650 the Council made an order for him as a Scotsman, to stay in England, on taking the Engagement and giving security for good behaviour. Corn. Ass. Reported preaching in London 1664. Agent for Licences 1672. Name appears among those recommending new metrical version of Psalter 1675.
- Burton in Roseland. John Cowbridge. (C). Little evidence. Chaplain to Hugh Boscawen, M.P. 1660. Lic.(P) at house, Mylor 1672, also at Penryn. 1690-'has noe fixed congregation, but preached to a few at St. Maws where he resides; some few of the meaner sort resort to him, to whom he preacheth gratis.' Received grant from Common Fund for preaching at St. Maws 1690-92. (Gordon. 243)
- Buryan. Joseph Hull. Seqd. R. restored.
- Burton. Thos. Travers. Lecturer St. Andrew's, Plymouth, 1648, when signed Testimony. Asst. Corn. Comm. 1654. Corn. Ass. After ej. 'much favoured' by Sir John Robartes, 1st. Earl of Radnor, whose niece he married. 1665 'one of the "notoriously disaffected ministers" living at Saltash.
- Burton. Stephen Revell. Successor inst. 7 Oct. 1661 on his resignation. Calamy gives him as of St. Issy or St. Eval, but no evidence of former. Corn. Ass. Ord. by Ministers of the Association 7 Jan 1656/7. 4 of his children buried at Chyles Church, Plymouth 1665-71.
- Burton. \*Philip Harris. Seqd. R. restored.
- Burton. Wm. Treise. Adm. Comm. ~~1664~~ 4 Apr. 1655. Presented by John Treise, gentleman. Signed Devon Testimony-no living given. Corn. Ass. Lic.(P) at house, Bodmin, 1672.
- Burton. Samuel Tapper. Corn. Ass. Ord. at Holsworthy, Devon, 5 Aug. 1657 by Saunders, Clyd, Trevithick, M. Taylor, & Nic. Beckett of Bradford. After ej. lived at Erosey, near Exeter. Friend of Bp. Ward. Signed Acknowledgment of Corn. Ministers to Chas. II for Indulgence 1672. No record of Lic. (Turner i. 232) Settled at Lymptone c. 1687. His meeting house was broken up by "High Church bigots" c. 1692. Moderator of Assembly of United Ministers of Devon & Cornwall 1693. Good classical scholar-'Translated 7 Books of Milton's Paradise Lost into Latin hexameters.'
- Burton. Nicholas Leverton. Turned out by Lord Mohun, patron. Had been sent home as prisoner by deputy Governor of Providence Island,

- Barbadoes, for refusing to use the ceremonies of the Church of England, 1640/1. He was acquitted and sent back, but soon returned to England. V. of Ubbeston, Suffolk, 1644/5. "After some Years abode in Suffolk, Mr. Anthony Nicols, one of the 11 Excluded Members, who had known him in the University, took him down with him into Cornwall, and settled him at St. Tudy, the Parish wherein his own house stood." Corn. Ass. After ej. went to Ireland.
- t. Winnow. Thos. Hancock. No other evidence. Asst. Corn. Comm. 1654. Corn. Ass. Lic. (P) at house, Morval. 1672. 1690 'wanting a Supply' at E. Looe where had been since 1687, & received only £7 a year from his congregation. Received grant from Common Fund (Gordon 278)
- altash. John Hicks. Calamy gives as ej. Stoke Damerall, Devon; no other evidence. 1665-'one of 6 ministers, all notoriously disaffected' living at Saltash. Incurred royal displeasure for publishing 1671 his anonymous "Narrative" of the sufferings of the Nonconformists in Devon under the Conventicle Act. Received royal pardon 2 Jan 1671/2. (Turner iii. 593) Lic. (P) 1672, along with his newly built meeting house in Kingsbridge where was living. He and T. Martyn of Plymouth presented to Chas. II the Grateful Acknowledgement of 72 Devon Ministers for Indulgence 1672. Fined £20 for preaching, Exeter, 1675. Removed to Portsmouth. Executed at Taunton 1685 for complicity in Monmouth's Rebellion.
- thney. Roger Flamank. Brother of Henry, R. of Lanivet. Lic. (P) at Wendron 1672. 1690 minister of small congregation at Gounrounsan, St. Enoder and 'received last year but £6'. Grant from Common Fund 1690-4 (Gordon 265)
- ntagel. Thos. Hearne. Corn. Ass.

The Cavalier Parliament, however, was not satisfied to leave matters there. With this prevalent 'idée fixe' that officers, or even members, must be of one mind, and that "dissidence" in any form was a danger to the State, they passed the four measures known as the "Clarendon Code". The first of the series, the Corporation Act (1661) excluded members of the defeated parties from lay offices, and laid down that officers of corporations should receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England with 12 months of election; should renounce the Solemn League and Covenant; and take the oaths of supremacy, allegiance and non-resistance. The second was the most important—the Act of Uniformity, by which every minister must (a) use the Prayer Book and nothing else in services (b) declare his unfeigned consent to everything therein-existing benefice-holders to do so before St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th. August, 1662 (c) have episcopal ordination. The third, the Conventicle Act (1664) laid down penalties against all who attended services held otherwise than as directed in the previous measure. The fourth Act, the Five-Mile Act, has the appearance of being spiteful, although the basic idea was probably that of rendering impotent those who might be considered dangerous to the State, for by it the ejected ministers were deprived their means of livelihood, being neither to teach nor to preach without having taken the oath of non-resistance, and sworn to be faithful to the constitution of Church and State; nor were they to reside within 5 miles of any town or borough or or place where they had held a living.

The situation for the Presbyterians and Independents was <sup>thus</sup> rendered impossible—their ordination was regarded as invalid, they were to make public declaration of assent to a Prayer Book which had been revised with an anti-Puritan bias, or to be deprived of their livings. It is to their everlasting credit that so many of them stood by their convictions and were ejected. The following data gives us the full story in Devon and Cornwall:

List of those Ejected 1662.

VON.

- burton. \* Joshua Bowden. Adm. Comm. 1654. Presented by Crown 13 Aug 1660. Dep. Bp. Ord. Bristol 25 Sep. 1664. Became V. of Frampton, Dorset.
- bury. Daniel Morton. Dev. Ass. 1665 "left Asberry for Nonconformity; lives still in ye Parsonage House, but not altogether inoffensively". Lic. (P) Hatherleigh, 1672.
- prington. John Burgess. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass. "Soon after being silenc'd he remov'd with his family to Dartmouth and resided about 4 months with Mr. Geare; from thence he remov'd to London." Settled first

- at Hackney, Middx. "He was much tempted by the offers of Preferments in the Church to have Conform'd; but he refus'd them all and sate down contented at Islington, to keep Boarders of Citizens' Sons who went to school to Mr. Singleton."
- Ashton. William Bowden. Brother of Joshua of Ashburton. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony.
- Bishops Tawton. Jonathan Hanmer. Dep. Bp. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. Dev. Ass. "After his Ejectment, very distant Parts of the Kingdom enjoy'd the Happiness of his labours, viz. Barnstable, London, Bristol, Pinner, and Torrington." Lic. (P) at Barnstaple 1672. "Commonly reckon'd by the Ministers, one of the greatest Men for Parts and Ministerial Ability the County, or even the whole Nation afforded."
- Brampford Speke. Henry Hallett. Adm. Comm. 22 Sep 1654. Dep. Bp. 1665 living at Exeter. Signed Petition of Exeter ministers who refused Oxford Oath
- Bratton Fleming. Anthony Palmer. Administered Sacrament at Bratton but once in 14 years (Walker ii, 250; Cal. 245) Dev. Ass. After ej. returned to original home at Barnstaple. Lic. (P). Among Devon ministers "not fixed" 1690.
- Bridestowe. Wm. Knapman. Adm. Comm. 24 Feb. 1646/7. Dev. Ass. At Devon Assize autumn, 1662 bound in sureties to 'prosecute his traverse' (Assize Records 24.1.) Lic. (P) at Padstow. Two letters extant from Bawden V. of Padstow, expostulating with him for holding meetings there, also his reply (Bodl. Walker MS. c. 24)
- Brixham. John Kempster. Dep. Bp. Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxon. Dev. Ass. Ordered out at Assizes, winter 1662. After ej. lived first at Lupton. 1665 at Dartmouth, where Lic. (P) 1672. Remov'd London, 1690 "living neere St. Anthony's Church, without fixed charge." <sup>(Bachelor of Divinity)</sup>
- Brixton. John Quick. Ord. Plymouth, St. Andrew's 1658 by 6 B. Ds of whom G. Hughes was one. 4 of the others after conformed. V. of Churchstow with Kingsbridge 1658, whence presumably ejected 1660. Ejected from Brixton 1662; described by Bp. Ward as "ej. out of Brixton." Ordered out at Assizes. Imprison'd for 3 months & 1 day, being released at same time as O. Hughes & N. Sherwill. Lic. (P) as of Plymouth. Imprisoned in Marshalsea, Plymouth 1673. Removed London, became pastor of Bridge St, Covent Garden. Appointed pastor of English Church, Middelburg, Holland, 1680. Returned London & settled, being certified as Preacher in Bartholomew Close, Smithfield, 1689.
- Broadhembury. Josiah Banger. Adm. Comm. 29 Apr. 1657. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass. After ej. moved to his estate at Lillington, Dorset. 1663 imprisoned Dorchester. with F. Bampfield and others. Imprisoned Exeter 'upon the Five Mile Act'. Lic. (P) at Winsham, Som.
- Buckland Filleigh. \*Thomas Bawden. C. to sec. R. on his restoration. Refused to conform 1662, but, as he informed Walker "continu'd a Nonconformist for a few weeks only." (Walker ii. 392. Cal. 257)
- Buckland West. Josiah Gale. Signed Testimony.
- Beriton Fitzpaine. Nathaniel Durant. Dep. Bp. As a 'plundered Minister' appointed R. of Abinger, Surrey, 1645; removed before June, 1646. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass.
- Churchstow. John Elliott. Name in Visitation Book Nov. 1662, but living marked vacant. (Cal. 252. as "ej. Cheston").
- Clayhidon. Matthew Pemberton. Ad. Comm. 31 Mar. 1658. Dep. Bp. Living with Mr. Thomson, High St. Exeter 1663. Lic. (P) as of Wenchurch St. London 1672. Reported 1690 as having moved from Hammersmith, Middx to become minister at Marlboro, Wilts.
- Clyton. John Wilkins. Secd. V. buried there 1665, but does not have appeared to have reclaimed living. Dev. Ass. Took Oxford Oath 1666
- Cullompton. Wm. Crompton. Adm. Comm. 1655. Dep. Bp. Approved by Westminster Assembly 12 Jun 1651. Dev. Ass. At Assizes, Nov. 1662, ordered out. 1669 preaching at Cullompton. Order of Privy Council, 16 Jun 1669 for arrest of Crompton & Gaylard for preaching at Exeter. Lic. (P) as of Exeter 1672. 1690 "att Exeter an aged man & very poor." Rec. grant from Common Fund as at Exeter, 1690-6 (Gordon 246.)
- Dartmouth. James Birdwood. C. at St. Petrock's. Adm. Comm. 2 Feb. 1658/9. At Assizes 1662 ordered out. After ej. opened Latin school at Dartmouth. 1665 holding private meetings there. After 5 Mile Act he removed to an estate at Marlboro. In trouble for preaching. Removed to Hicks Down, Bigbury, where rented farm from Sir John Kempthorne, a relative of his wife's. Lic. (P) and (I) in house there 1672. During 7 years residence there fined £20 and £50. Returned to Dartmouth, but was forced to leave for Totnes, where Dr. Richard Burthogge (D.N.B.)

gave him hospitality. A saying of his-"Tis better to be preserved in brine than to rot in Honey." 1690 'very poor.' Received £5 yearly from Common Fund 1690-3. Only 3 children (of 17) survived him, of whom the eldest, John, is ancestor of Field Marshal Lord Birdwood of Anzac and Totnes (Burke. 1929 ed. 286)

**Dartmouth. John Flavell.** (I). Lecturer at St. Saviour's. Friction with (ctd.) Geare. Was ord. by presbyters at Salisbury 1650, the certificate being signed by John Conant, Rector of Exeter College, Oxon.

" **Alan Geare.** V. of Townstall with St. Saviour's. Adm. Comm. 1656 Agreement settling Geare & Flavell drawn up by Major-Gen. Desborough on 7 Aug. 1656. Dep. Bp. Owed start in life to Francis Rouse (after Provost of Eton) and Sir Alex. Carew of Antony. Dev. Ass.

**Penbury. Richard Bickle.** Dep. Bp. According to Calamy his successor, German Goldstone allowed him £20 per annum. Signed Testimony. 1665 living at Totnes 'peaceably on his own.' Lic. (P) at Buckfastleigh.

**East Down. John Berry.** Adm. Comm. 1658. Dev. Ass. Took Oxford Oath 1666. "Once (if not oftener) he lay in the common jail at Exeter for several months." Lic. (P) as of Barnstaple 1672. At Barnstaple 1690- "has a numerous family, no estate at all." Grant from Common Fund 1690-1704. Preached before Assembly of United Ministers of Devon & Cornwall at Exeter, 1694. Moderator of Assembly 1696.

**Unchideock. Edward Hunt.** Adm. Comm. 1655. Presented by R. ~~Snare~~ Snow. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass. 1665 living at Exeter. Lic. (P) at Exeter 1672. 1690 at S. Moulton 'wanting supply.'

**Exbourne. Thos. Finney.** Dep. Bp. Ordered out at Assizes 1662. 1665-living 'sometymes at Exborne and sometymes at Barnstable.'

**Exeter. Robt. Atkins.** R. of St. John's. Dep. Bp. 'One of Cromwell's Chaplains.' Appointed Scribe of Assembly of Dev. Ass. 1657. One of ministers at Cathedral Aug. 1657. Living in Exeter 1663. Signed Petition of Devon ministers refusing Oxford Oath. Preaching Chard- 1669. Lic. (P) Fined £9-15.0 for conventicle in house in Exeter 1678. and £20 for same offence in 1680 & 1682. "a very comely little man.. great Numbers of his sermons on many Subjects have been transcrib'd and are still handed up and down among his Friends." (1713).

**John Bartlet.** St. Mary Major. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Asst. to Devon Comm 1654. Dev. Ass. 1665 living in Exeter not preaching. Lic. (P) 1672.

**Mark Down.** R. of St. Petrock's. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. Signed Petition from Exeter ministers refusing Oxford Oath, 1666. Lic. (P) as of Exeter.

**Thos. Down.** Brother of Mark, and of Anthony (of Northam). R. of St. Edmunds with St. Mary Steps. Adm. Comm. 1657, presented by Mayor & Corporation. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass.

**Alexander Hodge.** V. of St. Thomas Apostle. Adm. Comm. 1657. Dep. Bp. Settled in Holland; minister of English Church at Delft 1668. In Amsterdam 1669 till his death in 1689.

~~Thos. Mox.~~

**Ferdinando Nicholls.** Dep. Bp. R. of St. Mary Arches. Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. Dev. Ass. & Moderator of its General Assembly, 1657. With 12 other ministers after ejected signed petition 1660 as to the settlement of the Church, addressed to Charles II. Died 14 Dec. 1662.

**Robt. Oland.** R. of St. Paul's. Given in Bp. Ward's list of Presbyterian ministers in Exeter 1663. Not in Calamy.

**Thos. Powell.** C. of St. Sidwell's. Adm. Comm. 1658. (I).

**Halberton. James Haddrige.** Dep. Bp. Adm. Comm. 1658. 1665-'living at Halberton, thence ejected, but there remains.' 'Seditious still.' 1690 preaching at Cullompton. Lic. (P) at Halberton 1672. Presented by churchwardens of Halberton 1682 for not attending Church.

**well. Edmund Tucker.** At visitation Nov. 1662 appeared as C. but refused to subscribe. Previously R. of Dittisham; ord. thereto by 4th. London Classis 1654. 1665 living at W. Alvington, holding 'frequent & unlawful meetings'. 'Suffer'd much for his Nonconformity'; on one occasion 'being convicted for a Conventicle, & fin'd £30 for praying with 3 Gentlewomen who came to visit his Wife, & comfort her upon the death of her Son & only Child who was drown'd at Sea.' Lic. (P) & (I) near W. Alvington. Later minister at Kingsbridge, where certified his house as place of worship, 16 July 1689.

**Halberton. John Knight.** C. Name struck out of Visitation Book. Lic. (P) as of Crediton. After lived at Exeter. 1690 'ancient & infirm, not able to goe abroad to preach.' Unknown personally to Calamy, but

- sent him by letter 'some ~~xxxxx~~hints' with respect to ejected ministers in Devon.
- Henock.** \*Robert Law. V. Presented Mayor & Corporation of Exeter 1648. Dep. Bp. 1665 living at Abbots Kerswell, licensed to practise medicine Calamy (1727) stated that he afterwards renounced his conformity, but became R. of N. Lew 1670.
- Holsworthy.** Humphrey Saunders. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. Dev. Ass. Moderator of Assembly 1658. At Devon Assizes, 1662, bound in £40 & 2 sureties, probably for not reading Common Prayer. 1665-living at Holsworthy 'upon his temporall Estate & behaveth himself peaceably.' Took Oxford Oath after declaration to its meaning 1666.
- Honiton.** Francis Soreton or Sourton. Presented by Sir Wm. Courtenay, 1648; confirmed under Great Seal 1652, presented by Crown 1660. Dep. Bp. 1662 Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. Dev. Ass. Ordered at Assizes to 'prosecute his travers'. 1665 living at Honiton. Imprisoned under 5 Mile Act at Exeter 1666, but Sir William, 'being then High Sheriff of the County, got him releas'd & convey'd him in his own Coach to his House, where he continu'd till he dy'd.' Lic. (P) as of Powderham, also of Homiton; application for a place in Homiton 'called the Chapel of All Hallows which is only in the power of some parochiall Trustees, not belonging at all to the Bishop's jurisdiction.' (Turner i. 211)
- Ifracombe.** \*Leonard Prince. Adm. Comm. 1655. Dep. Bp. Appears as R. of St. John with St. George, Exeter at visitations, 1668-74.
- Islington.** William Stuke or Stooke. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. 1665-at Trusham 'liveth upon a Tenement of his owne, as a husbandman and cometh sometymes to that Church, & heareth divine service, as well as preaching & behaveth himself quietly & peaceably as to the Church as Commonwealth.' Lic. (P) at Trusham, his house a meeting-place.
- Instow.** Wm. Clyd. Adm. Comm. 15 June 1654. A Scot. Chaplain to Chas. II in his expedition at Worcester, & taken prisoner. Dev. Ass.
- Lpplepen.** John Nosworthy. Dep. Bp. admitted had not subscribed & had preached on 24 August, & promised not to preach without licence. After ej. preached privately at Manaton. Forced by 5 Mile Act to remove to Ashburton where he preached but met with much opposition from Justice Stawell. Lic. (P) as of Manaton.
- Jacobstowe.** Peter Osborne. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass.
- Loxbeare.** Richard Saunders. Dep. Bp. Imprisoned at Exeter during War, hence no degree. Dev. Ass. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1657. After ej. lived with brother-in-law, Robt. Land of Plymtree; later at Honiton. 1665 reported as 'keeping conventicles, sometymes lurkeing at Tiverton, sometymes in Loxbeare, and other places for the same ends.' 1669-preachnig at Crwys Morchard, Cullompton, & Uffculme. Lic. (P) as of Honiton; also at Tiverton, application for licence of English school as meeting-place not granted. Arrested for preaching at Tiverton 1681, & on refusing to take Oxford Oath except in qualified sense was imprisoned for 6 months. Opened Presbyterian meeting-house in Tiverton, 1687. Moderator of Devon & Cornwall Assembly (the 1st) at Tiverton 1690/1.
- Kenton.** Geo. Kendall. Adm. Comm. 1656. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass.
- Littleham (by Bideford).** Jonathan Bowden. Adm. Comm. 1655. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass. 1665 living at Moreton Hampsted. Lic. (P) as of Moreton.
- Luppitt.** Thomas Wellman. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1657. Lic. (P) as of Buckerell, 1672; also (I) of Luppitt.
- Marystow.** John Herring. Successor inst. 29 April, 1663 'on deprivation of last incumbent.' (Inst. Book, Exeter. Cal 245, 318). Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. 'Continu'd in the Parish ten years after he was ejected, in an estate he had there, and kept a school, being protected by Sir Edward Wise, & very well belov'd by the inhabitants. He purchas'd an estate in South Petherwin, near Launceston, Cornwall, & continu'd living theretill his Death. There also he taught school, till his sight fail'd him. He preach'd on the Lord's Day in his own house till he was incapacitated by the infirmities of old age... He was never Imprison'd, fin'd, or Prosecuted for preaching or teaching school.' Lic. (P) at S. Petherwin. 1672.
- Merton.** Bartholomew Yeo. Ad. Comm. 1654. Dep. Bp. Dev. Ass. Lic. (P) as of Hatherleigh. 1690 preaching at Jacobstowe 'wanting supply'. Grant from Common Fund 1690-2.
- Morchard Bishop.** Robt. Snow. Dep. Bp. 'After he was ejected, Mr. Pridham, who succeeded him, shew'd him great respect, & boarded with him for some time'. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. Ordered out by Assizes. Living in house at Exeter, 1663.
- Moreton Hampstead.** Robert Woolcomb. or Wolcombe. Adm. Comm. 1657/8. Dep. Bp. Lic. (P) as of Chudleigh, 1672. House at Moreton Hampstead certified 1689

- bury. Richard Farrant. Adm. Comm. 1654. Dep. Bp. Took Oxford Oath 1666. 1669 preaching at Winsham, Som. Lic. (P) at house Musbury. 1672.
- tham. Anthony Down. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1657. Lic. (P) of Northam, 1672. Imprisoned 1658 for conventicle in house, Exeter at Ogwell. John Stephens. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass.
- Rockstow. Wm. Trevithick. Adm. Comm. 1655. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. Lic. (P) of St. Eval, 1672. 1690 preaching in own house there, but 'hath noe maintenance'.
- hoe. Edward Grove. Dep. Bp. 1665 'sometyme an intruder into Pinhoe & ejected there for his Nonconformity; wanders up and downe sometymes in one place & one while in another. I knowe not where to finde him nor how he lives.'
- mouth. Geo. Hughes. V. of St. Andrew's. Leading P. Minister in the county. According to Calamy, Commissioners came to Plymouth, Aug. 1662; trapped out all but one of the magistrates & silenced Hughes a week before St. Bartholomew's. Successor inst. 30 Oct. 1662. During War took refuge at Exeter & then Coventry. Draw Testimony up & obtained signatures; Asst. Dev. Comm. 1654. Under his influence ministers of the county 'divided themselves according to ye 4 parts of that county into 4 Divisions which met quarterly, and sub-divided themselves according to ye numbers of Ministers & nearness of Churches into a lesser division which met every six weeks. For ye West Constant Centre was Plymouth, & their place of meeting was Mr. Hughes his House.' He was also the 'prime instrument to bring about that that Association among ye Ministers of Devon.' Letter from the Association to Cromwell was signed by Hughes as Moderator & M. Down as scribe; described objects of Association. After ej. visited Coventry where preached last sermon to public congregation. At Devon winter Assizes, 1662 bound to prosecute his traverse. 1665 he & T. Martin living at Plymouth, 'sometymes Publique & sometymes private perverters in this Towne.' Both imprisoned 1665 on St. Nicholas' Island, in Plymouth Sound, for 9 months. Hughes contracted 'an incurable Dropsy & Scurvy... Offer'd his Liberty upon condition of giving Security of £2000 not to live within 20 miles of Plymouth, which was accordingly done by his Friends without his Knowledge, whereupon he retired to King's-bridge.' Died there 1667.
- Obadiah Hughes. Son of George. Student at Christ Church, Oxon. Imprisoned at Pelican & Fleece Tavern, Plymouth, 6 Oct. 1665-30 Mar. 1666; released on promise to quit town with Sherwill & Quick. Father imprisoned same time. Ord. privately by Gaspar Hicke & 5 other ministers 9 Mar. 1669/O 'For some time exercis'd his Ministry about Plymouth as he had Opportunity, tho' he ran great risks, & was Several Ways a Sufferer. Not being any longer safe there, he in April 1674 came to London, where was chosen Pastor of a considerable Part of Mr. Well's Congregation... Once sent to New Prison... Continu'd under Bail for a Year together.' Moved to Enfield, Middx, and became Pastor of a Congregation meeting in Baker Street, 1689.
- Samuel Martyn. Calamy gives him as silenced at Plymouth. Imprisoned with father-in-law N. Jacob for preaching 1684. Excommunicated, and could not get off without taking Sacrament according to the Church of England. 1690 Pastor of congregation at Liskeard, Cornwall.
- ampton St. Mary. Geo. Pitts. Signed Testimony. After ej. went to London where died of plague.
- timore. Ambrose Clare. Signed Testimony. Ordered out at Assizes 1662. Living at Ottery St. Mary 1665 'still upon his own meanes & carries himself peaceably.' Lic. (P) as of Beaminster, 1672.
- n M John Musgrave. Calamy gives him as ministerial candidate in Somerset. Dev. Ass. Took Oxford Oath. 1669 preaching at Taunton.
- e. Edward Parr. Took Oxford Oath 1666. He & Gundry used to preach in Newton Chapel, Aylesbeare, by connivance of Ric. Courtis who became V. 1671. Lic. (P) at house Ottery St. Mary 1672.
- rooke. Thos. Trescot. Dep. Bp. Signed Testimony. Dev. Ass. 1663 living at Exeter. Signed petition about Oxford Oath. Lic. (P) Exeter 1672.
- te. John Gill. C. Lic. (P) at house, Hawkchurch, 1672.
- nton. John Mortimer. 'After his being Silenc'd, he was reduc'd to Straits; went to London to his Uncle Manton, who got him some Employment in private Families, by which he pick'd up a subsistence. He was in the great City in the Time of the Plague, & there often preach'd in the Publick Churches: & in the Fire in 1666 he lost his Books &

Sermon Notes. He after retur'd to Exon, where he liv'd many years, tho'  
 having a family of children, he met with Hardships & Difficulties.'  
 Lic.(P) as of Exeter, 1672. 1690 among Devon Ministers 'not fix'd.'  
 Recd. grant from Common Fund at Bow 1691/2.  
 Staverton. John Horsham. Died there 1663.  
 Tamerton Foliot. Robert Wyne or Wine. Dev. Ass. 1665 living in Tamerton  
 Deanery. 'Theophilus Wines, Mr. of Arts, ejected of Tamerton Foliot, for  
 Inconformity'. Lic.(P) 1672 of his house at Landulph, Cornwall.  
 North Tawton. Thos. Maynard. 'Aged when ejected.' 1665 'liveth inoffensively  
 in Sampford Courtenay on a Tenement he holdeth in right of his  
 Children.'  
 South Tawton. Leonard Hayne. Presented by Crown 14 April 1662; successor  
 at Visitation, Nov. 1662. 1665 living at W. Alvington 'on a Temporall  
 Estate of his owne.'  
 Great Torrington. John Howe. Outstanding figure as preacher & writer.  
 1665 living at Torrington 'peaceably.' Took Oxford Oath 1666.  
 Chaplain to Viscount Massarene in Ireland 1670; returned to England  
 1676. Became Pastor of Presbyterian congregation meeting in  
 Haberdashers' Hall, London. Fined at Guildhall, 1682 & 1683 for holding  
 conventicles. 1685 crossed to Holland with Lord Wharton; returned 1687.  
 Actively promoted Happy Union 1690 (see later notes.)  
 Totnes. Francis Whiddon. Lecturer. Ord. Dartmouth by Geare, Cleland, Syms,  
 & Buckley, Ministers of 2nd. Divn. Devon Association. After ej. preached  
 at Totnes & Bowden. Took Oxford Oath. Lic.(P) at house Totnes 1672;  
 applied for licence to preach in a house Newly erected & fitted for  
 that Purpose.' Presented at Mayor's court 1675 for not attending  
 Church; 1677 several persons 'suppressed' by 2 justices for attending  
 conventicle in Whiddon's house. Matter carried to Assizes & at Lammas  
 1678/9 he was indicted for living at Totnes. Died soon afterwards.  
 Ugborough. Nathan Jacob. Father a Major in Parliamentary Army. Ord. by  
 Classical Presbytery of Salisbury 1652. Dev. Ass. After ej. taught  
 in house. Lic.(P) as of Ugborough. 1681 Mayor of Plymouth reported  
 several conventicles, but none of their teachers—Jacob, Sherwill, &  
 Martyn—'have ever been taken.' 1684 Imprisoned with son-in-law,  
 S. Martyn in Exeter jail for 6 months. Driven from Plymouth by 5 Mile  
 Act, took refuge with Ed. Nosworthy of Diptford. Sewell of New England  
 notes in his diary that heard him preach in Plymouth, 1689.  
 Plym. John Goodwin or Gooding. 'Died in a good old Age, in the same  
 Parish, not long after he was silenc'd.'  
 Pilton Helions. Lewis Facy. 1664 before Assizes for conventicles. Lic.(P)  
 1672 as of Werrington. 1690 minister at Falmouth 'with competent  
 supply.' Succeeded Flamank at St. Enoder, Cornwall for which received  
 grant from Common Fund 1695-6.  
 Ugborough. Wm. Yeo. Signed Testimony. Chaplain to Col. Gold's Regiment.  
 Asst. Devon Comm. 1654. Dev. Ass. Lic.(P) as of Newton Bushel 1672.  
 1689 his house certified a meeting-place.  
 Bodland. Thos. Palke. No incumbent entered in Visitation Book, Nov. 1662.  
 No other evidence. Lic.(P) as of Ogwell, 1672. 1690 co-pastor at  
 Ashburton with Pearse. 'Excommunicated for his Nonconformity & dy'd  
 under it, June 18, 1693, Aetat. 56.'  
 Bodleigh. Richard Binnore. Adm. Comm. 1647 Dev. Ass. Took Oxford Oath.  
 Lic.(P) at Woodleigh 1672. 1690 - 'not fix'd'.  
 Colfardisworthy. Thos. Walrond. 'Not many Years after, made a very happy  
 End.'

**CORNWALL.**  
 St. Auston. Stus Fleming. Wm. Vincent. Corn. Ass.  
 Fowey. John Tutchin. Adm. Comm. 1657 Dev. Ass. 1690 preaching Fowey.  
 Drake. Gaspar Hickes. Member of Westminster Assembly. Asst. Corn. Comm.  
 1654. Corn. Ass. Fined £40 under Conventicle Act for preaching in own  
 house. Lic.(P) 1672.  
 Tiverton. Henry Flamank. Adm. Comm. 1657/8. Corn. Ass: ord. by Association 1656.  
 Lecturer at Pendennis Castle 1656. Lic.(P) at house of Wm.  
 Flamank, St. Enoder, 1672. Minister at Tavistock, Devon c. 1687.  
 Launceston. \*Wm. Oliver. 1665 'sontimes resides in Plymouth.' Took Oxford  
 Oath before Earl of Bath, 1666. Lic.(P) as of Launceston. After  
 master at Launceston free school. 'Died a Lay conformist.' 1681.  
 Gluvias with St. Budock. Jos. Allen. Corn. Ass. 1665 living at  
 Perranarworthal, 'behaving himself quietly in Reference to ye  
 Church and State.' Lic.(P) at St. Michael Penkivel 1672. 'Had his  
 subsistence from Charitable Funds, but principally from the Hon.  
 Hugh Boscawen, Esq.'

- st. Hilary. Joseph Sherwood. After ej. lived in St. Ives; 'to the day of his Death' preached there & Penzance on alternate Sundays.. 1665- 'lives usually in ye parish of St. Earth in ye Quality of a husbandman; he was lately imprisoned there for presuming to preach publicly in ye Church.' 1690 preaching at Erisey, 'his licens'd place.'
- st. Just in Roseland. Edward Sheffield. Adm. Comm. 1646. Corn Ass. Successor inst. 19 Jan. 1662/3. 1st. of 27 Cornish ministers signing Acknowledgement to Chas. II for Indulgence 1672, but record of his being licensed.
- t. Mellion. John Lydston. Chaplain in Parliamnetary Army. After Lostwithiel (1644) captured by Cavaliers, & carried prisoner to Exeter. Adm. Comm. 31 Jan 1647/8. After ej. his successor, Thos. Grainger, 'set the Glebe to him for some Years, permitted him to live in the Vicaridge-house & boarded with him.' 1665 at Saltash. Fined £40 for holding conventicle with <sup>one</sup> over legal number present.
- t. Michael Penkivel. Joseph Halsey. Corn. Ass. 'brought into this country by Hugh Boscawen, Esq. & liv'd as Chaplain in his Family, while he preached in the Church in this place.' Lic. (P) 1672. 1690 rec. grant as minister at Merther.
- ylor. Thos. Tregoss. Imprisoned for preaching 1663; removed to Budock. Sent to Launceston jail for 3 months. 1665 'living at Budock, a great conventicle keeper.' Preached again at Mabe & again imprisoned. Imprisoned a 4th time; released Sept 1677 'by a special order from the King to the Mareschal of Bodmin.' For preaching privately at Torrington, sent to Exeter jail, but soon bailed out. Preaching at Mabe 1669/70. Fines totalled £220.
- robus. Richard Batten. Corn. Ass. Lic. (P) St. Enoder 1672.
- edruth. Thos. Triggs. Ord. R. of Landewednack with Ruan Minor, by 4th. London Classis, 1649. Corn. Ass. Signed Acknowledgement to Chas II but no record of being licensed.
- t. Clements. Wm. Upcot. Dep. Bp.
- t. Germans. Solomon Carswill. Asst. Corn. Comm. 1654. Corn Ass. Lic. (P) at own house where he preached.
- altash. Wm. Tombs or Toms. Asst. Corn. Comm. 1654. One of 6 ministers at Saltash 'notoriously disaffected.' Lic. (P) at house 1672.
- cilly Isles. John Horsman. No other evidence than Calamy. Afterwards well known in Plymouth. 1690 living at the White Cross in the Poultry, London without fixed charge.
- alland. John Fathers. Signed Testimony.
- uro. John Tincomb or Tingcombe. Corn. Comm. 1654. Corn. Ass.
- andron. Robt. Jago. Calamy gives him as an after-conformist but presumably he is the Robt. Jago ejected minister living at Helston 1665. Lic. (P) there 1672. Asst. Corn. Comm. Corn. Ass.
- \*Robt. Jago. Son of last. Asst. to father? Fined 100 marks at Winter Assizes 1662. 'At first a zealous Nonconformist, & was in jail 3 months for defaming the Liturgy; but as soon as he came out of prison, a Benefice being offer'd him, he conform'd & afterwards liv'd but scandalously.'

List of those Ejected at Uncertain Date.

DEVON.

- arnstaple. Oliver Peard. Calamy gives him among ministers silenced in Devon. Lic. (P) 1672.
- deford. John Hanmer. Also in Calamy (257. 398). (? in D. N. B. under Jonathan Hanmer) Lic. (P) 1672. Ord. asst. to Peard at Barnstaple 1682.
- ixham. Josiah Morrice. Signed Testimony.
- eter. \*John Tickell. Appointed one of City ministers by Corporation. Granted £10 towards his moving 1657. 1665-one of Presbyterian ministers living at Exeter. 1669 C. at Barnstaple. Dev. Ass.
- onkton. Thos. Lisle. Only Calamy's evidence. (252, 363)
- oreton. John Mills. Calamy gives him as ejected at 'Moreton', but not traceable. (Cal. 253.) 'John Mills, clerk,' present at funeral of F. Nicholls.
- terton. \*Richard Conant. V. when signed Testimony. Became V. of East Budleigh, 1672.

DEVONSHIRE.

- nsallos. Nathaniel Tincomb or Tingcombe. Adm. Comm. 1655/6. 1665 described as 'ej. out of Lasellos.'.. 'liveth upon his temproall estate peacably.'
- skeard. Thos. Nicoll. Only Calamy: seqd. V. restored.

Tawnan. Walter Quarne. Cal. gives him as ej. but was buried there on 30 Aug. 1662. (Alumnae Oxon.)  
 Mullion. John Ashwood. Only Cal. Otherwise unknown (Cal. 150; Walker ii. 240)  
 Penzance. \*Leonard Welstead. Adm. Comm. 1657. Secd. V. restored. 1669- licensed to teach grammar in diocese of Bristol? Corn. Ass.  
 Roche. \*John Stephens. Only Calamy who gives him as an after-conformist. Also DEVON. (Omitted from List).  
 St. Budeaux. \*Francis Collins. Curate, but no curate entered in Visitation Book, Nov. 1662. No other evidence. V. of Charles Church, Plymouth 1673.  
 Silvertown. Nathaniel Byfield. Approved by Westminster Assembly 1648. Calamy gives as ej. 1662, but took place before 13 June 1654, when he petitioned the Protector that had been displaced by Ric. Bryan.  
 Stoke Canon. John Jordan. Signed petition about Oxford Oath 1666. Lic. (P) as near Newton 1672. Lived in Exeter after ej. Adm. Comm. 1656.  
 Stonehouse. \*Warmsley. C. Stonehouse, Plymouth. Otherwise unknown. Curacy vacant at Visitation Nov. 1662.

To summarise these lists, shows that the results of the Ejections in terms of numbers for the two counties, is as follows:-

	1660/1.	1662.	Ej. uncertain date.	Later conformed.
Devon-	40	80	11	10
Cornwall-	21	21	6	5

Comparing these figures with those of Matthews, the difference is slight. For Devon the total of ejections is actually the same, ~~being~~ being 131, while his is 121, but he has not included the 10 after-conformists, while I have, since the men were ejected whatever they may have done subsequently. For Cornwall, on the same basis, I have one more ejection noted than Matthews, 48 against his 47. We are also not quite agreed about the different categories; I have tended to be less sure about putting men into the 1660 or 1662, if they are a bit uncertain, so that my figures for this 'uncertain' category are more than his. That is inevitable in dealing with such material, but it is helpful that the totals are almost identical.

#### After the Ejections.

When one looks at the subsequent histories of the Ejected, the first striking fact is that so few of them left the country. Particularly with the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers having sailed from Plymouth Sound forty years before, still in the minds of the older men, it is surprising that there was no attempt to follow suit, and those who did leave England, only three or four, all went to the Continent, where apparently the Act of Uniformity did not affect the English Churches established in towns such as Middelburg, Delft, and Amsterdam. A number made their way at different times to London, and were found posts as ministers of congregations, but the great bulk of the Nonconformists stayed in the same district. Conditions varied from town to town. Little groups gathered in Saltash, Exeter, Ashburton, Barnstaple, Ottery St. Mary, Kingsbridge, and Plymouth, where strong dissenting congregations were formed. In some instances men were left alone unmolested, even the new Vicar boarding with two of them, or allowing them to stay on in their home, e.g. Ashbury.

But for all except the few fortunates who had considerable private means, the loss of their means of livelihood was a great problem and any new efforts were hampered by the laws. The learned professions were confined to conformists, and only trade and farming were not banned. Very few of them took up these new trades; some began schools and do not seem to have been interfered with—John Burgess of Ashprington, James Birdwood of Dartmouth, John Herring of Marystow, John Williams of Plympton St. Maurice—made it their profession. Two practised medicine, though it is suggested 'without a licence', and others held chaplaincies or other posts in the households of gentry—Thos. Travers being 'much favoured' by the Earl of Radnor,, John Herring by Sir Edward Wise, Joseph Halsey and Joseph Allen by the Hon. Hugh Boscawen. Two strange examples of the power of great friends to ameliorate conditions were in the case of Benjamin Cleland of Stokenham, an old man, but a Nonconformist until Chas. II came to Dartmouth, when Sir John Fowel, an old friend, used his influence with his Majesty, who allowed Cleland to return to St. Petrock's, only committed to the reading of few prayers, and such only of them as he thought fit'; the other being Samuel Tapper of St. Merryn, whose great friend and protector, according to Calamy was no other than the Bishop of the diocese who deprived Nonconformists of their livings by his own sentences, and yet Mr. Tapper "often dined

at the Palace, and that when the Times ran high against Nonconformity...  
 e promis'd to connive at him as long as he could, provided that the  
 iturgy was always read by Another."

Not all the ejected, however, were allowed to escape the  
 consequences of their actions so lightly as this. The distresses  
 following from the Act of 1662 were not so very great, but the penalties  
 inflicted by the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts greatly aggravated the  
 situation. The persecution was intermittent, and irregular in the  
 degree to which it was enforced in different places. Admitted that it  
 was never so harsh as that directed against the Roman Catholics earlier,  
 or as that inflicted by Louis XIV against the Huguenots, but in some  
 cases there was much hardship and suffering. George Hughes of  
 St. Andrew's, Plymouth was a notable example of it, since he contracted  
 a severe illness - 'an incurable Dropsy' - from his 9 months imprison-ment  
 in St. Nicholas' Island. The Conventicle Act put a useful weapon into  
 the hands of local magistrates, and they could be severe - Thos. Tregoss  
 of Mylor was imprisoned 5 times, and had to pay fines totalling £220,  
 a very large sum for those days. Most of the ministers took to using  
 their houses as meeting-places, which meant that it was sometimes broken  
 into by the 'Justices' or by informers. They were also liable to be  
 dragged before the local courts by the churchwardens for not attending  
 church, while Robert Collins of Tallaton was excommunicated by writ,  
 and then prosecuted for not attending Church. These are particular  
 cases, and probably more severe than the majority, but the Nonconformist  
 never knew when he too might be singled out for like treatment, and this  
 included the Laity just as much as their ministers.

Under the terms of the Five Mile Act, ministers who had not  
 subscribed under the Act of Uniformity were required to take on oath  
 a declaration abhorring armed resistance to the King, in similar terms  
 to the 1662 form, with an additional clause - "I will not at any time  
 endeavour any alteration of government, either in Church or State."  
 As Parliament was then sitting there, it was known as the Oxford Oath.  
 Some 13 ministers resident in Exeter sent a petition to the Mayor and  
 Justices for the City and County in which they pointed out that their  
 refusal to swear was not to be set down as disloyalty -

"But wee are well assured That an Oath is to be taken with  
 all possible due consideration & Reverence of the dreadfull  
 name by which wee sweare; & therefore cannot enough tremble  
 of the abusing of that name; which (as wee justly feare  
 being not yet fully satisfied about the sense of the said  
 Oath); wee shall bee guilty if wee sweare in a sense of our  
 owne against or besides the meaning of our legislators; Now  
 being in this great Straight wee could bethink our Selves  
 of no better Expedient for the present than the overture of  
 this humble Petition; Wherein wee declare from our hearts  
 (wee could also sweare if thereunto required) that wee are so  
 far fro all thoughts & purposes of raising a new War; or  
 Resisting the Powers which by divine Providence are over us.  
 That we are fully resolved never to take Armes against the  
 King's Person, Crowne, Dignity or Authority; or to Ayd, Abett,  
 Countenance or Incurage any other in any Tumultous or  
 Unpeaceable Endeavour towards the Distrubance of his  
 Majesty's Kingdomes or Dominions; but to Adhere & behave our  
 selves peaceably in all things & att all tymes under his  
 Majesty's government in Church or state....

...May it please your Worships to putt a candid &  
 favourable construction upon our presnt wavering thereof  
 in consideration of these Premises; & the Petitioners as  
 in duty bound shall ever praye etc.

Signed By Mr. Ford, Atkins, Downe, Stuckly;  
 Mall, Powell & 7 others Minrs. (the other 7 names are not given)

(Bodl. Ms. Rawl. D. 328 - in photostat copy)

There was also a memorial signed by 12 Devon ministers as to the sense  
 which they took the Oath:-

"I confess I have had some doubts concerning this Oath but  
 understanding partly by discourse with someone which  
 concurred in the making of the law, about itt; & partly by  
 consideration of the law itself, & other laws. That the Oath  
 hath no other meaning or end than to secure the Person of

"the King's Majesty & his Authority; Whether in his Person or Commissioners, & the government in Church & State from being shaken or subverted, by any unpeaceable or seditious Endeavour out of our place & calling: I am abundantly satisfied to tender myself to this Honourable court for the taking of itt.

Mr. H. Saunders. This Declaration being openly made in those very words (as neare as wee can remember) and candidly accepted by the court, the Oath was thereupon taken immediately by the persons whose names are written in the margin.

Since by Mr. Berry.

Before by Mr. Cleland.

Mr. Bayly

Mr. Farrant) These with this addition-as far as the laws of man are agreeable to

Mr. Wilkins) the word of God.

Mr. Binkly.

Mr. Binmore

(Bodl. MS. Rawl. D. 1350. 329)

In 1672 came the Declaration of Indulgence. Probably following procedure throughout the country as a whole, 72 Devon ministers and 27 Cornish ministers addressed an Acknowledgement to Chas. II. Licences were issued to 'teachers' and meeting-places, as Presbyterian (P), Independent (I) or Baptist (B). They were sometimes general, without mention of any particular meeting-place, or for 'teaching' at some specified house, or school. These references have already been given.

It was found necessary to raise some central fund to give help to many of the poorer ministers who were without regular means of income, or to supplement some of the miserable pittances, like Roger Flamank at St. Enoder who 'received last year but £6,' or Joseph Sherwood, paid £16 per annum at St. Erisey. To this end there was raised the Common Fund, administered by the Fund Board of London Presbyterian and Congregational ministers. The latter, however, withdrew shortly after the foundation of the Fund in 1690. It was then known as the Presbyterian Fund Board (Gordon 158.) These references have also been included in the Lists of Ejected Ministers.

There is little information about the wholesale alarm and the imprisonment of Ministers occasioned by Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685. That probably means that the Ministers of Devon and Cornwall took little part, except for John Hicks of Saltash, who is one of the only two <sup>Devon ministers anywhere</sup> known to have taken part, the other being Ferguson whose whole career is rather involved. Hicks was one of the unfortunate victims of the Bloody Assize.

### The Decline of Presbyterianism.

It is interesting to observe that although Presbyterianism was such a strong body, within another 60-70 years it suffered a rapid decline. Although it is really outside the scope of this survey, it would be incomplete without a brief reference to it, and suggested explanation. There appear to be two main reasons-

(a) A more vigorous Independency absorbed moderate Presbyterianism. The two sections of Nonconformity had never been able to fit in together very well. Exeter serves as a good example, where the Cathedral had to be divided at a cost of £1000, so that Ford and Atkins with their Presbyterian congregation could worship in the eastern half, while Mall and Stuckley with the Independents used the western. It would be wrong to attribute blame to one side alone, but there is no doubt that the Independents showed an aggressive spirit, for example, Stuckley and his congregation were engaged in dispute over the excommunication (sic) of two women members, Mary Allein, and Susanna Parr, for attending Presbyterian services. Publications appeared on both sides, and gradually became more involved, Ford and Atkins becoming implicated. Some of the Independents like Nathaniel Mather of Barnstaple were very conservative in their Independency, he being opposed to the Happy Union which was formed in 1691 by some 80 and 90 Presbyterian and Independent ministers in London and surrounding districts. Its 'happiness', however, was short-lived for theological differences broke it up in 1693. There were other considerations too, which played their part-the Presbyterians were more conservative in their politics

and many belonged to middle-class families, while the Independents tended to be more democratic. The vigour of the Independents in many towns gave them the lead in establishing their congregations over the moderate point of view of the Presbyterians.

(b) The other reason was the rise of Deism.

At the Revolution (1689) the Presbyterians were an important party in the Settlement. The effect of the Act of May, 1689 (called the "Toleration" Act, although the word does not appear in it) was in the nature of a reaction, and heresies (judged by the Canons and Statutes which had so long kept the people of England under the rule of civil and ecclesiastical law) were rampant. Books, treatises, and pamphlets poured from the press; and ancient heresies were revived under the names of Arminianism, Socinianism, and similar heterodox views associated with famous "heretics". In the reign of Queen Anne, a more insidious form of unbelief designated 'Deism' was commonly held by all classes, but particularly by those who under the influence of the New Learning (in classical scholarship and science) were casting off the shackles of a theology that had long maintained its grip on Europe.

The effect of these disintegrating forces upon the Meeting-houses of the Dissenters and upon the trustees of their property takes us into the 18th. century, and so outside the scope of this thesis, but has been narrated fully by J. Hay Colligan in "The Arian Movement in England" (pub. 1913 by Manchester Univ. Press.) It is noteworthy that it was in Devon that the most critical event in Nonconformity occurred. The original impetus for this movement came from "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity", a book by Samuel Clarke, a distinguished scholar, and a London Rector when this book was published (1712). It had a far-reaching effect not only on the Church of England, but through the Salters' Hall controversy, on Presbyterians and Independents. James Peirce, of Newbury, had accepted its conclusions when he moved to Exeter in 1713. In that city were 5 congregations, managed by 4 ministers and a committee of 13 laymen, who were soon disturbed by Peirce's Clarkean views, as were most of the meeting-houses of Devon and Cornwall. Discussions went on until February 1718/9 when at the Salters' Hall, Exeter over 100 ministers, and many distinguished laymen, summoned from London to support the two theological parties, engaged in the theological debate. Division ensued, and by the last meeting the 'Trinitarians' had withdrawn, and in the previous week the Exeter Committee had excluded Peirce and John Withers, another Exeter minister from the Meeting-Houses. It is a long story, but in Hay Colligan's words-... "through Peirce the doctrine of Presbyterianism was turned into new channels, and it finally flowed into Unitarianism at the end of the century." (18th. Century Nonconformity. 26.)

There are many valuable points to be learned from the failure and partial success- of Presbyterianism in England in the 17th. century, and the approach to the unity of the Church will be fruitful as it takes into account the movements in the Church of these last 300 years.

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