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RELIGIOUS MINISTRY IN BRISTOL 1603–1689:
UNIFORMITY TO DISSENT

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UNIFORMITY TO DISSENT

BY

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assisted by JONATHAN BARRY

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DEDICATION & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When Professor Leech dedicated BRS volume 52 seventeen years ago, he could already refer to the enduring legacy of Dr Joseph Bettey. That legacy is now by so much the greater, and this volume was from the first conceived as a tribute to Dr Betttey's services to the history of the region. For a start, he has written more of it than any one else, work which goes on to this day. And he has done much more. As Reader in Local History at the University of Bristol, he not only taught and inspired other local historians, but also helped to establish the study as a full and proper form of historical discipline. As Editor of this Society for many years he brought other people's work to the public; and he did the same in helping Peter Harris with that other remarkable series by which Bristol is distinguished, the BBHA booklets. He has always been ready to encourage and to assist other historians; and one could fill pages with the titles of the works in which his help has been acknowledged. His Presidency of the British Association for Local History (2000–2005) was indeed richly deserved.

His own work has been particularly focussed on religious history, and the theme of this volume has been chosen to reflect this. Indeed it has benefitted from his advice. If it is still not quite the volume that he might have made it, yet there is nothing lacking in the respect and affection which have inspired it.

I must here pay tribute to Professor Jonathan Barry. He has throughout been a most valuable colleague, always ready with comment, suggestion and detailed proof-reading; but never imposing his authority as *il miglior fabbro*. He has supplied much more of the material than my attributions would indicate. But that he should not be held responsible for the errors of commission and omission which remain, he should be named as co-author.

Much of the research for this volume was done at the Bristol Record Office. Now renamed Bristol Archives, nothing else has changed, and all the staff are as helpful and friendly as ever. I have also made full use of the on-line access to the *ODNB*, to EEBO (Early English Books on Line) and State Papers, all by virtue of the hospitality of the University of the West of England.

I and the Society thank Mr D Bond, Dr G Gibbons, Miss M Parker, Mr J Rhodes and Mr R Starr for their generous donations which have been allocated to the publication of this work.

Finally I must thank my wife who has borne my pre-occupied deafness with considerable patience; and my daughters who have always been ready to read drafts on topics not close to their own interests, and let me know when I do not make myself clear.

SHORT REFERENCES & ABBREVIATIONS

Books listed here should be included in list of sources for Further Reading.

APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
Audit Books	Mayors Audit Books BRO F/Au/1/18–60
BGAS	Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
Barrett	<i>The History & Antiquities of the City of Bristol</i> by W. Barrett, 1789
Beaven	A. B. Beaven <i>Bristol Lists Municipal & Miscellaneous</i> , 1899
<i>Bristol Probate Inventories I</i>	<i>Bristol Probate Inventories</i> Part 1: 1542–1656 ed. E. and S. George (assisted by P. Fleming), BRS 54 2002
<i>Bristol Probate Inventories II</i>	<i>Bristol Probate Inventories</i> Part 2: 1657–1689 ed. E. and S. George (assisted by R. H. Leech), BRS 57 2005
<i>Bristol Probate Inventories III</i>	<i>Bristol Probate Inventories</i> Part 3: 1690–1804 ed. E. and S. George (assisted by P. Fleming & Intro. by J. Barry), BRS 60 2008
BRO	Bristol Record Office, now Bristol Archives
BRS	Bristol Record Society
<i>Calamy</i>	<i>Calamy Revised</i> by A. Matthews, Oxford 1934
CCED	Clergy of the Church of England Database, http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/
CCP	Proceedings of the Common Council of Bristol: BRO M/BCC/CCP/1/1–8
<i>Church of Christ</i>	<i>The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640–1687</i> ed. Roger Hayden, BRS XXVII 1974
CPM	Committee for Plundered Ministers
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
<i>Depositions Book I</i>	<i>The Deposition Books of Bristol</i> , Vol. 1, 1643–1647 ed. H. E. Nott, BRS VI 1935
<i>Depositions Book II</i>	<i>The Deposition Books of Bristol</i> , Vol. 2, 1650–1654 ed. H. E. Nott and Elizabeth Ralph, BRS XIII 1948
Firth & Rait	<i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660. 3 volumes</i> , ed. C. H. Firth & R. S. Rait, 1911

Georges' Probates	<i>Guide to the Probate Inventories of the Bristol Deanery of the Diocese of Bristol (1542–1804)</i> by E. and S. George, BRS & BGAS, 1988
Georges' Wills	The Georges' MS listing of wills proved in Bristol in the 17th century, BRO 42203/3/1–2
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office or Gloucestershire Archives
Hockaday	Abstracts of Ecclesiastical Records relating to Bristol & Gloucestershire compiled by F. S. Hockaday, Gloucestershire archives or microfilm in Bristol University Library
HMC (= RCHM)	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
JHC	Journal of the House of Commons
JHL	Journal of the House of Lords
Latimer	<i>The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century</i> by J. Latimer, 1900
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
Lyon Turner	Drafts for the History of Congregationalism in Bristol to 1732: Lyon Turner MSS 89.13 in the Dr Williams Library
Mayor & Aldermen	The Mayor and Aldermens' Court Orders BRO M/ BCC/MAY/1 et seq. (Catalogued as 'Committee' for 'Court')
<i>Mens' Meeting I</i>	<i>Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1667–1686</i> ed. Russell Mortimer, BRS XXVI 1971
<i>Mens' Meeting II</i>	<i>Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1686–1704</i> ed. Russell Mortimer, BRS XXX 1978
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
<i>Past & Present</i>	<i>Bristol, Past & Present</i> 3 vols by J. Nicholls and J. Taylor, 1881–82
PCC Prob 11	Wills proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1384–1858 at TNA
RCHM = HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
<i>Records of Bristol Cathedral</i>	<i>Records of Bristol Cathedral</i> ed. J. Bettey BRS 59 2007
Skeeters	<i>Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530–c1570</i> by M Skeeters, Oxford University Press 1993
SP	State Papers
SRO	Somerset Record Office, now Somerset Archives & Local Studies
TBGAS	<i>Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
TMM	Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers
TNA	The National Archives, once Public Record Office (PRO)
<i>Walker</i>	<i>Walker Revised</i> by A. Matthews, Oxford 1948 (has Bristol persons under Gloucestershire)

EDITORIAL METHOD

Overall I have aimed to produce texts and quotations which shall be authentic, so long as they are readily intelligible. I have stuck with the original spelling so long as it will not confuse, but I have changed ‘then’ to ‘than’ when the reading seems to require it. I have adopted today’s typography, and substituted ‘u’ for ‘v’ and ‘J’ for ‘I’ in accordance with today’s usage; also £ for ‘l.’. I have followed the original punctuation; and () represent brackets in the original; [] will enclose my interpolation, or my note of the material omitted, usually with a ?, my conjecture; and [?] a word I have been unable to make out at all. Deliberate omissions are represented by ... or [...]. Abbreviations have usually been expanded and I have made no attempt to reproduce the signs by which they might have been marked.

I INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth century saw the greatest change in English religion since the Reformation. In the first generation the more-or-less successful compromise of the Church of England as Elizabeth and James had left it was hammered by Laud's authoritarian rigour. Far from forging a stronger church, he shattered it. The Civil War was in great part a reaction against his policies; and in the aftermath the official church was largely dismantled while other churches sprang up. At the Restoration, Laud's programme of narrow uniformity was re-imposed, with the same result: not unity but non-conformity itself became an enduring element of the English religious and political scene, and was finally recognised in 1689.

The focus of the book is religious ministry. Ministry is here taken to include all that was done by the officers or leaders of a religious group for its members: principally the holding of public services, the marking of births, marriages and deaths, the preaching of sermons or publication of devotional works, and the promotion of godliness and goodwill. Thus the Quakers are included although they prided themselves, with due humility, on having no ministers in title. On the other hand, clerics not engaged in ministry – schoolmasters or diocesan place-holders – are ignored.

This Introduction has two sections: one on the religious history of the period; and one on the position of ministers, including pay.

There follow two main parts. Part II describes the posts and offices and names the ministers who filled them, with some circumstances of the association. Much of this is not new material, though it is hoped that it will be convenient to have it all in one place. But the treatment of parish ministry over the period of the Civil War and Interregnum is, I believe, new and needed. What with ejections, sequestrations, and intrusions, not to mention the neglect or destruction of records, any historian may struggle to pin a named minister to his living, or find who was ministering at a given parish. Thus Latimer and Lyon Turner describe Matthew Hassard as having been at St Mary Redcliffe in 1639 while Sacks has him as minister of St Philip's; a position filled until 1650, according to Mortimer (following Wood), by Thomas Speed;¹ and all of them are wrong. This is offered as the first full and correct guide to parish ministry and lecturers in this awkward period.

Nearly all of this part is by way of documented narrative, summary or analysis rather than extracts from the original records.²

Part III is a selection of contemporary writings, mostly by ministers, on the nature of religious ministry, on sermons and on the main tenets of belief. It has to be said that there is nothing particularly Bristolian about the doctrines here presented, apart from some which comment on Bristol affairs. But it may be difficult for people today, not

¹ Latimer p. 148, Lyon Turner ch. 1 p. 5; Sacks 'Bristol's Wars of Religion' pp. 103 & 114; *Mens' Meeting* I p. 216.

² An exception has been made for the extraordinary story of Godwyn's replacement at St Philip's by Cary, see II.2.13c, but the extracts hardly do justice to the whole.

least for practising Christians, to appreciate the nature of Protestant religion then; and helpful to see it illustrated from everyday teachings of run-of-the-mill ministers, not great writers like Donne or Lancelot Andrewes or Bunyan.

There is one Appendix on People, which serves as an index of those named elsewhere but includes extra biographical information. Inevitably there is some duplication with material in Part II, but I have tried to keep detailed documentation for the Bristol ministry in Part II, and for ancillary material in Appendix 1. There is a second Appendix on Writings, listing all those that have been consulted whether or not extracts have been published here.

I.1. Historical Background

Any period must be defined somewhat arbitrarily. This is a short 17th century, from the accession of James I in 1603 to the accession of William & Mary in 1689. Ministry and monarchy do not march hand in hand. But James I can take credit for having commissioned, in the first year of his reign, the great English bible which remained central to all Protestants even when the Prayer Books of Elizabeth and Charles II had been abandoned by many.³ And William III, in the first year of his reign, signed the Act of Toleration which allowed dissenting Protestants to organise and to worship without fear of prosecution.⁴

I.1.1 1603–1640 Unity

From the beginning of our period to the meeting of the Long Parliament, the official Church of England was the only religious organisation in Bristol. There were no serious tensions between the Cathedral, the Council and the parishes. All the parishes were served by ministers, except St Leonard's. And parish ministers mostly supplied the City Lectures, which posed no challenge to the Cathedral or to orthodoxy.

There were no separatist groups. We know of one group that met weekly outside of church services and sermons, at the house of William Yeamans. There is a link to the separatist group who were eventually to become the Broadmead Baptists: Andrew Kelly was a member of Yeamans' group and his widow became, as Mrs Hassard, a leading figure among the early Baptists. But it is a weak link: Yeamans was minister at St Philip's, Lecturer at St Werburgh's, and a prebend. He was never accused of any sort of unorthodoxy. The meeting was probably devoted to bible study and perhaps prayer, with no separatist aspect. This was probably true too of the group who heard a sermon at St Augustine's on Sunday afternoons, under the shadow of the Cathedral; but was never accused of heterodoxy or separatism.⁵

Although the later careers of ministers indicates considerable differences, there were no overt disputes or dissensions. Nor did the Bishop ever refuse to approve the ministers appointed by the Council to their many livings or to any Lectureship; or seek to silence any once appointed.

³ Bibles are usually the only books mentioned by title in wills, whether of conforming or non-conforming ministers, apart from Richard Blinman (BRO FCW 1681/1) who lists the titles going to each beneficiary (for want of any other bequests?) and John Chetwind (Prob PCC 11/413) who specifies major theological works. And such checking of texts cited as I have done indicates that the King James version very rapidly and generally replaced the Geneva bibles of the previous half century. Robert Pritchard's will (BRO FCW 1663/2) is significant, specifying one 'Geneva Bible' by name, and two 'Bibles' *sans phrase*.

⁴ Civil disabilities remained, barring non-conformists from national and civic office, and from the Universities.

⁵ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* p. 69.

1.1.2 1640–1660 Disruption

1.1.2.1 1640–1645

The first rift in the lute was in 1640 when Matthew Hassard, the minister of St Ewen's, replaced the official prayer for royal success in crushing the Scottish rebels with his own against the King's 'false counsellors'.⁶ The Privy Council noted the matter and referred it to the Bristol Council – who did not even minute it, let alone act. Nor did Bishop Skinner.

Then the Long Parliament met in November 1640, and immediately challenged the 'innovations' introduced by Archbishop Laud. Petitions against unsatisfactory ministers were solicited, and forthcoming. Parliament dissolved the church's Court of High Commission and assumed for itself the power of 'sequestering' incumbents from their livings. To sequester was to confiscate property and its revenues from the owner. When used against laymen, it allowed of compounding; recovery of the confiscated property on payment of a composition fine. But there seems to have been no such recourse for the sequestered minister; and the term Ejection, as commonly used at the time, is more appropriate.

In Bristol, Parliament directed that Paul at St James's should admit Mr Fowler to his pulpit, and then Williamson at All Saints' to allow the radical Tombes; both at the request of parishioners.⁷ And the first truly separatist meeting for worship took place (the seed of the later Baptist Broadmead Congregation) and caused a riot.⁸

Another parish petition saw Collins ejected from St Mary Redcliffe and St Thomas's in 1642 (II.2.9b). There might well have been other petitions, but the Council – patrons of half the parishes – decreed that they should decide whether any petitions from their parishes should go forward; and no others did.⁹

During the Royalist occupation 1643–5 Collins returned and three vacancies, one at Temple and two at St Michael's, were duly filled by presentment to the Bishop in 1643. But the Royalists did not proceed against Hassard or Paul, who had taken advantage of the surrender terms to make for London. When Parliament re-took the city in 1645, Collins disappeared from the scene, never to reappear; while Hassard and Paul returned. And late in 1645¹⁰ the Parliamentary Committee appointed to govern Bristol ejected four other ministers: Pierce from St Philip's; Standfast from Christchurch; Towgood from St Nicholas's; and Williamson from All Saints'. The last three were all to resume their livings in 1660/1. The offences were political, 'malignancy' or support for the Royalists, and perhaps designed by their scale to obscure the softness of the magistrates to their own members.¹¹

1.1.2.2 1646–1653

After the civil war, Bishops, Deans and Chapters were abolished, and the Elizabethan Prayer Book replaced by the Directory of Worship. Nominally, the church was to be re-established on (Scottish) Presbyterian lines. But the effects

⁶ *CSPD* 1640/1, 23 Sept; Latimer p. 148–9.

⁷ *JHC* 4 Jan 1642/3; P/St J/V/1 6 Oct 1641.

⁸ Latimer p. 151; BRO JQS/M/3 13 Aug 1641.

⁹ CCP 15 January 1641.

¹⁰ No direct record survives but on December 19th 1645, Major Kem told the Earl of Denbigh that the Committee "this afternoon are upon the clergy". *HMC 4th Report* p. 273; and Ingelo was intruded into All Saints' in 1645.

¹¹ Several of the Council had supported the Royalists: none was sequestered; proceedings were dragged out for years, and the ultimate fines were few and small.

were mostly negative. Presbyterianism was never enforced and seldom adopted; and definitely not in Bristol. Some fifth of the nation's ministers were ejected but few were replaced. People and ministers continued to use the old services unless unusually zealous magistrates intervened.

Meanwhile the disruption of the established church both allowed and promoted the development of sects outside it. On the one hand, even from 1640 onwards, it seemed to give a licence to those who positively wished to separate themselves and no longer saw any reason to tarry for the magistrate. Bristol saw its first separatist meeting for worship around 1640–1. On the other hand, congregations deprived of official ministry took matters into their own hands. There was not much difference between parish vestries like those of St Thomas's and St Philip's in Bristol recruiting and paying stipendiary preachers, and full blown congregationalism.¹²

The Parliamentary Committee which ejected ministers was also empowered to appoint new ones to their livings. But the Bristol Committee was largely composed of City Councillors and they clearly did not want to foul their own nest. They cheerfully 'intruded' Ingelo to All Saints' and Jessop to St Nicholas's, for these were Dean & Chapter advowsons; but they cannily left the City livings, Christchurch and St Philip's, to make whatever *ad hoc* arrangements they could. Mary Redcliffe and St Thomas's they also left alone: their head church, St John's Bedminster, was in Somerset and Bristol's governors, whether as Committee men or Councillors, consistently repudiated or ignored the jurisdiction of the Somerset Parliamentary Committee to which they were nominally subordinate.¹³

But, regardless of the attitudes of Parliamentary Committees, intrusion into sequestered livings was not popular amongst ordained clerics. Throughout the period 1645 to 1660, and especially in the later 1640s, it was natural to regard the new dispensation as temporary and fragile. Anyone intruded into a sequestered living might fear not only being ousted by the lawful incumbent when normality returned, but being sued for all the income he had enjoyed. And what with ejections themselves and the cessation of normal ordination, the shortage of qualified men allowed them to be selective. Thus Ingelo left All Saints' of his own accord around 1651. Thenceforward All Saints' made their own arrangements, just like Christchurch and St Philip's. Thus when both the wholly legitimate Paul at St James's and the intruded Jessop at St Nicholas's were arraigned for treasonable sermons, it was Paul who apologised and kept his place, Jessop who was ready to be extruded – soon finding a proper living elsewhere. Ralph Farmer seems to have succeeded Jessop at St Nicholas's around 1652 (in controversial circumstances, see II.2.11), but I have found no formal appointment. His awareness of his dodgy position and possible liability for income received may have motivated his withdrawal without fuss in 1660. In 1658 the Council appointed Nathaniel Till Adams to Christchurch "as much as in them lies":¹⁴ the disclaimer perhaps recognising that the man they had last

¹² Lyon Turner makes a similar point. "I hold strongly that any fair reading of the facts of Commonwealth History shows that many congregated or gathered churches were gathered in the parishes ... not as outside the established order but as an allowed or recognised part of it". Dr Williams Library 89.4.

¹³ In 1640 the advowson which properly belonged to a Salisbury prebend had been leased to Thomas Smythe of Ashton in Somerset (Lambeth Comm XIIa/15 5–9) himself only saved from sequestration by death, fighting for the King, in 1642. Meanwhile the church itself had been destroyed by Prince Rupert and was "now as yet lying in its own ashes and ruinous heaps of indigested stone" in 1654 (Perrey *For the funeral of M. Edmund Whitwell* 1654 p. 17). The living lay in limbo and it is not surprising that even the Somerset Committee were happy to leave it there.

¹⁴ CCP 10 Aug 1658.

presented, Richard Standfast, was alive and indeed still living in his old house by courtesy of his parishioners. And Till Adams, though a Bristol man, never took up this post. Those sequestered livings were poisoned pulpits.

The gaps were filled from three sources. Properly appointed ministers from other livings helped out: Henry Jones of St Stephen's at St Nicholas's in 1651–2, and Matthew Hassard of St Ewen's at St Mary Redcliffe from 1645. Hassard also preached at other churches including St Philip's. Ministers intruded into one church might also preach at another: Nathaniel Ingelo (All Saints') preached at Christchurch, and, later, John Knowles (St Werburgh's) at All Saints'. Then there was the underclass of ordained men who had not the qualifications or the connections to get a living or even an intrusion. A Mr Dunsterville or Dunsterfield appears quite frequently as a supplier of sermons at piece rates or a candidate for regular preaching. And, as the overall vacancies in parish livings promoted the growth of non-conforming churches, so some of their ministers or preachers were drawn into regular parish preaching. Indeed we see a blurring of distinctions in this period. The Baptist Ewins becomes also stipendiary preacher at Christchurch and gives the City's St Nicholas Lectures. Ralph Farmer moves from stipendiary preacher at St Thomas's to intruded minister at St Nicholas's and Cathedral lecturer, while the ordained Ingelo, intruded into All Saints', preaches also to the incipient Baptists, and John Knowles ministers to the Castle Hill Independents. It was indeed a confusing time.

When the Long Parliament met in 1640, all but one of Bristol's parishes was served by a full time ordained minister, albeit only a curate at St Thomas's and St Mary Redcliffe. By 1649, the first year of the Commonwealth, Bristol's seventeen parishes were served by just eleven full-time ordained ministers, including the intruded ones. This was perhaps a main factor in the Council's plan to reduce the number of livings by amalgamation, which is discussed below (section 2.3.4).

1.1.2.3 1654–1660

The Protectorate attempted to restore order and due process in ministry as elsewhere. The rights of traditional patrons were re-affirmed. A central panel of Triers was established for the approval of public preachers. But the Bristol Council, now governing directly rather than as a Parliamentary Committee, had no truck with it. When the parishioners of St Mary le Port, ministerless since the death of Almond in 1645, petitioned to have a regular lecturer to preach sermons, the Council did not refer this either to the patron Sir Thomas Bridges, who had by now compounded, nor to the Triers, but simply told the parishioners that there was no authority for such a post.¹⁵

Panels of Ejectors were also established, local panels, to deal with ministers who were unsatisfactory¹⁶ – typically a matter of political rather than religious soundness. But as far as Bristol was concerned, the panel was not local enough. A single panel of Ejectors was appointed for Somerset and Bristol. And just one week after the

¹⁵ Mayor & Aldermen order of 1 October 1658. This could be taken to prove that there was a minister. A Commons order of 1641 had declared that the parishioners of any parish might set up a lecture on the Lords Day when there was no preaching – Shaw *English Church* II p. 183; and the Council's assertion that the lecture had been set up 'without any authority at all' could be read to imply that there was already regular preaching; but Latimer's classification as an "instance of magisterial arrogance" (Latimer p. 284) seems more probable.

¹⁶ Firth & Rait II p. 855 20 March 1653/4; p. 974 28 August 1654. The central importance of these measures to Cromwell's settlement is argued by Collins 'The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell' *History* 285, 2002, pp. 18–40.

Ejectors were established, James Read, Vicar of St Augustine's, appeared before the Mayor and Aldermen's court in Bristol, confessing to having married a couple in church according to the old Common Prayer rite. He was ordered to appear at the next sessions, where it seems he was merely bound over.¹⁷ No other prosecution for this offence was ever brought in Bristol, though it is hard to believe that this was the sole instance. The charge was just the sort of thing the Ejectors were supposed to deal with; and in taking this one case at this time, the Bristol magistrates seem to have been serving notice that they alone, and no body dominated by Somerset, would regulate ecclesiastical conduct in their City.

This attitude may have served to protect such ministers as were still operating. In 1655 vigorous action against scandalous and disaffected ministers became part of the remit of the Major Generals. Major General Desborough was especially active in this duty – more ministers were ejected in his South West region than in any other – but he complained that the Bristol ejectors were inert;¹⁸ and not a single Bristol minister was touched.¹⁹ Autonomy apart, the Bristol magistrates may have reckoned that they could not afford to sacrifice ministers as recklessly as they had ten years before.

By 1653 the perceived failure of Parliament and Commonwealth to achieve any fundamental reformation inspired the Quakers to undertake their nationwide crusade for hearts and minds. Their missionaries came to Bristol in 1654. Early in 1655, the Mayor & Aldermens Court issued orders for the arrest of Camm & Audland, then of them plus Fox, Tailor, Howgill and Burroughs.²⁰ Unfortunately, not only were the missionaries, as usual, versed in the laws and aware that there was no legal basis for arresting them or ordering them out of the city, but they had powerful protectors: Hollister only recently a member of the national Council of State; Bishop, only recently *i/c* counter-intelligence for the Republic; and Scrope, regicide and commander of the garrison. The magistrates, unsure of the Protector's policy, were unable to run the missionaries summarily out of town as had happened in just about every other major city.

Instead they spent five years attempting to deal with Quakers who interrupted the services of regular ministers. There were two legal aspects involved. First, there was a statute – albeit of Mary! – which made it an offence to interrupt a minister; so some time was spent on the technical question of whether the minister had or had not finished the service. Then there was the question of who was actually breaching the peace: the interrupters or the members of the congregation who typically fell upon them. Here the magistrates simply refused to consider any charges except against the interrupter. The main expedient of the court was in effect to bind the offenders to keep the peace – *i.e.* to promise not to do it again – and imprison them pending such a promise. This was usually illegal as no warrant or *Mittimus* was ever issued. But the offenders could only be dealt with one by one when they put themselves in the way of prosecution, and the remedies, though stretching the law to or beyond its

¹⁷ Walker says he had been ejected for this, and cites an application for alms on account of poverty by a James Reade in 1657. But the Quarter Sessions had no powers to eject; and the James Read whose poverty was relieved can be identified as a much older man, already a bedesman at the parish.

¹⁸ Letter to the Protector 4 Jan 1656 (MSS Rawlinson A 34 f 173); and undated order (Rawlinson A 39 f 529).

¹⁹ C Durston *Cromwell's Major-generals: godly government during the English Revolution* (2001) pp. 163, 183 n 43.

²⁰ Mayor & Aldermen 22 and 23 January 1655. On the 24th they also recorded the presence of Franciscans disguised as Quakers.

limits, were not that punitive: the prisoner, his household and his business were well looked after by other Quakers.²¹ In fact the main sufferings as chronicled in *The Cry of Blood* were at the hands of the congregations and street mobs, unchecked if not encouraged by the forces of order.

Meanwhile, by 1660, after 20 years devoted among other things to the establishment of a regular preaching ministry, only half of Bristol's parishes were served by a full time minister.

1.1.3 1660–1672 Restoration and Dissent

In Sept 1660 there was an Act to restore all sequestrated ministers. And although all the acts and ordinances of the Parliament without the King were only formally declared void under the Seditious Act of 1661, in practice they were treated so from the moment of Restoration. In Bristol, Ironside was made Bishop in December 1660 and parish intruders stepped down wherever the sequestrated incumbent was around to take up the living: Ewins (Christchurch), Farmer (St Nicholas's), and Palmer (All Saints'). Knowles left St Werburgh's too, though there was no legal incumbent to take over – but his other post of College Lecturer has certainly ceased to exist.²² At St Philip's, there was no rightful incumbent waiting in the wings, so Hancock served on. In fact the Mayor does not seem to have waited for new laws, but ordered Ewins to stop preaching in January 1660/1, and imprisoned him when he would not.²³

But soon the old Church of England was re-established by law on even narrower grounds than before the Civil War. In 1662 ministers were required to use the re-issued prayer book and the 39 Articles; and to forswear any attempt to amend it, as well as to condemn any taking of arms against the monarch. Even some ordained men who had been approved for parish ministry before 1640, like Paul at St James's and Hassard at St Ewen's, were unable to conform in 1662. The vacancies were filled, but only at the expense of more plural holdings than had been seen in pre-war days. (see 2.3.5 below).

Then came the Quaker Act of 1662 which made it a crime to refuse the oath of allegiance or to attend a Quaker meeting. So Ewins was imprisoned again in that year and yet again for almost all of Sir John Knight's mayoralty 1663–4.²⁴ The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade any meeting for worship, other than prescribed Anglican services, of more than 5 persons from more than one household, and obviously included ministers as well as congregations. This was the basis on which Mayor Sir John Knight I charged so many. Public opinion did not seem to be with him, and a Grand Jury found a whole raft of them not guilty of unlawful assembly, after hearing speeches by Speed and Bishop which appealed to civic neighbourliness.²⁵ In 1665 came the 5 Mile Act, specifically aimed at ejected ministers who were forbidden to come within 5 miles of an incorporated borough or of the parish from which they had been expelled.

²¹ See Farmer *Satan Enthroned* p. 56 though perhaps exaggerated. The prisons were run by private persons as gaolers, at the expense of the prisoners. Quite often the gaoler allowed a prisoner out for a bit if assured of return.

²² He cannot have been much concerned about being sued for misappropriated revenues since he kept his house in the new Castle precinct till 1664. But the previous, properly appointed, incumbent had died before he was intruded.

²³ *Church of Christ* p. 33.

²⁴ *Church of Christ* p. 33.

²⁵ Bishop, *Inhumane & Barbarous Sufferings* p. 52.

The Clarendon Code as it was called (unfairly as Clarendon had not been in favour of it) was clearly intended to suppress Dissent immediately. Although it did not have that effect, it barred conscientious dissenters from studying at Oxford or Cambridge, and this was not altered by the Act of Toleration. Thus it gave rise to the dissenting academies which were to distinguish the eighteenth century. Terrill, the Broadmead Baptist Elder, was one of the earliest to provide for the higher education of dissenting ministers.²⁶

The Clarendon Code was briefly suspended by the Indulgence of 1672 and then re-instated together with the Test Act of 1673 which required every holder of public office to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown and Protestant church and to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. The magistrates had a full arsenal of weapons to deploy against dissenters – if they chose to. For Mayor and Aldermen, like JPs everywhere, were unpaid and made up their own minds about which laws – or occasionally non-laws – to invoke. And in fact, the picture is not of unrelieved suffering but of spells of relative immunity and spells of savage persecution when particularly rabid men came to office. Sir John Knight I was one (1663–4); Sir Robert Yeamans (1669–70) and Ralph Olliffe (1674–5) others. In fact Olliffe and his brother-in-law John Hellier (a churchwarden of St James’s where several dissenting congregations were based) maintained all the prosecutions they could. They were abetted by Carleton from the time he became bishop in 1671 (to 1678); and, a new and unpleasant feature, by several of the Anglican ministers who made a practice of attending such meetings in order to give evidence against them. Godwin, Heath, Pleydell and Williamson are all named in this role.²⁷

In the last years of our period politics made religious difference seem critical. For many, the succession of the Catholic James II posed a horrendous threat to Church and State, which prompted a political agitation to exclude him and provided the psychological background to the fictitious Popish Plot. The expected succession of And of course, whenever officials led to disrupt meetings and victimise individuals, there were riff-raff happy with the opportunity for violence, vandalism and looting. However it is pleasing to record that there is no evidence of hostility between citizens of different denominations. The prevailing civic ethos was not doctrinaire intolerance, but good business and good neighbourliness.

The contrast between the nominal laws and their enforcement can be illustrated from Bristol’s Quaker history. In 1673 the Council accepted, with thanks, Millerd’s great map of the city, showing and naming the Meeting House in Hollister’s ‘orchard’ ground in which to hold meetings which were forbidden by law. George Fox, who had been arrested and imprisoned in just about every major English town, visited Bristol with impunity and celebrated his marriage there. And in 1697, when Quakers were at last allowed to become Freemen and so to open businesses without swearing an oath, there should have been a whole generation, scores of men, thronging to take advantage of this. But there seem to have been only two.²⁸ The rest had already found their places in civic society.

²⁶ See J. M. Horner ‘Separating Church, Unifying State, and Preserving Education among Baptists at Broadmead, Bristol, 1660–1689’ *Journal of Church & State* vol. 58.2, pp. 261–83.

²⁷ *Church of Christ* pp. 72, 73.

²⁸ *Mens’ Meeting II* pp. 127–8.

But this is not to deny or diminish the sufferings of the dissenting ministers. Hayden and *Calamy* are good sources, but Table 1 shows a summary list of imprisonments.²⁹

Table 1. Imprisonments of Dissenting Ministers

	1660s	1670s	1680s
Barbara Blaugdon	1		2
Thomas Ewins	4		
George Fownes			2 died
Andrew Gifford ³⁰		2	1
Edward Hancock			1
Thomas Hardcastle	1+	1+	
William Harford			3
Thomas Patient	1		
Robert Simpson	1	1	
Edward Terrill	1	11	1
John Thompson	1	1 died	
John Weekes	2?	2+?	

It will be clear that the persecution of dissenting ministers in the last thirty years of our period was by far more savage than anything experienced by any ministers in the twenty years before. This extended also to their congregations of course. A partial palliation might be found in the genuine fear that religious dissent must mean political subversion; but even that is very weak: in the years when the world had been turned upside down, had any peaceable persons suffered as did dissenters in these years?

Whether it was intermittent respite or the blood-of-the-martyrs syndrome, dissent was not suppressed. The main sects, in Bristol as elsewhere, became settled denominations. The Toleration Act ended the religious persecution of Protestants; and the Non-conformists, albeit suffering civil disabilities, had become a permanent part of the religious and political landscape.

I.2. The Position of Ministers

I.2.1 Status

The Reformation left ministers in a difficult position. The reduction of their magical and ritual roles meant that they had to earn respect by their conduct and their learning, maintaining themselves as personally and socially the betters of parishioners many of whom earned far more and lived much more comfortably. Our literature, right through into the nineteenth century, is full of the tensions and hardships this brought.³¹ The country minister might be a rector with ample revenues; or, even if not, thrive with the countenance and patronage of the squire. But the urban minister

²⁹ This does not purport to be complete or exact. It is not easy to ascertain all the imprisonments. A good many were not legal or properly made out in the first place. And some were quite brief, until recognisances were found or lawyers intervened – Terrill as a man of means seems to have been quite ready with a lawyer. On the other hand, it does not do justice to the many times when posses with warrants were evaded – Terrill again a frequent example.

³⁰ Hayden says he was imprisoned four times, no dates given (*Church of Christ*, p. 70), but I could find only three.

³¹ See the Rev Crawley in *The Last Chronicles of Bassetshire* for a vivid example.

was poor – see I.2.2 below – and had little social relationship with the civic elite. Technically, by his degree and his cloth, the clerk was a gentleman. In practice, he scarcely rated among the ‘better sort’.

He was also denied much opportunity for socialising even with his equals. Drink was the glue of social intercourse, and the minister was bound to preach against it and avoid even the suspicion of indulgence.³² Godwyn’s self-serving narrative leaves out much, but there is something convincing about the repeated attempts to discredit him by contriving his attendance at taverns (II.2.1.3c). And then the common day of rest was the minister’s day of greatest exertion.

In the circumstances, we might expect that ministers would make friends among ministers. Perhaps they did, but there is little evidence. Farmer’s narrative includes some visiting, even with the despised Ewins, but the tone is of stiffness and professional preoccupations, rather than friendly ease. Purnell acknowledges handsomely the help he obtained from Stubbs, but it was professional help. There was some intermarriage; and wills sometimes show one minister as friend to another; but one does get an impression of a rather isolated life.

Although it is something of a digression from the subject of practising ministry, it is perhaps instructive, as it is surely entertaining, to recall the jockeying between the Cathedral and the City Council over the course of the century.

The Bristol City Council were generally on good terms with the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. As noted below (II.3), the Lectures endowed by the City were not part of any campaign against ecclesiastically approved preaching; and there seems never to have been any strife over doctrines in the whole of the century. But status was another matter.

The first episode took place between 1606 and 1634, and the story has already been told and documented by Dr Bettey.³³ First the Council did a deal with the Dean & Chapter whereby they got themselves a dais of raised seats for themselves in return for an annual grant. But Bishop Thornborough disapproved and pulled the seats down again. The Council retaliated by boycotting the services. Attempts at an accommodation³⁴ fell through and the seats were not rebuilt in Thornborough’s time, nor his two successors’. But under Bishop Wright (1623–33) permanent and pre-eminent seating was made available for the civic dignitaries.³⁵ Thus relationships with Wright, and his successor Coke, were cordial.³⁶ So the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors resumed their attendance. In fact, they seem to have cut the service and arrived only for the sermon – which was brought on early or delayed for their arrival.³⁷ Their fondness for this ostentatious display would seem to be a principal factor in their creating the post of College Lecturer in the Interregnum and endowing it with augmentations nominally intended for others (see I.2.3.3).

³² Morgan Jones of Christchurch left 10s for drinks at his funeral, which was pretty generous (PCC Prob 11/129).

³³ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* pp. 48–52 also 68–9.

³⁴ See Visitation Article 13 (Archbishop Abbot 1612, in K Fincham ed. *Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church*, C of E Record Society vol I, 1994, pp. 118–19.

³⁵ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* is not quite consistent here: p. 51 states that seats was not erected but reserved in the Quire; whereas p. 69 describes in some detail the seats ‘set up in our sermon place by the citizens’ as at 1634.

³⁶ Latimer pp. 84, 124. HMC 23 vol II pp. 28–9.

³⁷ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* p. 68.

In 1677 Bishop Carleton revived an even older issue, with a bid to have the Cathedral precinct taken out of civic jurisdiction; and even having the Mayor “arrested for legal proceeding against a person [living within the precinct] for not paying the poor rate” and “forbidden the same person, though legally made, to be overseer and collector of the poor or to be churchwarden, pretending themselves to be out of any parish”.³⁸

Carleton also encouraged the Dean & Chapter to maintain a claim over the wider area including Canon’s marsh and Brandon Hill.³⁹ Although judicial enquiries failed to come to a definitive ruling, the claims for separate jurisdiction were not maintained.⁴⁰

Carleton also engaged in a campaign for a less substantial recognition: that the ecclesiastical dignitaries should be prayed for in the Bidding Prayer before the magistrates, and not after as had been customary.⁴¹ Here the Dean & Chapter were not with him, and were indeed threatened with ecclesiastical discipline; but without success. Carleton’s behaviour may have been exacerbated by what he took to be the magistrates slowness in proceeding against heretics; but it was hardly calculated to promote co-operation.⁴²

The last act of this drama was nearer to farce, in a dispute over whether the State Sword of the Mayor’s entourage should remain upright in the Cathedral. This was settled by a compromise: the sword should enter erect, then lie upon a cushion.⁴³

But this is about the claims of the Bishop and Chapter. Had all the demands been met, ordinary ministers would have gained nothing but an earlier mention in Bidding Prayers.

1.2.2 Income

1.2.2.1 *The Anglican Minister’s income*

This topic has been well dealt with in several standard works.⁴⁴ But Bristol is hardly mentioned in any of these so they must serve only as an instructive background to the story told here

When a minister was appointed to a parish, he was said to enjoy ‘a living’. In principle that meant a right to the tithes of the parishioners for the rest of his life. But in many instances the ‘great tithes’ had been ‘impropriated’ by the patron – whether a person or an institution – leaving the vicar with only the lesser tithes. One

³⁸ SP/29/396 fo. 271, reproduced in *Records of Bristol Cathedral* pp. 91–2.

³⁹ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* pp. 85–96; JSQ/M/5 ff. 249r 12 May 1677, 248v 18 June 1677 and 248r.

⁴⁰ Latimer p. 379. *Past and Present* III pp. 68–9.

⁴¹ This may seem puzzling. The 1662 Prayer Book prescribes three Prayers of this sort both for Morning and Evening Prayer: one for the Monarch; one for the royal family; and one for Bishops and Curates and all Congregations; and does not appear to encourage or license impromptu additions. But in fact, there was a tradition of a Bidding Prayer to be used before the service proper, and it was this that was in dispute. (Thanks to Dr Bettey for this point.)

⁴² *Records of Bristol Cathedral* pp. 89–91; Latimer p. 389.

⁴³ Latimer pp. 389–90.

⁴⁴ C. Hill, *The Economic Problems of the Church* (Oxford, 1956) pp. 89 and 107 on lapse of tithes in towns ch. IX social and economic status of the clergy pp. ch. XIII ‘augmentations’; Rosemary O’Day (Leicester UP, 1979) ch. 13 ‘Clerical standards of living & life style’; with Claire Cross ‘Incomes of the provincial urban clergy 1520–1645’ and Rosemary O’Day & Ann Hughes ‘Augmentation and amalgamation ... 1640–1660?’, both in *Princes & Paupers in the English Church 1500–1800* (Leicester UP, 1981) eds Rosemary O’Day & Felicity Heal.

exception was the vicar of St Philip's whose right to great tithes in the part of his parish outside the walls was confirmed in this period.⁴⁵ The rector of St Michael's also collected tithes from the out-of-city area. In Bristol, as in other towns, within the walls, tithes had been commuted into a standard household rate payable at Easter, the 'Easter book'. The upside of this was that the minister no longer needed to engage in any confrontation or legal battles to get his money. The downside was that these, unlike payments in kind, did not keep pace with inflation, especially of food prices. In the period 1539–79, the highest living was £21 pa, with a mean of nearly £9 and a median of just over £7.⁴⁶ These would only rise with the population of rate-paying households, insignificant in the already crowded central parishes.

Rural ministers also had 'glebe', farmland attached to the living which they might work or lease out. Bristol's ministers, even in parishes with rural overspill did not.⁴⁷ And where there was property attached to the parish, as at St James's or St Thomas's, the rents and revenues were collected by the vestry for general parish use, not by the minister.

Then there were items of service (literally): the fees for conducting baptisms, marriages and funerals. Obviously these, like the Easter book, increased in value with the size of the parish. In Bristol, as elsewhere, central parishes tended to be small, and the livings therefore relatively poor. But their inhabitants also tended to be rich, and therefore a better source for what became, in Bristol, a standard and vital part of the minister's income: payments for sermons. Most parishes paid an amount each year for a sermon every Sunday, at rates which rose from 6s 8d to 10s in the first half of the century. And then there were the 'gift sermons' endowed by bequests, and often set at £1 – for the prestige of the giver rather than the benefit of the minister – but it was just as valuable anyhow.⁴⁸ Through the 17th century these sources increasingly outweighed the nominal 'living'.⁴⁹

A minister might also receive income by virtue of non-parish appointments: notably a prebend's chair at the Cathedral which was worth £7 16s 8d pa;⁵⁰ and a lectureship or share in a lectureship (see Part I.3). The prebendary income was small but permanent and virtually a sinecure; while the lecturers' posts were normally renewed each year but carried duties.

These incomes had to meet rising expectations. If the Reformation reduced the sacerdotal functions of the minister, they increased the personal qualifications required. Ministers were expected to be graduates, men of learning. They were expected to be and behave and bring up their children like the better sort of parishioners, not like labourers or tradesmen. And they were expected (though at times in vain) to maintain a standard of good behaviour which might save them money at the alehouse but which also disqualified them from some of the comforts which tempered life's hardships for others.

⁴⁵ The troubles experienced in actually collecting these in the Interregnum – see Section II.2.13b – demonstrate a problem from which the urban clergy were generally free.

⁴⁶ Skeeters pp. 98–102.

⁴⁷ John Goodman of St Nicholas's left farming equipment in Walton in Gordano, and a tenement in Hazel, Glos, farmland to this day; but he was unique. See Table 3.

⁴⁸ In 1659 the Council listed nearly 90: All Saints' 8 plus 26 fortnightly Wed; Christchurch 3; St Augustine's, Ewen's, Leonard's, Mary-le-Port, Michael all none; James's 2; John's 2; Redcliffe 4, Nicholass 11; Peter's 3, Philip's 1 & 8(?) Stephen's 2; Thomas's 7, Werburgh's 7; Temple 4.

⁴⁹ Barry 'Bristol as a Reformation City' in *England's Long Reformation 1500–1800* ed. N Tyacke, London 1998, p. 269.

⁵⁰ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* p. 18.

Bristol was by no means unique in having these problems. Several other medieval cities (such as York, Norwich and Exeter) found themselves after the Reformation with numerous small inner city parishes, where commuted tithes had been rendered inadequate by Tudor inflation; and by new Protestant expectations of clergymen as learned preaching ministers. But the national picture was also diverse. The story in Bristol was not just the same as elsewhere, and as noted above has not been told as a story, though the materials are to hand.

We may start with the recruitment figures. In the early stages of the Reformation the new demands seem to have been ill-matched by rewards. “Beginning in the late 1550s most of Bristol’s parishes fell vacant for periods spanning six to twenty-six years or more years”; and most of those in post were without degrees.⁵¹ But in the seventeenth century up to the Civil War, there were no significant vacancies apart from St Leonard’s (see II.2.7) and nearly all ministers seem to have had degrees. The institution of annual fees for regular sermons may be credited for much of this change. Yet even with this few ministers can have exceeded £50 a year, about half the income sometimes posed as a target, unless they also held prebends or lectureships.

1.2.2.2 Dissenting Ministers’ Income

We can say much less of the non-conformist ministers. Clearly they never enjoyed a ‘living’ in the way that parish ministers did. They must have relied entirely upon a stipend from their congregation, plus perhaps special collections on this or that occasion, together with the same sort of fees for services such as baptism as those enjoyed by their official counterparts. The Baptist congregation’s estimate of £80 pa as the decent minimum for Hardcastle is suggestive however, and not so far from the Anglican target of £100 pa, and surely more than most Anglican ministers could count on.

There is good evidence of the way in which congregations of a particular denomination might compete to retain or attract the services of a particular minister. Income does not seem to have entered formally into these contests, but it is difficult not to suppose that it must have been a consideration. And once engaged, the dependence on the numbers and the goodwill of his congregation must have served as something of an incentive to meet expectations and to proselytise (aka poach).

1.2.3 Schemes for improving parish incomes

There was recurrent concern over the income of ministers throughout the century;⁵² and it was typically the Council that was expected, or undertook, to fix it. The schemes ranged over time, from extra rates to the amalgamation of parishes, and briefly to augmentation from the confiscated revenues of Bishop, Dean and Chapter, before settling at last into the apparent promotion of pluralism – de facto amalgamation with no legal hurdles or ground for parish opposition.

1.2.3.1 Prologue in the 1590s

In March of 1593, the Privy Council wrote to the Bishop, Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, enclosing a petition from the ministers of the city, which unfortunately does not seem to have survived in Whitehall or Bristol.⁵³ But they were quoted as

⁵¹ Skeeters pp. 94–5.

⁵² For background see O’Day, R & A Hughes ‘Augmentation and amalgamation: was there a systematic approach to the reform of parochial finance, 1640–60?’ in *Princes and Paupers in the English church 1500–1800* ed. R O’Day & F Heal.

⁵³ APC 16 March 1592–3.

claiming that most livings were worth only £8–9 a year, which seems accurate. The Privy Council noted the provision of pay from the public purse for the city lecturers;⁵⁴ and asked that the citizens should actually be rated for this and for “the maintenance of poor ministers”.

Unfortunately we do not have the Proceedings of the Common Council before 1598, so we do not know how they responded; but the reference in 1620 to previous refusals is indicative. But the rates for the maintenance of the St Nicholas Lectures was actually reduced in 1598 below that originally set in 1586.⁵⁵

1.2.3.2 Bishop Searchfield

The subject arose again in December 1620.⁵⁶

This day Mr Mayor did acquaint his Brethren the Aldermen and Common Council here assembled with a motion made by the Lord Bishop of the diocese on the behalf of the ministers of this City for the increase of their livings and better maintenance by some Order to be provided for the same at the next parliament his Lordship desireth the consent and subscription of Mr Mayor and his brethren for [? ? ?]⁵⁷ It is fully resolved and decided by the Mayor and his brethren here assembled that for as much as the like motion hath been heretofore made sundry times touching the matter which did take no effect but upon sundry good reasons the City hath refused to [?] or assist the ministers therein; and forasmuch as the ministers livings in this City are of late [not]ably increased and advanced more than in former time they have been, whereby there is less cause at this time for the said ministers to follow or pursue by Suit the increase or enlargement of their livings; Therefor this City shall not join with them or give their consent or [?] in such Suit in Parliament or otherwise But that if there shall by such Suit pursued or presented by them or on their behalf touching this business the City shall as much as in them may lie withstand the same by all lawful means as their predecessors have done.

The Bishop decided to take the matter to the Privy Council nevertheless and the Mayor and Aldermen arranged to meet with him before he left.⁵⁸ There’s no record of the meeting but it presumably changed nothing, for the next thing was another letter from the Privy Council positively directing the Bristol Council to raise a rate for the maintenance of poor ministers; and to send them the names of any who refused to pay it.⁵⁹ The Privy Council refer to “a suit made unto us in the name of the ministers” but again this is not to be found in their records or Bristol’s. Reference to livings worth no more than £8–10 a year suggest a close resemblance to the earlier petition, if not a recycling. I have found no record of the Bristol Council’s even taking note of this, and certainly they did nothing about it. Searchfield died in 1622 without apparently raising the matter again.

⁵⁴ They supposed there were three but at this time there were only the two St Nicholas lectures. Latimer *Annals of the Sixteenth Century* p. 104 reports the affair with the same mistake over the number of lecturers. See also Seaver *The Puritan Lectureships* (Stanford 1970) pp. 99–100, also with three lectureships.

⁵⁵ Mayor & Aldermen 21 June 1586, 30 May 1598. The later ordinance added St James’s and Temple to the list, but reduced the rates on the central parishes.

⁵⁶ CCP 19 Dec 1620.

⁵⁷ Here and further on, the handwriting has defeated me.

⁵⁸ CCP 12 Jan 1620/1.

⁵⁹ APC March 6 1620/1. See also Latimer pp. 75–6.

1.2.3.3 Augmentations

In 1646 the Parliamentary Committee for Plundered Ministers was given the power to ‘augment’ parish livings by assigning revenues from the lands of bishops, deans and chapters which had been sequestered in 1643. The funds were to be allocated within the regions of the abolished functionaries, so Bristol’s share was limited by the notorious poverty of this diocese. Nevertheless the Parliamentary Committee still governing Bristol⁶⁰ secured augmentations, at the then standard rate of £50 per parish, for All Saints’, St James’s, St Philip’s and Redcliffe, all in 1646.⁶¹ Next year, St Nicholas’s, St Augustine’s and the Gaunts (St Mark’s), together with the new position of College (Cathedral) lecturer were awarded £50 apiece;⁶² though it seems that the augmentation to St James’s may have ceased then.

It seems clear that these augmentations were not being assigned to the poorer livings. St Nicholas’s was generally reckoned rich, especially with the civic lectures thrown in. St Philip’s too, in normal circumstances, was a good living; while St James’s was richer than say St Michael’s; and All Saints’ with the preaching bequest was better off than St Ewen’s or Temple. Redcliffe had indeed no income at all for an incumbent – because it was only a chaplaincy – but the augmentation went to Hassard of St Ewen’s who already enjoyed a preaching stipend at Redcliffe. St Augustine’s was the only genuinely poor living but this augmentation together with that for the non-parish of the Gaunts⁶³ was a fiddle: the money was paid to a member of the Committee and by him to the newly created post of Cathedral Lecturer.

Nor did augmentation go with ‘plundering’ aka sequestration. The 1646 augmentations included the unsequestered St James’s and St Augustine’s, and only three of the six sequestered parishes. In 1647, sequestered St Nicholas’s also benefitted and St James’s seems to have dropped out; but still the sequestered parishes of Christchurch and St Thomas’s were ignored.

The key lies more in the ministers than the parishes favoured. All the beneficiaries were men who needed to be attracted to Bristol. True, Hassard and Paul were returning to their original benefices; but both had found livings elsewhere and did not need to return. Ingelo and Jessop also had parishes elsewhere already; and Stubbs was residing in his native county of Gloucestershire when the St Philip’s vestry sent for him. The bundle fraudulently made for the Cathedral lecturer eventually attracted the prestigious Knowles. Given a chance to increase the incomes of poor ministers without any new burdens on the ratepayers, Bristol rejected it.

1.2.3.4 Amalgamation of parishes⁶⁴

In the period of the Civil War and Interregnum⁶⁵ a new approach to the increasing of pay was to join two or more parishes together so that one minister might have the joint income. The first proposal began on November 28 1645, when Parliament

⁶⁰ By now mostly members of the old Common Council wearing nominally different hats.

⁶¹ MS Bodley 323 f 265 June 3 and 27, July 30 1646.

⁶² And another £50 for the non-clerical salaries and allowances previously paid by the Dean & Chapter (MS Bodley 325 f 209, 17 November 1647; 325 f 292, 8 December 1647).

⁶³ Though the curate could have done with something; he was paid all of £2 then and throughout the period, see Audit Books *passim*) unchanged since the previous century, Latimer *Annals of Bristol: Sixteenth Century Bristol* (1908) 98–9.

⁶⁴ I owe much of the material and the text of this section to Professor Jonathan Barry.

⁶⁵ This was much easier to consider in this period when so many patrons had been abolished or sequestered.

which had just retaken Bristol from the Royalists, ordered

That the Committee of Parliament appointed for the City of *Bristoll* shall have Power, and are hereby authorized, to present unto both Houses of Parliament what Churches and what Number are sufficient, and most convenient and necessary, for the City of *Bristoll*, and how and in what Manner the same may be lawfully united; and farther to present unto both Houses of Parliament, how, and in what Manner, a Competency of Maintenance may be raised for Ministers in that Place, either by a just and indifferent Taxation to be made upon the Inhabitants of that Place, or by allotting some Proportion out of the Revenues of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral, to the Intent that a speedy Course may be settled by the Parliament, for establishing godly and learned Ministers in that City⁶⁶

No response to this is identifiable until August 1648, when the Common Council of Bristol, now back in charge, petitioned Parliament that some of the Dean and Chapter revenues be used to fund preaching in the Cathedral [so designated] and “other uses to be presented and pressed by the burgesses”.⁶⁷ This is presumably the petition considered in the Commons on 2 October 1648, and the Bristol MPs were ordered to bring in an ordinance “for laying an equal rate upon the inhabitants of ... Bristol for the maintenance of their ministers”.⁶⁸ Parliament also asked the Committee for Plundered Ministers to consider further augmentation for Bristol’s ministers (see above).

The Bristol bill was eventually brought in on 15 February 1649/50,⁶⁹ enacted on 29 March 1650,⁷⁰ and published on 1 April 1650, as an act ‘for the more frequent preaching of the gospel and better maintenance of the ministers in the city of Bristol’.⁷¹ This argued that “eighteen⁷² parish churches, besides the Cathedral”, was “more than sufficient”, and that the “few ministers now officiating” were dependent for subsistence on “the voluntary contributions of the people”. The Mayor, and Sheriffs, together with 7 named aldermen and 14 other named ‘citizens and burgesses’, formed a commission of whom “any five or more” would be able to unite and consolidate the parishes into a fewer number that would create “good and sufficient incomes” for their ministers. Certificates of ‘such union and consolidation’ would be submitted to Chancery, rendering them “a good and sufficient union in Law, to all intents and purposes to continue for ever”. The rights of existing patrons would be respected by allowing them to make presentations in turn, in an order decided by the commissioners. The money would be raised by five commissioners, together with 3 ‘able and well-affected inhabitants’ of each parish setting a rate based on rents or the true yearly value of all houses, warehouses, cellars, stables and all other lands and tenements, which could not exceed 1s 6d per annum in the pound, plus for those with ‘great stock in trade’ a tax on its value not to exceed 5s per £100. They were given power to distrain goods or pursue debts in the city courts for anyone who refused to pay. A treasurer appointed by the Mayor would pay

⁶⁶ JHL viii 15. See also Latimer 17C: 208–9.

⁶⁷ CCP 8 August 1648.

⁶⁸ JHC VI p. 42. See also Latimer 17C: 221–2.

⁶⁹ JHC VI p. 365.

⁷⁰ JHC VI pp. 379 and 383.

⁷¹ JHC VI p. 388.

⁷² The Bristol Council had bolstered their case by pretending that St Mark’s was a parish.

all those Ministers which are or shall be placed in the aforesaid City, and approved of by the Parliament, or such as the Parliament shall appoint, in such proportion, manner and form as they in their discretions shall think fit.

This discretion, as well as putting enormous power in the hands of the commissioners, means that we have no idea what the detail of the new parish model and financing would have been; but it seems likely that the amalgamations would have been very much those spelled out in 1657,

This act doubtless faced strenuous opposition. A petition with above 400 hundred signatures with “the cities animadversions against consolidation”, was reprinted in 1712 (in response to a new scheme raised then) and again in 1785.⁷³ However, though the 1712 publishers claimed it was ‘about sixty years ago’, and Latimer accepted this dating,⁷⁴ it seems very likely that it was provoked, not by the 1650 act but by its 1657 successor, when printed papers had been thrown into the entries of people’s houses on 30 November purporting to be a petition against the Act of Parliament for the maintenance of ministers in Bristol.⁷⁵ The petition itself also refers to the activity of “those ministers of the gospel, Mr R.F. [Ralph Farmer] and Mr J.K. [John Knowles] in soliciting consolidation”, condemning them as “men greedy of filthy lucre, oppressors and evil members of and enemies to the city, and no ministers of the gospel”. Knowles is not known to have been in Bristol before 1652, and Farmer was only an occasional preacher at St Thomas’s in 1650. But no doubt the main objections (see below), would have been the same in 1650.

Whatever the opposition in 1650, it seems that the corporation decided not to exercise either its consolidation or rating powers at that time. Amalgamation lapsed until late 1656, though the commission still operated as an intermediary for augmentations already granted and reassigned; and also invited Thomas Ewins to come to minister in Bristol on 14 July 1651.⁷⁶

On 18 December 1656 Parliament considered a petition from Bristol’s Council, together with “ministers of the Gospel and other chief inhabitants who desire to fear God and live in the Lord Jesus in sincerity in the said city”.⁷⁷ Rather oddly, it is not until January 1657 that the Common Council asked Aldworth and Jackson to obtain an Act

whereby the defects in the last Act may be supplied and if possible that the Mayor Aldermen and Common Council of this city may have the like powers and authorities committed to them as by the former Act was given to the said Committee.⁷⁸

In April the Common Council asked also that St Ewen’s parish church (catering to only 22 families) should be vested in the Corporation and used as a library, “there being not any maintenance for a preaching minister belonging thereunto”.⁷⁹

An Act was eventually passed on 26 June, on the same day as Parliament confirmed an ordinance made in September 1654 ‘for the better maintenance and

⁷³ *Past and Present* III pp. 28–30.

⁷⁴ Latimer pp. 227–8.

⁷⁵ Mayor and Aldermen, 30 November 1657.

⁷⁶ Lyon Turner ch. 3 pp. 73–5.

⁷⁷ JHC VI: 469–70.

⁷⁸ CCP 7 January 1656/7.

⁷⁹ CCP 1 April 1657.

encouragement of preaching ministers and for the uniting of parishes'.⁸⁰ Bristol's Act was 'for explaining a former act of parliament for the more frequent preaching of the gospel and the maintenance of ministers in the city of Bristol and for supplying certain defects in the former act'.

The terms of the act are not known (such local acts were not published), but in October the Common Council set out its plans:⁸¹

The Cathedral, the Gaunts [St Mark's], St Augustines and St Michaels to be one parish; St James's; St Thomas to be one; Temple to be one; Redcliffe to be one; St Philips and the Castle to be one; Stephens to be one; Nicholas to be one; Walberghs and Leonards to be one; All Saints and Ewens to be one; Christchurch and Johns to be one; Mary-le-Port and Peters to be one.

These parishes assessed at:⁸²

Michaels £20 and Augustines £30 = £50
 St James's £50
 St Thomas £120
 Temple £48
 Redcliffe £40
 Phillips and Castle £20
 St Stephens £90
 St Nicholas £120
 Walburgh £50 and Leonards £35 = £85
 All Saints £50 and Ewens £20 = £70
 Christchurch £65 and Johns £55 = £120
 Mary-le-Port £36 and Peters £60 = £96

All the amalgamations involved one vacant parish and one with a minister, but with one or two awkwardnesses: especially at the first new parish. Knowles was already the Cathedral Lecturer and Read was still at St Augustine's. St Mark's was a fiction and St Michael's was vacant – but would Snead have left his post at QEH school for St Michael's unless he looked to the new enhanced living, or resigned it again except when disappointed? (See II.2.10.) St Leonard's was vacant for Knowles to have it with St Werburgh's. Knowles was also the regular preacher at All Saints', but the joint ministry must have been meant for Hassard of St Ewen's. Ewins was similarly the regular preacher at Christchurch but was presumably to give way to Pownall of St John's. St Mary le Port was vacant for Pritchard of St Peter's to take over. And there were disamalgamations: St Mary Redcliffe and St Thomas's were treated as parishes, without reference to Bedminster.

Three of the amalgamations, involved one parish which had been in the patronage of the Dean & Chapter (St Augustine's, St Leonard's and All Saints), and one other, thus eliminating conflicts of patronage, Christchurch and St John's were both already City livings, but as noted, there was no incumbent, presented or intruded, at Christchurch.

⁸⁰ Firth & Rait II: pp. 1000–5, 1132.

⁸¹ CCP 6 October 1657.

⁸² Correctly noted in Latimer pp. 273–4. *Past & Present* III p. 39 contrives to rate St James's with St Michael's and St Augustine's at just £50, and to misprint St Thomas's £120 as £12 – and then make the total £791 instead of £751 by their figures and £909 by the Act's.

All the churches (except St Ewen's) were to be retained, with provision for all present ministers and the retention of revenues for the upkeep of fabric; if there was no settled minister, the "two ablest parishioners" could use the money raised to support "any minister called to be minister". Unlike the previous act, there was no city-wide rating and collection: each new parish had an agreed sum to raise to support its minister, but the parochial vestries were given discretion to raise their sums as they thought fit, so that the rate might be "submitted to cheerfully". The vestrymen were to confirm their rates twice yearly, along with the poor rate, and get confirmation from the city JPs; anyone objecting to their rating could appeal to the JPs. Similarly, so that the measures "may find acceptance with the people and better encouraging them in the payment of rates", each parish was to be able to choose its minister, provided it chose an ordained minister or someone from one of the universities.

A total of £909 was to be raised for ministers across the city, an average of £75 per minister. Overall they still gave higher incomes to the inner city area, which was indeed rich, but some of the individual assignments are very puzzling.

The largest sums (£120 each) were for the newly united parish of Christchurch/St John's and for St Nicholas's and St Thomas's (each left a separate parish). The figure for Christchurch and St John's does not seem out of line with the combined parishes; and St Nicholas's had always been a rich parish and a good living (and perhaps the Council reckoned to include the Lecturer's stipend also). But what raised St Thomas's so high? It was not at all a wealthy parish (see Part I.2.15), indeed George Bishop had made a pointed contrast between it and St Nicholas's in the career of Ralph Farmer. The contrast with the seriously rich St Mary Redcliffe, rated at just £40, is startling and difficult to explain.

St Peter's and St Mary-le-Port were united to receive £96, and All Saints' with St Ewen's at £70: these perhaps appropriate to the parishes' means. But the dockside St Stephen's was rated at £90, while the exceedingly wealthy St Werburgh's and St Leonard's were united at only £85. Smaller sums were allocated for all the other non-central parishes, with Temple on £48 being taxed higher than Redcliffe (£40) – surely unfair. The two parishes which included sections outside the city, St James's and St Philip's, were only allocated £50 and £20 respectively. In St Philip's case it may have been assumed that the minister would still receive the tithes due in the rural part of his parish, which were in fact proving quite uncollectable (see I.2.13); and the parish had for some time had no minister in consequence. For St James's in 1659 the Council tried to enhance the 'small and uncertain maintenance' of the minister by granting him half the income of the annual fair in the churchyard and the parsonage house,⁸³ although their right to grant either of these was contested by the parish.

Finally, the large parish created by the union of St Augustine's and St Michael's, which also incorporated the Cathedral precincts and St Mark's chapel (or the Gaunts), was valued at only £50. Since the Cathedral lecturer alone had been receiving £150 in augmentations this is as hard to explain as who was supposed to get the living.

Copies of the proposals were then sent to the vestrymen of every parish, with the sum to be assessed on each parish and how it might be united. As we have seen it was probably only in November 1657 that the petition opposing the scheme was circulating, suggesting it took some while for it to become public. Those involved

⁸³ CCP 19 Jul 1659.

were accused of betraying “the charter, privileges and liberties of the city”, and all burgesses were urged to oppose consolidation or else they would falsify their burgess oaths and risk “the destruction of their property”. This property was

the discharge or freedom from tythes, or forced contributions for ministers, being its right of inheritance for ever, purchased upon a valuable consideration of an yearly rent.

(presumably a reference to the city receiving any tithes commutations when it purchased many of the city livings after the Reformation). Moreover,

being at present under great decay of trade, losses both by sea and land, customs, imposts, excises, contributions to state and poor etc, this heavy imposition may become an intolerable burthen and of dangerous consequences.

By custom, it was claimed, Bristol “had always comfortably and plentifully maintain’d its ministers (time out of mind) by free and voluntary contributions”, while in equity, no minister should be

placed over any parish before he be first approv’d and allow’d of by the major part of the parishioners who are to provide for him, and chiefly to have and receive the benefit of his ministry.

(In fact, only St James’s parish had an established right of “electing” their minister at this period; the others being appointed by the patrons.) Finally the petitioners claimed that there was an act of common council

that the city should not join with the ministers thereof, to make suit to the Parliament for increase of their livings by enforced tythes or contributions.

On 5 January 1657/8 the Common Council, noting the “several acts” for “more frequent preaching of the gospel and maintenance of ministers within Bristol” decide to go into “grand committee” to implement the scheme the following Friday afternoon, but on 3 March it reported that the vestrymen would not approve the assessments for the parishes and when they had tried to get three leading inhabitants of each parish to assist (harking back to the 1650 Act, perhaps) most had refused. Though the Council urged them to continue with an assessment, it seems that the rate imposed met with little success.

In August 1658 the Common Council appointed Till-Adams to the vacant living of Christchurch,⁸⁴ indicating that they had given up on the amalgamation with St John’s, which also had an incumbent. But they may have still nourished hopes of the new assessment, for in September they decided to apply £100 of the civic revenues for ‘the better maintenance and encouragement’ of the ministers, to be repaid from the rates envisaged under the ‘late Act’ once collected.⁸⁵ They even assigned the benefits or most of them: £20 each to Paul (St James’s), Jones (St Stephen’s), Farmer (St Nicholas’s), and Hancock (St Philip’s);⁸⁶ but the Chamberlains accounts do not show that any money was paid under this scheme.⁸⁷ Apart from confirming the

⁸⁴ CCP 10 August 1658.

⁸⁵ CCP 20 September 1658.

⁸⁶ CCP14 February 1659.

⁸⁷ In March 1660 the Council was still to hold further debate on it, suggesting either that it had never been implemented or that difficulties in collecting it had arisen.

inclusion of the Castle precinct into St Philip's,⁸⁸ it seems unlikely that the proposed scheme ever got beyond resolutions on paper.

1.2.3.5 Pluralism

With the Restoration of king and church in 1660, the context for church livings schemes altered greatly, not least in the restoration of all patronal rights and the cancellation of interregal laws. But concern for inadequate clerical maintenance persisted and King Charles II issued a letter in 1660 urging the Church's restored bishops to seek the augmentation of small vicarages.⁸⁹

Nothing seems to have followed from this in Bristol till March 1663/4, when the Common Council instructed their MP, the ardently royalist Sir John Knight, to seek yet another act of parliament for raising ministers' maintenance within the city.⁹⁰ No details of the act sought were given but perhaps yet another giving power to the Council to deal with the matter was intended. However, there is no evidence that Knight pursued a bill for Bristol; and the Council issued no reminder.

In 1665 there was an act of Parliament for uniting churches empowering bishops, with the agreement of corporations and patrons, to unite parishes worth less than £100 p.a. in cities and corporate towns so that parishioners attended a single church. There were all sorts of safeguards: it would only operate once the livings were vacant, patrons would take it in turns to nominate provided they chose university graduates, and churchwardens would continue to be elected and taxes collected for each of the individual parishes as before. But there is nothing to suggest that the Bishop of Bristol or the Council stirred in the matter.

In 1677, there was another Act of Parliament which expressed an aim of getting all livings to be worth at least £80 p.a. and preferably £100.⁹¹ Bishop Carleton was said to be seeking to add to it a clause establishing the jurisdictional independence from the civic authorities of the Cathedral area, as was common in many older cathedral cities. (see 2.1 above) And this in turn may be linked to what looks like a diocesan

scheme for an act of parliament to ascertain the tythes in Bristol ...for the better settlement of the maintenance of the parsons, vicars and curates in the parishes of the city of Bristol.⁹²

They had

no settled maintenance, but live precariously and very poorly depending wholly upon the benevolence of the people, a thing altogether unworthy of the high and holy calling of the ministry of the Gospel.

A "constant settled maintenance" would "take off the constant care how to get bread every day for their families" assuring time for their studies to "advance the salvation of those souls committed to their charge". Each parish was to have a settled sum raised in tithes or money paid in lieu of tithes, though frustratingly, but perhaps tellingly, no sums are entered – perhaps the sponsors had not been able to decide on appropriate sums. However they had worked hard on other practical details. A

⁸⁸ Already decided upon: Quarter Sessions BRO IQS/M/4 f 26 r Sept 1656. Lyon Turner ch. iv p. 20 says 8 September.

⁸⁹ E. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (2 vols, Oxford, 1844, pp. 272–4.

⁹⁰ CCP 11 March 1663/4.

⁹¹ JHL xiii 3 March.

⁹² BRO EP/A/28/1.

proportionate assessment of the households in each parish was to be made by the alderman of the ward in which it lay together with his deputies and any common councillors from that parish and the churchwardens with any complaints about assessment to go to the mayor and aldermen as JPs. The mayor was to distrain anyone refusing payment; if the mayor or aldermen failed to act then the Lord Chancellor or Keeper or one of the Exchequer barons could perform their tasks. But no secular or ecclesiastical court was to hold plea for the sums involved and incumbents were not allowed to sue people in court for what was owing. Finally, like the 1657 measure, this addressed the anomaly of the Castle being extraparochial (so that no churchwardens could enter it to make presentments), but the solution offered here was to annex it to St Peter's (rather than St Philip's – the Castle precinct lay between them) and 'all of the inhabitants to resort to St Peters church and to be chargeable under the act'.⁹³

The proposal is much more accommodating of Conciliar authority than Carleton normally was, and may have been actually a counter-move by those city clergy who opposed Carleton's tactics in attacking the city's magistracy. Their leader was Samuel Crossman, since 1667 vicar of St Nicholas's and a Cathedral prebendary and treasurer. But the concessions were not enough for the magistrates. On 4 April 1677, the Mayor wrote to the MPs warning them that "the clergy" were "labouring to get the approbation" of the Common Council to apply to the King and Parliament for a "settled maintenance for the ministers of each parish", supported by "severall persons of quality and moment in this place". The Mayor feared they would try to have a clause inserted in the bill for 'endowment of poor vicarages' or another act, as a preliminary to a full act, and urged the MPs to be vigilant to prevent the city being 'surprised'.

The debate over parochial livings continued after 1688, no doubt stimulated by publications such as *Valor Beneficiorum or a valuation of all ecclesiastical preferments* (1695), which listed the Bristol parishes (p63) as worth between £3 3s 2d (St Ewen's) and £21 1s 1d (St Nicholas's), with most between £6 and £15. A slightly better picture, for some parishes, was offered in John Ecton's *Liber valorum et decimarum* (1711), which gives 'clear yearly values' for each parish discharged, as well as recording what they were due to pay in clerical taxes ('tenths'). Bristol's parishes (p.37) vary from St Ewen's (6s 8d only) up to £43 11s for St Philip's, with St Mary Redcliffe (£40 13s 8d – includes St Thomas's and Bedminster), St Werburgh's (£33 6s 8d), Temple (£33 2s 8d), All Saints' (£21 11s 8d) and St Stephen's (£20 13s 11d) all above £20, but others had fallen in value, with St Nicholas's now only valued at £7 14s 6d and Christchurch (£11 in 1695) only £3 8s and St Leonard's (£12 in 1695) now £4 1s 5d. Ecton's figures were based on information collected in 1707 when ministers were required to list the value of their livings, gift sermons and the like under the terms of Queen Anne's Bounty.⁹⁴

There was also to be another clerical petition to establish better livings; but this lies outside our present scope except as it has recovered evidence of the nature of opposition to the schemes of 1650 and 1657. In our period, it seems that laymen, including the Councillors as individuals, preferred having the clergy dependent on them for year-to-year stipends for preaching and Lecturing over any system of compulsory levy which rendered the minister independent of the goodwill of his parishioners.

⁹³ This suggests that it had never been effectually merged into St Philip's.

⁹⁴ The original information for Bristol, sent to the Bishop on 5 January 1707–8, can be found in the Temple parish archives [Temple E4(2)] and the variations from 1695 are probably caused by the inclusion of the value of clergy houses (St Nicholas's, Christchurch and St Ewen's had no house in 1707).

Perhaps recognising this attitude, the Bristol Council appear to have found pluralism was an easier way to put livings together than any formal amalgamation. Thus Pleydell combined St Peter's and Mary-le-Port from the late 1660s and Waterman did the same in 1690. Pownall held St Ewen's with St John's through the 1660s, and after him, Thomas Palmer jnr, already rector of St Werburgh's and curate at St Leonard's, took St John's also. Heath combined St Augustine's with Christchurch, after the Council had failed to get Roberts of All Saints' into Christchurch too. And of course the institutional pluralism whereby Redcliffe and St Thomas's were adjuncts of Bedminster resumed with the Restoration. But clergymen could not count on a second living when they took a first, so the fact that they continued to petition for vacancies suggests that the livings were not deemed unsatisfactory.

1.2.4 Standard of Living

Two sorts of information can be used to give an idea of how ministers lived, whether Anglican or Non-conformist. There are hearth tax returns (Table 2) to show the location as well as roughly the scale of their homes, and to this we may sometimes add annual rental; and wills and probates (Table 3) to show their estate at death.

Table 2. Hearth Tax hearths⁹⁵

<i>Hearth Tax of</i>		1662	1664	1668	1670	1673
Blinman, Richard*	Castle			3	2	
Brady, Matthew	Lower Church Lane			3	3	3
Brent, Humphrey	Temple St				6	6
Brent, Jacob	Temple St	6	6			
Chetwynd, John	Temple St			5	6	6
Crossman, Samuel	St Augustine's			7	7	7
Ewins, Thomas*	Castle	4		4		
Farmer, Ralph*	St John's	5	5			
“ “	St Ewen's			5	5	
Godwin, Thomas	Old Market St		5			
“ “	St James's			5	5	5
Hassard, Matthew	Broad St	4	4	4	4	
Horne, Thomas	St James's			5	5	5
Jones, Henry	St Stephen's		3		6	6
Palmer, Thomas	Small St			4	4	4
Paul, John	St James's			3		
Pleydell, Josiah	St Mary-le-Port			4	4	
Pownall, Richard	Baldwin St	3				
Pritchard, Robert	St Peter's	4	4			
Read, James	St Augustine's		3		2	2
Standfast, Richard	the Pithay			4	4	
Thompson, John*	St Stephen's				2	2
Towgood, Richard	St Augustine's	6 & 8	6	Into Deanery		
Troughton, William*	St James's			4	4	4
Williamson, George	Cathedral Green	7	7	7	5	5

* Dissenting.

⁹⁵ The information is supplied by Jonathan Barry, but includes only those who can be identified as ministers in current or previous practice.

These returns probably say more about family circumstances and about vicarages than about financial status. It is notable that Read, a relatively rich man with property interests, has a mean dwelling.

Table 3. Wills and Probates

<i>Name</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Will</i>	<i>Probate Inventory</i>	<i>Rooms per probate</i>
Batchiler, Susan ⁹⁶	1637		Leases worth £30 and a bond for £40; no books total £116. ⁹⁷	
Blinman, Richard*	1681	Books, listed by title, and medicaments. ⁹⁸	£40 inc £10 books. ⁹⁹	
Brent, Humphrey	1677		£270 inc £35 books. ¹⁰⁰	9
Chetwynd, John	1693	(1692) 3 leasehold properties, mortgaged for £100, to daughters (son already has his share?) Hefty volumes by name. ¹⁰¹		
(Y)evans, Jencon, Jenkin Evans	1628	(1627) Very small monetary bequests. ¹⁰²		
Ewins, Thomas*	1669	House in Wilts (worth £50) 2 houses in Castle Green plus a small tenement. ¹⁰³		
Farmer, Ralph	1670	Leasehold of Upper Knowles Farm to wife, also house in Broad St and property in Hallier St St John's, also all household effects + £400 per marriage settlement; and balance of £2000 to daughter. ¹⁰⁴		
Goodman, John	1618	(1617) Farming equipment at Walton in Gordano; tenement at Hazel (Glos). ¹⁰⁵		
Higgins, Tobias	1698	Property in Thornbury and in Yate [worth £450-750]; £170 in cash bequests. 'All my books' to brother. ¹⁰⁶		

⁹⁶ Widow of William who had died only the year before.

⁹⁷ BRO FCI 1633-41/24.

⁹⁸ BRO FCW 1681/1.

⁹⁹ *Bristol Probates* II p. 117 Inventory taken in Devon.

¹⁰⁰ *Bristol Probates* II pp. 85–6.

¹⁰¹ PCC Prob 11/413.

¹⁰² PCC Prob 11/513.

¹⁰³ PCC Prob 11/362 proved 1679.

¹⁰⁴ PCC Prob 11/334.

¹⁰⁵ PCC Prob 11/131.

¹⁰⁶ PCC Prob 11/450. Properties specified at £13 & £24 pa. Town properties were conventionally valued at twelve years purchase, land at twenty.

Table 3. Wills and Probates (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Will</i>	<i>Probate Inventory</i>	<i>Rooms per probate</i>
Hobson, Hugh	1641	Two bonds for £100 each and smaller cash sums. books. ¹⁰⁷		
Horne, Thomas	1696	Land in Wales, houses in Cork. Books in two halves. ¹⁰⁸		
Jones, Henry	1695	All, unspecified, to wife. ¹⁰⁹		
Jones, Morgan	1616	freehold house and a leasehold and a bond of £38. ¹¹⁰		
Knight, Richard	1639		£20 inc £7 books. ¹¹¹	
Manning, William	1702		Study of books £20, total £135. ¹¹²	
Mason, John	1650		2 Bibles & other books £1, total £84. ¹¹³	
Massey, John	1685	A few shillings each to children & grandchildren. ¹¹⁴	No books, but an organ, 9? Total £59. ¹¹⁵	
Palmer, Thomas snr	1639		£190 inc £60 books ¹¹⁶	7
Palmer, Thomas jnr	1686	All unspecified to wife; ¹¹⁷ but his book collection was so substantial as to be auctioned with a printed catalogue. ¹¹⁸		
Penwarne, Nicholas	1690	£140 to son, £370 to daughter. ¹¹⁹		
Powell, John	1636		Books 7s; total £4 9s. ¹²⁰	
Pritchard, Robert	1663	Study of books to son. Grandchildren get shillings not pounds. ¹²¹	Books and presses £20; Pewter £12 Cash 27. Total £104. ¹²²	

¹⁰⁷ PCC Prob 11/187.¹⁰⁸ PCC Prob 11/437.¹⁰⁹ PCC Prob 11/429.¹¹⁰ PCC Prob 11/129.¹¹¹ *Bristol Probates* I p. 110. Books separately valued by Till Adams at 20 nobles.¹¹² BRO FCI 1697-1705/11.¹¹³ BRO FCI 1642-53/21.¹¹⁴ BRO FCW 1685/3, BRO FCI 1697-1705/11.¹¹⁵ BRO FCI 1685/2.¹¹⁶ *Bristol Probates* I p. 117. He was living in Redcliffe.¹¹⁷ PCC Prob 11/391.¹¹⁸ "The library of Mr. Palmer late of Bristol, being a choice collection of Latine and English books in divinity, history, &c. which will be sold by auction on Thursday next, the fifth of this instant April, 1694 ... Catalogues are distributed by Mr. Salusbury in Cornhill, Mr. Jay under the South-Piazza of the Royal Exchange, and at the place of sale." [London, 1694] ESTC R181407 [in British Library]. Thanks to Professor Jonathan Barry for this.¹¹⁹ PCC Prob 11/402.¹²⁰ BRO FCI 1637-41/22.¹²¹ BRO FCW 1663-2/2.¹²² BRO FCI 1662-64/7.

Table 3. Wills and Probates (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Will</i>	<i>Probate Inventory</i>	<i>Rooms per probate</i>
Read, James	1675	(1665) leasehold properties, specified by occupant not place. ¹²³	£552 inc £1 books ¹²⁴	4
Shaw, Edward	1634	£50 to nephew; good debts, goods& chattels to wife. ¹²⁵		
Terrill, Edward	1685	Considerable properties, including Whitson Court (worth over £1000) left to his wife; the substantial remainder to the Baptist Church. ¹²⁶		
Toose, Edward	1611		Books £13 6 8d; Total £34. ¹²⁷	
Towgood, Richard	1676	Large but unspecified properties already subject to trust. wife to choose 6 English books. ¹²⁸		
Way, Benjamin*	1680	£100 and Dorchester house. ¹²⁹		
Williamson, George	1685	Study of books to grandson, no properties named. ¹³⁰	£448 inc £60 books. ¹³¹	
Yeamans, William	1633	Goods and chattels only, but see probate. ¹³²	£306 inc £20 books. ¹³³	7
Average		Property left by 12 ministers	£168 (14 ministers) £21 books (12 ministers).	

* Dissenting.

Most of these 29 ministers appear to have had fairly comfortable households, notably the Redcliffe/St Thomas's men: Brent, Manning, Palmer snr. But one or two were obviously in pretty poor circumstances – Powell, Toose, and the curate Evans. Terrill was clearly rich, but as a result of his work with Ellis and the sugar business,

¹²³ BRO FCW 1675/3. Thomas Wall is a witness: interesting if this is the bookseller, as Read seems to have been a poor customer.

¹²⁴ *Bristol Probates* II p. 76. Most of Read's inventory is made up of property leases

¹²⁵ PCC Prob 11/165.

¹²⁶ PCC Prob 11/379.

¹²⁷ BRO FCI 1618/10.

¹²⁸ PCC Prob 11/373.

¹²⁹ PCC Prob 11/368.

¹³⁰ BRO FCW 1685/4.

¹³¹ *Bristol Probates* II p. 147.

¹³² BRO FCW 16333/6.

¹³³ *Bristol Probates* I pp. 81–2. The books are “the remainder ... which were not given in the deceaseds life tyme.”

not his religious activity. Farmer was next and he was very likely from a prosperous Bristol family. Then may be Tobias Higgins and James Read with some property, but – typically of other propertied ministers – leaseholders not owners. More than half actually mention books in will or probate; often in terms of the ‘study of books’ which O’Day suggests as the chief difference between the lives of ministers and of others.¹³⁴

We have to be very cautious in generalising from these results. They exclude more than twice as many as they include; and perhaps the excluded are more likely to have been the poorer. Real estate may well have been inherited rather than purchased; but may also have been transmitted by deed before death. For what they are worth, it looks as though a minister who held a living for a decent length of time might expect to live decently if unshowily. But they confirm that the urban parson had to win respect by demeanour and learning rather than by wealth and life-style.

¹³⁴ R O’Day *The English Clergy* p. 189.

II MINISTERS

II.1 The Church of England system

Every Church of England minister had first to be ordained by a bishop, and in this period this nearly always followed at least a first degree at Oxford or Cambridge. Ordination made him in the language of the time, a 'clerk' but it did not make a minister.¹³⁵

In order to become a minister he had to be appointed to a parish. Each parish had a patron.¹³⁶ When there was a vacancy, it was for the patron to present a nominee for the chief ministry of the parish to the bishop of the diocese in whose diocese the parish lay. If approved, he remained chief minister for life, unless removed by an ecclesiastical court, or, in the period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, by Parliamentary sequestration. Thus his tenure was also known as 'a living'.

Patrons might be the Crown, or the Bishop, or the Dean & Chapter of a Diocese, or, *ex officio*, the holder of a particular prebend or chapter seat. Oxford and Cambridge colleges were patrons, and so might be city corporations. Many lords of manors or other laymen were patrons. The right of the patron was called an 'advowson', and was treated as property, which might be inherited or bought and sold; or quite often leased for the 'next turn' or vacancy.

Where a minister enjoyed all the revenues of his parish, he was a rector. But many patrons had kept, or 'impropriated' the main revenues, especially the greater tithes, in their own hands, and then the patron appointed a vicar or deputy. Either rector or vicar might be known as parson. The parson in turn might appoint ordained men as curates to assist him, who had also to be approved by the bishop.

Within each parish, the parson was nominally the head of the vestry, which was otherwise a body of laymen. In Bristol, as elsewhere, vestries were self-appointing, not elected. In the vestry was 'vested' the property that had been given to or bought by the parish; and they were responsible for assessing and collecting parish rates. With these funds, they were responsible for the upkeep and cleaning of roads; the relief of the poor; and the maintenance of the fabric of the church up to the chancel. In practice, urban parsons were increasingly dependent on their vestry for payments to augment their meagre entitlements: see I.2.2 above.

¹³⁵ The term 'priest' is often used today. It seems rather a betrayal of the Reformation which could almost be summed up as the replacement of 'priests', necessary intermediaries with magical powers, by men who were trained to assist the individual in a direct relationship with God. Be that as it may, it was not commonly used at the time, other than for Roman Catholic priests; and by Hollister and other Quakers to impute just such antiChristianity to parish ministers. In Georges' *Probrates* there are clerks, ministers, parsons, rectors and vicars but not a single priest.

¹³⁶ See R O'Day *The English Clergy* (Leicester, 1979) ch. 6 pp. 75–85 for a fuller explanation of the system in early modern times. Also section I.2.2 above.

II.2 The Church of England in Bristol

Bristol had seventeen parishes – see Figure 1, frontispiece – in the well-known geographical configuration of a small, close, densely populated core surrounded by later, larger but less intensively populated settlements. Indeed several of the outer parishes went beyond the city walls and into the countryside. Table 4 identifies the status and patrons of each parish over our period.

A complication was that St Mary Redcliffe and St Thomas's churches were chapels of St John's, Bedminster;¹³⁷ indeed the prebend of Salisbury Cathedral who was patron had the advowson of St John's and St Mary Redcliffe as a couple. The appointee then usually appointed himself to the St Thomas's living, and might indeed make one of these parishes his main residence: see Table 2. St John's Bedminster was part of the diocese of Bath & Wells, while the chapels fell within the diocese of Bristol, but the connection was so strong that I have included St John's in this section.

Further, for most of our period, the advowson of the parish of St James's was leased from the patron by the vestry, who kept all the vicarial revenues and appointed their own minister who was technically a curate.

Table 4. Bristol parishes, by type and patron

	<i>Type</i>	<i>Patron</i>
All Saints'	vicarage	Dean & Chapter
Christchurch/Trinity	rectory	City
St Augustine's the less	vicarage	Dean & Chapter
St Ewen's	rectory	Sir Charles Gerrard to 1627, then City
St James's	chapel	Sir Charles Gerrard to 1627, then City (but leased)
(St John's, Bedminster)	vicarage	A Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral
St John's*	rectory	City
St Leonard's	vicarage	Dean & Chapter
St Mary-le-Port	rectory	Bridges family, Keynsham
St Mary Redcliffe	chapel	vicar of Bedminster
St Michael's	rectory	Sir Charles Gerrard to 1627, then City
St Nicholas's	vicarage	Dean & Chapter
St Peter's	rectory	Sir Charles Gerrard to 1627, then City
St Philip's†	vicarage	Sir Charles Gerrard to 1627, then City
St Stephen's	rectory	Crown to 1649, Keepers of the Great Seal
St Thomas's	chapel	vicar of Bedminster
St Werburgh's	rectory	Crown (Keepers of the Great Seal 1649–1660)
Temple/Holy Cross	rectory	City

* Properly St John the Baptist & St Lawrence, but just St John's in this text.

† Properly St Philip & St Jacob, but usually just St Philip's in this text.

It will be seen that at the beginning of our period Sir Charles Gerrard held five advowsons, the Chapter four and the City three. The Crown and St John's Bedminster each held two and the Bridges family held one. But when the City bought Sir Charles' five in 1627,¹³⁸ that gave them eight, almost half, and so the major voice

¹³⁷ '-minster' often characterises a head church with chapels under it.

¹³⁸ BRO 01075(1) 18 May 1627. They paid just £450 and Gerrard had to pay for the necessary licences for the transfer of property into the undying hands of a corporation in terms of the Statute of Mortmain.

in the appointment of parish ministers. There were no other changes in patronage in our period: but the Interregnum severely disrupted the normal process as described in section I.1.2 above.

All the parishes, including the chapels of St John's Bedminster, fell within the Bristol Deanery of the diocese of Bristol as created in 1542. The Bristol Deanery included also Almondsbury, Compton Greenfield, Elberton, Filton, Henbury, Littleton, Olveston, Stoke Gifford and Winterbourne, all in Gloucestershire; and Abbot's Leigh, in North Somerset.

Bristol was the poorest see in England,¹³⁹ so it would usually be a first appointment, often accepted with reluctance¹⁴⁰ and usually abandoned with alacrity. Though often non-resident, bishops did minister occasionally in Bristol, and so are listed here (Table 5). They are mostly included in Appendix 1 but only briefly as all of them, except Goulston, have *ODNB* entries.

Table 5. Bishops of Bristol

1603–1617	John Thornborough	1642–1644	Thomas Westfield
1617–1619	Nicholas Felton	1644–1646	Thomas Howell
1619–1622	Rowland Searchfield	1661–1671	Gilbert Ironside
1623–1632	Robert Wright	1672–1678	Guy Carleton
1632–1636	George Coke	1678–1684	William Goulston
1637–1641	Robert Skinner	1684–1685	John Lake
		1685–1689	Jonathan Trelawney

In addition to the Bishop, there was the Chapter consisting of the Dean of Bristol, the Archdeacon of Dorset, a Chancellor, six prebendaries or senior canons, and six minor canons.¹⁴¹ These were also Crown appointments.¹⁴² The main duty of each canon was to preach a sermon four times a year,¹⁴³ and even this might be delegated.¹⁴⁴ But none of them appears in this volume, unless also a parish minister, or as author of a published work; and only so are they included in Appendix 1.¹⁴⁵

Bishops were abolished by the victorious Parliament in October 1646; and Deans and Chapters in April 1649. All was restored, unchanged, in 1660.

II.2.1 All Saints'

All Saints' or All Hallows' was a small but well-to-do central parish, a vicarage in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. There are churchwardens accounts for the years to 1640 and then from 1651; and vestry minutes from 1650.¹⁴⁶ Unusually, All

¹³⁹ And in Wales only St Asaph was as poor. See Table 21 pp. 213–16 in *Princes & Paupers of the English Church* ed. O'Day & Heal.

¹⁴⁰ Reporting the death of Bishop Searchfield in 1622, the Lord Chamberlain reckoned that the place was so poor that there would be few suitors for it. *CSPD CXXXIV* 459.

¹⁴¹ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* p. 13.

¹⁴² Cathedral Statutes BRO DC/A/7/1/5, II & X.

¹⁴³ *Records of Bristol Cathedral* p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ See their answer on this point to the Archbishop, 1634, *Records of Bristol Cathedral* ed. Bettey, p. 62.

¹⁴⁵ A full list may be found in Barrett pp. 339–42; and at the end of I Kirby, *Diocese of Bristol: a Catalogue of Records* Bristol Corporation 1970.

¹⁴⁶ BRO P/AS/Chw/3(a) All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts 1549–1640, 1650–1700 [Ufp but on microfilm]; P/AS/R/1(a) All Saints' Registers* CM 1560–1763, B 1561–1766; P/AS/R/1(b) All Saints' Registers* C 1660–1812, M 1654–1752; P/AS/V/1(a) All Saints' Vestry Minutes 1650–1750.

Saints' accounts run December 26 to December 25. So the accounts for 1640/1 are effectively for the modern calendar year 1641, and so referred to here.

1598–1611 Francis Arnold

Arnold was instituted as vicar on 24 January 1597/8,¹⁴⁷ and died in 1611.¹⁴⁸

1611–1619 Robert Marks

Marks was presented in 5 August 1611.¹⁴⁹ He signed the churchwardens' accounts regularly as vicar; and was paid a 'benevolence' for his preaching, usually £12 a year.

1619–1620 William Gregory?

1619–1626 Richard Towgood

Towgood subscribed as minister on 14 July 1619.¹⁵⁰ There seems to have been some confusion at first since the 1619 accounts are actually signed by one William Gregory as vicar, and the preaching benevolence of 1620 is divided between Gregory and Towgood. But Towgood signed the accounts for that and subsequent years until 1626.

1626–1645 George Williamson

Williamson subscribed as vicar on 7 December 1626.¹⁵¹ He signed the accounts and got his £12 a year until the record breaks in 1640.

Lyon Turner reckoned that Fiennes, governor of the city for Parliament, had turned Williamson out in 1643 and installed Tombes in his place.¹⁵² It is true that Parliament ordered Williamson to admit Tombs as a preacher at All Saints' in January 1643.¹⁵³ But this did not eject the incumbent: the order shows that Williamson was accepted as the rightful vicar and that Tombes was only to be given access to the pulpit. The same thing happened to Paul at St James's, whom nobody ever accused of Royalist sympathies. There the vestry minute made it clear that some parishioners had volunteered to pay for the new preacher, and this may have also been the case at All Saints.

Bur Williamson was definitely sequestrated late in 1645 as the intrusion of Ingelo shows. In April 1650 he applied for a fifth of the income, which was legally payable by the intruded minister. The vestry noted that he had no claim on them but agreed "merely at the pleasure of the vestry and in consideration of the said Williamson's wife and family, they would give unto them ten pounds pa".¹⁵⁴

1645–1651 Nathaniell Ingelo

Ingelo was intruded in All Saints' in December 1645,¹⁵⁵ and was almost immediately awarded an augmentation of £50 a year which was continued to the end of his ministry.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ LPL, Whitgift's Register III.

¹⁴⁸ See successor. Will 1611, Georges' Wills.

¹⁴⁹ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book).

¹⁵⁰ BRO EP/A/10//1/1.

¹⁵¹ BRO, EP/A/10/1/2; EP/A/30/1 40/-.

¹⁵² Lyon Turner ch. 3.

¹⁵³ *The Journals of the House of Commons* 2: 1640–1642 (London 1803) 4 January 1642/3, also Latimer pp. 169–70.

¹⁵⁴ BRO P/AS/V/1a 23/4/1650.

¹⁵⁵ Bodley MS 325 f. 292 (19 November 1647) "this committee [for Plundered Ministers] the 20th of December 1645 settled Nathaniell Ingelo a godly orthodox divine in the benefice of the parish church of All Hallows".

¹⁵⁶ MS Bodley 323 f. 265 of 30 July 1646, last reference being 28 August 1651 (LPL Comm. VIa/2 f. 345).

He was no man for mundane administration and in his time the parish registers became sporadic, disordered and in different hands, as though it was up to anyone who desired a record to enter it himself.

Ingelo conducted two marriages in 1651, and received the full year's preaching bequest for 1651, but not for the following year, when sporadic payments by the churchwardens to various ministers suggest a hiatus of regular ministry.

1652–1658 John Knowles

Knowles was never formally intruded here. He began preaching at All Saints' in the autumn of 1652, alongside Oxenbridge. But in 1653 Knowles got the full stipend of £26, which was soon raised by the vestry to £30 a year.¹⁵⁷ This was paid him up to Michaelmas 1658.

1658–1659 Thomas Palmer jnr

The vestry held their first meeting 'about the choosing a minister' on 13th January 1657/8. Through the year they met a dozen times on this matter, sharpening their faculties and assuaging their anxieties with wine or dinners on each occasion. At first they negotiated with a Mr Freeman from Henbury. But by September the meetings were all about or with Mr Pawmer, probably Thomas Palmer junior.¹⁵⁸ Palmer took on the work from October 1658, at an enhanced rate of £60 a year, all paid by the vestry.¹⁵⁹ This suggests that he was doing more than just preach a weekly sermon. One would expect that he served in 1659 also, but unfortunately the accounts for that year are missing. However there are no payments to him in 1660, so it looks as though the arrangement ceased before the Restoration.

1660–1685 George Williamson

Williamson was reinstated without any fuss in 1660. The vestry awarded him the benefit of a house from Midsummer 1660, and paid him £13, half the annual preaching allowance stipend, for that year.¹⁶⁰ (They had gone back to the old system, £26 a year for a weekly sermon.) He seems to have served until his death in 1685.

1685–1686 Richard Roberts

Roberts subscribed on 1 October 1685.¹⁶¹

1686–1693 John Rainstorpe

Rainstorpe subscribed on 29 September 1686.¹⁶² He was succeeded by Thomas Paradise in 1693.

II.2.2 Christchurch

Christchurch or Holy Trinity was a central parish, a rectory in the gift of the City. There are sporadic vestry minutes from 1641.¹⁶³ There are churchwardens' accounts

¹⁵⁷ Vestry minutes December 1652, f. 16 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁸ Vestry minutes 13th January 1658 *et seq.*

¹⁵⁹ The churchwardens paid him £15 explicitly for one quarter at the end of 1658.

¹⁶⁰ The vestry awarded him the benefit of a house from Midsummer 1660, minutes 17 August 1660 f. 39, and paid him £13, half the annual preaching allowance stipend, for that year. Although he did not subscribe to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661 (DWL.LT 89.6) – none of the reinstated ministers did – he recorded his conformity on 11 August 1662 (Hockaday 432 citing Bristol Diocesan Register 18 p. 8).

¹⁶¹ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4.

¹⁶² BRO EP/A/10/1/6.

¹⁶³ BRO P/Xch/V/1(a) Christchurch Vestry Minutes 1641–1714; P/Xch/R/1(a) Christchurch Registers* CMB 1538–1720.

nearly all the period (running from Lady Day to Lady Day), with one or two gaps and one or two misbound.¹⁶⁴ They show that it was a prosperous area, with a considerable amount of property and vestrymen of some consequence in the city.

Up to 1640, the rector regularly received £40 a year paid out of the churchwardens' accounts: £26 13s 4d for a stipend and £13 6s 8d 'for the Easter Book' – a rate payers' collection which often realised more than that. He would also normally preach the gift sermons – 4 a year at 10s each; and get a few shillings for keeping the registers. From 1640 the minister seems to have had his stipend increased to £32, still with £13 6s 8d for the Easter book and £2 for sermons.

1602–1617 Morgan Jones

Jones was getting his 'wages' of £26 13s 4d from 1602,¹⁶⁵ and till his death in 1617. Can he be the same as the Morgan Williams instituted on 7 September 1577?¹⁶⁶

1617–1634 Edward Shaw

Shaw came in 1617 on the death of Morgan Jones,¹⁶⁷ and often signed the churchwardens' accounts as rector. He died in 1634.

1634–1645 Richard Standfast

Standfast was presented on 6 June 1634.¹⁶⁸ He signed the accounts as rector from 1634 until 1645. But in 1645/6 he received only the £26 13s 4d without any Easter Book payment. He was sequestered with other ministers in the winter of 1645/6.

1646–1652 Nathaniel Ingelo

In 1646 the vestry directed that part of the Easter collection should be paid 'to Mr Ingelo for his great pains taken in officiating'.¹⁶⁹ Ingelo was never described officially as minister of Christchurch, and received only £13 6s 8d a year 'for his years preaching'.¹⁷⁰ In 1650/1 the vestry confirmed that there was no rector.¹⁷¹ It seems he was never officially intruded to Christchurch, but preached regularly by arrangement with the vestry.

Ingelo was paid his £13 6s 8d for the full year 1651/2 but nothing thereafter.

1653–1658 Thomas Ewins

Ewins succeeded Ingelo as the regular preacher at Christchurch from around Michaelmas 1652 at the same rate of £13 6s 8d a year.¹⁷² In August 1658 the Council appointed Mr Till Adams¹⁷³ to the living "as much as in them lies" at the petition of the parishioners and stipulating that this was not to hinder the preaching of Mr

¹⁶⁴ BRO P/Xch/Chw/1(b) Christchurch Churchwardens' Accounts 1606–1653, 1654/55; P/Xch/Chw/1(c) Christchurch Churchwardens' Accounts 1653/4, 1656–1659, 1661–1708. Their year is normally Lady Day (25 March) to Lady Day, i.e. the calendar year as it then was.

¹⁶⁵ P/Xch/Chw/1 (b).

¹⁶⁶ LPL, Grindal's Register I. The Welsh were slow to adopt the English patronymic system.

¹⁶⁷ LPL, Abbot's Register, vol. 1 (Register).

¹⁶⁸ LPL, Laud's Register, vol. 1; see also CCP 5/3/1634.

¹⁶⁹ Vestry minutes 20th March 1646.

¹⁷⁰ LPL VIa/2 f. 345, 28 August 1651, see also *Church of Christ* p. 99.

¹⁷¹ Explaining why they were paying rent to the City for the rectory although "the rector usually paid it for his Easter book". 'Usually' testifies to their sense that the times were still out of joint.

¹⁷² The vestry paid him £20 in 1653/4 and thereafter at £13 6s 8d a year, the same as Ingelo had.

¹⁷³ CCP 10 Aug 1658. Till Adams had already been licensed by the Council to preach at Christchurch, CCP 23 March 1657/8, but the accounts show he did so only three times. The first name is not given in the records relating to Christchurch, but I take him to be Nathaniel.

Ewins ‘the now lecturer’. But Till Adams never took up the appointment.¹⁷⁴ Ewins drew his full stipend for the years 1656/7 and 1657/8. The abortive appointment of Till Adams confirms the conclusion that Ewins had not been officially intruded to the living, but became the regular preacher by arrangement with the vestry.

However there does not seem to be any payment to him for 1659 or 1660.

1660–1684 Richard Standfast

Standfast probably resumed his living in the course of 1660,¹⁷⁵ and by March 1661 he was being paid £32 a year, as in the early 40s.¹⁷⁶ But in these years there is no more of the Easter Book: perhaps the actual proceeds were now received directly by the rector. He seems to have carried on till his death in 1684.

1684–1686 Richard Roberts

The Council presented Roberts in 1684 but the vestry who had already asked for the appointment of Emanuel Heath protested.¹⁷⁷ Roberts had a hard time and in effect asked for release, especially as he had in 1685 been appointed to All Saints’. His [deliberate?] failure to get a dispensation for the pluralism gave the Council a way out and they appointed Heath in 1686.¹⁷⁸ The dispute is marked by a hiatus in the accounts for these years,¹⁷⁹ and throws some light on the *de facto* strength of a parish against an unpopular choice by the patron.

1686–1693 Emanuel Heath

Heath got a full years ‘salary’ of £36 in March 1688.¹⁸⁰ He probably served till 1693 as at St Augustine’s, but was absent from both for almost the entire period.¹⁸¹ He was succeeded by Charles Brent (curate from 1691¹⁸²), perhaps the third generation of this clerical family.¹⁸³

II.2.3 St Augustine’s the Less with St Mark’s

This was a large parish on the western outskirts, under the shadow of the Cathedral. It was a vicarage in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral. There are registers,¹⁸⁴ but churchwardens’ accounts only from 1669.¹⁸⁵

St Augustine’s included the chapel of St Mark, or the Gaunts, or the Trinity, in Bilswick, the chapel by the Cathedral. It was originally a small religious house with a master and three chaplains. At the dissolution, the chapel and the not inconsiderable endowments were granted to the Corporation. It was never a parish church,¹⁸⁶ though

¹⁷⁴ He had got himself into Stanton Drew in Somerset (LPL Comm III.1 f. 135 of 4 November 1658, III.7 f. 136 of 10 November 1658) where he got an augmentation in February 1659 (LPL Comm VIa/9 f. 541).

¹⁷⁵ He did not subscribe to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661, but neither did the other two restored ministers, who certainly had resumed their livings in 1660.

¹⁷⁶ Churchwardens’ accounts 1661/2.

¹⁷⁷ They might also have disliked “the hardline Tory royalism of his sermon *Honour the King*, although Standfast had also been a royalist of course” suggests Jonathan Barry: see Appendix 2.

¹⁷⁸ CCP 1 August 1684, 14 October 1684, 27 March 1685, 23 March 1685/6.

¹⁷⁹ Latimer pp. 425–6. Latimer reckons he was already at All Saints’ in 1684, but Standfast was still there to 1685.

¹⁸⁰ P/Xch/Chw/1 (c).

¹⁸¹ Latimer p. 426.

¹⁸² BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book).

¹⁸³ CCP 4 April 1693.

¹⁸⁴ BRO P/St Aug/R/1(a) St Augustine’s Registers 1577–1666; P/St Aug/R/1(a) St Augustine’s Registers 1577–1666. See also Sabin (ed) *Parish Registers of St Augustine*.

¹⁸⁵ P/StAug/Chw/1 (a).

¹⁸⁶ Though Skeeters indexes St Mark’s parish.

the Council pretended that it was in 1647 in order to obtain an augmentation which in fact was paid to Knowles as lecturer at the Cathedral. Citizens sometimes described themselves as inhabitants of St Mark's parish (Hockaday 433) and registers were kept there. But St Mark's had never been, nor ever became, anything more than a chapel. The Council regarded the Chaplaincy as a plum which was theirs to take away as well as to give. They gave it to John Mason, already at St James's "or as long as he shall well and orderly behave himself there" in 1618;¹⁸⁷ so definitely not a living in the usual sense. And they went to sermons there. There was sometimes a curate or Reader too (paid by the Council itself at a rate of £2 a year), perhaps the same as the Chaplaincy.

As a chapel, St Mark's might of course be used for services including baptisms, marriages and funerals, so there were registers but there were no churchwardens, no vestry and certainly no separate parish. Indeed Read, of St Augustine's, described himself as the minister for this church as well,¹⁸⁸ suggesting that he took services there too. Barrett attempts no listing of ministers or curates for St Mark's.

1604–1619 Clement Lewis

Lewis was presented on 25 June 1604.¹⁸⁹ He died in 1619.¹⁹⁰

1619–1626 Thomas Jefferay

Jefferay was presented in 1619.¹⁹¹

1626–1675 James Read

Read was presented in 1626.¹⁹² In 1647 the Committee for Plundered Ministers awarded an augmentation of £50 a year for the increase of the maintenance of the minister at St Augustine's;¹⁹³ but Read never benefitted from this.¹⁹⁴ It seems to have been simply bundled together with the grant for the Cathedral lecturer. Read was not ejected in 1654 – see above I.1.2 above. He was still at St Augustine's in 1662 when he signed up to the new oaths and from 1669.¹⁹⁵ The appointment of Emmanuel Heath as curate in 1670 suggests failing health.¹⁹⁶ Read died in 1675 (Table 3), when Heath succeeded him.¹⁹⁷

William Crane, otherwise unknown, is named as the "minister and preacher of Gods word, then belonging to the said Colledge" who married a couple at St Mark's in 1645.¹⁹⁸ John Massey, master at QEH, was appointed curate at St Mark's on £2 a year in 1664¹⁹⁹ where he was a frequent bondsman for marriage licences.

¹⁸⁷ CCP 7 September 1618 John Mason.

¹⁸⁸ *Deposition Books II* p. 133.

¹⁸⁹ BRO, DC/E/1/1c (Chapter Act Book).

¹⁹⁰ Will proved, Georges' Wills.

¹⁹¹ EP/A/10/1 p. 8.

¹⁹² TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions 28 Nov 1626; 28/11/1626. BRO, EP/A/10/1/2 p106 (Subscription Book) also BRO, EP/A/30/1 (Clergy list) (1/9/1634) and -/-/1642 GRO, GDR 207.

¹⁹³ MS Bodley 325 f. 292 of 8 December.

¹⁹⁴ The CPM and TMM records have no orders for payment to him, or to anyone on his behalf.

¹⁹⁵ Churchwardens' accounts.

¹⁹⁶ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 24/10/1670. Heath appears as bond for marriages by licence at St Augustine's and elsewhere, as "clerk" until April 1676 when he is "vicar of St Augustine".

¹⁹⁷ Probate dated 18 August 1675 *Bristol Probates I* p. 76. BRO, EP/A/10/1/5 (Subscription Book); Sabin (ed) *Parish Registers of St Augustine*.

¹⁹⁸ *Deposition Book I* p. 188.

¹⁹⁹ CCP 5 Jan 1663/4. But the appointment seems only to have been regularised, as Reader, in 1678: BRO, EP/A/10/1/5 (Subscription Book) 28/5/1678.

1675–1693 Emanuel Heath

Heath subscribed as vicar on 20 September 1675.²⁰⁰ He signed the churchwardens' accounts from 1680 to 1693,²⁰¹ when he was succeeded by William Wotton.²⁰² Charles Brent became Curate in 1691.²⁰³

John Bateman succeeded Massy as curate/reader at St Mark's in 1685 on the usual £2 p.a.

II.2.4 St Ewen's

St Ewen's or St Auden's was a very small²⁰⁴ central parish, a rectory in the gift of the Gerrard family till 1627, then of the City. The vestry minutes run intermittently throughout. There are no churchwardens accounts as such but the annual clearance and handover statements are in the vestry book.²⁰⁵

1603–1606 Morgan Jones

Jones (or was he Williams?) signed the vestry book as curate in 1603,²⁰⁶ and signed also in 1604, 05, and 06 without designation. No one else signed as minister in this time. As he was already rector of Christchurch, this looks like a stop-gap until a regular minister could be found.

1607–1619 James Listun

Listun signed the vestry minutes as rector in 1607 and last as "Parson" in 1619.²⁰⁷

1619–1639 Thomas Gawen

Gawen was presented on 25 Sep 1619.²⁰⁸ He signed the accounts as "Parson" in 1620. He remained there till 1639.

1639–1643 Matthew Hassard

Hassard was presented in 1639,²⁰⁹ and it was there that he substituted his own prayer that the King might be better advised for the official prayer against the Scots (I.1.2). In 1643 he left for London.

1643–1645 Timothy Whately

In Hassard's absence, the Council appointed Timothy Whately²¹⁰ "to be minister at St Ewen's parish and to officiate there".²¹¹ There is no mention of presentation, though there was a functioning Bishop, and Whately is not referred to as rector, so there is an implication that this was not intended to be a permanent appointment, and that Hassard was regarded as merely absent for the time. Whately took up the position, whatever it was, and signed the churchwardens' accounts as "Minister". Any embarrassment was avoided by his death in 1645.²¹²

²⁰⁰ BRO, EP/A/10/1/5; *Parish Registers of St Augustine*.

²⁰¹ P/StAug/Chw/1 (a).

²⁰² BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 25/4/1693.

²⁰³ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 6/5/1691.

²⁰⁴ When the Council proposed to convert the church into a library, they reckoned the parish to consist of but twenty-two families (CCP 1 April 1657).

²⁰⁵ P/St E/R/1(a) St Ewen's Registers CMB 1538–1653; P/St E/R/1(b) St Ewen's Registers 1653–1791 (CM), –1775 (B); P/St E/V/1 St Ewen's Vestry Minutes 1596–1746.

²⁰⁶ P/St E/V/1.

²⁰⁷ P/St E/V/1.

²⁰⁸ EP/A/10/1/2 p. 7.

²⁰⁹ CCP 17 Dec 1639 and TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institution 19 November 1639.

²¹⁰ Sometimes Thomas but Timothy seems to be correct.

²¹¹ CCP 25 Oct 1643.

²¹² St Ewen's burials register 1 July 1645.

1645/6–1662 Matthew Hassard

After the recapture of the city, and Whateley's convenient death, Hassard was able to resume his ministry.²¹³ But he was unable to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

1664–1670 Richard Pownall

Pownall was presented in 1664.²¹⁴ The parish records throw no light on the gap since Hassard's ejection. Pownall died in 1670.

1671 Henry Jones

Jones was presented on 6 March 1671.²¹⁵ This was the man who had been so long the rector of St Stephen's, not his son.²¹⁶ But this must have been only intended as temporary – Jones was already Chancellor of the diocese and gave up St Stephen's around this time.

1671–1698 Tobias Higgins

Tobias Higgins was presented as curate in November 1671,²¹⁷ and appointed to the living on the petition of the parishioners in December.²¹⁸ He first signed the vestry minutes as "Minister" in April 1682, and in other years to 1698. No-one signs in 1699, then James Pidding as "Minister" in 1700.²¹⁹

II.2.5 St James's

This was a large parish, spreading into the north-western suburbs of the city. It was technically a chaplaincy. The patron at the start of our period was Sir Charles Gerrard, but he had in fact leased the revenues and the right of presentation to the parishioners themselves in 1617. When the living was acquired by the City in 1626/7 the lease had still twenty years to run. So the parish collected the revenues of the living and could decide for themselves whom to hire and what to pay. The churchwardens' accounts are Unfit for Production but are available on microfilm.²²⁰ There are vestry minutes from 1623;²²¹ and the Easter Book of 1638 survives.²²²

1601–1616 John Powell

Barrett gives John Powell.²²³ I have found no records at all, but he is more or less right about the successors, so let us trust him here.

²¹³ The Council took no more official notice of his return than it had of his departure; and there are no vestry minutes for this or the immediately succeeding years, but the Redcliffe records show that Hassard was in Bristol from April 1646 at least.

²¹⁴ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book 6/9/1664).

²¹⁵ CCP 3 Feb 1670/1; BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 6/3/1671; BRO, EP/A/10/1/1 (Subscription Book).

²¹⁶ See CCP 3 Feb 1670/1. The son had already been presented to Portishead, another City advowson (CCP 6 Dec 1670).

²¹⁷ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 21/11/1671 although the Council decision to present him is minuted 23 Dec.

²¹⁸ CCP 23 December 1671.

²¹⁹ P/St E/V/1.

²²⁰ BRO P/St J/Chw/1a, b; Microfilm 620. There are also Registers P/St J/R/1/b CMB 1640–1687.

²²¹ BRO P/St J/V/1/1 1623–1658; P/St J/V/1/2 1623–1658 [transcript]; P/St J/V/1/3 1659–1691; P/St J/V/1/4 1659–1691 [transcript].

²²² In Bristol Central Reference Library, Bristol Collection no. 4531 ff. 165–9.

²²³ Barrett p. 388.

1616–1627 John Mason

Barrett has Mason at St James's from 1616.²²⁴ The vestry minutes show him to be there in 1627 – see below.

1627–1636 William Batchelor

Batchelor was presented in 1627.²²⁵ It looks as though there was some sort of deal between him and Mason. Both signed the vestry minute of Aug 1627 in which Batchelor was chosen and there was then a dispute which was settled under the chairmanship of the bishop in November. Batchelor died in 1636.

1636–1643 John Paul

Paul was chosen out of a short list of four by the vestry in June 1636. (The short list included Matthew Hassard.) They contracted to pay him £30 a year for a sermon every Sabbath and other unspecified duties (III.1.3.1).

In 1641 he, like Williamson at All Saints later, was required to admit an outsider to his pulpit:

that upon the commands from the House of Commons dated the ix of September that we whose names are underwritten do give our consents for the execution of the said order or command: It is the day abovesaid viz: October 6 ordered and agreed by the minister churchwardens and vestrymen of St James's that there shall be weekly lecture preached by Mr Richard Fowler, now living at Sodbury, in the parish church of St James's in Bristoll being at the request of some that are at the charge therof.²²⁶

and this minute was signed, inter alia, by Paul as “Minister”.

In 1643 he, like Hassard, decided to leave Bristol when the Royalists occupied it.

1643–1645 Henry Jones

There are no churchwardens accounts for 1643/4 or 44/5 or 45/6. But the vestry minutes refer to a claim, by Mr Jones “the minister”, for his quarter's wages at £2 10s in October 1644. The small amount suggests that he was not fully replacing Paul, and the wording suggests that it was an on-going arrangement. Mr Jones is probably the minister of St Stephen's, helping out.

1645–1662 John Paul

Paul returned before the end of 1645²²⁷ and in 1647/8 his contract was renewed on slightly different terms: he received the Easter Book and other dues directly, and the vestry merely made up his income to the agreed level. From 1659 the vestry's lease of the chaplaincy probably ended and, Paul seems to have become more the Council's than the vestry's employee: the Council awarded him an extra £20 a year; and he himself directly paid rent to them for the churchyard, while also receiving a share of the St James's Fair rents. The target income which the vestry made up rose to £40.²²⁸ He subscribed to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661, and signed the vestry book for the last time in June 1662, before disqualification as a non-conformist.

²²⁴ Barrett p. 388.

²²⁵ BRO EpP/A/10/1/2 p. 175 (Subscription Book) 31/10/1627.

²²⁶ P/St J/V/1 6 Oct 1641.

²²⁷ “now returned to his own country” from St Botolphs London', 13 Dec 1645, cited in *Calamy* p. 383.

²²⁸ CCP 14 Feb 1659, and 19 July 1659, also vestry minutes 15 June 1659.

1663–1697 Thomas Horne

The Council resumed the rights of patronage, but were ready to accept the proposals of the vestry. “Upon the humble petition of the inhabitants of the parish of St James’s within this city, it is ordered and agreed that Thomas Horne Clerk shall have the like nomination donation or collation to the church of St James’s under seal according to law now void, as Mr Bachelor and Mr Paul the former ministers there or either of them had”.²²⁹ And Horne was indeed chosen by the vestry in 1663.²³⁰ He was still signing the vestry minutes in 1691, and may well have been there till his death in 1697.

II.2.6 St John the Baptist

This parish lay in the crook of the Frome, where the church also stood as the northern gate of the old city wall. It was a rectory which had been acquired by the City in the sixteenth century and merged with the adjacent parish of St Lawrence in 1580.²³¹ There are churchwardens’ accounts for the whole period with a gap from 1640/1 to resume in 1652/3; and vestry minutes from 1650.²³²

1605–1615 William Davells

Davells was paid £2 as a benevolence by the vestry in 1605. This was renewed in subsequent years at rates from £1 to £3. In 1614 it was described as for St Lawrence, perhaps supplementing, perhaps replacing, the rate income from that erstwhile parish.²³³

1616–1618 John Oldham

Oldham settled his First Fruits on 31 May 1616.²³⁴

1618–1631 Edward Shaw

Shaw was presented in 1618.²³⁵ He resigned in 1631, freely according to the Council minute.²³⁶

1631–1670 Richard Pownall

Pownall was presented to the living in 1631.²³⁷ He was paid a supplement of £10 a year by the vestry for fortnightly sermons in the 30s, plus £5 often from the 50s. But he probably had the proceeds of the Easter Book direct. Pownall served on till 1670.²³⁸

²²⁹ CCP 21 March 1662/3. This did not stop Sir John Knight MP from asserting in 1678 that Horne had been inserted by license of the bishop into “our lay fee and no parish church” (*Past & Present* III 69).

²³⁰ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1, p46 (Subscription Book) BRO3/9/1663, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book).

²³¹ Skeeters p. 94.

²³² St John’s churchwardens’ accounts P/St JB/Chw/3(a) 1605–35; P/St JB/Chw/3(b) 1635–1710; P/St JB/R/1(a) St John’s registers 1558–1679; P/St JB/V/1(a) St John’s vestry minutes 1650–1750.

²³³ P/St JB/Chw/3(a).

²³⁴ PRO, E331 Bristol/1 (Returns to First Fruits Office).

²³⁵ PRO, E331 Bristol/1 (Returns to First Fruits Office) 7/11/1618. Oldham had been there only since 1616: PRO, E331 Bristol/1 (Returns to First Fruits Office) 31/5/1616 7/11/1618 PRO, E331 Bristol/1.

²³⁶ CCP 8 November 1631. A deal with Pownall may be suspected: Shaw was a dealer in livings – see St Philip’s.

²³⁷ BRO 04264/3 CCP 8 November 1631 Institutions Book 5 November 1631.

²³⁸ Churchwardens’ accounts 1670/1. Byam (BRO 17125) records his burial in the Cathedral 7 September 1670.

1671–1687 Thomas Palmer

Palmer was presented in 1671, and in 1672 received £20 from the vestry “for this and the former year”.²³⁹ He received the £10 supplement last in April 1687.²⁴⁰

1687–16?? James Taylor

Taylor was appointed in 1687.²⁴¹ There do not seem to be any accounts for 1688/9 but in 1689/90 Mr Taylor was paid £1 for 2 gift sermons, and again next year.²⁴² He may have gone on to 1734.

II.2.7 St Leonard's

This central parish was a vicarage in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. There are neither vestry minutes nor churchwardens accounts for the period, nor registers nor any other direct evidence as to the minister or ministers who may have worked there. Hockaday's scrapbook (440) significantly stops in 1548.

?–1611 Richard Dicklegg

Dicklegg resigned in 1611.²⁴³

1611–1612 Robert Watson

Watson was appointed on 6 August 1611,²⁴⁴ but lasted only until his death at the end of 1612.

1612–1612 Michael Hill

Hill was presented on 1 December 1612.²⁴⁵

1613–1626 Richard Williams

Williams was presented as vicar in 1613.²⁴⁶

1626–? John Norton

John Norton was instituted in 1626²⁴⁷ but it seems likely that he was an absentee. In 1631 the office of City Librarian was given to Pownall of St John's²⁴⁸ instead of to the vicar of St Leonard's as provided by the founder. Norton was listed as ‘rector’ in the Clerical Subsidy of 1634 though the living was only a vicarage, and with no amount stated.²⁴⁹ There are no other entries in the Institution book after Norton, and for what it's worth, Barrett records no minister between him in 1626 and Samuel Payne in 1690.

Terrill mentions a Mr Pennill who ‘had before been a Minister at Leonards’.²⁵⁰ Terrill's early history is mostly hearsay but Pennill (unknown to historical record otherwise) might have been a curate employed by Norton.

There are indications that the parish was suffering from general dereliction. In 1657 the Council of State gave permission to Thomas Ewins and his church (i.e. the by now

²³⁹ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 9/2/1671; Churchwardens' Accounts 1671/2.

²⁴⁰ P/St JB/Chw/3(b).

²⁴¹ CCP 11 May 1687.

²⁴² P/St JB/Chw/3(b).

²⁴³ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book). 6/8/1611.

²⁴⁴ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book). 6/8/1611.

²⁴⁵ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book).

²⁴⁶ BRO, DC/E/1/1(c) (Chapter Act Book) 12/1/1613.

²⁴⁷ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions 5 June 1626.

²⁴⁸ Beaven p. 242, also his activity in the 1640s noticed above.

²⁴⁹ BRO EP/A/30/1: no amount stated.

²⁵⁰ *Church of Christ* p. 97.

more-or-less Baptist Church of Christ) to use the parish church of St Leonard's,²⁵¹ which implies that no-one else did. The late 17th century antiquarian Savage records that there were no memorials or monuments in this church; and when the Council collected a list of gift sermons in 1659, there were none for St Leonard's.²⁵²

1669–168? Thomas Palmer

Palmer was presented as curate in 1669,²⁵³ and vicar in 1670;²⁵⁴ and may well have continued into the later 1680s. No successor, as vicar or curate, has been found for our period.

II.2.8 St Mary-le-Port

This was a central parish just north of the Avon and Bristol Bridge. It was a rectory and the Bridges family of Keynsham were the patrons. There are no parish records at all for the period, neither vestry book, minutes nor any registers (the church was bombed in World War II²⁵⁵); but Hockaday transcribed a quantity of register pages. There are also extracts in *Past & Present* but nothing to our present purpose.²⁵⁶

1621–1645 Edward Almond

Almond was presented by Sir Edward Bridges and instituted in 1621.²⁵⁷ He presumably served until his death in 1645.

1645–1662 Vacancy

There is no record to show that anyone succeeded Almond. The nominal patron Sir Thomas Bridges was a Royalist delinquent who compounded with the Somerset Parliamentary Committee. St Mary-le-Port was a rectory not a vicarage: there were no impropriations for the Somerset committee to sequester or for Bridges to recover. St Mary-le-Port lay in administrative limbo: the Somerset Sequestration Committee overlooked or ignored it and the Bristol Committee had no interest in raising a matter which could only be settled by some extra-Bristolian authority. And Parliament was slow to provide a procedure for filling a vacancy arising in a living under the patronage of a delinquent.²⁵⁸

Neither *Walker* nor *Calamy* refers to any minister of this parish. The parsonage was leased to a brewer around 1648.²⁵⁹ However Hockaday's register transcripts only partially bear out the idea of vacancy. After a reasonably busy 1645, only two ceremonies are recorded for the whole of 1646 and 1647, and none at all from 1655 to 1660 inclusive. But christenings, burials and weddings were all taking place at a normal rate in between, from 1648 to 1654, suggesting some sort of use. Whatever it was, it did not last.

According to *Calamy*, Ewins regularly preached at St Mary-le-Port on Sunday afternoons, after serving Christchurch in the morning; and in 1658 the parish

²⁵¹ CSPD 1656/7 3 March p. 299.

²⁵² BRO 04273(1) ff. 85v, 86r.

²⁵³ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 29/12/1669.

²⁵⁴ CCP 4 October 1670.

²⁵⁵ There is a fine painting of the ruins by John Piper: <https://goshandgolly.wordpress.com/2014/04/09/a-betjemanism-in-paint-the-seeing-eye-of-john-piper/>

²⁵⁶ *Past & Present* II ch. xix pp. 225–9.

²⁵⁷ TNA Exchequer 331.2A institutions as Edward A. 19 April 1621.

²⁵⁸ Shaw *English Church* II p. 188.

²⁵⁹ L Watts & p. Rahtz *Mary-le-Port, Bristol: Excavations 1962–1963* Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery 7 (1985) p. 34.

attempted to hold lectures on Sunday mornings there.²⁶⁰ The Council forbade this as being “without any authority at all”. This might have been because of Ewins’ regular preaching: a Commons order of 1641 had declared that the parishioners of any parish might set up a lecture on the Lords Day when there was no preaching;²⁶¹ but Latimer’s classification as an “instance of magisterial arrogance” seems more probable.²⁶²

No St Mary-le-Port minister subscribed to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661.

1662–1664 Robert Forsythe

In 1662, Bridges as undoubted patron presented Robert Forsythe to the living.²⁶³ But he soon moved on to St Peter’s.

1664–1668 George Willington

Forsythe was succeeded by George Willington in 1664.²⁶⁴ What happened to him is not clear but he was gone by 1668.

1668–1690 Josiah Pleydell

Josiah Pleydell (already at St Peter’s) was appointed in 1668²⁶⁵ and he seems to have lasted through the 70s and 80s. Hugh Waterman became curate on 5 October; and rector in 1690.²⁶⁶

II.2.9 St Mary Redcliffe

This was a large and prosperous parish in the southern suburbs. It was technically a chapel of the church of St John the Baptist, Bedminster, and at the beginning of our period the vicar of St John’s was minister there *ex officio*: presentations were often made by the patron, the prebend of ‘Bedminster and Redcliffe’ at Salisbury²⁶⁷ as perpetual vicar of Bedminster with St Mary Redcliffe together, via the Bishop of Bath & Wells.²⁶⁸ Redcliffe however was a parish in the diocese of Bristol. So appointments as curate to Redcliffe were usually made via the Bishop of Bristol.

Despite its status as a mere chapel, the church of St Mary Redcliffe was justly renowned and described by Queen Elizabeth I as “the fairest, goodliest, and most famous parish church in England.” St Thomas’s too was a very fine church.

²⁶⁰ Mayor & Aldermen order of 1 October 1658.

²⁶¹ Shaw *English Church* I p. 183.

²⁶² Latimer p. 284.

²⁶³ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1, p. 153 6/8/1662; EP/A/10/1/4 p. 13 (Subscription Book) 26/1/1663/4 and EP/A/3/60 July. None of these seems to mention any predecessor. Forsyth subscribed to the articles in 1662 (Hockaday 442 citing Bristol Diocesan Register 15/37).

²⁶⁴ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1, p. 152 (Subscription Book) 8/3/1664.

²⁶⁵ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 p. 43 (Subscription Book) 20/6/1668; CCED.

²⁶⁶ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) and rector 1/8/1690 BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book).

²⁶⁷ The Parliamentary surveyors in 1649 (LPL Comm XIIa/15 ff. 5–9 also f. 445) noted that the impropriated rectory including advowson had been demised to Thomas Smyth (i.e. Smyth) of Long Ashton in August 1636, which is confirmed by Smyth’s accounts in 1637 (in J Betsey (ed) *Correspondence of the Smyth Family* p. 194), and in 1641 (A Bantock, *Earlier Smyths of Ashton Court* Malago Society 1982 p. 135. However the institutions in 1639 and 1641 are still made in the name of Carse, the Salisbury prebend. Perhaps this deal – which would have been contrary to Laud’s policy of not alienating ecclesiastical properties into lay hands, and hardly pleasing to Piers at Bath & Wells who was an active Laudian – was covered up and Carse merely presented the person nominated by Smyth.

²⁶⁸ The parish of Bedminster was transferred from Bath & Wells to Bristol (then Gloucester & Bristol) by an act of 1837 which became operative in 1845.

There are no vestry minutes but the churchwardens' accounts for this period survive.²⁶⁹ Indeed, they are models of accounting, as befitted a wealthy community prepared to pay a lawyer (Frances Yeamans for much of the period) to keep their books properly. The accounts are organised under useful headings. The Good Friday sermon, endowed by the great William Canynges, was usually awarded to the vicar or principal minister, and is often a guide to what was going on.

Because of the institutional linkage, Redcliffe and St Thomas's and Bedminster are here treated together except for the Civil War and Interregnum.

II.2.9a to 1645: St Mary Redcliffe with St Thomas's & Bedminster

1592–1629 Samuel Davies

Davies was presented by the Salisbury prebendary to Bedminster and Redcliffe in 1592.²⁷⁰ Doubtless he also appointed himself to St Thomas's. He was still at Bedminster in 1620,²⁷¹ and probably to his death in 1623.

Samuel Powell was appointed curate at St Thomas's in 1611.²⁷²

1623–1639 Thomas Palmer snr

Palmer was presented to St John's and Redcliffe in 1623,²⁷³ and appointed himself to St Thomas's.²⁷⁴ Jenkin Evans was his curate at Bedminster from 1624²⁷⁵ at £10 a year before his death in 1628. Abel Lovering was his curate at St Thomas's from 1634²⁷⁶ till 1639.

1639–1641 William Noble

Noble was instituted to the Bedminster living in January 1640 and to Redcliffe at presumably the same time.²⁷⁷ But in 1640/1 the vestry sent a petition to Parliament.²⁷⁸ The petition is not to be found, but for the sequel, see Collins below.

Thomas Collins was a curate under Noble at St Thomas's and a regular stipendiary preacher there. Redcliffe vestry also paid a Mr (Alexander?) Westerdale for two year's preaching.²⁷⁹

Noble died in the summer of 1641.²⁸⁰ Barrett thought he was ejected,²⁸¹ which is some confirmation of the sequestration conjecture advanced below.

²⁶⁹ P/St MR/Chw/1(d) St Mary Redcliffe churchwardens' accounts 1620–1660; P/St MR/Chw/1(d) St Mary Redcliffe churchwardens' accounts 1620–1660.

²⁷⁰ SRO, D/D/Vc 79 (Consignation Book): LPL, Whitgift's Register I (Register) 2/6/1592.

²⁷¹ SRO, D/D/Vc 73 (Consignation Book) 7/8/1606; BRO, EP/V/4 (Bishops' Transcripts) 25/3/1611; 2/8/1620 SRO, D/D/Vc 79 (Consignation Book) 1620.

²⁷² BRO, EP/V/4 (Bishops' Transcripts) 25/3/1611.

²⁷³ SRO, D/D/B.Reg/31 (Institution Book) 19/4/1623.

²⁷⁴ SRO, D/D/B Register 20 (Register) 7/1/1640.

²⁷⁵ BRO, EP/V/4 (Bishops' Transcripts) 25/3/1624.

²⁷⁶ BRO, EP/A/30/1 (Clergy list).

²⁷⁷ SRO, D/D/B Register 20 (Register). TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions for Bedminster gives the date but for Redcliffe simply names the year (f 57) But Noble preached the Good Friday sermon at Redcliffe in 1640.

²⁷⁸ BRO P/St MR/Chw/1(d) churchwardens' accounts 1640/1 "To Mr Yeamans for drawing our certificate to the Parliament".

²⁷⁹ Churchwardens' accounts 1639/40 and 1640/41: £8 13s 4d probably representing 26 sermons at Redcliffe's standard rate of 6s 8d. Westerdale also drew up Presentation documents for them.

²⁸⁰ He preached the Good Friday sermon in 1641.

²⁸¹ Barrett 589.

1641–1645 Thomas Collins

Collins, who had been curate at St Thomas's, was instituted to Bedminster and to St Mary Redcliffe as well as St Thomas's in late 1641.²⁸² He preached the Good Friday sermon at Redcliffe in 1642. Mr Westerdale continued to preach fortnightly, but Collins provided a sermon every week.²⁸³ Then the parish records show: "To Tovey when he brought the sequestration";²⁸⁴ and Collins disappears.

Now the parish had petitioned Parliament in Noble's time. Their petition would not appear to have had anything to do with any personal failings of Noble, for when Noble died soon after the parish contributed to his funeral expenses and gave his widow a gratuity. If Collins had given trouble when a curate, it would have been enough to appeal to his vicar, not Parliament. And there is no indication of any petition in Collins's brief tenure as vicar. The case does not figure in John White *The first century of scandalous, malignant priests* (London 1643). I infer that the application made in Noble's time was based on the institutional pluralism which affected this clutch of parishes, not on personal failings of either minister.

By Easter 1643, Bristol was in the hands of Parliament; the 1643 Good Friday sermon was delivered, not by Collins, but by Tombes;²⁸⁵ and the churchwardens set up a new separate page of their accounts headed "Moneys disbursed to ministers and preachers for preaching to us". However under Royalist occupation, Collins gave the Good Friday sermons in 1644 and 1645, and indeed signed the 1643/44 accounts as vicar; and the parishioners enjoyed many more sermons than they had to pay for. Consistent with this reading of events, Collins never appears in the records of either parish after 1644/45. From here to the Restoration the two parishes procured their own ministry, with Redcliffe, as by far the richer, also the more successful.

*II.2.9b 1645–1660: St Mary Redcliffe alone**1645–1645 ? Dunsterfield*

A Mr Dunsterfield had already replaced Westerdale as the supplementary preacher from the beginning of 1644, but he left at the end of 1645.²⁸⁶ In 1645/6 there are a great number of *ad hoc* payments not only for preaching but even for the administration of the sacrament at Easter.

1646–1660 Matthew Hassard

Hassard, who had occasionally preached at Redcliffe in 1639, became the regular preacher in 1646. He received the vestry's stipend of £10 a year for preaching, and an augmentation of £50 from the Committee for Plundered Ministers as "Minister" at St Mary Redcliffe, which was a fudge as he was never intruded there and still enjoyed his living at St Ewen's.²⁸⁷

²⁸² TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions book 4 Dec 1641, again no patron named but Collins had been presented to Bedminster in October, nominally by Carse. The churchwardens paid for ringing bells at Mr Collins institution.

²⁸³ The accounts show that the sermon bells rang for 78 sermons in the year, which works out nicely at 26 for Westerdale and 52 by the vicar or at least at his expense – no other sermon payments are shown.

²⁸⁴ BRO P/St MR/ChW/1(d) churchwardens' accounts, 1641/2. 1641/2.

²⁸⁵ The man imposed on Williamson's pulpit at All Saints; and also on the last hours of the conspirators Yeamans and Butcher.

²⁸⁶ At an enhanced stipend of £10 a year. He was paid three quarters stipend only for 1645/6, and another sermon payment is described as 'after that Mr Dunsterfield went away'.

²⁸⁷ MS Bodley 323 f. 265 of 3 and 27 June 1646, though Hassard is not named until 1648, MS Bodley 325 f 211 LPL Comm VIa/1 f. 13, VIa/2 f. 345, VIa/3 f. 19, VIa/6 f. 635, VIa/7 ff. 55 & 302, VIa/9 f. 405. The frequency of confirmations and orders for arrears suggests that if the machinery of payment was liable to breakdown, Hassard was not wanting the lines of communication to draw attention to the lapses.

Hassard's preaching appointment continued through to the Restoration. Clearly the augmentation then ceased. But Hassard drew the vestry stipend for half of 1660/61, i.e. to around Michaelmas 1660. On Humphrey Brent's appointment to Bedminster in October 1660, the parish stipend also ceased and Hassard simply withdrew to his original living of St Ewen's.

II.2.9c 1660–1690: St Mary Redcliffe with St Thomas's & Bedminster

1660–1677 Humphrey Brent

In 1660/1 St Thomas's bells were rung "upon Mr Brint took possession of the church". It does not say which Mr Brent – both had preached there occasionally – but it is presumably not James from Temple but the son Humphrey,²⁸⁸ who was also installed at Bedminster and at Redcliffe in October 1660.²⁸⁹ He received the vestry preaching stipend for the second half of 1660/61²⁹⁰ and preached the Good Friday sermon in 1661. In 1665 he asked for permission to reside at St Thomas's rather than Bedminster,²⁹¹ and it was at St Thomas's that he was buried in 1677.²⁹²

1678–1685 Richard Thompson

Thompson was the only prebend of Salisbury in this period to present himself to Bedminster and Redcliffe and then St Thomas's, on 23 April 1678.²⁹³ It was a sermon at St Thomas's that got him into great trouble, see Appendix 1. He died in November 1685 just after a vehemently Royalist sermon as Dean of Bristol – see Appendix 2.

1686–1702 William Manning

Manning was appointed vicar of Bedminster and presumably Redcliffe and St Thomas's on 13 March 1686,²⁹⁴ and until 1702.²⁹⁵

II.2.10 St Michael's

St Michael and All Angels was a suburban parish running out into open country north of Bristol so that the rector still collected tithes – see Thomas Newton below. It was a rectory in the gift of the Gerrard family till 1627, then of the City. The vestry minutes for the period survive, but the early years contain only the handing over statement from one set of churchwardens to the next.²⁹⁶ Accounts survive only from 1635 and registers from 1653.²⁹⁷

²⁸⁸ Father and son seem to have worked together south of the river in the late 50s and references to Mr Brent at Redcliffe and Temple may be either. There was also Humphrey's brother, James Brent junior who had enjoyed Sniggs and White exhibitions to Oxford in the early 50s, but he was presented to Ashton Keynes in Wilts in June 1658, LPL Comm III.7 f. 44.

²⁸⁹ SRO, D/D/B.Reg/20 (Register).

²⁹⁰ In 1661/2 it was his father who got the preaching stipend, but this was presumably a family arrangement which did not derogate from Humphrey's status. (The Good Friday sermon was preached by 'Mr Brent' – one of them then). Humphrey gets both the stipend and the Good Friday sermons thereafter and signed himself as vicar of Bedminster from December 1662 (QEH Governors meeting).

²⁹¹ SRO DD/GS/4 p4. Although the Bedminster church, demolished by Prince Rupert in 1645, had been restored by 1663, the parsonage house was probably still leased out: see II.2.18.

²⁹² Barrett p. 559.

²⁹³ SRO, D/D/B.Reg/22 (Register).

²⁹⁴ SRO, D/D/BS/43 (Subscription Book).

²⁹⁵ SRO, D/D/B.Reg/24 (Register).

²⁹⁶ BRO P/St M/V/1(a) St Michael's vestry minutes 1575–1714.

²⁹⁷ BRO P/St M/Chw/1/a St Michael's churchwardens' accounts 1635–1699 [Ufp]; P/St M/R/1/a St Michael's registers 1653–1683 [Ufp].

1597–1615? Thomas Newton

Newton was instituted on 6 August 1597.²⁹⁸ He was still there in 1604 collecting tithes from Pucking Grove.²⁹⁹ The appointment of Thomas Bullocks as curate in 1611³⁰⁰ may mark a gap between him and Powell.

1612?–1636 John Powell

Powell is recorded as rector in 1615.³⁰¹ He was there in 1634 to his death in 1636.³⁰²

1636–1643 Jacob Brent

Brent was presented by the City in 1635 and signed the vestry book at the end of the churchwardens' year 1635/6;³⁰³ and continued to do so till 1641/2. Neither he nor any other minister signs at the end of 1642/3, and there is an entry for 1643/4 "paid Mr Whately for serving the Cure in my brother Brents absence"³⁰⁴ which implies that for a time he was expected to return. His absence was probably due to his being questioned about the Yeamans plot (see Appendix 1), but it was not long judging by the amount – 10s. He did not return to St Michael's as he had become vicar of Temple.

1643 Henry Syms

The Council agreed to present Syms in the place of Mr Brent in August 1643 on the recommendation of the King.³⁰⁵ But he was dead within weeks – see below – and there is nothing to show whether he ever took up the living.

1643–1656 Philip Perry

The Council presented Perry in place of Henry Syms deceased in October 1643.³⁰⁶ In 1651/2 and 1652/3 the churchwardens paid a rent to the Chamberlain for the tithes of the parish. There is no reference to these before or after, nor is there any accounting for the receipt or expenditure of tithes in these years. It so happens that Perry does not sign the accounts or otherwise record his presence at this time, so there may be a hiatus covered by vestry arrangements.³⁰⁷ Perry seems to have been in London around February 1654 to deliver a funeral sermon (Appendix 2). When the sermon was printed, Perry described himself as rector of St Michael's and "by election Pastor of Bedminster" where he had also been ministering. If he had been absent, Perry returned and last signed the vestry book in October 1655. He died in 1656 and was buried in St Michael's church,³⁰⁸ and there are payments for some visiting preachers in that year.

²⁹⁸ LPL, Whitgift's Register II (Register).

²⁹⁹ *Deposition Book II* p. 141. For Pucking Grove (in St Michael's parish) see *St Michael's Hill* pp. 35, 36.

³⁰⁰ BRO, EPV/4 (Bishops' Transcripts) 25/3/1611.

³⁰¹ BRO P/St M/V/1 (f).

³⁰² BRO, EP/A/30/1, 1/9/1634; CCP 4 Feb 1635/6.

³⁰³ Institution Book 13 Feb 1635/6, BRO CCP 4 Feb 1635/6, St Michael's vestry book BRO P/St M/V/1(a).

³⁰⁴ Whately, presumably the same who was minister at St Ewen's in the absence of Matthew Hassard.

³⁰⁵ CCP 9 August 1643 Bristol of course was under the Royalists at this time; and Syms was presented to, and presumably instituted by, the Bishop in due form.

³⁰⁶ CCP 18 October 1643 and presentation certificate in BRO EP/A/3/63 St Michael's: 19 October 1643, both stating that Syms was dead.

³⁰⁷ The possible absence of Perry, and the intention to amalgamate St Michael's with the Cathedral etc are indicated by the order by the CPM that £150 should be paid to Mr Holwey for the Cathedral lecturer or for such minister as should be provided for the parish of St Michael's.

³⁰⁸ Barrett p. 419 – but says 1649 which is inexplicable.

1657–1658 Thomas Snead

Snead was appointed rector of St Michael's in June 1657,³⁰⁹ and resigned in 1658. He had perhaps been attracted by the new scheme for parish amalgamation (I.2.3.4), and left when he realised that it wasn't going to happen.

1658–1661 No regular minister

The Council appointed no-one to the living for three years. There are some payments by the churchwardens for the occasional sermon, and one for administering the sacrament but, if these represent all its ministry in this time, the parish was effectively abandoned. Mr Dunsterfield³¹⁰ received two of these payments; and in 1659 the Council turned down an unspecified petition of the parishioners 'concerning Mr Dunsterbill'.³¹¹ This may well have been a request by the parishioners for Dunsterfield's appointment to the living. No previous incumbent was mentioned when the Council presented Matthew Brady in 1661.³¹²

1661–1676 Matthew Brady

Brady was presented in 1661³¹³ and stayed till 1676.³¹⁴

1677–1692 John Rainstorpe

Rainstorpe was appointed in April 1677³¹⁵ and signed the minutes last in 1692.

II.2.II St Nicholas's

St Nicholas's was a prosperous inner city parish, whose church contained the old southern gate, just north of the Bridge. It was a vicarage in the gift of the Dean & Chapter. Regrettably there are neither churchwardens accounts nor vestry minutes for the period.³¹⁶

1595–1604 William Robinson

Appointed in 1596, and died in 1604.³¹⁷

1604–1618 John Goodman

Goodman was presented in 1604³¹⁸ but died in 1618 (Table 3), and I find no other until Towgood's appointment in 1626.

1626–1646 Richard Towgood

Towgood was presented by the Dean and Chapter in 1626.³¹⁹ He was sequestered in the winter of 1645/6.³²⁰

³⁰⁹ BRO 04264/5 CCP 2 June 1657.

³¹⁰ Dunsterfield had also preached occasionally at St Phillip and much earlier, at Mary Redcliffe. How he was ineligible for a living when ministers were so scarce is not clear.

³¹¹ CCP 4 Jan 1658/9.

³¹² CCP 12 March 1660/1. He was installed 20 March 1660/1 (Hockaday 443 citing TNA Bishops certificate Bristol No 6).

³¹³ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1 (Subscription Book) 20/3/1661; BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book).

³¹⁴ Barrett p. 419 records his burial in the church December 1676.

³¹⁵ CCP 10 April 1677; EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book).

³¹⁶ P/St NR/1(e) St Nicholas registers 1594–1634 (C), –1647 (M), –1635 (B); P/St NR/1(f) St Nicholas registers* C 1621–1653, 1683–1688; P/St N/R/1(g) St Nicholas registers B 1634–1654; P/St NR/1(h) St Nicholas registers* C 1653–1683, M 1653–1689, B 1653–1686.

³¹⁷ LPL, Whitgift's Register II (Register) 18/3/1595; BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book) 5/6/1604.

³¹⁸ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book) 25/6/1604.

³¹⁹ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions book 6 Dec 1626. BRO, EP/A/10/1/2 107 (Subscription Book); 6/12/1626.

³²⁰ 20 Feb 1645/6 according to *Walker* p. 178, citing the Bristol Standing Committee. I have not found these papers. Barrett p. 243 gives the same date and authority.

1646–1651 Constant Jessop

Jessop seems to have been intruded to the living in 1646, for when the Council appointed him to the St Nicholas lectureship in early 1647 they describe him as “Minister of St Nicholas”.³²¹ I have found no direct evidence that he was officially intruded to St Nicholas’s, but it is a legitimate inference that he would not have left the Essex rectory to which he had been previously intruded³²² for any less security of tenure. The living was augmented in 1647.³²³ Jessop was ejected by the Council of State in 1651 for disaffection to the Commonwealth regime.³²⁴

This episode occasioned much bitterness and bile later. The Quakers Bishop and Hollister insisted that Farmer had “earnestly solicited some then in power, for turning out of Nicholas, one of my brethren, Constant Jessop by name”³²⁵ for the purpose of getting himself “out of poor Thomas into rich Nicholas”.³²⁶ Bishop himself was present at Jessop’s examination by the Council of State,³²⁷ and in a petition for re-instatement Jessop himself claimed misrepresentations by Bishop,³²⁸ but these hearings ended in offering Jessop the chance to clear himself by taking the Engagement³²⁹ (as John Paul in fact did). Hollister is detailed and circumstantial about Farmer’s coming to him (as a member of the Bristol Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel) to urge him to proceed against Jessop,³³⁰ and Farmer is even more circumstantial in denying it.³³¹ The Council of State papers do not name the “divers wellaffected in the city of Bristol” who had complained about Jessop, but the point is that he had the chance to get out of trouble and it was his choice, rather than Farmer’s or anybody’s malice, which cost him the living.

1651–1660 Ralph Farmer

According to Farmer himself, there was a vacancy of some 6 months after Jessop’s ejection before his intrusion there, when he was already holding the post of Cathedral Lecturer.³³² (In the interim, according to Matthews in *Walker Revised* Henry Jones was acting as minister. I cannot find any evidence for this,³³³ but, assuming this was the minister of neighbouring St Stephen’s, it is not at all implausible – he had earlier helped out at St James’s in the absence of John Paul.) Farmer ceased to be lecturer at the College/Cathedral in 1652 – see below. He also disappears from the St Thomas’s records after the year 1651/2. And although I found no official records,

³²¹ ODNB says he only took up the appointment in August 1647, but the Council appointed him to the Nicholas lectureship in February 1647 and paid him for it wef January 1647 – Audit Book 1646/7 Q4.

³²² Shaw *English Church* II p. 310.

³²³ MS Bodley 325 f. 209 of 17 November 1647 11 17 citing an order of 6th April 1647 which I have not been able to find.

³²⁴ CSPD 23 November, 14 December 1650, 24 January 1651.

³²⁵ Farmer *Great Imposter* p. 47.

³²⁶ Bishop *The Throne of Truth* p. 109 the same point is made by Hollister *Harlot’s Veil* p. 72.

³²⁷ CSPD December 10 1650, December 13 1650.

³²⁸ Lyon Turner ch. 3 p. 64.

³²⁹ CSPD 14 December 1650.

³³⁰ Hollister *Harlots Vail* pp. 71–3.

³³¹ Farmer *Great Imposter* pp. 48–51.

³³² Farmer *Imposter Dethroned* p. 52.

³³³ I suspect it may be based on Lyon Turner ch. 3 p. 41 who states that Mr Henry Jones (of St Stephen’s) signed the baptism register as rector (Nicholas’s was a vicarage but Stephen’s was a rectory). Neither this nor any other signature is to be found on the microfilm of the St Nicholas’s baptism register in the BRO for this or adjacent years. The register clerk at this time was in the habit of ending each year’s entries with the word ‘finis’, with varied orthography, but it is difficult to believe that LT would take this for a signature. A minor puzzle.

the accusation that Farmer had shafted Jessop to get his living would lose its point if Farmer's move had not followed soon after Jessop's departure. So 1651 seems plausible.

He was certainly officiating there in 1654, about to administer the sacrament when assailed by the Quaker Elizabeth Marshall.³³⁴ He was not named as the recipient of the augmentation there until 1656.³³⁵ Farmer left, without apparently any fuss, in 1660.³³⁶

1660–1667 Richard Towgood

Towgood seems to have moved back to St Nicholas's in 1660.³³⁷ He resigned the vicarage in 1667 when he became Dean of Bristol.

1667–1684 Samuel Crossman

Crossman was presented in 1667,³³⁸ and stayed till his death in 1684.³³⁹

1685–1713? John Read

Read was presented on 12 November 1685.³⁴⁰ No other vicar is recorded in our period but Arthur Bedford became curate in 1688.³⁴¹

II.2.12 St Peter's

St Peter's lay between the Bridge and Castle on the north bank of the Avon. It was a rectory in the gift first of the Gerrard family, then of the City. There are no parish records at all for the period.

1610–1618 John Burnley?

There are no reliable records before 1622. Barrett has John Burnley from 1610 (which makes sense as he was only ordained in 1609) to 1618,³⁴² and then Prichard in 1618. Prichard was not instituted till 1622, but Burnley did get Bitton in 1618.

1622–1663 Robert Prichard

Prichard was installed in 1622³⁴³ when the living was still in the gift of Sir Charles Gerrard. From the 1650s at least and probably before he was paid £10 by the vestry for preaching³⁴⁴ though he was not in great demand elsewhere.³⁴⁵ He subscribed to the Clerical Subsidy in 1661 but in January 1664 the Council appointed Robert Forsythe to the rectory vacated by his death.³⁴⁶

³³⁴ Bishop *et al*, *Cry of Blood* pp. 16–17. He was also approved as a public preacher in May 1654 (LPL Comm III/1 f. 52), soon enough after the establishment of the Triers to suggest that he was well up in the queue for approval.

³³⁵ LPL Comm VIa/12 f. 248.

³³⁶ *Calamy*.

³³⁷ *Walker*.

³³⁸ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 30/12/1667.

³³⁹ John Read succeeded him at St Nicholas's in 1685, but a new Dean was appointed in 1684.

³⁴⁰ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book).

³⁴¹ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 23/10/1688.

³⁴² Barrett p. 519.

³⁴³ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions 8 Oct 1622.

³⁴⁴ *Past & Present* II p. 132, quoting churchwardens' records no longer extant for 1654.

³⁴⁵ He preached once for St Philip's – desperate as they were, they didn't ask him again. He did give the monthly sermons endowed by Alderman Haviland to the prisoners at Newgate – for £4 a year (Audit book 1640–1644 f. 56 etc) – a captive audience if ever was.

³⁴⁶ CCP 5 January 1663/4.

1664–1667 Robert Forsyth

Forsyth was duly presented³⁴⁷ and served till 1667 when he moved on to Winterbourne Abbas in Dorset.

1667–1690 Josiah Pleydell

Pleydell was appointed in 1667.³⁴⁸ Hugh Waterman was made curate in 1688 and succeeded as rector on 1 August 1690.³⁴⁹

II.2.13 St Philip's

St Philip & St Jacob was a suburban parish, part between the Castle and Lawford's gate, the location of the Old Market, and part extending beyond the city walls and jurisdiction as ribbon development along the London road. It was a vicarage in the gift of the Gerrard family, then of the City.

The division between urban and rural was significant to the parishioners, who generally elected one churchwarden and other parish officers for 'within the gate' and another panel for 'without'. It was also of some value to the incumbent, who retained great tithes for much of the territory 'without'.³⁵⁰ So although it was valued only £15 in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, it was in practice one of the better livings in Bristol.³⁵¹

The churchwardens' accounts are available for the whole period, and there are vestry minutes from 1649.³⁵²

When Pierce was sequestered in 1645, the Parliamentary Committee assigned the tithes to the vestry who in turn farmed them out. The difficulties which were encountered in getting in this money and obtaining ministry must have been experienced in other parishes in the period 1646–1660;³⁵³ but they are particularly well documented, and this has occasioned a rather fuller treatment for this parish.

*II.2.13a: St Philip's to 1645**1603–1633 William Yeamans*

Yeamans was appointed to St Philip's in 1603.³⁵⁴ He died in 1633.³⁵⁵

1633–1645 John Pierce

Pierce was presented to succeed William Yeamans in 1633 as the nominee of Edward Shaw, the rector at Christchurch, who had acquired the right to the 'next turn'

³⁴⁷ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1, p. 153 (Subscription Book) 26/1/1664; BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 p. 27 (Subscription Book).

³⁴⁸ BRO, EP/A/3/68 1/11/1667; EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 10/12/1667.

³⁴⁹ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book).

³⁵⁰ BRO EP/V/5/2 a Terrier of 1714, sets out the exact boundaries of the area within which the vicar collected the great tithes, as well as details of the standard cash commutations of the small tithes.

³⁵¹ Skeeters p. 102.

³⁵² P/St P&J/Chw/3(a) St Philip & St James's churchwardens' accounts 1562–1783; P&J/St P/R/1/2 St Philip & St James's registers* 1621–1652 (C), –1653 (M), –1644 (B); P/P&J/R/1/3 St Philip & St James's registers* 1649 (Christenings only), 1653–1670; P/P&J/V/1 St Philip & St James's vestry minutes 1649–1717.

³⁵³ Repeated Parliamentary Acts and Ordinances of the 1640s confirm the liability to tithes, testifying in themselves to the readiness of parishioners to avail themselves of a new pretext for non-payment. But as they were usually operational only for the year in question, they must have contributed to the sense that tithes would soon be abolished.

³⁵⁴ Skeeters p. 146.

³⁵⁵ *Bristol Probates* I p. 81.

when the living was still in the gift of Sir Charles Gerrard.³⁵⁶ Pierce's incumbency was uneventful, apart from a dispute over tithes with the lay impropiator of the rectory.³⁵⁷ Unusually, Pierce does not appear to have received any extra payment from the vestry for preaching, but he earned a few shillings each year for writing up the churchwardens' accounts.

Pierce remained at his post when the city was under the Parliament and when it was under the King. He was sequestered around the winter of 1645/6.³⁵⁸ Could his appointment as the beneficiary of Shaw's purchase of the 'next turn' have been brought up against him as simony?

II.2.13b: 1646–1662

1646–1649 Henry Stubbs

In the same year, 1645/6, the vestry met '*by the Committee's order*', presumably the Parliamentary Committee for Bristol. There are no vestry minutes, but the subsequent developments indicate the substance of this meeting.

First, the vestry immediately sent for Mr Henry Stubbs³⁵⁹ and brought him to the parish.³⁶⁰ Secondly, repeated if obscure references over the next fifteen years show that the maintenance for a minister depended on the fees payable to the parish by contractors to whom the right of collecting the tithes and other dues was farmed out.³⁶¹ I suppose then that in 1646 the Committee told the vestry that it was up to them to find a minister; and assigned the sequestered revenues of the vicarage to the parish for this purpose.³⁶² It was presumably the Committee which secured Stubbs an augmentation of £50.³⁶³

Stubbs probably preached regularly: no others are paid for sermons until 1648/9. By then, the signs of financial trouble are evident. One of the tithe-farmers, Walter Marks, gave a note or bill in favour of Stubbs for £11 10s which he owed the parish.

³⁵⁶ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institution Book, 22 Nov 1633 by Shaw. The advowson came to the City in 1627 subject to a grant of the next presentation of and to the vicarage of St Philip and Jacob aforesaid made unto Edward Shaw clerk "for the first and next turn only that shall happen by or upon the death surrender forfeiture or other avoidance of William Yeamans" BRO 01075(1) – see II.1 above. No link between Shaw and Pierce has come to light. Pierce was pretty young – he only took his BA in 1631 (*Wood Alumni Oxonienses*).

³⁵⁷ CSPD 1635 p. 511 report of an episcopal enquiry which upheld the vicar's rights against the impropiator who however did not accept the adjudication. The impropiator is named as Sir George Winter, so it looks as though the rectorial revenues had been separated from the advowson.

³⁵⁸ The churchwardens paid him 1s for publishing the order of ejection against himself in 1645/6.

³⁵⁹ 1645/6 "John Parsons his journey to Mr Stubbs 6s": the cost suggests no mere letter carrier but a delegate or negotiator.

³⁶⁰ In 1646/7 they paid £1 to bring Stubbs' goods to Bristol and another £1 on raising a pew for him. Stubbs was already renting a house from the parish: the Star in Old Market (formerly occupied by Mr Haviland) was first let to him at £3 a year in 1642, BRO P/St P&J/D/2(3) But Stubbs was a Gloucestershire man and was presumably not actually residing there himself until 1646.

³⁶¹ The revenues may have already been farmed out, by the local Committee desperate to raise funds by way of a fine before the central committees laid claim to the whole; or by Pierce, wearying of the struggle to collect in the face of the impropiator's intransigence. Or the vestry itself may have taken the view that this was the simplest means of managing things. The arrangement, whatever it was, was never formally documented or represented in the churchwardens' accounts. I believe that in principle the proceeds were to be administered and accounted for – perhaps to the Committee – quite separately. But the failure of the farmers to pay the rent increasingly threw on the parish the burden both of legal proceedings against the defaulters and making up the minister's maintenance.

³⁶² The rights of the patron – the City itself – were recognised in a nominal annual payment to the Chamberlain.

³⁶³ MS Bodley 323 f. 265 of 3 and 27 June 1646 £50 "the maintenance belonging to the said church being not above £45".

The bill was dishonoured and the parish gave Stubbs value for it and undertook legal proceedings against Marks. Some parishioners had clubbed together for Stubbs's maintenance, but this produced little.³⁶⁴ Stubbs, well in arrears of pay, seems to have told the vestry that he was not prepared to continue on this unsatisfactory basis.³⁶⁵ As a consequence there was what the churchwardens describe as a '*concluding of accounts*' with him.³⁶⁶

They tried to set matters on a new footing. The tithes were farmed out to one Benjamin Collins for £48.³⁶⁷ There was a review of all the parish properties and titles. The vestry opened a minute book. And they hoped to persuade the Committee for Plundered Ministers to assign the augmentation which Stubbs had enjoyed '*to the inhabitants of this parish for the encouragement of a minister here*'.³⁶⁸

1650–1653 No regular ministry

The financial problems would not go away. The vestry was trying at the same time to recover outstanding debts at law, and to get the new farmer Collins to agree to arbitration to forestall further litigation.³⁶⁹ In 1650 the churchwardens undertook to collect the tithes themselves, but the results were meagre.³⁷⁰ And although they thanked Alderman Hodges for having secured them an augmentation of £50 a year, no augmentation was paid after 1650.³⁷¹

Meanwhile the vestry hired such preaching as they could. In 1649/50, there were about 50 sermons paid for at piece rates, of which two thirds were given by Hassard. In 1650/1 Hassard preached almost weekly and Stubbs once a month.³⁷² In 1651/2 Hassard did another 16 sermons and a Mr Jerrom preached twice a week for five months. All this was paid for directly by the parish. It could not go on. In 1652/3 there were only about half a dozen sermons paid for, though there may have been more, either for free or paid for from tithes or other funds not shown in the churchwardens' accounts.³⁷³ However many sermons they actually got, it is clear that

³⁶⁴ £5 19s 7d – and the wording suggests that this was a one-off, not a continuing commitment.

³⁶⁵ He had not paid rent since taking up the position, perhaps to remind the parish that he was not himself being paid in full. In 1648/9, the parish paid for 14 sermons at piece rates, indicating at least a partial withdrawal of labour by Stubbs. (Most of the preachers were part of the existing ministry: Paul of St James's, Hassard of St Ewen's, Prichard of St Peter's and Jessop of St Nicholas's.)

³⁶⁶ They made good the bouncing bill at £12, and paid over another £19 as well as apparently writing off the arrears of rent.

³⁶⁷ There is a memo to this effect in the churchwardens' accounts, but as before the farm is not accounted for there directly.

³⁶⁸ What they wanted was the previous augmentation to be renewed not to a specific minister but to the vestry for the encouragement of a minister: vestry minutes of 21 May 1649.

³⁶⁹ Churchwardens' accounts 1650/1.

³⁷⁰ Resolved at a vestry of 26 July 1650. The accounts show that £6 1s 11d was collected – of which £1 10s was paid to the collector for his trouble and expense.

³⁷¹ Vestry Minutes November 4 1650. In fact the CPM had ordered £50 to be paid either to Mr Stubbs or Major Collins the churchwarden for Stubbs use in February 1650 (MS Bodley 327 f. 33 of 22 Feb 1650) but this is the last time any augmentation for this parish was authorised or mentioned. The promise, if it was so much, that Hodges had obtained was for an augmentation to be paid to the minister, not as the vestry had hoped, to themselves. So the circular difficulty was: how to get a minister without a specific augmentation order which would not be made until there was a minister to pay it to.

³⁷² He agreed to do this in return for the renewal of his lease on the Star on favourable terms – money up front as it were.

³⁷³ Various sermons were preached which were not paid for in the churchwardens' accounts, if at all. A Mr Axenbridge received only 1 shilling 'for his passage coming to preach'. Both Ralph Farmer and one Captain Grimes (a Gloucester Committee man, later a Quaker himself) were interrupted by Quakers in sermons at St Philip's, though neither is mentioned in the accounts (Bishop *et al*, *Cry of Blood* p. 17, Mayor & Aldermen 9 May 1657). According to Calamy, Thomas Ewins preached at St Philip's every Friday.

they had no regular ministry and that the vestry had to spend a lot of time and effort to keep sermons going at all.

1653–1654 Thomas Speed

In 1653/4, the vestry agreed that the parish would bear the cost of recovering the tithes, if that could be done and also recorded the receipt and use of some tithe collection in that year.

On this basis perhaps they were able to engage Thomas Speed as a regular preacher in late 1653. But difficulties persisted and the vestry consulted John Hagggett on the prospects of getting the tithe money.³⁷⁴ His advice must have been pretty discouraging: a vestry had nothing like the common law rights in the collection of tithes which a regular incumbent would have had – and a tithe farmer even less. Hagggett would also have pointed out that the committee responsible for the augmentation, unpaid for some four years, had ceased to exist when Cromwell expelled the Rump in 1653. Now Hagggett was Speed's brother-in-law and good friend.³⁷⁵ If Speed had previously looked to a regular stipend, he must surely have learned the sad truth after this consultation. The arrangement had come to an end by Easter 1654, the end of the churchwardens' year (well before Speed became a Quaker and before the Bristol Council's re-assertion of its rights of patronage over St Philip's). The churchwardens raised £7 13s 5d which they paid over to Speed "for preaching here". This awkward sum looks more like what could be scraped together than a fee for so many sermons.

Perhaps his sermons had proved unsatisfactory. But it seems more likely that, like Stubbs before him, he had found the remuneration too little and too hard to get hold of.

1654–1658 No regular ministry

In September 1654 the City Council,³⁷⁶ on the petition of the inhabitants,³⁷⁷ presented Mr Constant Jessop.³⁷⁸ But Jessop was not to be had. He had already secured the rectory of Wimborne in Dorset. Eighteen months later³⁷⁹ he at last told the Council that he could not accept the presentation.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ 84 P/St p. & J/V/1 vestry minutes for November 25th 1653.

³⁷⁵ see *Ledger of Thomas Speed* ed. J Harlow (BRS 63, 2011) Appendix A1.

³⁷⁶ CCP 29 September 1654 The readiness of the Council to exercise their right of patronage here (compare their guarded award to Christchurch four years later) suggests that the sequestrated Pierce was out of the picture.

³⁷⁷ Not perhaps an empty phrase: Jessop had preached at St Philip's several times in 1649 and 1650 and the vestry now paid the Mayor's clerk for the issue of the order.

³⁷⁸ Jessop had never been out of favour with the City magistracy, and was less at odds with the Protectorate authorities than he had been with the Commonwealth.

³⁷⁹ It was a year before his appointment to St Philip's was approved by the Triers (October 1655, LPL Comm III.4 f. 292; his fellow lecturer and sufferer John Paul being one of those who certified him) but this does not explain his delay – it would be illogical to wait for Trier approval and then reject the appointment anyway. He was perhaps mainly concerned to find out what the financial position was and especially whether the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers would renew the augmentation which had been made to Stubbs. (The Committee for Plundered Ministers, as a Committee of the Long Parliament, had been automatically dissolved with it. The Trust then took over its functions, but not its commitments, each of which had to be specifically renewed – Shaw *English Church* II p. 231, O'Day & Hughes, 'Augmentation and Amalgamation' pp. 167–93).

³⁸⁰ CCP 20 March 1656.

In the meanwhile the vestry tried to re-engage Mr Jerrom on the same terms as he had accepted in 1651/2 but apparently without success.³⁸¹ Over the next few years the vestry treated, in vain, with Mr Stevenson, Mr 'Rainstep' (Rainsthorpe?), Mr Bull, and Mr Codrington.³⁸² In their offer to Stevenson in 1656, the vestry specifically referred to the vicarage being worth £50 a year, and again promised to supplement this. But the collection whether of tithes or of the money due from those who had farmed them, remained mired in difficulties.³⁸³ The vestry petitioned the Council to settle £30 as well as lobbying the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers for a renewal of the £50 augmentation³⁸⁴ but in vain.

In 1657, they found it necessary to set and to exact fines for vestrymen who did not attend meetings. They were beginning to lose heart.

1658–1662 Edward Hancock

Hancock was appointed in 1658³⁸⁵ but he does not seem to have taken up the living for over a year. Financial prospects may have been an obstacle, met partially and on paper only by the Council's award of £20 a year in spring next year.³⁸⁶ But it seems that the vestry themselves may have been reluctant to accept Hancock.³⁸⁷ Perhaps they thought him insufficiently qualified.³⁸⁸ Four ministers of impeccable authenticity³⁸⁹ were required to broker the deal by which the vestry eventually agreed that Mr Hancock was "to be minister of this parish and to come and reside amongst us the 22nd December".³⁹⁰

³⁸¹ Vestry minutes 5 Nov 1654: they offered 15/- a week for preaching twice every Sunday to Lady Day (perhaps hoping that by then Jessop might be in post). This reflects so exactly the actual payment to Jerrom in 1651/2, £17 10s for preaching twice every Lords Day from 5th November to March, that it almost seems the vestry minute and the churchwardens' account must belong to the same year. As I cannot see how that could be, I take it that the vestry deliberately offered the terms which had proved satisfactory before.

³⁸² Vestry minutes 20 August 1656, 14 November 1656, 16 October 1657, and 30 March 1658. Rainstep, who preached several sermons at St Philip's in 1656/7, was possibly Rainsthorpe, the master of the Bristol Grammar School who died next year, or perhaps Walter Rainsthorpe who was presented to Cromhall Glos in 1657 (LPL Comm III.6 f. 113). There is also a John Rainsthorpe, who was to succeed Brady at St Michael's in 1677, BRO EP/A/3/63. They didn't have much of a chance with Codrington if, as appears, he was enjoying an enhanced living at Keynsham.

³⁸³ The vestry was still striving "to recover and get in the money ... that is in Benjamin Collins and Walter Marks and all other things that doth belong to the Church" in April 1655 (vestry minutes 16 April 1655).

³⁸⁴ Both appeals resolved on at a meeting on 30 March 1657. The Common Council Proceedings do not mention receiving any such petition – they may have felt that it and other similar problems would automatically be dealt with by parish consolidation scheme which they were in the process of trying to revive.

³⁸⁵ CCP 6 September 1658.

³⁸⁶ CCP 14 February 1659. There is nothing in the Chamberlain's accounts to show that this money was ever paid.

³⁸⁷ Interestingly, the Council minute did not refer to the wishes of the inhabitants which had become almost common form in other appointments at that time, and had indeed been endorsed as a principle by the Council in its proposals for the rationalisation of parishes (CCP 6 Oct 1657 article 7).

³⁸⁸ He was not an ordained minister nor even a university man and was never approved by the Triers (who had perhaps ceased to function in the changes and confusions which followed Cromwell's death). He was certainly held up to scorn later as just the type of ignoramus who was appointed in these fanatic times – see *Calamy*.

³⁸⁹ Dr Roberts, Mr William Thomas, Mr Henry Stubbs and Mr John Paul. Roberts, Thomas and Stubbs – the same who had served in 1646–9 – were all on the list as assistants to the Commission of Ejectors in Somerset, though Paul was not (Firth & Rait II p. 974). Ejectors had of course neither individual nor collective responsibility for appointments; but perhaps they were able to testify to the vestry, as they might have in earlier times to the Triers, that Hancock was indeed a godly and able minister.

³⁹⁰ Vestry minutes 7 December 1659.

Hancock then took up the post and signed the churchwardens accounts in 1660/1.³⁹¹ He also subscribed to the Clerical Subsidy in 1661 and signed the accounts for 1661/2. But he was unable to conform in 1662. (See Appendix 2 for his farewell sermon.) He was already involved in the financial problems of the parish and left with an outstanding claim against John Peder, to whom the vestry, impervious to experience, had leased the vicarage in 1661.³⁹²

II.2.13c: 1662–1690

1662–1675 Thomas Godwyn

Godwyn was presented, by the Council again, in 1662.³⁹³ He experienced great difficulties there, perhaps partly because tithes were now payable again after fifteen years of virtual exemption.³⁹⁴ But according to his own account, a substantial group of parishioners were set against him from the start. There were several attempts to get him drunk or reputed so.³⁹⁵ And, in his version of affairs, he was brought under guard to answer a charge of brawling in the churchyard when

while I was reading the Evening Service for that Festival, a great company of Boyes (fifty or more) with shouts and hideous noises at the Church Doors interrupted the Devotions of the Office. The Sexton going forth of the Church endeavouring to curb them, was beaten into the Church with Stones; the Sexton going forth again with the Clerk, they were both dealt with in the same manner. Seeing no remedy I persisted to the finishing of the Days Duty as well as I could in such a disturbance: which ended, as we passed out of the Church diverse of the Boyes fled, but some continued fearless and impudent. Among others one Bingham more impudent than the rest let down his Breeches and in most unseemly manner affronted me and those People who came forth of the Church. I confess my indignation compelled me to make him taste the severity of my Cane and the Toe of my Shoe.³⁹⁶

Godwyn's story of his displacement by Cary is most extraordinary. First, a licence which enabled him to hold Filton³⁹⁷ (out of Bristol) with St Philip's was invalidated by a mistake in it; and this operated against his tenure of St Philip's rather than his taking of Filton. Cary was instituted, but as soon as the Bishop learned of the mistake, he

³⁹¹ Pierce was not reinstated, though he was alive. In fact he tried to claim his sequestration fifths from the vestry who sturdily rejected his claim (minutes 16th January 1661). That he should have tried this claim rather than seeking reinstatement strengthens the conjecture, prompted by the City's presentation of Jessop in 1654, that he had found another living (at Winterbourne Monckton from 1663? BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book)) It also suggests that Pierce himself did not rate the financial prospects of the living very high. (With the Act of Uniformity in 1662, he would indeed have been entitled to his fifth; but the prospects of bringing home the claim against any persons capable of meeting it can hardly have looked good.)

³⁹² Vestry minutes 23 February 1661, 1 May 1662, 10 December 1662.

³⁹³ BRO, EP/A/10/1/1, pp163 (Subscription Book) 13/12/1662; BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book).

³⁹⁴ Godwyn took legal action for tithes against Rich. Wynstan TNA E134/21 Charles II/Mich 8; John Teague, Tobias Doale (Quaker), James Bell, & Tho. Bradshaw E134 Mich/12; and the same set E134/ 21 and 22 Charles II/Hil 9.

³⁹⁵ Godwyn *Phanatical Tenderness* pp. 3, 4, 5, 6, 17.

³⁹⁶ Godwyn *Phanatical Tenderness* pp. 6–7.

³⁹⁷ He was appointed in 1670, the Bishop of Bristol being the patron.

immediately dispatched an Order to the Churchwardens not to deliver to Mr. Cary the Keys of the Church, nor suffer him to be inducted. But this wrought no cure; for the before named Thomas Warren by Ladders, had put up a Boy upon the Roof of the Church, which Boy went in at the Steeple Window, and down by a Belrope into the Church, and opened a door which was only bolted within, and Mr. Thomas Palmer was ready at the violation of the Church, and did induct Mr. Cary, and (if I may inoffensively write what I only conjecture) probable reasons prompt me to speak him the principal Contriver. Mr. Cary thus got into Possession.³⁹⁸

The drama, or farce, was not over yet. Godwyn attempted to regain possession.

I went to the Vicaridge House and took possession thereof without the least opposition, and after some time spent in it in discoursing I departed, first delivering the Keys of the Church and House to the Parish Clerk in the sight of the Archdeacon and of those Vestry men and Parishioners, who had accompanied me, to be kept for my use, and so went home to Filton. In the morning I returned, and at the usual time began to read Divine Service, and proceeded therein unto almost the end of the second Lesson without any persons gain-saying or motion to the contrary, except that Mr. Cary, while I was reading the Seraphick Hymn, went up into the Pulpit, and after some stay there, being beckoned to by his Brother John Cary (a factious busie fellow) came down again, and with his Brother and Thomas Warren went forth of the Church, and in a short space returned with about ten more in company. Eight of these (Mr. Thomas Cary standing by, bidding and encouraging them with promises of Indemnity) came to the Reading Desk, interrupting and requiting me to cease Reading and come down. One took the Bible, another the Service Book from before me; others pluckt me by the right Arm, and some by the right Leg, and in so violent a manner drew me out of the Seat, that my right Leg was pulled down three steps the other remaining above by reason of somewhat in the way hindring its moving, and their hasty Fury allowing me no time to help my self. By their so spreading me I was put to inexpressible torture, and am yet lame, and do doubt I shall continue so while I live. Having drawn me out, they pluckt off the Surplice, and tare my Gown, and set up their Idol in my place. This commotion began just at my reading the stoning of St. Paul, out of the 14th of the Acts, the second Lesson for that day being the Festival of St. Barnabas. I stayed in the Church until Mr. Cary had ended his Sermon; but when I was come into the Church-yard, the Constables (who it appeared were of the persons, who dealt so barbarously with me) laid hands upon me to bring me before the Mayor for breaking the Peace, and causing a disturbance and uproar in the Church.³⁹⁹

These extensive extracts are perhaps justified in illustrating one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of any parish in our period; but the reader should bear in mind that we only have Godwyn's version; and that, lo and behold, he encountered just such unwarranted persecutions when he removed to Poulchrohan in Pembrokeshire.

³⁹⁸ Godwyn *Phanatical Tenderness* p. 15.

³⁹⁹ Godwyn *Phanatical Tenderness* p. 18.

1675–1711 Thomas Cary

Cary was appointed on 29 March 1675.⁴⁰⁰ He was still there in 1691 when the accounts show that he preached. He died in 1711.⁴⁰¹

II.2.14 St Stephen's

St Stephen's was a quayside parish running down to the Marsh on the western side of the city. It was a rectory, in the gift of the Crown. There are no churchwardens' accounts or vestry minutes for the period, but there are registers.⁴⁰²

?–1611 Alexander Lawes?

No incumbents or appointments are recorded before Higgins, though Barrett has an Alexander Lawes.⁴⁰³

1612–1628 Robert Higgins

Higgins was appointed on 26 June 1612.⁴⁰⁴

1628–1641 Hugh Hobson

Hobson was presented by the Crown on 8 August 1628.⁴⁰⁵ His incumbency ended with his death according to his successor's presentation certificate.

1641–167? Henry Jones

Jones was duly presented by the Crown in 1641.⁴⁰⁶ He seems to have resigned the living some time after being made Chancellor in 1670.

1676?–1693 Nicholas Penwarne

Penwarne was made a freeman in 1677 as minister of St Stephen's⁴⁰⁷ and there is no record of any successor till 1694. Nicholas Penwarne, very likely a son, became curate in 1690.⁴⁰⁸

II.2.15 St Thomas's

St Thomas's lay south of the river, between the Bridge and St Mary Redcliffe. Like Redcliffe, it was technically a chapel of St John's Bedminster.⁴⁰⁹ There are no vestry minutes but there are churchwardens' accounts for most of the period, and registers.⁴¹⁰

The parish enjoyed a small income in fees from the beast and the wool markets; but it was not rich in property. In the 1630's churchwardens regularly spent more than

⁴⁰⁰ BRO, EP/A/10/1/5 (Subscription Book).

⁴⁰¹ Bigland *Gloucestershire Collections*, Part 4 BGAS Record Series 8, 1995 p. 1561 "Thomas Cary vicar of this parish who departed this life 30 Oct 1711 aged 61".

⁴⁰² BRO P/St S/R/1(a) St Stephen's registers CMB 1559–1663.

⁴⁰³ Barrett p. 511.

⁴⁰⁴ LPL, Abbot's Register, vol. 1 (Register).

⁴⁰⁵ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions 8 Aug 1628; EP/A/10/1/1 223 PRO, E331 Bristol/3 (Returns to First Fruits Office) 8/8/1628.

⁴⁰⁶ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institutions 29 September 1641, BRO EP/A/10/1 p184 19/9/1641; EP/A/3/74 Presentation EP/A/3/74 12/9/1641.

⁴⁰⁷ CCP 20 October 1677 (*Past & Present* III p. 70 has 'Richard' which is an error).

⁴⁰⁸ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) July 1690.

⁴⁰⁹ But whereas Redcliffe enjoyed its own place in the Exchequer Institutions book, St Thomas's did not; suggesting that in practice its subordinate status was observed where its richer neighbour's was overlooked.

⁴¹⁰ P/St T/Chw/73–75 St Thomas's churchwardens' accounts 1640–1642; P/St T/Chw/76–101 St Thomas's churchwardens' accounts 1644–1670; P/St T/R/1(a) St Thomas's registers* 1552 (CM), 1553 (B) – 1659; P/St T/R/1(b) St Thomas's registers* 1660 (CM), 1653 (B) – 1760.

they collected, and waited patiently to be paid off from the fines on the occasional renewal of leases.

1592–1645 Davies, Palmer, Noble, Collins

See the account under St Mary Redcliffe, II.2.9a, based on material from both parishes, together with Bedminster.

1645–1655 no regular ministry

For the first nine years following Collins' departure, the vestry paid for variable amounts of preaching from various ministers. Brent from neighbouring Temple did most service, but never the same from one year to the next. Several of the shadowy tribe of occasional preachers seen in other pulpits also appeared briefly at St Thomas's – Dunsterfield, Jerrom, Oxenbridge. In the period between 1648 and 1651, Mr Farmer appeared frequently on the list. This is presumably Ralph Farmer, before he got "out of poor Thomas into rich Nicholas" according to Bishop. But Farmer got very little in any year,⁴¹¹ and cannot be said to have ever achieved anything like the status of a regular minister there.

Compared with say Redcliffe or St Philip's, St Thomas's paid very little for preaching – never more than £5 in a year, often around £2 or £3, and once as little as £1 10s. They paid very little per sermon too, but even at their stingy rate, they could never have had as much as fortnightly preaching, and usually much less.

1655–1656 James Longman

In 1655 the parish acquired a Mr Longman, perhaps by their own efforts.⁴¹² They gave him money for a gown⁴¹³ and he preached the gift sermons, all as 'minister'. Casual sermon payments ceased. But Longman hardly lasted the year. He had found a better place.⁴¹⁴

1657–1658 Thomas Greenfield

No! St Thomas's appetite for ministry had been revived. They set themselves to woo Mr Greenfield from Pensford and in 1657/8 it looked as though they had succeeded. They paid for his "confirmation",⁴¹⁵ for his quarters and even for a horse for Francis Greenfield. And yet again their chosen minister deserted them for a more attractive position (see Appendix 1).

1658–1660 No regular ministry

After these two disappointments, the vestry took to drink. In 1658/9 there were no sermons paid for, except the two gift sermons which both went to Mr Brint i.e. Brent.

⁴¹¹ The 'Mr Farmer' who got £6 in 1650/1 is clearly the vestryman Arthur Farmer getting some of his arrears from his wardenship in 1640/1, whereas Ralph Farmer is distinguished as "Mr Farmer Minister" – £2 for preaching in 1648/9. I think the Mr Farmer who got £5, without any detail, in 1649/50 is more likely the vestryman than the preacher, but if it was Ralph, it was the most he ever got and the only year he got it.

⁴¹² Although he appears as "Minister" in the churchwardens' accounts, there is no reference to any appointment, approval or augmentation at St Thomas's in the ecclesiastical papers at LPL. He was already preaching there in January 1655, when he was disturbed by the Quaker Henry Warren (Bishop *et al*, *The Cry of Blood* p. 37, where Longman is alleged to have been Chaplain to the Royalist General Hopton).

⁴¹³ Back in 1637/8, they had given money for a gown to their then vicar, Mr Palmer. The later gown was cheaper.

⁴¹⁴ The St Thomas's records give no first name, but the likely candidate is James Longman who filled the position of minister at Churchill from March 1656 – with an augmentation from the TMM. LPL Comm VIa/9 f. 424.

⁴¹⁵ An interesting term, suggesting that the appointment was officially approved – but by whom? The LPL records have no traces of this incident.

But the perambulation dinner this year cost nearly £9 and there were three entries for “sack at Mr Brints”. In 1659/60 the procession day dinner cost over £9, they bought three gallons of muscadine for the sacrament, a quart of sack to follow a gift sermon, another preacher was given a quart of sack for preaching and yet another 10d for a pint of wine after the sermon.

1660–1702 Humphrey Brent, Tomlinson, Manning

See St Mary Redcliffe again.

II.2.16 St Werburgh’s

St Werburgh’s or St Walburg was a small but wealthy parish, consisting mainly of Small Street, where many great merchants lived. It was a rectory in the gift of the Crown. There are churchwardens’ accounts for the whole period, but no separate vestry minutes.⁴¹⁶ However the accounts do at times minute decisions which had financial implications.

1607–1610 Edward Toose

Toose first signed as “Parson” and got a full year’s stipend of £16 in 1607/8. This continued to 1610/11 when the stipend was shared between him and Farmer.⁴¹⁷

1611–1634 John Farmer

Farmer shared the stipend in 1610/11;⁴¹⁸ signed the churchwardens’ accounts in 1613; received £13 for his stipend in 1614;⁴¹⁹ and was there for the Clerical Subsidy in 1634 but died later that year.

1634–1652 John Till Adams

Till Adams was appointed in 1634.⁴²⁰ He received a regular stipend of £20 from the vestry, plus his tithes, a regular household rate which generally came to only just over £1. In 1640 the vestry also agreed to pay him £4 6s 8d for preaching 13 sermons;⁴²¹ and usually threw in a gratuity of £5 or so at year end. Tithes and gratuities fell away in the mid-40s,⁴²² but normality had been restored by 1652, when Till Adams died.⁴²³

1653–1660 John Knowles

In 1653 Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Commonwealth successors to the Crown patronage previously exercised by the Lord Keeper, presented John Knowles to the vacancy.⁴²⁴ It is not clear how far, or how soon, he took up the post. He signed the St Werburgh’s accounts in 1656, but the churchwardens paid him nothing, neither stipend, preaching allowance, tithes nor gratuity till 1658/60 when he got £17 for

⁴¹⁶ P/St W/Chw/3(a) St Werburgh churchwardens’ accounts 1548–1616 (b) 1616–1710; P/St W/R/1 St Werburgh registers CMB 1558–1812.

⁴¹⁷ P/St W/Chw/3(a).

⁴¹⁸ P/St W/Chw/3(a).

⁴¹⁹ P/St W/Chw/3(a).

⁴²⁰ TNA Exchequer 331.2A Institution book 6 December 1634.

⁴²¹ Minuted July 20 1640.

⁴²² Even communion wine was on the slate for some years.

⁴²³ He got a gratuity of £5 in 1650/1. In March 1652 he received three years arrears of tithes. Later that year the vestry settled accounts with his widow, including a belated gratuity of £5 in respect of 1649.

⁴²⁴ TNA Exchequer 331.2A institutions 5 November 1653.

unspecified services and periods.⁴²⁵ Something less than full service is suggested by the payment of £5 to outside preachers, Towgood⁴²⁶ and Stephens.

1660–1661 John Stephens

The Stephens who preached in the later 50s was probably the master appointed Bristol Grammar School in 1658.⁴²⁷ He seems to have been getting his feet under the table at St Werburgh's where in 1661/2 he was paid for preaching "besides the £50 given him by Mr Jackson" though this last sum appears nowhere in the accounts.

1661–1662 Robert Stubbs

In 1661, the restored king, studiously ignoring the last 7 years, presented Stubbs, "on the death of John Till Adams".⁴²⁸ But Stubbs got presented to Easthampstead in 1662 and there was a gap in which the Brents, father and son, got £10 for some sermons and £3 10s was "paid severall ministers for preaching in this time of vacaneye".

1663–1665 John Hodges

John Hodges was presented in 1663,⁴²⁹ getting half a year's preaching fee for 1662/3.

1665–1687 Thomas Palmer jnr

Palmer was presented on 4 February 1665,⁴³⁰ and was present at the election of churchwardens in March of that year. He seems to have stayed until 1687.

1687–1691 William Stephens

Stephens was appointed on 10 August 1687.⁴³¹ Charles Brent became curate in 1689,⁴³² and rector in 1691.⁴³³

II.2.17 Temple

Temple, or Holy Cross, was the easternmost of the three parishes south of the river. There was still land unbuilt which may have paid tithes.⁴³⁴ It was a vicarage in the gift of the City from the 16th century. The vestry minutes for most of the period are available and half the churchwardens' accounts.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁵ The St Werburgh's accounts seem to have got rather neglected in the late 50s. Sir William Cann accounted for both 1654/5 and 1655/6 in one account. Mr Bowen then accounted for 1656/7 and 1657/8 in one account, which nevertheless left arrears for Mr Jackson to tidy up in another two-year account for 1658/60. The accounts presented are summary and lack useful detail. One must also bear in mind that there may have been funds administered by or for the vestry which were not accounted for by the churchwardens, as indicated by the payment to Stephens, below.

⁴²⁶ Towgood had been reinstated since his sequestration from St Nicholas's, see Appendix 1.

⁴²⁷ CCP 18 March 1658. The identification is made by Barratt and seems plausible.

⁴²⁸ BRO EP/A/3/76 BRO, EP/A/10/1/1 (Subscription Book 23/10/1661).

⁴²⁹ BRO EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 28/4/1663.

⁴³⁰ BRO EP/A/10/1/1 (Subscription Book).

⁴³¹ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book).

⁴³² BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 7/12/1689.

⁴³³ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 10/6/1691.

⁴³⁴ Skeeters p. 102.

⁴³⁵ BRO P/Tem/La/1 vestry minutes 1619–1748; P/Tem/Ca/15/1–P/Tem/Ca/20/2 for the years 1642, 1643, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1652, 1654, 1656, 1658, 1659; P/Tem/R/1(b) Temple registers* CMB 1631–1652; P/Tem/R/1(c) Temple registers CMB 1653–1671.

1614–1639 Richard Knight

Barrett has Knight at Temple from 1614.⁴³⁶ He was certainly there for the Clerical Subsidy of 1634 when he volunteered £2.⁴³⁷

1639–1642 Abel Lovering

Lovering was presented by the City in 1639⁴³⁸ but he died some time in the winter of 1642/3.⁴³⁹

1643–1666 James/Jacob Brent

In 1643 the Council decided to present Brent, then rector of St Michael's,⁴⁴⁰ to the living.⁴⁴¹ There was a little delay, partly occasioned by enquiries into the Royalist plot (Appendix 1) and partly by negotiation with the vestry,⁴⁴² but Brent took up the living and enjoyed it for 24 years until his death in 1666.⁴⁴³

1667–1693 John Chetwynd

Chetwynd was presented in 1667.⁴⁴⁴ He became a Bristol prebendary and he seems to have lasted into the 1670s – he was still signing the churchwardens' accounts in 1672 and 1673; and he signed a hearth tax exemption as vicar in 1675.⁴⁴⁵ In that year he took on William Thresher as a curate.⁴⁴⁶ Arthur Bedford became vicar in 1693.⁴⁴⁷

II.2.18 St John's Bedminster

For the time to 1645 and after 1660, see St Mary Redcliffe. Jenkin Evans was curate there in the 1620s under Palmer at £10 p.a.⁴⁴⁸

The church was destroyed by the Royalists in 1645 and in 1654 Philip Perry of St Michael's noted that it was "as yet lying in its own ashes and ruinous heaps of indigested stone".⁴⁴⁹ It seems to have been rebuilt in 1663.⁴⁵⁰ In 1650 the Parliamentary survey reported "there is at present no minister settled but one Mr Perry doth supply the cure and doth receive the profits for his salary",⁴⁵¹ and in 1654 Perry described himself as "Pastor by election of Bedminster". But he was still at St Michael's when he died in 1656. A survey in 1659 noted that the Bedminster

⁴³⁶ p. 547.

⁴³⁷ BRO EP/A/30/1.

⁴³⁸ CCP 7 July 1639, TNA Exchequer 331.2A institution book 19 September 1639.

⁴³⁹ He signed the vestry minutes for the last time, very shakily, in August 1642; and was described as deceased by the Council in presenting his successor in March 1643.

⁴⁴⁰ The Council do not describe him as minister of St Michael's, but comparison of the signatures in the two vestry books confirms the identity.

⁴⁴¹ CCP 7 March 1642/3.

⁴⁴² In April 1643 after paying him for preaching Mr Whitgift's sermon, the Temple churchwardens made a payment to him for his '*dinner with the deputation*'. Temple was nominally less valuable than St Michael's, but perhaps the deputation referred to was able to paint a more attractive picture, though they never paid him much from the vestry funds.

⁴⁴³ His memorial in Temple church, specifying the 24 years, is noted by Barrett p. 546, Byam (BRO 17125) and Savage (BRO 36074).

⁴⁴⁴ BRO EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 28/3/1667.

⁴⁴⁵ BRO JQS/M/5 f. 262v 12 Feb. 1674/5.

⁴⁴⁶ BRO EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 26/2/1675.

⁴⁴⁷ BRO EP/A/10/1/6 (Subscription Book) 6/4/1693.

⁴⁴⁸ PCC Prob 11/153.

⁴⁴⁹ His *Funeral Sermon* 1654 p. 17.

⁴⁵⁰ *Past & Present* III p. 54.

⁴⁵¹ LPL Comm XIIa/15 f. 445 Survey of November 1650.

Parsonage House was leased with nearly 99 years to run;⁴⁵² and when ministers were again appointed to Bedminster, they seem always to have lived in one of their city parishes, as Humphrey Brent formally sought leave to do in 1665.⁴⁵³

II.3 Lecturers

There was a problem for the devout Anglican in seventeenth-century England. The sermon was the most highly regarded feature of collective observance; but it was not an obligatory feature of any prescribed order of service.⁴⁵⁴ So it might have to be specially provided for. Many parishes paid their incumbent a fee to preach regularly, over and above the revenues attached to the living (see I.2.2 above). In the absence of an incumbent, the main concern seems to have been to secure someone to preach for a stipend, rather than to officiate.⁴⁵⁵

Then there were a great number of gift sermons, endowed by bequest, and almost invariably awarded by the vestry to the incumbent or stipendiary preacher. These are dealt with under the parishes concerned if they have any interesting features.. In addition we may notice some regular sermon series which were never described as Lectures: the monthly sermons for the prisoners at Newgate, the weekly Sunday afternoon sermon at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital worth a fair amount to the master,⁴⁵⁶ and the monthly sermon in St Bartholemew's chapel which earned the rector of St Michael's £10 a year.⁴⁵⁷

Then there were the series of Lectures so called which are the subject of this section.

In Bristol in this period, there were just two sorts of Lecturers, designated as such. First in time, and more enduring, were those chosen to give any of the three series of weekly Lectures established by the Council. Then in the period 1645 to 1660 there was the post of College (i.e. Cathedral) Lecturer

What was special about a Lecture? In 1622 'Lecturer' was defined by James I as a new breed, "being neither parsons vicars or curates"; and in some cities, such as Norwich and Newcastle, the magistrates had established Lectureships in order to obtain more radical preaching than was available from the ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁴⁵⁸ But although the Bristol magistrates did indeed concern themselves to set up and to maintain the Lectures, the Lecturers themselves were almost invariably themselves parish ministers and often prebendaries as well; and the Lectures were never perceived as a challenge.

I believe that for Bristol at least the key lies in the epithet so often used by the Council in their searches for candidates: 'learned'. A Lecture was an academic performance, not a homely homily. It redounded to the credit of the city that Lectures should be preached there that might stand comparison with those of any other city, or of a university. And this concern seems to me to be the main motive of the Council in establishing its Lecture series, as well as in prompting the creation of the Cathedral

⁴⁵² BRO AC/11/21 Lease of the manor of the prebend of Bedminster surveyed for Hugh Smyth Farmer of the manor 10 August 1659.

⁴⁵³ SRO DD/GS/4 p. 4.

⁴⁵⁴ The order for Holy Communion provided for a sermon OR a reading of one of the set homilies, after the Creed. But Communion was not celebrated that often, perhaps only three times a year.

⁴⁵⁵ A telling contrast is St Mark's where the curate who took the services was paid just £2 a year; while a minister might expect anything between £15 and £25 a year for a weekly sermon.

⁴⁵⁶ £24 pa CCP 1 April 1657; £16 pa CCP 25 October 1658.

⁴⁵⁷ Barrett p. 434.

⁴⁵⁸ Seaver *The Puritan Lectureships* Stanford 1970 p. 72. See also *Oxford English Dictionary* 'Lecturer'.

Lecturer post in 1648. If the Mayor and Aldermen were to be in the College of a Sabbath, let there be a preacher worthy of their scarlet robes!

Skeeters sees these Lectureships as an attempt “to keep control of preaching in the city”.⁴⁵⁹ But it is not clear how they could have operated in this way. They were carefully timed so as not to clash with Sunday morning sermons preached in parish churches. And while the attempt to levy on parishes for the stipend might well be unpopular in itself, that implies no objection to the functions. Nor did the amounts levied mean any real loss in “resources ... which might have been used to support preaching of the vestry’s choice”. Gift sermons, almost invariably awarded to the incumbent, were financed by *ad hoc* bequests; and preaching stipends or fees which some parishes paid out of their substantial property income were not going to be threatened by a matter of £40 or so between a dozen of them.

In December 1629, the King issued a set of Instructions to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be directed to the bishops.⁴⁶⁰ Items 1–4 dealt with Lectures and Lecturers:

1. That in all Parishes the Afternoon Sermons be turn’d into Catechising by Question and Answer, where, and whensoever there is not some great Cause apparent to break this antient and profitable Order.
2. That every Bishop ordain in his Diocess, That every Lecturer do read Divine Service, according to the Liturgy printed by Authority, in his Surplice and Hood before the Lecture.
3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market-Town, it may be read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the same Diocess; and that they preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do use.
4. That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach, till he profess his willingness to take upon him a Living with Cure of Souls within that Corporation; and that he do actually take such Benefice, or Cure, so soon as it shall be fairly procur’d for him.

Bishop Wright seems to have made heavy weather of these.⁴⁶¹

As to the first direction, he undertook that:

The Sunday Lecture I will convert to more proffitable catechisinge, for the Tuesday branch of lectures may I cutt them off, and permitt but one lecture to the Citty which is united as one parish?

This would make sense if he had mentioned the Thursday Lectures at St Werburgh’s. Perhaps he meant to.

With the second instruction he gets rather unnecessarily tied up over times of day, which the Archbishop may well have expected him to sort out with the clergy concerned.

⁴⁵⁹ Skeeters p. 146. She also believed, wrongly, that the St Werburgh lectures were a transplant of the St Nicholas series.

⁴⁶⁰ *Instructions for the most Reverend Father in God, Our Right Trusty, and Right Intirely Beloved Councillor George Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, concerning certain Orders to be observed, and put in Execution by the severall Bishops in his Province.* 30 December 1629.

⁴⁶¹ SP/16/160 ff. 134–5. 12 Feb 1629/30. Facsimile kindly supplied, with help on transcription, by Jonathan Barry.

He makes a nonsense of Number 3. May a city count as a market town? If not does this mean that there must only be a single lecturer not a company? If so, does that mean that only one of a company must be paid and the rest preach *gratis*? The Sunday afternoon lectures were preached by ‘a company’ of three at least, and the Tuesday ones by two, but he was abolishing all these anyway. So he must have been referring to the Tuesday mornings, then shared by Towgood and Lovering.

But it is over Number 4 that he gets into real knots. What is to count as maintenance by a Corporation? He tells the archbishop that

certaine parishes of the city ... doe finde a superfluity in their stocks and rents of their churches which are for other intentions, to cast upon Lecturers, so that Corporation maintenance wee have none.

The implication is that this is voluntary, whereas the parish contributions were set by the Council which had only in October resolved to chase up arrears.⁴⁶² And, as before, irrelevant if the St Nicholas Lectures are abolished. Then he goes on

And the single Lecturer has 30l indeed out of the Chamber, but to robb Peter to pay Paule, they take it from an impropriation in the cuntry where the vicars body and the peoples soules are starved by it, and these wantons are little the better, so I feare mee maintenance wee have not but sacriledg.

But who is this ‘single Lecturer’? None has been mentioned so far. Can he mean Yeamans the St Werburgh’s Lecturer? He is certainly paid directly by the Council as an officer, but at £25 not £30 a year; and Wright seems to have suppressed any reference to these Lectures. And what is this about an impropriation? Impropriated tithes were impropriated once for all and *en bloc*, not piecemeal and *ad hoc*, as who should know better than the Bishop himself, enjoying the impropriated revenues of Almondsbury and Elberton vicarages.

All this seems completely unnecessary. With the St Nicholas Lectures abolished, all he has to do is to assure the archbishop that Yeamans the St Werburgh’s Lecturer is already a parish minister.

Altogether it is difficult to see Bishop Wright’s reply as other than disingenuous, *suggestio falsi* as well as *suppressio veri*. I cannot find that he received any answer, or that he did anything at all to jeopardise his good relations with the magistrates. Certainly the Sunday afternoon lectures continued and were not converted to catechisings; and the Council minutes record no approach from the bishop about the status or funding of any lectures. I suspect that he was simply raising questions and muddying the waters as a pretext for inaction.

In 1684 the Council discussed whether the lectures should be continued.⁴⁶³ This was perhaps occasioned by the deaths of both Crossman who was doing the St Nicholas Sunday lectures and half the Tuesdays, and Standfast who was doing the Thursday series. The question was left undecided then and as far as I can find not raised again; and after a brief hiatus occasioned by the deaths and/or the query, all the lectures seem to have continued to the end of our period.

The appointment of Lecturers is usually minuted by the Council. But illegibility to the point of encryption seems to have been a studied art of the Town Clerks in the earlier part of the century and I may have missed some.

⁴⁶² CCP 5 October 1629.

⁴⁶³ CCP 1 September 1684.

II.3.1 The St Nicholas Lectures

In 1585, the City Council ordained for “the mayntenance of a learned preacher to preache the worde of God in this cyte twyse every weeke *as it hath heretofore used*”⁴⁶⁴ (my italics). However, neither Skeeters nor I has been able to find any earlier reference.⁴⁶⁵ So perhaps the Council was simply adopting a well-known way of disguising an innovation.

Twice each week meant Sunday afternoon and Tuesday mornings, both at St Nicholas’s.⁴⁶⁶ Sometimes one preacher delivered both sets, sometimes they were divided, and in one year just one set was divided between three ministers. But despite overlaps or divisions in personnel, the two sets of Lectures were distinct throughout the period. Thomas Tucker for example did both but notes that he maintained “a settled course on Sabaoth dayes in handling the body of *Theologie* from point to point, till I came to mans creation, where I was interrupted; and on Tuesday in expounding the whole historie of *Esther*.”⁴⁶⁷

The financing of the St Nicholas Lectures went through three phases. At first they were to be paid for by a levy on the central, but not the outlying, parishes, amounting to some £40 a year – the rates per parish changed from time to time.⁴⁶⁸ Not all the rated parishes paid but All Saints’ and Christchurch show payments at £12 (Christchurch later down to £8) to Roger Justice, Sheriff’s Sergeant, sometimes naming Chetwynd or Tucker as the Lecturer.

The parishes were not all forthcoming. Skeeters notes non-payments from the first.⁴⁶⁹ In 1629 the Council wanted arrears chased up, though without specifying which and how much.⁴⁷⁰ In 1632 there was a change of plan.⁴⁷¹ The Council reduced the parish payments to £1 or £2 each, £9 in all, and proposed to rely on £14 from Dr Owen’s lands and £4 a year from Humphrey Browne’s gift, until Browne’s will should be proved, when (presumably) the entire cost would fall on these estates. And indeed St John’s for example does show payments at the new rate of £1 in the 1630s,⁴⁷² and no parishes record any at the old levels.

When parishes record their payments for the support of the Lecturer they often mention that the money was handed over to Adam Benyon or later Roger Justice who were the Sheriff’s Sergeants. But what happened then? The receipts are never accounted for in the Audit Books, and nor are any payments to the Lecturers.⁴⁷³ Only

⁴⁶⁴ 27 May 1585, see *Ordinances 1506–1598* p. 84.

⁴⁶⁵ Skeeters p. 145 and n. 124.

⁴⁶⁶ Perhaps not an uncommon arrangement: also at St Botolph’s in London (*CSPD CXLII* p. 543 Item 51).

⁴⁶⁷ *Friendly Farewell* p. 59.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ordinances 1506–1598* 19 June 1586 (p. 91), 30 May 1598 (p. 104).

⁴⁶⁹ Skeeters p. 147 and n. 138.

⁴⁷⁰ CCP/3 5 Oct 1629.

⁴⁷¹ CCP/3 23 Oct 1632.

⁴⁷² BRO P/St JB/ChW/3(b) 1637/8.

⁴⁷³ They are not in the Little Audit Books either (BRO F/Au/2/1–9), which until 1654 were a separate set of accounts for the lands of St John of Jerusalem and those left for charitable purposes by Sir George White – those purposes including almost everything except Lectures. Nor is there any mention of them in the State Book of the Mayor and Commonalty (BRO 04108) or the Book of the City’s Accounts (BRO 04118) for 1627–8 as transcribed by Livock (BRS XXIV pp. 162–71) – in view of which I have not checked other years of these accounts. The point is that the Chamberlain’s Accounts were in no way accounts of the City’s financial affairs, but rather accounts for moneys actually received by or paid out by the Chamberlain. So if the Sheriff or Sheriff’s Sergeant handed over a net sum, supported by a similar record of his own receipts and payments, it was only that net amount which would appear in the Chamberlains’ accounts. See D. Livock ‘The Accounts of the Corporation of Bristol 1532–1835’ *Journal of Accounting Research* 3.1 1965.

after the Civil War do we start to see payments in the Chamberlain's accounts, and then not for all but only for Thomas Ewins (Tuesdays).

From 1651 the Tuesday afternoon payments are shown in the Chamberlain's accounts, occasionally under Officers. In 1655 a committee was set up "to examine the foundation and settlement of the lectures on Sundays in the afternoons and on Tuesday mornings at Nicholas church".⁴⁷⁴ No reports or recommendations of this committee have been found. At first the results may have been muddled: the accounts of the later 50s and early 60s have entries annotated as mistakes or with no amounts or appearing under different headings from year to year. By the later 1660s all is sorted out: the St Nicholas Sunday Lectures are paid from the gift of Humphrey Browne, while the Tuesday ones (under general payments) are the gift of the Mayor and Council.

The absence of financial records together with the orthography of the Council Proceedings have made it especially hard to be sure of the Lecturers for the first half of our period. But here is the list as far as I have been able to reconstruct it.

1601–1603 Nathaniel Baxter & Robert Gulliford

In 1601 the Council decided not to dismiss Baxter from the lecturerships, which he had presumably been doing by himself beforehand, but to join Mr Gulliford with him.⁴⁷⁵

1603–1608 Thomas Thompson

Thompson published two of his St Nicholas sermons as delivered in 1608.⁴⁷⁶ In another he speaks of having been "Minister of Gods word amongst you for the space almost of five years".⁴⁷⁷

1608–1617 Edward Chetwynd

Chetwynd was specially recruited from Oxford around 1606⁴⁷⁸ to preach both Sunday and Tuesday lectures but I have not found just when he began. But he was paid up to Christmas 1616, just before becoming Dean in 1617.⁴⁷⁹

The vacancy was not immediately filled and in 1618 the Council was still seeking recommendations from Oxford for a 'learned and sufficient preacher' to do both sets of Lectures for £52 pa.⁴⁸⁰

1618–1621 Thomas Tucker

The Council's efforts bore fruit and they accepted Thomas Tucker as Lecturer in November 1618. But he may have stopped when he was appointed to Portishead in 1621.

II.3.1a: St Nicholas Sunday afternoon

1623–16?? Farmer, Shaw, Jones & Prichard

It looks as though no replacement for Tucker was found and in 1623 the Council shared the Sunday afternoon Lectures out between John Farmer (St Werburgh's),

⁴⁷⁴ CCP 12 June 1655.

⁴⁷⁵ CCP 13 October 1601.

⁴⁷⁶ *A diet for a drunkard* London 1612.

⁴⁷⁷ *A friendly farewell from a faithfull flocke* London 1616 Epistle 2nd page.

⁴⁷⁸ CCP 25 November 1605, October 1606, November 1606. Skeeters says he took up his post in 1606 (p. 146) but the last Council minute only deposes two councillors to go to Oxford "to procure a learned and virtuous preacher to this City to be public lecturer".

⁴⁷⁹ CCP [8?] January 1616/17.

⁴⁸⁰ CCP 31 March, July, October 1618.

Edward Shaw (Christchurch & St John's), Jones and Robert Prichard (St Peter's).⁴⁸¹ Jones is an unknown. He just might be the man who became rector of St Stephen's in 1641 and lasted well past 1670.

By 1626, Jones has dropped out and the Sunday lectures are shared by Farmer, Shaw and Pritchard.⁴⁸² Payments for these are never shown in the Chamberlain's accounts (see above), but presumably this team carried on indefinitely (with perhaps Till Adams for Farmer after 1634 when he succeeded him at St Werburgh's). At any rate none of them was to be sequestered. And no payments for them or any other Sunday afternoon Lectures appear in the Chamberlain's accounts.

II.3.Ib: St Nicholas Tuesday morning

1623–1645 Richard Towgood & Abel Lovering

The Tuesday mornings are slightly better documented but rather confusingly so. In 1623 the Council also divided these, between Towgood (All Saints) and Lovering.⁴⁸³

Towgood, alone, was awarded arrears and fees in 1634 and 1635.⁴⁸⁴ By this time these payments are appearing in the Chamberlain's accounts as from the bequest of Humphrey Browne. But Towgood's fees are shown as just £8 a year. This would just cover half the total at the obsolete rate of 6s 8d each. No payments are shown for Lovering, though he was still sharing the work till his death in 1643 – see below. I surmise that the amounts which appear, for some years at least, in the accounts are only a part of the payments to both men, the rest coming from extra-audit book sources, such as the parish contributions. 1641/2 is the last year for which Towgood's £8 appears in the accounts. But when Lovering died in 1642/3, Towgood was to do all the Tuesdays,⁴⁸⁵ and presumably did so until he was sequestered in 1645.

1647–1651 Constant Jessop

There seems to have been a gap until 1647 when the Council awarded the Tuesday Lectures to Jessop, now intruded at St Nicholas's, "the stipend for the same as formerly was paid to Mr Towgood".⁴⁸⁶ But no payments to Jessop are ever shown.

1651–1660 Thomas Ewins

Ewins received payment at £12 10s a half year for these lectures from Michaelmas 1651⁴⁸⁷ though often in arrears. Often he was even recorded under Officers. But the Council never formally appointed him or mentioned him as Lecturer in their proceedings – until the Restoration when they sent two Councillors to "speak with Mr Ewins and inform themselves by what authority he preaches the Tuesday lectures at St Nicholas's and report".⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Ewins got paid in full for 1659–60.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸¹ CCP 13 October 1623.

⁴⁸² CCP 17 Oct 1626.

⁴⁸³ CCP 13 October 1623.

⁴⁸⁴ CCP 12 Aug 1635; Audit Books 21 1634/5 Q4. 1635/6 Q3.

⁴⁸⁵ CCP 9 May 1643.

⁴⁸⁶ CCP 25 Feb 1646/7.

⁴⁸⁷ Audit Books 24 *et seq.*

⁴⁸⁸ CCP 8 May 1660.

⁴⁸⁹ Audit Books 29.

II.3.1.c: St Nicholas Sunday and Tuesday

1660–1667 Richard Towgood

Towgood seems to have resumed without any formal record from Michaelmas 1660 at £12 for the half year for St Nicholas Lectures – without specifying which.⁴⁹⁰ But what would have been the payment for the second half is marked ‘placed per mistake’, and a similar entry for the first half next year has no amount specified. Then at Michaelmas 1663 Towgood got £78 18s 8d for fees due to June 1662 for both the Sunday and the Tuesday lectures.⁴⁹¹ With the earlier £12 that makes nearly £91 for 7 quarters. This, give or take a week or so, is quite consistent with the £50 + £47 11s 2d he got, specifically for Tuesdays and Sundays respectively in 1664.⁴⁹² In 1664–5 he got just £25 for the Tuesdays, without mention of or payment for Sundays.⁴⁹³ At last in 1665 the accounts show £23 6s 8d for Sundays as gift of Humphrey Browne, and £25 for Tuesdays, gift of the Mayor and Council; and the two payments are so distinguished from then on.

1667–1684 Crossman and Chetwynd

In 1667 Towgood became Dean. Samuel Crossman succeeded him at St Nicholas’s, and also, without any formal notice it would seem, in the Sunday Lectures. At first the plan was that John Chetwynd (Temple) should succeed Towgood in the Tuesday Lectures,⁴⁹⁴ but Chetwynd himself asked that he might share them with Crossman.⁴⁹⁵ So the transitional arrangement for 1667–8 was that Towgood and Crossman shared the Sunday Lectures; and he with Crossman and John Chetwynd (Temple) shared the Tuesdays.⁴⁹⁶ From then on, Crossman did Sundays alone and shared Tuesdays with Chetwynd.⁴⁹⁷

1684–1690 Chetwynd

In 1684 when Crossman died, there was just £12 10s for Chetwynd alone, then he took on both sets and was getting the full £25 to the end of our period.⁴⁹⁸

II.3.2 The St Werburgh Lectures

In 1613, the Council established a third set of Lectures, to be given at St Werburgh’s on Thursdays.⁴⁹⁹ Skeeters thinks of these as the St Nicholas Lectures transferred,⁵⁰⁰ but they were and remained quite distinct. They were from the start paid directly from City funds, and in fact the St Werburgh Lecturer is treated as a Council Officer in Audit Books for some time after 1613; while payments to St Nicholas Lecturers, when they appear, appear separately. In fact apart from changing the place of entry from Officers to general payments, the half yearly stipend of £12 10s is shown so consistently for the rest of our period that breaks can be taken as

⁴⁹⁰ Audit Books 30 f. 54.

⁴⁹¹ Audit Books 32.

⁴⁹² Audit Books 33.

⁴⁹³ Audit Books 34.

⁴⁹⁴ CCP 10 Dec 1667.

⁴⁹⁵ CCP 7 April 1668.

⁴⁹⁶ Audit Books 37.

⁴⁹⁷ Audit Books 38–42.

⁴⁹⁸ Audit Books 54 (1684/5); Audit Books 59 (1689/90).

⁴⁹⁹ CCP 4 May 1613.

⁵⁰⁰ Skeeters p. 146. On this basis, she believes the Council got a bargain, paying Yeamans only half as much as his predecessors. But he was paid the going rate, 10 shillings a Lecture, for a single series not for two.

prima facie evidence of temporary vacancy. After Yeamans' death the Lecturer is usually anonymous though Paul is named occasionally. After Paul's disqualification in 1662, the St Werburgh Lecturer is always named.

1613–1633 William Yeamans

Yeamans was appointed, on contract, when these Thursday Lectures were instituted and carried on till his death in 1633. In this time, £12 10s was paid him half yearly, often by name, as a Council Officer.

1633–1645 Richard Standfast

Standfast was appointed explicitly to succeed Yeamans in 1633,⁵⁰¹ just before his appointment to Christchurch. The payments continue regularly under Officers, though usually anonymously, to 1645 – see below.

1645–1647 Major Kem

Kem, a senior officer of the new Parliamentary garrison, got his first payment for the last quarter of 1645, so it looks as though this Lectureship did not wait upon Standfast's sequestration in December. Kem left at the end of 1646. The accounts go on paying an anonymous St Werburgh Lecturer throughout.

1647–1662 John Paul

Paul (St James's) was appointed in February 1647,⁵⁰² with "the stipend for the same as formerly was paid to ... Mr Standfast", ignoring Kem. And the £12 10s goes on being paid every half year to the Lecturer, sometimes named as Paul, until September 1662, the last such entry naming him.⁵⁰³ But Paul was disqualified in 1662.

1662–1684 Richard Standfast

The Council made a formal minute reinstating Standfast (now back at Christchurch) in September 1662.⁵⁰⁴ From then on he got one payment of £25 a year for the St Werburgh Lectures until his death in 1684.⁵⁰⁵

1686–1687 Thomas Palmer

Palmer was at St Werburgh's anyway and was paid for a half year in 1686 and another half year in 1687.⁵⁰⁶

1688 Thomas Cary & William Stephens

These two were paid £12 10s between them for a half year.⁵⁰⁷

1689–? Thomas Cary

Cary got the full £25 in 1688 and was still doing so in 1691.⁵⁰⁸

II.3.3 The Cathedral Lecturer

After the Civil War and the abolition of bishops, there was a Lecturer post *per se* established in Bristol, without reference to any specific Lectures to be given.

⁵⁰¹ CCP 4 November 1633.

⁵⁰² CCP 25 February 1646/7.

⁵⁰³ Audit Books 23–32.

⁵⁰⁴ CCP 2 September 1662.

⁵⁰⁵ Audit Books 32–53.

⁵⁰⁶ Audit Books 55 f. 69; Audit Books 56 f. 55.

⁵⁰⁷ Audit Books 57 f. 66.

⁵⁰⁸ Audit Books 58 f. 63; Audit Books 60 f. 74.

This was the College (i.e. Cathedral) Lecturer post established by the Council for Plundered Ministers in 1647, presumably at the prompting of the Bristol magistrates. It was to be funded with £50 from the Dean & Chapter revenues; but there were also to be £50 each for St Augustine's church and for the Gaunts (St Mark's).⁵⁰⁹ This Committee and then the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministry are the main sources for this post, as the funds concerned were to be handed over to one of the Bristol Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel (Luke Hodges at first, then Jeremy Holwey) for transmission to the Lecturer.

1651–1652 Ralph Farmer

There is no evidence of any money being paid to any ministers till 1651 when the augmentation of £150 a year to Ralph Farmer in the Cathedral post was 'continued'.⁵¹⁰ The assignment of the full £150 to the Cathedral Lecturer alone is probably a, premature, anticipation of the planned parish consolidation scheme whereby one minister would have been responsible for the Cathedral and St Augustine's and the Gaunts (see I.2.3.4 above).

1653–1660 John Knowles

There seems to have been a hiatus, either of actual occupation or of information, in early 1652 when the grant was assigned to Mr Jeremy Holwey to pay whoever might be in post,⁵¹¹ but from the beginning of 1653 the lecturer is John Knowles, with St Michael's 'annexed' to the list of parishes which he was supposed to serve.⁵¹² The importance of his recruitment may be gauged from the fact that his augmentation was actually confirmed by the Council of State – of which Bristol's Dennis Hollister was a member.⁵¹³ The last recorded payment order was made in December 1658,⁵¹⁴ but Knowles probably continued, nominally at least, until 1660 when the post would have lapsed.

II.4 Dissenting ministers

From 1640, congregations appear which separated themselves from the Church of England as settled in 1559 and remained separate after the re-establishment in 1662. At the time and in the historiography, there is emphasis on the multitude of strange beliefs which sprang up.⁵¹⁵ Contemporaries were lavish with the term Anabaptist for anything they disapproved of.⁵¹⁶ But for Bristol we may confine ourselves to four groups for which alone we have significant evidence and which alone survived the Restoration: the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Congregationalists or Independents, and the Quakers. Even for these gathered churches the evidence is seldom so clear, or so full or so definitively dated as for the official parish ministry. But they are better served by the secondary records: we are very fortunate to have *The Records of a Church of Christ* which with its introduction supplies a great deal of our knowledge

⁵⁰⁹ Bodley MS 325 f. 292 of 8 December 1647.

⁵¹⁰ LPL Comm VIa/1 f. 13, June 1651.

⁵¹¹ LPL Comm VIa/3 f. 19 of 9 January 1652.

⁵¹² LPL Comm VIa/4 f. 288 of 22 February 1653.

⁵¹³ CSPD 18 October 1653, A Woolrych *Commonwealth to Protectorate* (1982) p. 189.

⁵¹⁴ LPL Comm VIa/9 f. 464 of 9 December 1658.

⁵¹⁵ Thomas Edwards *Gangraena* 1646 is a good contemporary example, and does indeed cite Bristol as a hotbed of new-fangled heresy and nonsense III pp. 110–11. Christopher Hill's *World Turned Upside Down* 1973 tends to use literary evidence at the expense of other records to convey a rather exaggerated picture of ideological turmoil.

⁵¹⁶ Just one dissenting minister in Gloucestershire was actually licensed as an Anabaptist in 1672.

of the Restoration period.⁵¹⁷ *Calamy* is another good source; and the Quakers documented everything done to them to the last dented hat.

There must have also been some Roman Catholics in Bristol. Roman Catholic priests and celebrations of the Mass faced popular hostility in this part of the world,⁵¹⁸ as well as legal penalties; and no regularly practising groups can be detected, even when the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence would have permitted them. (Though even then their priests and chapels were not eligible for registration.) In 1676 the Compton Census showed nil, or perhaps 1 or 5, individual Catholics for the Bristol deanery of Bristol diocese.⁵¹⁹ In the great Popish plot scare of 1678–1681, no priests or Jesuits were even sought, let alone found, in Bristol. Nicholls & Taylor report a celebration of Mass discovered in 1686⁵²⁰ – great timing. And in December 1688, the midst of the Glorious Revolution, it is reported that mobs trashed the houses of three Papists.⁵²¹ We may conclude that there were covert Roman Catholics in Bristol, but there was probably no continuing ministry in the town proper.

It may have been different down at the docks where ships called from many Catholic countries and the mass may have been celebrated aboard or ashore. A letter of about 1670 from a M. Rochfort says he stayed in Bristol with a Fleming who had “long kept a priest who secretly said mass in his house; but it having been discovered he was forbidden to do it, so that at present one cannot hear mass at Bristol, although it is a port frequented by many Catholics.”⁵²²

For Protestant Nonconformists, the Compton Census merely gives round figures without distinguishing by denomination. The figures returned, which may only be for fourteen parishes, was 600 over the age of 16.⁵²³ This must be an underestimate: the Broadmead Baptists alone numbered 151 in 1679,⁵²⁴ and the Quakers at least were very much more numerous.

II.4.1 Presbyterians

Presbyterians might not have recognised themselves as dissenters at all. They wanted a church on the lines of the Scottish Kirk, freed of prelate and lay control. In fact, Parliament had committed itself to a national Presbyterian church with the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643; and set it up in 1646. But the new law was more enabling than compelling and was no way followed up or enforced. Most of England did nothing. North Somerset was one of the few areas to establish a working Presbytery⁵²⁵ – thus constituting an additional reason for Bristol, technically a part of it, to stir not an inch in that direction. By 1662, the Presbyterians had either to

⁵¹⁷ *Church of Christ*. Terrill’s narrative runs to 1687 and Hayden’s Introduction extends this.

⁵¹⁸ Unlike the North West where Catholicism was endemic even among the magistracy and so much less covert.

⁵¹⁹ *The Compton Census of 1676* ed. Anne Whitman (British Academy 1986) p. 548.

⁵²⁰ *Past & Present* III p. 115.

⁵²¹ Evans *History of Bristol* 1824 p. 243 where the report is placed in quotes without ascription. It is not found in Barrett or Seyer.

⁵²² *Past & Present* III p. 61.

⁵²³ For a discussion of this muddled source see *The Compton Census* pp. 547–51. The muddle is a little compounded by the editor who confuses St Lawrence’s with St Leonard’s.

⁵²⁴ *Church of Christ* pp. 273–5. Listed as 43 Brethren and 108 Sisters and nearly all baptised so these are probably all adult members.

⁵²⁵ In fact a classis, subgroup, within the nominal Somerset Presbytery – and the only working classis in these parts.

conform or to become non-conformists.⁵²⁶ But the feeling that they were not dissenters in the full sense of the term may account for the readiness of ministers to register as Presbyterian in 1672, even when they also registered under another denomination.⁵²⁷

One gets the impression that the Presbyterian churches formed rather more of a network, and less the followings of individual ministers than the Baptists or Independents.

Ralph Farmer 1662–1670

Farmer first appeared as a frequent preacher at St Thomas's 1648–51; and held the College Lectureship in 1651 and 1652, when he moved to St Nicholas's. He left St Nicholas's in 1660 and although *Calamy* reports him as continuing to preach in another parish, I have found no evidence of this. At any rate, he refused to conform in 1662.

?–1698 John Weekes

Weekes came to Bristol soon after being ejected from Buckland Newton in 1662. He is described as the founder of the Lewins Mead church. He was registered as a Presbyterian minister in 1672, when the only Presbyterian premises licensed in Bristol were Simon Tovey's house in St James's and John Ceager's, possibly in St Werburgh's. Weekes died in 1698.

II.4.2 Baptists

The main non-conforming feature of Baptists was a belief in adult rather than infant baptism, but not all the congregations described as Baptist in our period were fully committed to this.

As to ministry it appears that the initiative lay with a congregation to invite a man to minister to them. If he accepted, they then had a claim on him such that he could not go elsewhere without their releasing him. Once in place, a minister would generally be ordained as pastor by leading ministers from other congregations, but could and did 'minister' without this. There were also deacons, but I do not know what their functions were. Women never became ministers or pastors, but might be deaconesses.⁵²⁸

A Baptist congregation also appointed elders who exercised some ministerial functions, and must have led prayers and so on when there was no minister, or when the minister was in prison. Women formed the majority of the baptised congregation but do not seem to have ever been chosen as elders.

II.4.2a: Broadmead Baptist Church

A principal source for this church is Terrill's *Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol*. I have drawn heavily on the edition by Roger Hayden,⁵²⁹ and the convenient survey of this and other records in his introductory chapters.

⁵²⁶ And this has led to an implication that any regular ministers who resigned their livings in 1662 should be accounted Presbyterians. Baxter tried to repudiate this notion (*Wilkinson 1662 and After* 1962 p. 37); and in Bristol, we cannot really say whether Hassard or Paul or Farmer refused to conform on account of episcopacy or the Book of Common Prayer or the 39 Articles.

⁵²⁷ E.g. Edward Hancock, who was possibly a Baptist but certainly never an accepted Presbyterian minister as he was never ordained; Andrew Gifford, most certainly Baptist; and William Troughton, Congregationalist. Of the 8 recognisable Bristol names, 5 register as Presbyterians, 3 as Congregationalists and none as Baptists – possibly a reversal of real proportions.

⁵²⁸ *Church of Christ* p. 51.

⁵²⁹ *Church of Christ*. As it is now out of print (though it can be found on-line), it may be useful to recycle relevant material from it here.

According to Terrill, the first five ‘professors’ began to hold separate meetings for worship, in a private house, around 1640.⁵³⁰ Terrill is relying on hearsay for this period,⁵³¹ and is evidently wrong on some checkable points like the career of Matthew Hassard. The first actual record we have is in August 1641 when the magistrates at quarter sessions found Hollister and Cooke guilty of keeping a conventicle, stirring up mutiny, breaching the peace and disturbing the people by their separatist meeting.⁵³² They admitted the facts, and claimed that they had been put up to it by a Parliament man, whom they did not name. It is likely therefore that they, like others, felt emboldened to separate as the hostility against the established church, or Laud’s version of it, grew in the first year of the Long Parliament.⁵³³

Although the Broadmead Baptists trace their origins to this group, they do not seem to have been Baptist at first, and only in the 1680s did they become Particular Baptists.

Broadmead was then an area on the eastern edge of the city where housing gave way to orchards and fields.

1640–1643 Robert Bacon, Walter Cradock, William Wroth, Richard Symons, Henry Walter & ? Moston

These are all listed by Terrill as leaders of a separatist congregation in Llanvaches, Monmouthshire, who visited Bristol in the period up to 1642.⁵³⁴ When the Civil War broke out, many of this congregation moved to Bristol, and then on to London when the Royalists came in. Terrill names Cradock as the pastor (or chief minister?) of the group; Bacon as a principal minister and preacher until he was called away to Filton; and one Pennill, a minister at St Leonard’s, as a local member of the group, though this man is found in no other record.⁵³⁵

I cannot find that any of them was ever licensed to preach in Bristol although there was an operating bishop over most of this time. All of the Bristol group seem also to have removed to London during the Royalist occupation, so there is a hiatus as far as Bristol is concerned.

1646–1650 Nathaniel Ingelo

Ingelo, intruded at All Saints, was the minister whom the Baptists attended in the post-war period, interestingly preferred over Hassard, husband to one of the foremost of them. In the end they found Ingelo’s love of music and trendy clothes unseemly.

1651–1670 Thomas Ewins

Ewins was called from the congregation in Llanvaches by Bristol’s Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1651⁵³⁶ at the instigation of the Broadmead Baptists, and remained there till his death in 1670.

⁵³⁰ *Church of Christ* pp. 86–9. Terrill, and others after him, links them to the men who used to meet at the house of William Yeamans until 1633. The links are Goodman Cole and Richard Moone, named as members of both groups and Mrs Hassard, member of the later group, who was widow of Andrew Kelly member of the first. Even if these identifications are valid, they do not imply that William Yeamans, prebendary and City Lecturer, was in any way unorthodox or inclined to separation.

⁵³¹ *Church of Christ* p. 11.

⁵³² BRO JQS/M/3 1634–1647 13 August 1641.

⁵³³ Cressey ‘Revolutionary England’ *Past & Present* 181(2003) 35–71, especially p. 55.

⁵³⁴ *Church of Christ*.

⁵³⁵ *Church of Christ* pp. 97–8.

⁵³⁶ The commission was established in terms of the 1650 Act for Amalgamations, see 2.3.4 above. The invitation is printed in *Church of Christ* p. 103.

1662–1666 Robert Purnell

Purnell was chosen as Elder in 1660 and died in 1666. Although I do not know that he ever preached, his prolific writings suggest that he may well have. He is treated at length by Hayden.⁵³⁷

1662–1682 Thomas Ellis

Ellis was also chosen elder in 1662 and the Baptists met at his premises until he went to London around 1682.⁵³⁸

1666–1687 Thomas Jennings

Jennings began around 1666 by administering baptism to help out the ailing Ewins. From 1683 he was mainly at Chipping Sodbury where he became the Baptist minister in 1687.⁵³⁹ When listed in 1679 he had no title other than as ‘baptised’.⁵⁴⁰

1666–1680 Edward Terrill

Terrill was chosen as Elder in 1666, and lasted to 1680. he is fully treated by Hayden.⁵⁴¹

1671–1678 Thomas Hardcastle

Hardcastle was won from a London congregation after a wrangle which tells much of the proprietorial rights claimed by a congregation over their chosen minister – only in this case Hardcastle was on probation and had not been chosen when the Broadmead Baptists first sent for him. He came to Bristol in July 1671, and remained to his death in 1678, though he never got to be ordained pastor.⁵⁴²

1679–1685 George Fownes

Fownes was minister through the great persecutions of the early 80s and in fact spent the last three years of his ministry in court or in prison, where he died.⁵⁴³

1687–1693 Thomas Vaux

Vaux or Faux was pastor from 1687 to his death in 1693.⁵⁴⁴

II.4.2b: Pithay Particular Baptists

Terrill suggests this group came into existence immediately prior to the civil war. When Bristol fell to Prince Rupert in 1643 they moved to London and maintained their identity while associating with the congregation led by William Kiffin. This group was the basis of the Particular Baptist Church which is clearly in existence by early 1650.

They met originally in the Friars, and from about 1650 in a purpose-built chapel in the Pithay off Wine Street. For all the following see Hayden.⁵⁴⁵

1653–1679 Henry Hynam

Hyman was pastor from at least 1653, as first mentioned in Terrill, until his death in 1679.⁵⁴⁶ He was assisted by Thomas Patience between 1662 and 1665. He was imprisoned 1663–64.

⁵³⁷ *Church of Christ* pp. 19–27.

⁵³⁸ *Church of Christ* pp. 7–9.

⁵³⁹ *Church of Christ* pp. 42–3.

⁵⁴⁰ *Church of Christ* p. 273.

⁵⁴¹ *Church of Christ* pp. 5–16.

⁵⁴² *Church of Christ* pp. 34–42.

⁵⁴³ *Church of Christ* pp. 43–6.

⁵⁴⁴ *Church of Christ* p. 46.

⁵⁴⁵ *Church of Christ* pp. 70–1.

⁵⁴⁶ *Calamy*.

1677–1721 Andrew Gifford

Gifford was co-pastor with Hynam at first, then with Harford (below). He served well into the eighteenth century. Three times in prison.

1680–1683 William Harford

Harford had been ruling elder before becoming co-pastor in 1680. He died in 1683.

II.4.2c: Castle Baptists

Hayden reckons there was a General Baptist congregation in the Castle precinct from the early 1650s, which lasted until 1680.⁵⁴⁷

?–1680 ? Captain Kitchen & Thomas Whinnell

Hayden mentions Kitchen as a leader and Whinnell as a frequent preacher

II.4.3 Independents/Congregationalists

The main non-conforming feature of the Independents, or Congregationalists as they became known,⁵⁴⁸ was that ministers were elected by their own congregations and not appointed by any central organisation. In Bristol and elsewhere, this may well have begun as a practical response to vacant livings as much as an ideological principle.

II.4.3a Castle Hill Independents

Hayden reckons this group was in existence by 1654, meeting at the Castle under the protection of the Governor of the Castle, Colonel Adrian Scrope.

1659–1660 John Knowles

Hayden cites Nuttall as source for the statement that Knowles was pastor to the Independents on Castle Hill in 1659.⁵⁴⁹

1670–1676 John Thompson⁵⁵⁰

Thompson was minister from 1670 and registered as such in 1672 at premises in Castle Street. He died in prison in 1675.

1676–80 Benjamin Wey⁵⁵¹

Also served until his death.

1680–89 no-one

“Pastorless and in a very low state until Isaac Noble became minister in 1689”.⁵⁵²

*1689–1707 Isaac Noble⁵⁵³**II.4.2b: Whitson Court Independents*

Lyon Turner calls them so, although Whitson Court was the place made available by Ellis for Baptist worship; and to Thompson as their minister, though he seems clearly

⁵⁴⁷ *Church of Christ* pp. 71–2.

⁵⁴⁸ Possibly to avoid confusion with the Parliamentary group of the same name, who were not necessarily committed to Congregational election of ministers. In 1672, some 30 ministers and premises in Bristol & Gloucestershire were ‘Congregationalist’, and only one place, a barn, recorded as Independent.

⁵⁴⁹ *Church of Christ* p. 72 citing G. F. Nuttall *Visible Saints* OUP 1957 p. 34.

⁵⁵⁰ *Church of Christ* pp. 72–4.

⁵⁵¹ *Church of Christ* p. 74.

⁵⁵² *Church of Christ* p. 74.

⁵⁵³ *Church of Christ* p. 74.

identified with the Castle Independents. They might also have been based at Jeremy Holwey's house in Corn Street, said by Turner to have been capable of holding 600 people. Nicholls & Taylor reckoned they met chiefly in St James's parish.⁵⁵⁴

1662?–1681 Richard Blinman

Blinman seems to have been in Bristol from 1662, but whether presiding over a distinct congregation is not clear.

1665–1674 William Troughton

He was licensed at his house in Philip St in 1672 – as a Presbyterian. He went to London in 1674.

II.4.4 Quakers

Last on the scene were the Quakers.⁵⁵⁵ For a variety of reasons, they established themselves more firmly in Bristol than in any other city; and Bristol soon became a stronghold of the movement, with a higher proportion of the population than anywhere else in England. But they followed the same trajectory. They began in 1653 – 1654 in Bristol – with a very confrontational crusade for the hearts and minds of the nation. The confrontations included repeated disruption of services in both parish and gathered churches.⁵⁵⁶ Then a much more pacific policy was adopted in the Restoration, which helped to temper their reputation as dangerous subversives, as it was meant to do. And from 1667, the Bristol Friends were 'settled' under the joint rule of Fox and of London Yearly Meeting. There were two meetings for worship, one north and one south of the river; and two for business, the mens' and the very subordinate womens'.⁵⁵⁷ By the 1670s they were really only another dissenting denomination.

There is an awkwardness about identifying anyone as a minister in the Society of Friends, since they owned none, and repudiated the entire idea of ministry as an occupation. However it is hard to refuse the title to those who worked as missionaries for the movement.

1654 John Audland & John Camm

Audland & Camm were the first to hold public meetings, though Audland with Thomas Airey had made a preliminary visit to contact likely sympathisers. They stayed only a few weeks.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁴ *Past & Present* III p. 99.

⁵⁵⁵ See R S Mortimer *Early Bristol Quakerism* BBHA 17 1967; and his 1946 Bristol University MA thesis 'Quakerism in seventeenth century Bristol'; or for a much earlier take: Tanner *Three Lectures on the Early History of the Society of Friends in Bristol & Somerset* 1858.

⁵⁵⁶ George Bishop defended the practice in *Jesus Christ the same today* with 15 pages of Biblical precedents – enough to refute any suggestion that the Quakers rejected Scripture. Quakers typically represented these disturbances as mild heckling. Victims were less moderate: two Quaker women who plagued a women's Baptist meeting "did in a most unchristian, uncivil, and inhumane manner, walk up and down the room, humming and making a loud voice, at length came to the Woman that was in prayer, and putting their mouth to her ear, uttered these words, 'The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord'". Ewins *The Church of Christ in Bristol Recovering her Veil etc* London 1657 p. 22.

⁵⁵⁷ *Mens' Meeting* I pp. xviii–xxiv.

⁵⁵⁸ See letter from Camm in Braithwaite *Beginnings of Quakerism* p. 169; John Audland to George Fox, 1654 *JFHS* 26 (1929) pp. 41–2.

1654–1655 Edward Burroughs & Francis Howgill

Burroughs & Howgill took up the mission later in 1654, as both support and opposition grew.⁵⁵⁹

from 1654 local leadership

Dennis Hollister, George Bishop, Henry Rowe, Edward Pyott and Thomas Goldney were the local leaders from the first,⁵⁶⁰ soon joined by Thomas Speed. Although Hollister, Bishop and Speed all engaged in polemical writings, and Bishop was also a prolific chronicler of missionaries and of sufferings, none of them can be shown to have engaged in the direct testimony which was the equivalent of preaching.

1656 and frequently, George Fox

Fox's first visit was in 1656 and there were several more including of course his marriage to Margaret Fell in 1669. It is a testimony to the strength of the Quakers in Bristol and their relative immunity that Fox, who had been arrested and imprisoned in a dozen other places, was never touched in Bristol

1656 James Naylor

Naylor too, still a leader on a par with Fox, made his ill-fated visit also in 1656. But the Bristol Quakers managed to keep aloof, and in effect abandoned him to his fate. 1656 brought the Naylor affair. It is reasonable to take Naylor's performance as an act of ministry as the actors understood it.⁵⁶¹ This is an odd business. The only available charge was under the Blasphemy Act of 1650, which provided for trial by the Mayor and JPs. However, the records of the Mayor and Aldermen's Court are utterly silent about the matter.⁵⁶² It was not the magistrates but the Council, via a committee of 8, who referred the affair to Parliament, via their MP, Richard Aldworth.⁵⁶³ Yet the commentators, Farmer, Grigge, and Deacon are circumstantial about the examination of all concerned, and the documents found on the accused.⁵⁶⁴ Perhaps, when the magistrates realised that they could award six months imprisonment at the most, they decided that there had never been an official hearing at all.

1655–1665? Barbara Blagdon

Blagdon was a Bristol schoolteacher who travelled widely as a Quaker missionary. Her account of these travels, and travails, is lamentably short on dates; but it seems that she was more engaged away from Bristol than within, as the title of her memoir suggests.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁵⁹ See Francis Howgill & Edward Burrough to Margaret Fell from Bristol 1 Nov 1654, in Barclay (ed) *Letters of Early Friends* 219; James Parnel to Howgill & Burrough, Bristol 2 July 1655 printed in 'Barclay MSS' [Editor unknown] *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 35 (1938) pp. 87–100 at p. 96.

⁵⁶⁰ All nominal authors of *The Cry of Blood* 1656 although Bishop probably did the writing.

⁵⁶¹ Early Quakers were given to doing odd things, like going naked, 'for a sign'. It seems to have taken them some time to grasp that in the absence of a known semeiology it was never clear to any one else what the sign was supposed to signify.

⁵⁶² There are no Quarter Sessions records for December 1656, but anyway the matter had gone to Parliament by then.

⁵⁶³ CCP 4 November 1656.

⁵⁶⁴ Bishop in *The Throne of Truth* 1657 is mainly concerned to pull Farmer's account to pieces, and so convicts him of omitting or misrepresenting details – but where is the documentation on which all these accounts seem to draw?

⁵⁶⁵ B. Blagdone, *An Account of the Travels* London 1691.

1670s Nathaniel Day

In August 1670 Nathaniell Day for addressing an unlawful assembly was fined or gave surety for £200.⁵⁶⁶

1670–1698 Charles Marshall

Marshall was another Bristol missionary, prolific preacher and writer. He was imprisoned for failure to attend his parish church in 1664 and in the 1680s for not paying tithes but never, apparently, for preaching.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ Mayor & Aldermen 3 f. 145 20 August 1670.

⁵⁶⁷ *ODNB; Mens' Meeting I* p. 209. Warrants were issued for his arrest 10 Jan 1670/1.

III MINISTRY

This part consists of extracts from contemporary writings to illustrate various aspects of ministry in Bristol in the seventeenth century. Many of these writings are published sermons, and most of the other writings are also by practising ministers. The ministers of the established church were more numerous and naturally predominate. Moreover the hierarchical structure of the Church of England meant that promotion was a more important prospect; and publication was a route to notice for those who lacked the even more vital qualification of connection.⁵⁶⁸ But when it comes to books, the Quakers were highly prolific. Bristol's George Bishop and later William Rogers were veritable publishing houses in themselves; and the Baptist elder Robert Purnell also published much.⁵⁶⁹ (Even so, he may seem over-represented in this selection. But he has two virtues: he writes very straightforwardly, perhaps because he means to be read not heard; and he seems to me to be more ecumenical than most others: eg III.4.4.3 below.)

It may be observed that the conforming and the non-conforming differ less about the central tenets of religious doctrine than they do about observance, conformity, church organisation and the duty of obedience to the monarchy. Orthodox contemporaries were ready to assign political divisions to religious dissent. We may rather be inclined to reverse the link, and see non-conformity as the beginning of the end of the assumption of political consensus, and the distinction of Whigs from Tories as the chief legacy of the seventeenth century religious disputes. In this respect, the sermons of 1678–1685 (III.4.1.7–10, 4.2.6–10) are particularly significant.

This reading of the disputes of this period may extend even to the Quakers. It made but little difference to path of Salvation whether one adopted the orthodox doctrine of Grace granted to the elect or the Quaker doctrine of an Inner Light available to all – see III.5.1.6 below. It was the rejection of civil hierarchy, and of official ministry, of 'steeple churches', and of tithes, which caused the grief. On the other side, Papists were as much detested for their subordination of states and monarchs to the Papal decree and for Jesuit conspiracy as for error in the way to salvation. It was this indeed which had many orthodox ministers ready to conflate Quakerism with Popery.

Many extracts are from sermons, and that has been perforce from the printed versions.⁵⁷⁰ The sermon was indeed a very popular form of publication on account of its relative cheapness⁵⁷¹ and, generally, respectability: "of great Worth, though but of small Price" as Purnell put it.⁵⁷² Ministers themselves, or university students

⁵⁶⁸ Thomas Palmer Snr's decision to publish just one sermon in his long career surely owed something to his supposition that a hefty plug for Ship Money at just that time would be advantageous to his prospects (see III.4.2.1 below). Likewise Richard Thompson's only published sermon, just after the Monmouth campaign and plugging non-resistance, looks like a clear bid for royal favour, III.4.2.10.

⁵⁶⁹ Though more in printings than in authorship: Purnell often recycles whole chapters of earlier works in later ones.

⁵⁷⁰ For all this topic, see James Rigney 'Sermons into Print' in *Oxford Handbook*.

⁵⁷¹ Rigney 'Sermons into Print' in *Oxford Handbook* p. 207.

⁵⁷² Epistle to the Reader, *Holy Life*.

studying for the ministry, made a ready market. But although many were printed, they represent only a small fraction of the thousands delivered each year. Nor are the published ones likely to be typical. Most ministers never published. Those who did were naturally choosy: they had to prepare a printable text from what may have been the merest notes, and check it more carefully against any inaccuracy or unintended unorthodoxy than the spoken word.⁵⁷³ As Roberts wrote in the Epistle to the Reader of *Chequerwork*:

And now I present the Sermon Revised, with the help of two distinct copies thereof taken in short-hand when I preached it lest any useful passages should be omitted; there being a different Gift in Writing and Preaching ... Revised (and where it was needful a little enlarged).

In so preparing it, they were likely to deviate even from a wholly written text as delivered. Circulating a manuscript was easier and less exposed, and more were circulated in MS than in print, but I am not aware of any cache of MS sermons by Bristol ministers.⁵⁷⁴ But the extra care that went into the printed texts makes them a clearer and more considered treatment of the topics concerned. The down side is that we probably lose some of the homeliness and humour which made the spoken word more agreeable.

It will be clear that the extracts as a whole cannot be in any statistical sense representative of practising ministry. But on the particular aspects chosen, I hope that they may be found typical examples of views which were often expressed at the time. Within each section they are arranged by date, but the samples are so small that one must be wary of looking for any chronological development. Myself, I have been mainly impressed by the consistency of teaching over the century.

I have arranged the extracts in five sections: The Nature of Ministry; Sermons; Scripture & Providence; Public Affairs and Individual Salvation. Even a short extract bearing upon one topic may also reflect views on another; but not, if I have done the work right, novel views.

Almost every view is supported by references to Scripture, see section III.3. I have retained texts and paraphrases but not usually references, because I cannot suppose that today's reader will wish to check them; and they are often piled up in the margin, abbreviated and in italic, so especially liable to misreading. However I have checked some of them, to see whether the King James Version or the Geneva or (for Psalms) the Book of Common Prayer has been used; and often found minor differences from any of the three. This is impressive, as indicating that they were typically so well versed in Holy Writ as not to need to check.

Some ministers published anthologies with titles like *A Cabinet of comforts* which we may see as the equivalent of the more worldly *Miscellany*. These might well include verse and some ministers wrote their own. There were no John Donnes or George Herberts in Bristol, but Samuel Crossman deserves recognition for that fine hymn *My song is love unknown*.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ Thomas Jekyll was an exception, assuring his readers that the sermons printed as *Peace & Love* were exactly as preached at Bristol in January 1674/5; but then they had brought him before the Mayor (charges dropped) so he was keen to show how innocent they had been.

⁵⁷⁴ There are a set of MS sermons of the Baptist minister Andrew Gifford, but from the start of the eighteenth century.

⁵⁷⁵ Especially in its setting by Ireland.

All the writings which I have consulted are listed in Appendix 2, whether or not I have taken any extract from them; and all are available via EEBO.

III.1 The Nature of Ministry

There was a very broad measure of agreement among all ministers, Anglican or non-conformist, as to the functions of the minister. There is a very comprehensive survey in Hieron's *Aaron's Bells* below which would I think have been approved by ministers of all denominations through the century. It gains some force too from its approach: good people, these are your ministers and this is what you should hold them to, though Anglican ministers might not have happily accepted such accountability.

III. 1.1 Aarons Bells A-Sounding by Samuel Hieron 1623

[Hieron was not a Bristol minister, and it is not clear how he came to be delivering this visitation sermon, or when it was. But he had strong links with Bristol where his son Samuel was apprenticed to Anthony and Dorothy Kelly in 1617 (Mrs Kelly who became Mrs Hassard). He was a well-known preacher, and on the radical wing though he repudiated term 'puritan' (*ODNB*). It is significant that even in 1623, long before Laud's regime, this sermon was considered sufficiently controversial to need publication in the Netherlands.

As well as giving a full account of the role of a minister, which would have been generally agreed, Hieron emphasises the accountability of the minister to his parishioners, and the parishioners' duty to hold him to account. In this respect he reminds us that the Reformation term 'minister' had from the first included the sense of functionary, not a priest set above the laity, but one appointed to perform certain offices on their behalf. The parallels Hieron draws with Miller, Farrier, Tailor etc make the point clearly.

The passages omitted are mainly those citing and interpreting episodes from the Old Testament further supporting the doctrine already stated. I have generally omitted Bible references in what remains because they have particularly suffered in printing. But I have kept the marginal glosses Doct[rine] and Use, as good examples of this structure (see III.2.2 below)

If delivered as printed this would have taken about two hours, which suggests that it is much fuller in text than in performance; and perhaps justifies the cuts I have made which bring it closer to one hour.]

Aarons Bells A-Sounding

In A SERMON, tending cheifly to admonish the ministerie, of their charge, & duty.

Preached by M. SAMUEL HIERON at a generall visitation neere Bristow.

And now published by them to whom his copy was entrusted after his death.

*And now ô Preists this Commandment is for you.*⁵⁷⁶

[The Epistle to the Reader.]

[A Post-script to the Reader. Apologises for mistakes: poor copy and foreign printing]

A Fruitfull Sermon preached by a faithfull servant of God, & minister of the
gospell at a generall visitation.

The text:

*And say to Archippus, take heede to the ministerie, which thou hast received in the
Lord, that thou fulfill it.*⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Malachi 2.1. Both Geneva and KJV have 'o ye priests'.

⁵⁷⁷ This text, Colossians 4.17 is as printed in KJV and in the Geneva versions.

[p. 1] After the Apostle Paul in the first part of the Epistle had sett downe the summe of the Christian doctrine, & therein shewed what Christ was, both concerning his person, & his office, & how we are made partakers of the benefits of both; & in the second part thereof had disputed with the false Apostles, & confuted their false doctrine & corruptions: & in the third place had sett downe precepts concerning manners & exhortations to a Christian, adding in the end of all, freindly & brotherly salutations: he comes to admonish them of a duty which they were to performe to Archippus their minister, in these words. *Say to Archippus take heede to the ministerie &c.* It appeareth by these words that Archippus was a minister of the church at Colossia; & because he was negligent in his dutye, or at least not so diligent & faithfull as both he should & might have beene, he therefore willeth the Colossians to admonish him of his fault, & to stirre him up to a carefull discharge of his ministerie. *Say to Archippus take heede to the ministerie &c.* As if he should [p. 2] have saide: be vigilant & circumspect, be carefull & watchfull, diligently consider, & marke earnestly what thy calling is, & of what great accounte it is: it is the ministerie, the preaching of the word, the instructing of the people, which thou hast received, not of man, but of the Lord: both, of the Lord who is the authour of the ministerie, & for the Lord who is the end of the ministerie. Thou hast received it by his grace, thou hast received it for his glory; let not this grace be in vaine in thee, let not this glory be neglected by thee but so walke in thy ministerie that thou fulfill it: absolve & perfect, & finish, & discharge that charge, which is layde upon thee. The summe then of these words is a rousing of negligent ministers: wherein we may note two things: first, the persons commanded to doe this duty. Secondly, the manner how, namely by exhortation, wherein observe two things further.

First, whereunto they must exhort him to a fulfilling of his ministerie. Secondly, the reason whereby they stirre him up to the same drawne from the authoritie of God who is the authour of the ministerie. Thou hast received it in the Lord.

(Doct) Say to Archippus: who must say to Archippus thus, namely the Colossians to whome Paul writeth. Therefore it is the dutye of the people to admonish the minister of his ministerie, & to put him in mind of the discharge of his dutye if he be negligent therein. For otherwise Paul might have admonished Archippus himselfe by writing unto him some particular letter, but in that he biddeth the Colossians to doe it, he sheweth it a dutye belonging to the people to jogg their minister in the ellbowe as it were, to put him in mind of [p. 3] his charge, & bid him remember his office & ministerie & by exhortation to excite & stirre him up to a faithfull discharge of his dutye.

A strange & unreasonable doctrine may some men saye; for what should the stones come tumbling out of the quarrie, and saye to the builder come cutt me and square me, and hew me thus? or should the tree come dauncing out of the wood and say to the Carpenter cutt me and plaine me, or frame me thus, or thus; that I may be fit for the building? what shall the sheepe come to the shepheard and put him in mind of his dutye? So, should the people come and admonish the minister, and tell him of his ministerie? right even soe; for they are no dead stones that lie in the quarrie, but as Peter calleth them they are living stones which can turne themselves to the hammer, and trees of righteousness (as the Prophet calleth them) which offer themselves to the Carpenter: they are reasonable sheepe, which can bring their cause to the Shepheard. Their soules are committed to the care of the minister to be taught and instructed, and comforted, and therefore as they regard their owne soules and salvations, they must regard the ministers dutye. As was the case of that ship which was covered with waves when Christ was a sleepe, such is the case of a congregation

when the minister is idle and negligent, as lulled a sleepe in the cradle of securitie. The disciples feared lest through Christs sleepeing, they should have been drowned: and that congregation may feare lest through their Pastours negligence, it be damned. Therefore as then the disciples, in love of their lives went to Christ and awoke him: so it behooveth the people for love of their soules to goe to [p. 4] their Pastour, and awake him, and stirre him up that he looke about him. In other matters we are carefull to put him in mind with whome we deale to deale faithfullie with us, and shall we be lesse carefull in this which is the maine pointe? In the hand of the Miller we loose but our meale, of the Farrier but our horse, of the Taylour but our garment, of the Lawyer but our money, of the Physition but our bodies: but in the hands of an unfaithfull minister a man looseth his soule and his everlasting portion in heaven. If then we say to the Miller, looke to my meale: to the Farrier, have a care of my horse: to the Taylour, spoyle not my garment: to the Lawyer, tender my case: to the Physition, regard my health: how much more should we say unto the minister (if he be unfaithfull) looke to oursoules & *take heede to the ministerie which thou hast received in the Lord.*

[...]

[p. 5] (Use) This being the dutie of the people toward their minister to bid him take heede to his ministerie what if I should expostulate with you that are to your minister, as these Colossians to Archippus? Tell me you that complaine of your minister that he is ignorant, or negligent, or unfaithfull, did you ever say unto him take heed to thy ministerie! did you ever stirre him up, and incite him thereunto? alas no! your owne consciences tell you that you have failed heerein! & there hath been both in the minister toward you: & in you toward the minister, a carelesnes by consent each with other: he, not regarding whither he did dis-charg his ministerie or no: and you, not careing whither you did admonish him or no, and thus Archippus hath been long a-sleepe because the Colossians did not awake him. Thus the ministers have neglected their duties because you have not said to them as heere the Colossians must say to Archippus take heed to the ministerie &c.

Say to Archippus

The Colossians must admonish Archippus and Archippus must be content to be admonished of the Colossians. Therefore.

(Doct) The minister must not refuse to be admonished, & put in mind of his dutye by the people whome he should teach: but as it is his dutie to teach others, so he must shew himselfe teachable, and willing to be instructed of others: still remembring though honourable his calling be, excellent his authoritie, great his power, yet he is not exempted from lawes, nor privileged from the admonition of his people, but both may and when occasion is offered must be admonished, [p. 6] even of them that are as inferiour to him, as the Colossians were to Archippus. As when Elisha commanded Naaman to wash himselfe seven times in Jordan he turned about in a snuffe, & went away in displeasure, but his servant came unto him and said: Father if the Prophet had commanded thee a greater matter, wouldst thou not have done it? how much more, when he saith unto thee wash and be cleane. Then went he downe & washed himselfe, and was cleansed. Surely if this noble man had disdeined the admonition of his servant, he would have continued a leaper still, and had never been cleansed: so if the ministers in the pride of hearte should scorne the admonition of their poore Parishioners, surely they should continue negligent still, and would never be reformed. Therefore as he with a good hearte endured the voyce of his servants, and did as they counselled him: So shall it be good for you (men and brethren as

many as are negligent in your duties) to heare the admonition of your people, and to obey them. Moses that man of God, though indued with the H. Ghost, though magnified with the giuft of workeing wonders, though acquainted with policie, and managing matters of state, as may seeme by his bringing up in Pharaohs courte, yet disdeined he not to be better instructed in the manner of good government by Jethro, inferiour to himselfe. The eye cannot saye to the foote I have no neede of thee, nor the head to the hand I have no neede of thee, nor the Pastour to the people in matter of admonition, I have no neede of you. Away then with that proud, haughtie and disdeinfull mind that is not ashamed to be negligent in his ministerie and yet scorneth to be admonished of his people, and to [p. 7] be put in mind of his ministerie? away then with these scornfull speeches (the very signes & tokens of a proud heart) shall I be reprooved by him? or shall a taylour or shooe-maker come and tell me my dutie? a hatter or mercer or such like, admonish me of my ministerie? why, I doubt not but among these Colossians, there were both taylours and shooe-makers, and of most occupations, and yet doeth Paul will them to tell Archippus of his dutie: & without doubt he would faine have Archippus contented there withall.

(Use) Therefore let us of the ministerie send home this pride to the Eldest sonne of pride, the beast of Rome, that man of sinne that child of perdition, whoe sitteth in his chaire of mischeife, mooveth like an oracle, and both thinketh in his heart, and speaketh with his mouth, that no man may say to him: *Domine quid ita facis!* Sir, why doe you thus? let us rather remember that Apollos though an eloquent man & mightie in the scriptures, though fervent in spirit, and a diligent Preacher, yet he refused not to be taught more perfectly the waye of the Lord by Aquila and Priscilla: an handy craft man, a poore tent-maker, nay of Priscilla a woeman, and wife of Aquila. And if he was contented to be taught, & instructed of them in his dutye, let none of us disdeine to be admonished, or stirred up in his dutye by those that are committed to our charge.

Thus much of the persons admonishing and such as are to be admonished; now of the admonition it selfe. *Take heede to the ministerie which thou hast received in the Lord.*

This ministerie which he must take heede unto, containeth all the duties of the ministers of God, which may be referred to these generall heads.

[p. 8] First to the preaching of the word. Goe teach the Gospell, have a care and regard that all the commandements be kept teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commande you.

Secondly to the administration of the Sacraments. Baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the H. Ghost.

Thirdly, to private inspection by reprooveing Sinners by admonishing, exhorting, by comforting the afflicted & those which are cast downe, & all to this end, that the elect whome sinne hath loosened, & disjoyned from Christ their head, may be restored to their place againe: joyned both to Christ their head by the Spirit, and one to another by love, which is it Paul speakes of.

That also (saith he) the bodie of Christ may be edified and built up, and come unto a perfect man in Christ. Which shall then be, when all the elect shalbe gathered together by the ministerie of the word: which the Apostle there calleth the worke of the ministerie, not an idlenes, but a worke, not a lordlines, but a ministerie.

This dutye may further be seene by the titles which are given to the ministers in the Scriptures. They are Pastours and therefore their dutye is to feede the people of God that dependeth upon them.

They are Husband-men and therefore in duty must till Gods ground, and sowe his seede.

They are Watchmen and therefore must give the people warning of ensuing danger.

They are dispensers of the mysteries of God to deliver that to the people which they have received of him. Called stewards of Gods howse, and therefore must [p. 9] give everie man his portion of meate in due season.

They are the light of the world, and therefore their duty is to shine forth by heavenly doctrine to enlighten Gods people.

They are the Salt of the earth, and therefore their dutie is to season with wholesome doctrine, the weake soules that bend to corruption.

They are builders, and therefore must edifie the body of Christ, the howse of God.

They are Captaines, and therefore it is their part to fight Gods battailes: and as good leaders and cheifeteines to instruct Gods people well in this spirituall warfare.

They are called Embassadors, and therefore their dutye is to declare Gods message to the people.

And all this is but their ministerie, now for the fullfilling and dis-charge of this ministerie, two things are required.

- First Knowledge.
- Secondly faithfullnes.

First that he be able, and secondly that he be carefull, and diligent to teach Gods people. Concerning the first, the minister of God must not be onely as a Spence or store-howse, wherein God hath layd up knowledge, as a good howse-holder doeth Come in a garner, signified by that in the Prophecie of Malachie, that the Preists lips must preserve knowledge, and for want thereof God hath divorced him from the honour of the ministerie, and hath pronounced him to be no Preist for him, because thou hast refused knowledge, I will also refuse thee thou shalt be no Preist to me.

But he must have the wisdom of a wise steward, that knowes how to give Gods children, or [p. 10] howsehold, their portion of meate in due season as Christ speakes: ministring milke to those that are but babes, and yonglings in Christ, and strong meate to those of riper age.

He must be one that can divide the word of truth aright, being as skilfull in divideing the word of God, as the Levites were in cutting a broad the beast for sacrifice, whence that phrase of divideing the word seemes to be borrowed. He must not onely be learned himselfe, but which is more, apt and fit to teach others as Paul speakes. This skilfulnes of the minister in teaching others was signified in the old Testament, not onely by that Urim & Thummim on the brest-plate to signifie his knowledge and holines. but also by the bells which did hang on the skirts of the Preists garments meaning as by the Pomegranates he should smell sweetely with the odours of a good life, so by the bells that he should sound unto others by preaching of true doctrine, by the sound of which bells he was to be heard when he went into the holy place, & when he came out upon paine of death. And what els in the N. Testament did the H. Ghost in the likenes of tongues signifie? he descended upon the Apostles, not in the likenes of hands, whereby to overcome the world by wordly feare, nor of feete, whereby to flee from the rage of persecuting ennimies, nor of eyes and eares fitt instruments to learne: but in the likenes of tongues, to teach the people their dutye in being the tongues of God to them. And what els doe all their names declare, being so many arguments to enforce this point? For how can they be called light, if being darke themselves they cannot send out the blaze of true th to enlighten others? Or salt of the [p. 11] earth, if being unsavourie themselves they

cannot season & preserve Gods people from sinne and corruption? Or Pastours if they cannot feede the flocke of Christ with the foode of life? Or Husband-men and cannot plowe Gods ground, and sowe his feede? Or Stewards if they cannot, or doe not rule his howsehold? Or Messengers and Ambassadors if they cannot speake in his name and declare his message, and ambassage unto his people? Or builders if they cannot build up Gods spirituall howse? Or Capteines if they knowe not how to fight Gods battailes. Neither let any man thinke that if a minister be able to reade he hath sufficient knowledge, and that bare readers are sufficient ministers, Christ greived to see the multitude dispersed as sheepe without Shepherds, and yet had they Moses read in their Synagogues even every Sabaoth day, and the Prophets, as may be gathered by Luke in the Acts.

Implying that readers were no sufficient Pastours, for els the Jewes in their Synagogues (as we have in our churches) had not ben without Pastours and so not so miserable, as he greived they were, when he considered what was requisite in a minister, namely to bring back that which is gone a straye, and to preserve from daunger, to heale the broken, to bind up the wounded, and the like. For which cause he sends his Apostles, by their preaching to performe that which they by their reading, could not doe. And if to have the law and the Prophets read had been enough, then had the Jewes knowne Christ, for Moses wrote of him.

[...]

[p. 12] (Use) The more lamentable is the state of the church in whome-soever the fault lieth, whither in them that should provide sufficient living, and will not, as it is in some Parishes, or in them that should make sufficient ministers, and doe not as in some Bishops: or in them that should present able Pastours, and care not, as in some Patrones. But in whomesoever the faulte is, lamentable is their state, that are yet as sheepe without a shepherd, as an army of simple Souldiours without a conducteur. If the estate of Israel was in danger, when through the tyrannie of the Philistines, even in the [p. 13] dayes of battaile, there was neither speare, nor sword found in the hand of any of the people, but onely in the hand of Saul, and Jonathan: how, not dangerous, but almost desperate, is the estate of any thousands of our people, who not onely themselves are un-armed of the knowledge of God, but even Saul & Jonathan too, even the leaders and Commanders want the armour of God, and skill how to use it, even the ministers themselves want the knowledge of Gods word, and skill how to preach it. What marvell then though the people perish? [...]

Pharaoh so feared the hurt, and regarded the good of his Cattell, as that he thought none fitt to be their ruler, but men knowne to be men of activitie, for so he speaketh, if thou knowest that there be men of [p. 14] activitie, make them rulers over my cattell: speakeing to Joseph concerning his brethren. And shall Pharaohs cattell have men of activitie, and shall not Gods people have men of knowledge? will Pharaoh have none to be his Cow-heards but men skillfull in that trade? and shall we thinke men of no learning fit to guide, and teach Gods people, which is a trade of trades and an art of artes? If we be to travell we seeke the cheifest men of skill to direct us, if to goe by sea, we desire the best Pilot to conduct us, if we be sicke we wish for the most excellent Physitian to cure us: and shall we be so sence-les, and infatuated, as to thinke any minister (be he never so ignorant) good enough to teach us? if you thinke so, then looke and behold the miserie that is upon the mounteine of Samaria, behold the blacke countreyes of ignorance yet among us, voyde of the light of Gods word! how many of our land are compassed with confusion of hellish darknes as a people vowed to destruction! how many be like dragons and serpents in

the deepe caves of the earth! how many sleepe in ignorance like Molles and battes in the holes! how many as the Assyrians in Samaria, who know not the manner of the God of our land, whose estate is blacke and a dismall day upon them, unlesse God send them Pastours after his owne heart, which may feede them with knowledg, and understanding; the want whereof let the Popish idolatrie and grosse superstition, let the heathenish, prophane, and palpable blindnes of the common people, their unreverent, & irreligious behaviour in things concerning God, let their Sybaritical feasts and banquets consecrated to Flora, Crispin, Clement and Bacchus, and such bouzing drunken Patrones,⁵⁷⁸ let the excesse, and most lothsome [p. 15] vomit of Whitson-ale, and Pentecost Lords; let the entrance of poperie into England againe, with a maine streame, as of the Romanes into Jerusalem, speake and cry alowde in your hearts and eares: and moove you to inward pittie and compassion of Gods church. And as for you which entred into this calling, and have not knowledg to dis-charge your calling, I say not as the Colossians to Archippus, take heed to your ministerie, but take heede of the danger, which you incurre by starveing Gods unspotted lambs, with golden fleeces. Remember, that you have not the charge of oxen, sheepe, but of the most brittell, and dangerous things in the world, even the soules of men that are ready to be mooved by every temptation: of the most choyce and precious things in the world bought with the greatest price, even the blood of Christ, whose charge is so great that the Apostle well weighing the same, crieth out as a man under a heavy burden; *and who is sufficient for theise things?* and if he being qualified from above, haveing excellent guifts of the spirit, did so highly esteeme of the same, as to judge himselfe insufficient for al that: what base conceite had you of the ministerie? how easy did you deeme it to be, when you entred thereinto! no man will presume to teach an art before he have learned it himselfe. Consider how you dis-grace the ministerie, and the profession of divine studies, by your ignorance. [...]

[p. 17] The second thing which the ministerie requireth at a ministers hand, is, not onely that he be skilfull, but also faithfull & watchfull, which, as Christ commanded in a Steward that gives his howse-hold meate in due season, so Paul practised as a faithful Steward, teaching openly, and in every howse, laying it to the charge of Timothie, with witnes, saying: I charge thee before God, and before the Lord Jesus Christ, Who shal judge the quicke, and the dead at the day of his appearing, and in his kingdome.

Preach, that is his office, be instant in season and out of season, that is the time. In season to them that will, out of season to them that will not. How? reprove exhort, correct, with al long-suffring, and doctrine, that is the manner.

And this duty Christ enjoyned Peter unto, he sayth not, be thou a Pastour, or a Bishop, or a Prelate, but feede thou because many Pastours in name, are but idoles in deede, which either devoure them, or fleece them, but feede them not. Therefore sayth Christ the harvest is greate, and there are, what few few Prelates, few ministers, or few learned men? no, but there are few labourers, few workemen.

Whereunto serveth that of the Apostle. If any man desireth the office of a Bishop, or a minister he desireth a good worke a good dutie, not a good dignitie, not a good delight, not good riches, not good revenews, but a good worke.

[...]

[p. 18] (Use) Then this is just reprove to all such to whome the Lord hath given gifts fit to teach & yet are negligent, and idle, and slothfull, and will not teach being

⁵⁷⁸ Here in a general sense, without reference to the holders of Advowsons, see Glossary.

like faithles Capteines who receive continuallie the Lords pay, and yet never fight the Lords battailes whose knowledge is wrapt up in an idle braine without practise as Goliaths sword in cloth without use. If the people curse him that with-drawes his Corne from the market: how much more shall they be cursed, who by keepinge the corne of Gods word, from the congregation of his people, bring upon themselves so fearefull a sinne? Who when as they should by preaching the word, distill on the people, as the dew upon the grasse, and as the raine upon the hearbes (like clowdes which sweate themselves to death) vanish away in vanitie, like brests without milke, and clowdes without water, who when they should in the wombe of the church, begett many children of glory to God, deserved to be fined of our Gouvernours as the old and single men of Rome were by their Censors cast out because they brought no children to the common-wealth.

And now hearken what the Lord saith to the idle of idole shepherde. Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds of Israel that doe feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flockes? therefore saith the Lord I wil come against the shepherde, and will require my sheepe at their hands: and his blood that dieth without warning will I require at the watch-mans hands. For what, should the Porter sleepe when the theefe seekes to enter? Or the Pilot be careles when the ship is in danger? Or the Capteine secure when the enimie is at hand? Or the minister be negligent, when his people be ignorant, and like to perish for want of vision? and the devill readie to destroye at all advantages? Far be it! for what were this, but even to betraye Gods people into the hands of Pirats, theeves, and robbers?

But what shall we say to them that have a cure of soules in one place, and live in another: like fugitive Capteines forsake their Ensigne and Company at Barwicke & flee to Dover who being with Jonah commanded for Niniveh, saile to Tarshish: who being placed in the countrie, run to the universitie. Who leave their charge, as the Ostrich doeth her Eggs in the [p. 20] earth, and sands: forgetting that either the soote might scatter thē, or the wild beast breake them shewing her selfe cruel to her yong ones, as if they were not hers: & is with feare, as if shee travailled in vaine: Or at the least, leaved her eggs, as the Cuckow doeth, to be hatched of a sparron, or some other bird. Do they not every howre feare lest God should meete them where they are, & hast[e] unto them as Elisha did to David, *why comest thou downe hither? & with whome hast thou left those few sheepe in the wildernes?* [...]

[p. 21] And to these may be added those, who seeking their owne, and not that which is Jesus Christs, are content to live, and waxe rich with the spoyle of the church, and the destruction of Gods people. They who are Capteines of two armies, Pilots of two ships, shepherds of two flocks, Pastours of two churches yea and more too, when a Godlie painfull man, making conscience of his dutye, grones under the burden of one but they travailling at one time with two children, harder to bring forth then Jacob and Esau were, cry not out in sence of any paine, as Rebekah did seing it is so why am I thus? but thinke that their presence in one place excuseth their absence in the other, and the rather, because they supply that by their Vicars, or Curates; which in their owne presence they cannot dis-charge. But consider I beseech you as many as be heere faulty in this particular is your absence excused because by others your places are supplied? what then is the election of ministers but a scorne, and mockerie (as Dominicus Scoto speaketh writing hereof at large. If a man may take a benefice and dis-charge it by an other man? and seing Christ sendeth you as Labourers, Teachers, not ordeiners of Labourers and Teachers in your places, what is it as Parisiensis speaketh writing much to to this purpose, but as

if a man should marry a woeman under hope to obtaine issue of her, but by another man?

[...]

[p. 22] You, your selves must put mouth to mouth, and preach the word unto them; you must put eyes to eyes, and enlighten their minds; you must put hand to hand, and show them all good examples, in your owne persons; which if you will not do, but still thinke your Curates presence can excuse your absence, then go to the Prophet Ezekiel and put your finger in the print of the Prophets speche that you may not still be [p. 23] unfaithfull, but beleeve: that it fully concerneth you: You have not kept the ordinances of my holy things saith God but you have set others to take the charge of my Sanctuarie. As if he should have saide: you have received the oblation of my holy things: but you have not kept the ordinances of my holy things, and as if you were the Lords of my heritage, you have put others under you, to take the charge of my Sanctuarie, which yourselves should have dis-charged.

[...]

[p. 25] (Doct) *Take heede to the ministerie thou hast received in the Lord.* Archippus did receive his ministerie in the Lord: that is, of the Lord. Therefore he did not thrust himselfe into the ministerie, but had his calling of God, and his example is to be marked of all the ministers of the [p. 26] word: *That they have not onely a calling from man but a calling from God:* as all the Prophets of God had: all the Apostles of Christ had: whose commission unto them, was a brazen wall, to secure them: and as a fortresse, and rocke to stand upon. If they have a calling from God, they shall see a seale of their ministerie in the conversion of some soules at least; but if they have received their ministerie from man, & not from the Lord, they receive a curse in sted of a blessing, a woe is denounced against them: and their people continue without proffit: as God sheweth in the Prophecie of Jeremiah: saying *I will come against them that Prophecy false dreames & I sent them not, nor commanded them therefore they bring no proffit to this people,* saith the Lord, therefore the people are not bettred, their soules are not converted, their lives are not amended, God is not glorified, because they came, and God sent them not, they had a ministerie, but not of the Lord: but saith God in the same chapter, *if they had stood in my counsel, and had declared my word, to my people: then, they should have turned them from their evill way, and from the wickednes of their inventions.* Behold a blessing that should have followed their labours, if God had sent them.

[...]

[p. 27] These are the faithfull ministers of God, whome God hath called, and armed from above, to this service.

These are they, to whome he hath given Crownes of authority, and lincks of iron to bind the Princes, and nobles of the earth: the rest have no courage, no power, no zeale at all, whome the Devill feareth not, but espying the wants of their commission, use. sayth to them, as he once did, to the Sonns of Sceva: *Jesus I acknowledge, and Paul I know, but who are yee?*

(Use) Let every minister that heareth me this day, enter into his owne heart, and examin his inmost affection, and try whither he hath received his ministerie of the Lord, or no: which he hath not, unlesse he hath gifts, in some tollerable measure, to dis-charge that ministerie: for God sendeth no blind guides, unlesse it be in judgment to punish the people. [...]

[p. 28] As many as have their ministerie of the Lord, can say as Paul did, when the Gospell was committed unto him, you know of the grace which was given unto me:

but for the rest, we see the ministerie in them, but we know no grace in them, neither in their word, nor worke.

(Doct) *Which thou hast received of the Lord, or in the Lord.* Hence we learne againe. That the Lord is the author of the ministerie. It was he that sent forth Prophets, and Apostles, and Evangelists, as extraordinary, and for a time: and it is he which sends forth still both Pastours, and teachers, which be ordinarie, and forever, as Paul sheweth.

And therefore are they called servants, and ministers of Christ, and Ambassadors for Christ: to whome, not man, but God, did commit the ministerie of reconciliation.

(Use) Heere then is excellent matter for minister and people. For minister, he hath received his ministerie of the Lord: and therefore he must give account of his ministerie, to the Lord.

Take heed (saith Paul to the Elders of Ephesus) to your selves, and to the flocke whereof the H. Ghost hath made you Overseers: not man, but the H. Ghost to whome you shall be accounteable for all the flocke and therefore take heede to the charge.

This should be as a thousand Spurr to our sides to moove us to the performance of our duties, when we consider the Majestie of him, who hath committed the ministerie unto us: when we consider, the price of soules, [p. 29] that depend upon us: when we thinke on that account. which we, one day must make: when Peter shall come before God, with his converted Jewes: and Paul with his Gentills; [etc] Whome shall we bring with us? what soules shall we present to God as our Crowne, and our glory? where shall we find the seale of our ministerie? or, if we have none, by reason of our negligence and ignorance; how shall we dare, to appeare before the Lord, the fearfull judge, of quicke and dead; when he shall say; *come give an accounte of thy steward-ship.*

(Use) Secondly; the ministerie should hence learne, this lesson of instruction: that because the Lord is the authour of this ministerie; therefore they must in their ministerie, seeke the Lords honour; and not their owne: they must seeke to enlarge Gods church, and not their owne livings; to winn glory to God, and not gaine to themselves: for, they have received their ministerie in the Lord; by his grace, and for his glory.

A just reproofe, to those, who in the ministerie aime not at this end; nay, whose consciences tell them, they thought not thereupon; but on their owne ease, such, and such a benefice, such a prebend-ship, such a common, such a Bishoprick, such credit, & countenance in the world: & intend this end in their ministerie, & not the other.

A just reproofe of those, who preach themselves, & not the Lord: speaking to the eare, & not to the conscience: seeking, rather by a painted eloquence, to set forth themselves, & to get the name of Schollers, and learned men; than to set forth the knowledge of the trueth: being like to adulterers (as Gregorie cōpareth them) who delight in the company of woemen, not so much to get children, as to satisfy their owne beastly lusts: So do these, delight [p. 30] to preach, now and then; once a moneth once a-quarter, or so: but not so much to gett children to God, as to satisfy, their owne vainglorious humour: as he, that commeth into the feild, to fight with a posie of flowres, in stead of a sword: & a plume of fethers in stead of a buckler: commeth more like a Carpet-knight, then a man of armes: so may we rightly judge him, that commeth into Gods place, with curious phrases, and invented words, of mans wisdome, thereby to get applause of the simple: rather like a wanton man-pleaser than a faithfull Preacher.

(Use) Thirdly; let all faithfull ministers, comfort themselves herein; tho men be against them, yet, they have their calling, from the Lord: he will backe them, and beare them out: he will give power unto them. They are starrs in Gods right hand; God will defend them. Feare not therefore, the faces of men; seeke not to please men, for, if you doe (as Paul speakes) you cannot be the servants of God. You have your ministerie from the Lord, seeke therefore, to approve your selves, not to the wicked, but to the Lord, who will defend, and give power unto you, as he promiseth, to his two witnesses, in the Revelation.

Now, for the people: here is also a lesson for them to learne: the Lord is the authour of the ministerie, therefore, honourable is their calling, & they are to be had, in singular accounte, for their works sake: not, for their livings sake, nor degrees sake, nor, their persons sake, nor, their freinds sake: but, for their works sake. The worke of their calling, their honourable calling. For this cause, the minister is called, the man of God, as if he should say, Gods Embassadour and legat, and lieutenant, on earth. If then, it be an honourable thing, to be a Princes [p. 31] Embassadour; how much more, to be Gods Embassadour, King of heaven, and earth? [...]

If this were well regarded, then the ministerie of God, would be more regarded, lesse despised, lesse dis-graced, more honoured, more revered, more esteemed then it is: but for want of this consideration, the ministers of God are accounted now a dayes, as the Apostles were before them; the very filth and off-skouring of the world: the very offalls, and refuse, of mankind. And, if by our dishonouring God, in our places, and our unfaithfull walking, in our calling, God hath justly dishonoured us, and made us base, and vile; abject, and contemptible, in the sight of the people; let us blame our selves: but if any, doe esteeme thus, of Gods ministerie, and account, the calling of his ministers, dishonourable; they dishonour, not us, but God, whose messengers, and Embassadours, we are: [...] [p. 32] certeynely, Christ will not put up that dis-grace, which is offred, to his messengers, and ministers. Wherefore, I heere dare, all Papists, Atheists, Libertines, Newters, Machiavells, and, all prophane Epicures whosoever, to contemne the ministers of God: if thou darest dishonour them, dis-grace them, mocke them, and laugh at them: [...] Call them, railing preachers, seditous preachers: assure they selfe, who ever thou art, that; thus thinkest in thy heart: or, speakest with thy mouth: the Lord, of whome, we have received our ministerie, shall not forget this contempt: but, tho base be our persons, poore be our livings, dishonourable be our estimation: he shall remember, and he shall revenge it. And therefore, feare to vilify, any of those, who have their ministry from the Lord. Men we are, as you are: and that is for your good, for you could not heare the voice, of God himselfe, and live: or, of any of those blessed; and glorious Angels of his. Sinfull we are, as yee are: and that is, because we are men.

Mortall we are, as you are: and that is, because we are sinfull. Yet still, tho men, sinfull, and mortall, we are the messengers of God, and Ambassadours of Christ. If you love us not, in regard of our persons, yet love us, in regard of our office: we are indeed, but earthen vessells; but we have pretious treasures in us: if, you esteeme us not, because we are vessells, and of earth, yet honour us, for the treasures sake. Our ministerie is not ours, but the Lords, woe, and thrice woe be to him, [p. 33] that scorneth it.

(Doct) The last thing, comes to be considered, in this verse. *That thou fulfil it.* It is heere required of the minister, that, he thinke it not enough, to dis-charge his duty, coldly, and perfunctorily, and for fashion (as it were) but, he must sett himselfe to it, earnestly, zealously, and fervently, that he may even fulfill it: that he may, as

Paul speaketh, make his ministry fully knowne: and, approve himselfe, the true minister of Christ: and make it appeare, by all meanes, that it is his hearts desire, to fulfill his ministry:

[...]

Tho a man, had all knowledg, of all Fathers, tongues and arts, yet unlesse he have zeale, he can never fulfill, the ministry of Christ. Therefore, did the H. Ghost descend, in the likenes of cloven tongues, like fire; to signify a zealous, a hott, preaching ministerie. John was a burning, as well as a shining light: So must we burne with zeale, if we will fulfill the ministerie.

(Use) If this be so, what shall we say, of these cold, comfortles discourses, and morrall-philosophy-lectures (rather then Sermons) without zeale, of formall-preaching ministers, which shame the heate, by which men should be quickened; being as Bernard speakes[p. 34] *luciferi*, but, not *igniferi*, having, some light of knowledge, in their heads, but, no fire of zeale, in their hearts, who, speaking the word of God, do weaken the power thereof, by dulnes, and fatnes of Spirit; bringing forth their doctrines, as many woemen do their children; still-borne, without sence, without feeling, without motion; using doctrine, without application; application, without zeale, like men without soules, or Images without lives. Such were, the intollerable cold, collations, of the Scribes, and Pharises, whereby, they did loose their Auditours, and, made their Synagogues, desolate: and such are the Sermons, of those ministers, whose minds are drowned, in wordly matters, whose spirits are frozen, and pittifully benumbed, with woldlines, and sensuality.

And, so dull are their owne hearts, by want of holy meditation, that, they have no life, in their ministerie, nor power in their preaching, more, then when, a little boy, saith grace. Wherefore, as Paul bids Timothy, to stirr up, anadsopurem.the graces of God in him; to blow them, as it were with bellowes, as, the Greeke word, imports: so must we, and endeavour, to Godly vehemency; in our preaching, that, we may enforce our doctrine, to the hearts of the hearers, and, may make our ministerie, knowne to Gods people.

And lastly; that our ministerie may be fulfilled; let us be, to them that beleewe, as Ensamples, in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, & in purenes, as Paul speaketh to Timothy: let us labour, to be unreprouveable, and without blame, that, we sett an edge, on our Sermons, [and] may, by our owne life, authorice our doctrine; let us first, be confirmed, as Peter was, and strengthen others; let us first, observe the commandements of God, & then [p. 35] teach them others to observe; let us first, labour to be the servants of God, as Paul was, and then, the Apostles of Jesus Christ; let us have in our brest-plate, both Urim, and Thummim, both knowledg, and holines, and, in the outmost borders, of our garments, let there be, both, bells, and pomegranates toe, both, soundnes of doctrine, and sweetnes of conversation. Take away the reproch of the people, that hath, a great while taken up, that speech; Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thy selfe?

You are in the face of the people, a fault in you, is, as a staine in the face, and a blow in the eye: as most perspicuous, so most dangerous, in the hand, the glove may cover it: in the feete, the shoes may cover it: in the body, the clothes may cover it: in a child, his age: in a woeman, her sexe: in a private man, his ignorance may excuse it: in you, that must be Ensamples to others, in all kind of conversation, nothing can excuse it. Therefore, if there be heere, any lizards, that, do wipe out with their tayle, the print of their feete, made in the dust: any preacher, who, by the uncleane tayle, of a loose life, wipes out the print, of true doctrine; if any have Jacobs voyce, and Esaws

hands, if any, that carry the bellows of preaching in the one hand, to kindle, and the water of ungodlines, in the other, to quench it: let them not deceive themselves, by their preaching, their ministry, is not fulfilled, and therefore, they shall have their portion, with that servant, that knows his masters will, and doeth it not.

And now to Conclude all, I say unto all *take heed to your ministerie*: for the devill your adversary (there is his dread) as a lyon (there is his power) as a rouring lyon [p. 36] (there is his desire to hurt) goeth about (there is his industrie) and seeketh (there is more then ordinary diligence), not what, but, whome, he may devour: Even the soules of men, that is his preye. His force, very greate, his wiles, and advantages, not unowne, his malice experienced, his cruelty, such as as hell can afforde; therefore, take heede to your ministerie. The wicked, your enimies, are Eagle-eyed, to looke into you, and spye you, as narrowly, as the Romans did Cato, or the Pharises, Christ; to find a fault, and having found, either your ignorance, or, your negligence, or, the pride of your ambition, or, your covetousnes, they have enough, to talke of, with joy on every ale-bench. Others see your faults, and weepe, in secret, for your sinns, that Gods glorious gospel, that sweete oyntment, should be carried in such filthy boxes, as some of you are. Take heede to your ministerie you have received in the Lord: you have received of the Lord: to him, you must give account, you have received it for the Lord, to him you must performe your dutye, shame not him, that hath called you, walke worthy of the Lord, approove your selves, as workmen, that need not, to be ashamed, in fulfilling this your ministerie: for, if you have bene faithfull, there is layd up for you, a Crowne of glorye, which, God, the righteous judge, shall give you at that day: if unfaithfull, go many fathomes, deeper into hell, then other men, because you have bene, the Soule-murderers of them, whome you should have saved. Thus, as the Colossians must say to Archippus, so I to you, every one, *take heede to your ministerie, which you have received in the Lord that you fulfill it.*

Even so good Lord, grant unto the ministerie, of thy chosen ones all gifts, fit for their calling, give unto [p. 37] them, increase of knowledge, give them faithfulness give them zeale, that they may teach thy people, in thy truth!

And reforme, all them; that either, for ignorance cannot: or, for negligence, will not; or, for fearfulness, dare not; or, for wickednes, and ungodlines, ought not, to preach thy word: that true Pastours, being placed in, among thy people, which may feed them, with knowledg, and understanding, thy church may grow up, in perfect beauty, to the glory of thy name! Amen!

III.1.2 Conduct of Ministers

[see also Hieron pp. 34–5]

III.1.2.1 Standfast ‘Clerico Laicum’

[p. 5] We whose worke it is to season others should be seasoned ourselves, the power of that word which we preach unto others, must work upon our own hearts, that so there may be an harmonious agreement between our Doctrine and our Conversation.

St Gregory saith that a Minister should be like a Cock, who first flaps his wings to rouse up himself, and then crows to awaken others.

[p. 26] The peaceable character of a Minister towards the People, may be a good furtherance to the salvation of their soules . . . As for the People, their care also should be to live in peace with their pastors and not be as those that *strive with the Priest*. It is but the Devills policy to stirre up the people, to pick quarrels with their Ministers, that so their Ministry may do the lesse good upon their own soules.

So that it concerns us all to have Peace on with another. And for the better furtherance of this mutuall peace, give me leave to propose an help or two, for either party.

First, for the Clergy, the way to preserve our credit with the people is first *diligently to preach the word of God in truth, without respect to any mans person*

III.1.2.2 J Chetwynd ‘Ebenezer’

[p. 23] The only way for Ministers to keep up their Reputation with men, is to be careful of a blameless Conversation, a faithful discharge of their Ministerial Function, a constant Conversing in their studies with God by Meditation and Prayer, and with the best Companions, the holy Scriptures, and the Books of learned and holy Writers; (no such Companions in Taverns or Coffeeshouses) and the keeping their Consciences void of offence towards God and man; which shall they do, they will find love, as Samuel from a David, and Reverence and Respect, even from a Saul and Herod, as Samuel and John Baptist did.

III.1.3 Services & Ceremonies

III.1.3.1 St James’ Vestry Minutes, 22nd October 1627⁵⁷⁹

[In St James, the minister was indeed accountable to the vestry (see II.2.5), and these are the terms of their contract with William Batchelor. No mention of Communion services, and the Churchwardens’ Accounts have nothing for Communion wine.]

To read morning and evening prayer on Sabbath day at due times and also to preach once each Sabbath day; and also to read morning prayer upon the week days saving Wednesdays and Fridays, And read prayers those days at viii of the clock in the morning; and the other days to read prayers at vi of the clock in the mornings in summer and at vii of the clock in winter.

III.1.3.2 Tombes ‘Pharisaical Will worship’

[This sermon was preached in Leominster, Herefordshire, but the printed version is dedicated to Richard Aldworth, Mayor, and the Aldermen, Sheriffs and inhabitants of Bristol – see Appendix 1. It is a full statement of the non-conforming view: ceremonies as not indifferent but actually harmful by substituting outward show of conformity to human ordinances for inward obedience to the divine.]

[p. 7] And although I know Ceremonies invented by men are pretended to serve for edification, yet I must professe that I never found in my reading, or experience, that ever any person by such rites, or observances was wonne to the profession of Christ, or brought to any spirituall knowledge of Christ, any true faith or sincere obedience to him. Possibly they may beget some kinde of raptures of carnall delight through melodious soundes or pleasant lights, some kinde of womanish pity, and teares, such as the acting of a stage play will draw from some persons: but that ever they begat sanctifying knowledge, sound repentance, holy mortification of sinne, lively, faith, fruitfull living to God, I assure myselfe cannot be shewed: But it is certaine on the contrary that the teaching for doctrines commandements of men hath occasioned men to oppose the principall point of the Gospell of Chist, to wit, justification by faith in him, and contrary to the covenant of grace in Christ to conceive a righteousness in themselves by the observation of mens commands, as in the Pharisees and Papists, and al sorts of superstitious persons it doth abundantly appeare.

Thirdly, because the teachers of precepts of men for doctrines doe still oppose the faithful and fruitfull Preaching of Gods Word. Thus it was in the Pharisees, thus

⁵⁷⁹ BRO P/St J/V/1/1.

in Papists, and thus it appeares still by experience. They that urge or affect humane religious rites are disaffected and adversaries to Godly Preaching: where the one is let up, the other goes downe.

[p. 11] Fourthly, To conclude, this evill tends to the detriment of mens goods, the pillaging of their purses, for no benefit to the owners, much hinderance to the poore, labouring Ministers, and Commonwealth on which it should be bestowed. Many a pound is given in Legacies and Contributions, is extorted by Courts, for maintaining vestments, organs, processions, windowes, buildings, and other things unnecessary, when the poore want, painefull Preachers live on a small stipend, the Commonwealth is brought to straights: For superstition is costly, and superstitious persons are either lavishly profuse, or slavishly ready to bestow their goods for very vanities which doe them no good, when by a right bestowing of their goods they might make them friends of the unrighteous Mammon and be received into everlasting habitations..

[p. 12] The late Prelaticall prevailing party of this Kingdome may be charged as guilty of the same sinne of which our Saviour indited these Pharisees in whose steps they tread, I say the late Prelaticall party, that I may not be thought to lay this imputation on the first reformers, and their reverend successors, who were constant and Jealous Preachers of the Gospell of Christ, and many of them confirmed it by their sufferings. I say the late prevailing Prelaticall party, because I conceive that some of the Prelates of this Land have been more considerate then to urge and teach Commandments of men in that manner that the prevailing party hath done. I mean in their teaching and practise about Images, Crucifixes, Altars, Rayles, Tapers, bowing to or towards Altars, praying towards the East, bowing at the naming of the word Jesus, consecrating Churches, Confirmation, Copes, Organes, Surplisses, Crossing at the solemnity of Baptisme, and the like.

All which have bene urged and used of late with a Pharisaicall and Popish Spirit as if by the using them men were made more holy, God served, and the not conforming to them a crime of want of devotion and reverence to God. And yet the same party shew themselves adversaries to the constant and fruitfull preaching of Gods wold, sanctifying of the Lords day, exercising of the duties of Religion in private houses, as prayer, repeating of Gods word, praysing of God, Godly conference of Scripture, reformation of prophane swearing, excessive drinking, gaming, sporting, and the like palpable sinnes. They inveigh much against the Sacriledge of keeping back tithes, and other Ecclesiafsticall dues from Ministers, and yet winke at it as if it were no sacriledge in Ministers to pervert holy things to maintaine pompe and riot, without doing the worke for which the wages is due, to wit the laborious preaching of the Gospell: turning the Ministry of the word into an officiating Priesthood to observe rites enjoyned by Canons of men.

[p. 14] From their sayings, as that frequent speech, No Ceremony no Bishop, and yet Bishops avouched to be *jure divino* these impious yet frequent speeches, wherein to their owne inexcusable shame, they sticke not to professe that they love a Papist though an Idolater, better then a Puritane, whom they acknowledge not to differ from them in matters of faith and religion, but onely in discipline and Ceremonies, that they had rather joyne with the former then the latter.

From their doings, as their conniving at, yea and favouring of Popery, but extreme severity to those that conformed not to their Ceremonies, their censuring men for the meere omission of them, suspending, depriving, excommunicating, imprisoning, fining those that could not yield to them though charged with no other crime, when

all sort of erroneous teachers, and licentious livers, were tolerated and greatly favoured, from their discountenancing preaching of the Gospell, and promoting a bare officiating ministry, without preaching: from their violent endeavours to obrude on *Scotland* their rites, from their practises in contriving the oath of the late Synod, and in a word, from the whole course of their proceedings tending to superstition, formality and Popery, as the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome by the House of Commons in this present Parliament doth declare.

[p. 17] from hence we may take occasion to admonish ministers that they avoid the way of these Pharisees, who taught for doctrines mens precepts. Consider I beseech you whereto you are called, to be Ministers of Christ and Stewards of the mysteries of God, not observers of Ceremonies and teachers of Church orders: Give me leave to expostulate with you. Are ye called to maintaine mens traditions? or Gods word? the Ceremonies of men? or the Gospell of Christ? How will you then give your account to Christ when you are so zealous for mens traditions, so cold for his Gospell? When ye exclaime against them that omit an humane Ceremony, favour and commend them that teach not the way of salvation? When yee foment the hatred of the people against those that disuse Ceremonies of men, favour them that neglect the Commands of God? when ye cherish the ignorance and superstition of the common people which ye should labour to weede out of their hearts? Is it not enough for you to worship God in vaine but that ye teach men so to doe?

III.1.3.3 Speed ‘Ton sesosmenon umnon’

[p. 22] You have now all the polluted rags of Ceremonies pull’d off from the face of Worship. Ye now know no Bishop of your souls, besides him who is your God, and your Redeemer.

III.1.3.4 Purnell ‘Weavers Shuttle’

[p. 77] O that all men of all Opinions, by what nick-name soever they be known, viz. Episcopacy, Presbyterie, Independency, Lutherans, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, Antinomians, would consider, that their days are swifter then the Weavers Shuttle, and give off that excessive contending about the garment of Religion, and the Form in which they are to Worship, which is but as paying Tithe of Commin and Annis, and the while the Power of Religion is much abated, and the weighty matters of the Law neglected; Faith and Repentance, Self-denial, and an holy Conversation, these by many are shut out of doors; and so whiles we lie contending for the Form, the Power of Religion is much abated; and so the gravy, marrow, and sap of our souls is almost eaten out, so that we had need, and that speedily, to take the Councell of Christ.

III.1.4 Qualifications

As to the qualifications for ministry, there was obviously disagreement. Were ministers to be commissioned by appointment or by spiritual vocation? This wasn’t just a matter of the credentials of the author: the ordained Knowles espoused the freedom of all to preach, while the intruded Farmer cried up ecclesiastical order (III.1.4.2, III.4.4.7). Much overlapping with this, and also with the issue of Scriptural interpretation, was the value of academic learning (see also III.1.4.3 below) to the task of preaching God’s word.

[see also Hieron pp. 10, 14–15, 25, 27–8]

III.1.4.1 Bacon 'Christ Mighty in Himself'

[p. 9] **Q.** Who are to judge both these and those [ministers and elders]?

A. Such as have faith

Q. What, Men Women and Servants ?

A. Yea persons of all sorts, that have faith.

Q. Why so ?

A. Because they alone are able to judge

III.1.4.2 Knowles 'Private Mens Preaching'

[p. 3] Who are gifted for Gospel-preaching?

Answer. They are gifted for it, who have necessary and sufficient abilities to discharge it; For no man can preach except he be sent, i. e. except he hath abilities to performe it. Knowledge and utterance are as needfull for this worke, as counsell and strength for the war. And when God puts his words into men, and gives words to them to make discoveries of Gospel mysteries, he then sufficiently fits them to preach the Gospel. He that hath knowledge and wants utterance cannot preach, but he that hath both is put in a posture fit to preach; preaching being nothing else but a promulgation or speaking of our apprehensions unto others.

[p. 7] the Church must bring none into office without proving their fitness for the office. But they cannot know mens sufficiency for the worke of preaching, without hearing them preach. Now if they must preach before they are made Church-officers; then some private persons may preach. But if it be affirmed that none may lawfully preach being out of office, then Gods way is denied of bringing men into office.

III.1.4.3 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 32] But amongst all these pretenders to the ministry, and that appropriate to themselves that function, so distinct, as being the true and singular Apostle-imitators, or as if they were thereunto anointed and sanctified above the rest of Christians, their brethren; where is he that God hath made so distinct by any gifts or endowments which either are comparable to those of the primitive Christians, or doe competently inable him to declare the mystery of the Gospel which as spirituall, so deepe and mysterious? Or wherein is he a Minister more than an ordinary Christian? Nay I will be bold to say, that if they that are called the Ministers, had but so much true light of the Gospell revealed in them, as many private weake Children of God, it would cause them absolutely to be ashamed to be termed Ministers, so unlike are they to and untruly counted such. Can their humane wisdom, their schoole-learning and arts, which are flesh and of the world, unfold unto them the mystery of Godlinesse (so great?)

III.1.4.4 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 157] **Q.** I heare that those Churches that walk nearest to those Rules, before laid downe, doe suffer some to speake and teach amongst them that are not Ministers, but private Members: pray Sir how is that exercise proved?

Answ. Their exercising their gifts may be proved by these four demonstrations:

1. By examples in the Jewish Church, where men, though in no Office, either in Temple or Synagogue, had liberty publicly to use their gifts, as doth clearly appear by these Scriptures, [...]

2. By the Commandement of Christ and his Apostles, [...]

3. It will appear plainly by the prohibiting of women to teach in the Church; hereby liberty being given unto men, their husbands or others [...]

4. This will yet more fully appeare, by those most excellent ends which by this meanes are to be obtained: As

1. The glory of God, in the manifestation of his manifold graces.

2. That the gifts of the Spirit in men be not quenched. *Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesying*, that is, Stop not the motion of the Spirit in your selves, nor restraints the gift thereof in others. *Despise not prophesying*, that is, Contemne not the Word, how meane soever the speakers gifts seeme unto thee. Set not lightly by the declarations and applications of the Scriptures, either by such as have the extraordinary gifts of prophesying, [...] or by the ordinary gifts.

3. For the fitting and tryall of men for the Ministry.

4. For the preserving pure the doctrine of the Church, which is more indangered, if some one or two alone may onely be heard and speak. [...]

5. For the debating and satisfying of doubts, if any doe arise [...]

6. For the edifying of the Church, and conversion of others, alwayes provided that he have the gift of the Spirit.

III.1.4.5 Standfast 'Against Seducers'

[p. 37] They that come not in by the door are theeves and robbers. It is spoken there of false Christs, but it holds true also, of false Prophets, and by this door I understand a lawful calling, nor may any man take upon him to be a messenger of God unless he be fairly called to it; and if any man pretend to a mission, and can produce no commission for what he doth, he is but a deceiver.

III.1.4.6 J Chetwynd 'Anthologia'

[Note that Learning here is a qualification for pleasing the world, not for pleasing God]

[p. 284] A Preacher that will please God must be thus qualified; he must Teach orderly, have a ready wit, be eloquent, have a good voice, and a good memory, know when to make an end, be sure of his doctrine, venture the loss of all, patiently suffer himself of all to be abused. A Preacher that will please the World must be thus qualified; he must be learned, have a fine deliverance, use neat and quaint words, be a proper person, which women and maids may love, must not take but give money, and Preach such things as people willingly hear. (Luther, *Mens. Col.*)

III.1.4.7 Marshall 'Tender Visitation'

[This general injunction is followed by a very long list of texts, again refuting the notion that Quakers discounted Scripture.]

Search the Scriptures from *Genesis* the first to *Revelations* the last, and mark in what Way they walked, and what Fruits they brought forth, that manifestly were declared to be the false Prophets, Ministers and Teachers, by the true Prophets, Christ Jesus and his Apostles; so may you safely conclude, those that walk in the way of the true and brings forth the Fruits of the true ministers of Christ Jesus to be now true; and those false that now that walk in the Way and Footsteps of the false Prophets and Ministers of Antichrist.

III.1.5 Pay and Position

[see also Hieron p. 28 and, with special reference to pluralism, p. 18]

III.1.5.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 43] Seek not your maintenance in an unjust way: But cast your selves upon the providence of God; as for the salvation of your souls, so also for the maintenance of

your bodies; can you trust God with a soul, more worth than ten thousand words; and can you not trust him with a little earth, your bodies. You teach us to pray for daily bread, and you do well: but must you selves take canal care for yearly bread; if not, what means this bleating of Sheep, and lowing of Oxen; your pleading for Tythes in your Pulpits. On my friends! bee yee sure to doe Gods work; and I will pawn my life for him, he will pay you your wages: feed his Lambs, and your God will give you your meat in due season: O let the same minde be in you, as was in your brother Paul, where he renders three reasons why he would not preach for money, not tythes.

III.1.5.2 Purnell 'Weavers Shuttle'

[p. 103] If one of the Ministers have gotten a fatter Benefice then the rest about him: how fine will he go cloathed? how daintily will he fare? how big will he look? And if any of his Brethren, that hath not so much per annum as himself, come to speak with him, he must knock at the door, and if admitted in, he must stand in the Court, and it may be have a Message brought him, Sir, the Doctor is in his Chamber, or newly entred into his Study, you must stay a while: and why so? why this Minister, and many more here in the Countrey have but small Dunghils, and are but as so many journey men, they serve but at small Chappels of ease; but the Doctor serves, and is Curate of the mother Church; the other Churches are but the daughters, and must pay Tribute to the Mother: So that all sorts, all ranks and degrees of men, young and old; noble and ignoble; professing people, as well as profane; Clergie as Laity, are more or less laying up Treasures in the earth, and accompt themselves more or less honourable, not according to the measure of Grace they receive, but according to the measure of wealth they have: and yet these men would not be accounted worldly men.

III.1.5.3 Speed 'Christ's Innocency Pleaded'

[p. 10] **TS** By what rule in Scripture do you ... receive Tithes for preaching?

WT⁵⁸⁰ Faithfull Ministers neither preach for Tithes, but for souls; neither do they take Tithes for preaching as if that were a fit exchange, or as if they would leave preaching if that were not.

TS The plain English of your answer is that you have no rule in Scripture by which you take tithes ... Faithfull ministers you say do not preach for Tithes but for souls. Then from your own lips I may conclude that they that do preach for tithes are not faithfull ministers; and how few are there ... who can escape this sentence. A father putteth his Son to the University for some certain years to learn the Trade of Sermon-making, and when he cometh thence, what is the first thing in the eye of the father and son? why this, where is the best vacant living, the richest benefice to be had?

III.1.5.4 Hollister 'Harlots Vail'

[p. 69] I never read of any of the Ministers of Christ that were owners of a thing called a Lecture, but why doth he call it his Lecture, but because for hire he preacheth it, and so the hire of about £24 a year, being his, he calls it his Lecture.

III.1.5.5 Willington 'Thrice Welcome'

[p. 8] Fourthly, I humbly beg your Grace,⁵⁸¹ that you would uphold a liberal and sufficient Maintenance for the Learned and Pious Ministry of Christ's Gospel (which

⁵⁸⁰ William Thomas of Ubley, with whom Speed was arguing the case against paid ministry.

⁵⁸¹ King Charles II to whom the sermon is dedicated.

was denied and with-held by the Sectaries,) because (your Highnesse knows) the ArchBishop of our souls hath ordained (this Canon Law) that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. And they that labour in the Word and Doctrine are worthy of double honour, viz. Countenance and Maintenance: And that not a niggardly, but a liberal and sufficient maintenance; that they may be encouraged in the Law of the Lord. Nay, we find, that even King Pharaoh (though a Heathen King, for ought I can finde) had so much Religion in him, that when the People of Egypt (in the great famine of seven years) were forced to mortgage and sell their Lands, to buy food to keep them alive, yet would King Pharaoh, by no means, cause, or suffer the Priests Land to be morgaged or sold (though some in our days have done far worse) as we read. *Only the land of the Priests bought Pharaoh he not:* For the Priests had a portion assign'd them of Pharaoh, and did eat the portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their Lands.

As Tribute is due to the Crown, so is Tithes due to the Ministry; and those Sons of Belial which deny or with-hold either, do rob God.

III.1.6 Personalities

III.1.6.1 Purnell 'Way to Heaven'

[p. 89] Well, I set my selfe, sometimes to reading severall Authours upon the attributes of God, and the more I sought after the knowledge of him there, the more ignorant I saw my selfe of him; I inquired also of many Ministers, and of some Antient professors, but they could make out but little to my understanding; at last I went to another Minister, Mr. Stubbs by name, and declared to him my condition, and after a little serious consideration, he gave me a milde and tender answer, as one that did sympathise with me in my misery, and as he was speaking to me, or within few houres after, my spirit was finely calmed, and my trouble abated.

III.1.6.2 Terrill on his own conversion⁵⁸²

[p. 61] Reading in a book of Mr Purnell's, called *The Way to Heaven Discovered*, I met with those words Isa. xxx. 21⁵⁸³ which when I found I was more confirmed that it was of God, because it was scripture, as the Spirit of God doth usually work according to the written word. This was of great comfort to me.

[p. 64] At a lecture sermon of Mr Ewins, I was more comforted when I heard him name the characters of a Christian, as I think from John i. 12.⁵⁸⁴

III.1.6.3 Hollister 'Skirts of the Whore'

[One refrains with difficulty from psychologising over Hollister's titles.]

[p. 25] But it is Thomas Ewens, a Minister of the Letter, not of the Spirit, as all the false Apostles and deceitful Workers were, who transform themselves into the Ministers of Christ, as Satan doth himself into an Angel of Light, that is at least threatening the servants of God, and witnesses of Jesus with stripes, with whippings, and with Bridewel.

⁵⁸² As printed in E. Underhill, *Confessions of Faith* 1854, from which the page numbers are taken.

⁵⁸³ The text is: *And thine ears shall hear a voice behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left;* and it is referred to in *The Way to Heaven* p. 12: "at last having silenced his own thoughts, he hears a voice behinde him saying, as in Isa. 30. 21. This is the way, walk in it, and so the Lords gives a mighty turn to the soul by that secret voice".

⁵⁸⁴ *But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.*

III.1.6.4 Hollister 'Harlot's Vail'

[Title page] A few words manifesting the woful fall, and degenerated condition of *Richard Fowler*, who in a late declaration put into the Court of Exchequer against 15 persons for Tithes, is stiled the lawful Vicar of the Parish Church of *Westerleigh* in the County of *Gloucester*. And for hire is become a Lecturer in *Bristol*.

[p. 58] And may not he be justly reprov'd, as well as the Authour of Satan enthroned in his Chair of Pestilence in that they both agree to charge mischief done in *Bristol* on those called Quakers. And Tho. Ewins is in that joynd with R. F. [Farmer not Fowler] one walking in his light, and the other in his, yet they differ not, but are both opposers of the true light, and the children thereof, who in the same do walk as were their fathers in all generations.

[p. 63] and with Ralph Farmer, may Thomas Ewins be yoked or coupled, for he confesseth R. F. gave him the right hand of fellowship, and in his steps is he found, he in his light, and the other in his, the one straight in his principles, and the other large in his, yet in this ye differ not: Ralph Farmer denies the light, and speaks, and writes against it (which none of the Prophets, Apostles, or holy men of God ever did, but it was their glory, even that which was prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles) and so doth Thomas Ewins: Ralph Farmer is found among that generation that preach for hire, and devine for money; and so is Thomas Ewins: Ralph Farmer stands praying in the Synagogues (which some call a Church) hath the chief place in the Assembly, and is called of men Master; and so it is with Thomas Ewins; some of those that come to bear witness against Ralph Farmer, are imprisoned, sent to Bridewel and cruelly whipt, and many strips laid upon them, being the same usage, that the Messengers and witnesses of God in former ages received from the adulterous and wicked generation of ignorant, soul-murdering Teachers, Rulers and persecutors; and one of those that came to bear witness against Thomas Ewins, he confesseth is now in prison; and he gives his judgement against another, that it was fitter such an idle Huswife were sent to Bridewell and whipt, &c.

III.1.6.5 Farmer 'Imposter Dethroned'

I look upon George Bishop, as a fearful example of a poor wretch, whose heart is judicially hardened, and his conscience seared, and both, for sinning against the light of the Gospel revealed to them; for the Lord hath several wayes to deal with Gospel-despisers and contemnners, who receive not the truth with a love of it ... when I more closely, and with a more observant eye, read again his writings, and took notice of his practises and devices, his juglings, wrestlings, prevarications, and pervertings of my plain sense and meaning; his putting of blindes and fallacies upon his Reader (which artifice possibly he learned of his Master the Jesuite, whom he served till he was discovered.) And when I observed his railing and reviling language, with his malicious and revengeful tendencies, I then saw, that as he had dealt with a shameless forehead in this matter, so he had done in that also; and that he was a person of a profligate spirit, and that there was some mental reservation in his protestation; or that (which I most incline to believe) he is a man of a most supernaturally, and God-forsaken-harden'd heart, and seared conscience. And I affirme, that if we may judge, and take an estimate of the Conscience, honesty, and perfection of the Quakers in general, by this man in particular, we may safely say, that one may be as vile a person as any under heaven, and yet be a perfect Quaker.

III.1.6.6 Godwyn ‘Phanatical Tenderness’

[p. 4] These abuses were followed with Scandals of so notorious a nature, that none the most debauched Villians could be said to be guilty of greater, and the Abettors tutered by one Ralph Farmer (vulgarly before my living in Bristol called Malitious Farmer) who had been first a Maltster, then a Sequestrator, and lastly, became such a Minister as the times encouraged, and held St. Nicholas Church, from which the late Reverend Mr. Towgood Dean of Bristol was sequestred.

[p. 15] Mr. Thomas Palmer (so famous for his service to the late Parliament-General Blake, for his holding the Church of All Saints Bristol, which was the right of that Reverend, truly Loyal and Orthodox Mr. George Williamson ejected thence by Sequestration, and no less notorious for his scandalous piecemeal Conformity in the Churches, wherein he hath been concerned since the Restauration of the Church of England, his private wheedling of Nonconformists, and publick resistance of his Diocesan in his charitable endeavours of Regulation).

III.2 The Sermon

For all ministers, the essential and supreme duty was the preaching of God’s word,⁵⁸⁵ the giving of sermons.⁵⁸⁶ It was the supreme duty of the minister because it was the main road to salvation for people (see III.2.1.2 below). Publishing sermons or other works of godly edification was also a ministry of the word, definitely secondary to live preaching in the first half of the century, but rising in value in the last.⁵⁸⁷

The standard sermon lasted an hour, and was typically based on a single text from the Bible (see III.2.2.2). This text was so minutely and thoroughly divided, word by word, phrase by phrase, sense by sense, that strict count was often kept, in numbered headings and sub-headings and sub-sub-headings. An example of such a structure is given in Figure 2 (frontispiece). Unless they kept notes, as some did,⁵⁸⁸ even attentive listeners must have wondered whether the speaker’s ‘fourthly’ meant another branch of the same topic or yet another topic altogether.

This division of the text supported a standard organisation into Doctrine and Use.⁵⁸⁹ First Doctrine: the meaning of an aspect of the text would be explained; and then followed its Use: the application to the lives and conduct of the auditors.

All sermons were intended to arouse the faith and improve the practice of the parishioners. At first sight, there seems to be something paradoxical about this. The auditors are assumed to be already convinced of the truths of Protestant Christianity. (Atheists or Papists may be mentioned with opprobrium, but they are not addressed.) The minister definitely preaches to the converted. Why is the sermon so important?

The resolution of this apparent contradiction lies in feeling – or want of it. Even the most fervent of Protestants was prone to be afflicted by dullness, dryness, by

⁵⁸⁵ Anglican ministers in a living tended to publish as such, but others would typically style themselves Minister of God’s Word or of the Gospel.

⁵⁸⁶ Hunt *Art of Hearing* pp. 19, 25. That this was low among the prescribed duties of the ministers of the Church of England was a difficulty, as noted above in II.3 above, which had most vestries paying extra for it.

⁵⁸⁷ Hunt *Art of Hearing* ch 1 and p. 393.

⁵⁸⁸ John Craig ‘Sermon Reception’ in *Oxford Handbook* p. 190.

⁵⁸⁹ Hunt *Art of Hearing* pp. 99–101. Kneidel ‘Ars Praedicandi’ in *Oxford Handbook* p. 13 cites the very influential Perkins’ *Art of Prophesying* for a fourfold order but that include the Text as step 1; with 2 + 3 making Doctrine and 4, Use.

a want of that emotional commitment which was both a sign of God's Grace and essential to true repentance.⁵⁹⁰ "I goe many times to Prayer, and to heare Sermons, and I finde no more working or relenting upon my Soule, then if I were a dead Stock or Stone" as Purnell put it.⁵⁹¹

So the preacher's task was to awaken those emotions necessary to living faith rather than dead observance.⁵⁹² Voice and gesture, all the nobler aspects of the rhetorician's art,⁵⁹³ could do this where mere reading was inert. Tactically there were two approaches to this end. One, and perhaps the more common, was to start with a lively depiction of the loathsomeness of sin and the horrors of hell, before pointing to rescue via repentance and faith and obedience. Willington's *Cor Concussum* (III.5.5 given here at length) is a lively paradigm of this kind, particularly focussed on Repentance. The other approach was to start with the promises of salvation and the message of grace, leading to a rejection of sin in all its vileness and dreadful consequence. Purnell expressly prefers this method (III.2.2.3 and III.2.2.4 below) which is well exemplified in his *Holy Life*. But disregarding order, they agree in substance, although one is by an orthodox Anglican and the other by a dissenting elder: men are born to sin and so condemned to suffer eternally in Hell, but they may be saved by the grace of God, extended to them in the form of faith, and demonstrated by righteous behaviour. (The matter of Predestination to Grace is treated in Section III.5.2.) Even in the funeral sermon (see III.5.3 below) the main message or Use was devotional: here was a good person, Go thou and do likewise.

'Use' then was always devotional. 'Doctrine' might be more or less learned: it appears that preachers were more likely to preach a general sermon for all on Sunday morning; reserving the more learned or more detailed for the connoisseur to the afternoons, or weekdays, or Lectures (see III.2.4.2 below). But however learned, the sermon from the head but not the heart would do no good. Indeed some dissenting ministers downplayed learning altogether, emphasising only spirit; and the most orthodox never suggested that learning could replace fervour. Yet frequent repetition, even of the most impassioned words, tended to be self-defeating. This week's sermon strove to arouse the same feelings as last, with much the same vocabulary and the same or very similar texts. So,

while Christian duties are preached, that tend to salvation of Souls, how do some willingly give themselves to sleep? how do other of the female sex especially, play with their children? (III.4.2.2)

The sameness of the sermons must have often contributed to that very *accidie* they aimed to combat.

Yet the sermon was popular. Laymen as well as ministers set great store by them. Some parishioners may not have paid attention, but others made sure of two sermons on Sundays and 'gadded' about for outstanding performers on at least the second occasion⁵⁹⁴ (though this suggests that the effect of even the most powerful preacher quickly faded.) There were, after all, few alternative forms of entertainment. Parishioners took some pride in the accomplishment of their own

⁵⁹⁰ The subject is well treated in ch 1, 2 & 3 of Alec Ryrie *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*.

⁵⁹¹ *Way to Heaven* p. 165.

⁵⁹² Hunt *Art of Hearing* pp. 81–94.

⁵⁹³ Kate Armstrong 'Sermons in Performance' in *Oxford Handbook*; and the fine set of recommended hand gestures from Hunt *Art of Hearing* p. 85.

⁵⁹⁴ Hunt *Art of Hearing* p. 189.

ministers, or lamented its want; while the prestigious Lectures may have been seen as the equivalent of those given today in the name of Lord Reith.

III.2.1 Importance

[see also Hieron p. 17]

III.2.1.1 Standfast ‘Clerico Laicum’

[p. 4] In this respect also the ministry of the word is compared to Salt, because it mortifies and workes out our corruptions, which make us noysome in Gods Nostrills, and because it renders us and our actions savoury and pleasing unto God. And for this cause it is that the Ministers of the Gospel are called the Salt of the earth, first in regard of their Doctrine, for to them is committed the Ministry of reconciliation and the dispensing of the mysteries of God, and by Preaching of the word they do besprinkle their Auditors and season them, as with Salt whereby to destroy their lusts and to make them pleasing unto God, who without this seasoning would be but as unsavoury meat, yea like stinking Carrions.

III.2.1.2 Purnell ‘Way Step by Step’

[p. 51] Keep close to Grace-begetting and Soul-converting Ordinances, and they are these three,

- 1. The hearing of the word preached.
- 2. Reading of the Scriptures.
- 3. Frequent and earnest Prayer

III.2.1.3 Hancock ‘Pastor’s Last Legacy’

[Unpaginated but this is the conclusion of his sermon, before a long prayer.]

Farewel Sermons, and farewel Sabbaths, farewel Fasting, and farewel Exhortations, farewel this House, and farewel this Seat for ever, farewel my Preaching, farewel your Hearing.

III.2.1.4 Standfast ‘Cordial Comforts’

[This very orthodox minister agrees with the dissenter III.2.1.2 about the places accorded to the Word and to Prayer.]

[p. 28] Now if upon Examination had, we find that we want Faith, we must be diligent in using the Means whereby to get it, which is by reading and hearing the Word of GOD, and conferring about it. For Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word. If we find that we have this Faith, we must be careful to keep it, and to increafe it, by the *Word*, by the *Sacraments*, and by *Prayer*.

III.2.2 Method

III.2.2.1 Thompson ‘Friendly farewell’

[p. 52] For this *hypotypolis*, or *expresse forme*, which the Apofstle (as the most laborious and experienced Preacher then living) laid forth unto his fonne to follow, consisteth partly in the words, by which the matter is conveyed to the full understanding of the hearers and partly in the method or orderly disposing of things so uttered, by the helpe of which they may be both with better speed conveyed, and with lesse trouble for readier finding well stowed in the memorie, the soules deepe store-house.

The words of the wise and discreet Preacher, are not the enticing words of mans wisdom, but a demonstration of the Spirit, a *pure* language, the language of *Canaan*, the very Scripture phrase, which is most eloquent, because most effectual to open the

understanding, and to prick the heart, burning it like fire, and breaking it in peeces as the hammer doth a rocke.

The method and order, is *methodies prudentiae*, the discreet deliverie of each thing in his due place first, for knowledge, then for praise ...

[p. 54] and therefore secondly, studie beforehand is most expedient, as Salomon spake of building, *Prepare thy work without, and make it fit or thy selfe in the field*, and afterwards *build thine houfe*. For as in the rearing up of Salomon's Temple, *the house when it was in building, was built of stone, made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was. neither hammer, nor axe, nor any toole of iron heard in the house while it was in building*: for in the edification of the Church of Christ, a greater then Salomon, the frame of our building must be perfected and fitted, before wee bring it into place, that so in the setting of it up to the people, there may no clattering or jarring be heard, to give an offence to any judicious Auditorie by our neglect. For extraordinary gifts wee cannot now presume upon and ordinary study will make any common matter appeare extraordinary.

III.2.2.2 E Chetwynd 'Strait Gate'

[See Figure 2. This appeared between the Epistle to the Reader and the actual text.]

III.2.2.3 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 36] Again, Why do you tye your selves, to preach onely so long, and not sometimes longer, or shorter: did ever the Prophets or Apostles doe so? Why do you tye your selves, to speak onely from one text, in one Sermon? did ever the Prophets and Apostles tie themselves constantly as you do your selves to this. But think not that I write against preaching an houre, or speaking from, or to a particular text; for I am not against it: but onely, this your making ties; where God doth not tie you,

III.2.2.4 Purnell 'To save a sinner'

[p. 74] Why do you teach Repentance before Faith, seeing true and unfeigned Repentance is a fruit of Faith, not a preparation for Faith?

III.2.3 Spirit

[see also Hieron pp. 33–4]

III.2.3.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[This is addressed to 'Presbyterians' i.e ministers of the established church in the Interregnum]

[p. 35] Lay a side or leave off, that cold, lukewarm letter-preaching, which seems to be onely in the notion, received from tradition; having a form, but not the power: Remember how it was with Paul, he compared spirituall things with spirituall; and most of you (for I speak not of all) compare letter with letter, and so come up with a voice of words, so cold, that some of your hearers begin to sleep, and others to withdraw from your Congregations. Those that doe indeed attend to what you speak, are profitted very little by it. O come then, in the fulnesse of the Gospel of Christ; and as you have received the gift (not studied) so administer the same.

III.2.3.2 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 134] Again, that man that hath the power of Godlinesse is not satisfied in the bare use of the forme when he goes to hear the Word preached; unlesse it comes in with power, and warme his heart, he comes home unsatisfied.

III.2.4 Pitch

III.2.4.1 Purnell ‘Good tidings’

[This is addressed to ‘Independents’ or Congregationalists.]

[p. 48] This is also a fault among you, that you doe not pittie the poore blinde world, and endeavour to bring them into the knowledge of the truth, by laying before them the free love of God through Jesus Christ; all your studies are how to build up Saints, therefore to them you doe altogether speake: Nay I have heard Sermon after Sermon in publique, besides your practice in private, and you speake onely to Saints enlightened, though most of the people to whom you speake are yet in the old man, and have neede of such a Sermon as Christ preached to Nicodemus. And so you are blame-worthy as the Presbyterians are, yea more than they, for many of them doe teach the practicall part of divinity before the doctrinall; and you tell of great enjoyments, before your hearers are truly principled; he that doth truly preach the Gospell must preach to sinners to convince them, as well as to Saints, to confirme them.

III.2.4.2 Thompson ‘Friendly Farewell’

[p. 59] Meanwhile they may know, that neither the matter nor manner of speech in any one Sermon by me uttered in this Citie, was dissonant either to mee or to you: not to mee, who for matter kept a settled course on Sabaoth dayes in handling the body of *Theologie* from point to point, till I came to mans creation, where I was interrupted; and on Tuesday in expounding the whole historie of *Esther*, against many hard frumps; and for manner of preaching, never spake I any word, which was not either expresse Scripture, or other good learning, borrowed and excerpted as flowers from other gardens, but alwayes composed to the proportion of faith, as the *Egyptian gold weighed by the shekell of the Sanctuarie, was fit for the Tabernacle*. Not to you, whom (not to flatter) I know for the most part to be men of *ripe yeeres in understanding, having through long custome your wit exercised to discerne both good and evill*.

III.3 Scripture and Providence

The main, and usually the sole, basis of argument in sermons or books was the Bible. The authority of Scripture was virtually unquestioned, so fundamental that hardly anyone found it necessary to justify it (though Purnell does in III.3.1.2). Thus every page is replete with citations of, literally, chapter and verse; and most of what one might recognise today as reasoned discussion is confined to making the case for the sort of interpretation the writer favours for this or that item of Scripture.

A particular point is made that Christians must not look within for their faith but to the written word. This of course is particularly aimed at the Quakers, who often defended their own belief that the springs of revelation had not dried up one and a half millennia ago – by citing Scripture, as Bishop does in III.3.1.7 below.⁵⁹⁵

But if Scripture is indeed Truth, it yet requires more than ordinary reading to discern it. In particular, what was to be taken literally and what figuratively; and if figuratively, how? For example Towgood’s *Friend Abraham* consists almost entirely of a laborious argument that Old Testament circumcision should be not be taken literally, but as a figurative precursor of baptism.

And this problem raised another: did the gift of finding the true meaning of Scripture lie with the learned, or the spiritually enlightened? Either way, it meant

⁵⁹⁵ See also Part II note 556 above.

that the ordinary layperson was unlikely to find a way to salvation merely by reading the Bible: some kind of help, of ministry, was needed.

The Bible is made up of many books and of different sorts: histories, prophecies, poems, and injunctions. But the main distinction is between the Old and the New Testaments: the testimonies before the birth of Christ and after. A standard representation of the difference is that illustrated in part III.3.3.2 below: the Old Testament standing for the Law and the New for Grace; or Works v Faith. This may seem to make it a little surprising how often the Old Testament is cited. But there is another contrast also. The Old Testament is the story of a people and their God in this world, and thus supports the interpretation of public affairs, national or civic, in the light of God's purpose and Providence. The New Testament is about individual sin and salvation and the next life. The results are illustrated in sections III.4 and III.5 respectively.

III.3.1 Scripture as Truth

III.3.1.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[This indicates that at least some people questioned the authority of Scripture. Purnell supplies no refutation in this work but see III.3.1.2]

[p. 63] You⁵⁹⁶ say the Scriptures are not the word of God. ... You say, That the Scriptures doe not concerne you, that it is onely a declaration of the Administrations that others have formerly beene under and worshiped God in. ... Some of you say that you can make better Bibles your selves, than that which is made already; saying, this Bible is but the opinions of men.

III.3.1.2 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 23] The first stumbling block that lyeth in the way is this; saith one, I am sometimes unsatisfied and remain staggering, and doubting whether the Scriptures called the Old and New Testament be the Word God, yea or no.

Answ. If the Scriptures be not the Word of God, then there is no rule to walk by, but that every man may walk according to his own heart, and as it seems good in his own eyes: and this is a most pleasing bait, whereby our Rantors and new upstart wantons are insnared, and become the tribe of disobedience, begotten by the seed of the Serpent, and travelling towards the land of confusion, and they will shortly arrive at the anger of God, and be cast into the pit of his eternall displeasure. But that the Scriptures are the Word of God, it will clearly appear, if we consider

1. By the powerfull effects that the Word hath, and doth work upon the consciences of men, as to avoid the evill and to chuse the good, besides many wonderfull effects that have been wrought thereby in all ages.

2. It doth appear that the Bible is the Word of God, because it holds out holinesse more then any book in the world, and they hold forth a self-denying spirit, more then any book besides in the world, by all which it doth appear, that it is the Word of God.

3. It doth further appear to be the Word of God, because we finde many of the same things written in our hearts by the Finger of God, his Spirit bearing witness with ours that we are his, and both bearing witness that this is his Word.

4. In respect of the matter of the Scripture, it doth appear to be the Word of God; for there cannot be more glorious matter for the creature to be centred upon; so also

⁵⁹⁶ This is addressed to 'Notionists', not any denomination but a pejorative term for those who maintained their own, groundless, opinions: whatever comes into their heads.

for the sweet dependency of the creatures one upon another: beasts nourish men, and grasse them.

5. The Scripture doth appear to be the Word of God, because those things that have been promised therein, have in the appointed time come to passe in all ages, so that things have fallen out in every age, according to their severall prophesies: and all this being so, doth make it plainly appear to be the Word of God.

III.3.1.3 Willington 'Gadding Tribe'

[p. 12] Make not the light within your rule to walke by, further than it agrees with the light without, shining forth in the holy Scriptures. Follow your light within, and your teacher within, what else? But so as not to neglect the light without, shining forth in the holy Scriptures. For as the Scriptures are the word of God. So it is a perfect rule of righteousnesse, containing all our duty to God, to man, to our selves: all those things which are to be done, or left undon, or to beleevd to salvation. The holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reprove, for correction, for instruction in righteousnesse, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto every good worke.

Whilst the upstart Sect, the Quakers, do look principally after the light within, we (saith Saint Peter) have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, even as unto a light which shineth in a darke place untill the dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts. Knowing this first, that no Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Wherefore, I humbly beseech you that ye be not soone shaken in mind, by this up-start generation of quaking seducers, who have a forme of godlinesse but deny the power thereof: from such turne away. For of this sort are they which (forsaking the publike assemblies) creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, laden with sin, and led away with divers lusts: ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

III.3.1.4 Hollister 'Skirts of the Whore'

[p. 19] And therefore I demand of you, where doth the Scripture call it selfe the Word of God, and to whom was it the rule of life?

III.3.1.5 Purnell 'Holy Life'

[p. 50] Be sure you act by a right Rule; some make their own Wills their rule, others make the Traditions and Examples of men their rule, others make the Light within the rule; but a Christian is to make the Word of God his Rule, and so walk and act as we have Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles for our Example, that we may go out by the foot-steps of the Flock.

III.3.1.6 Standfast 'Against Seducers'

[p. 31] First, Labour to know the Truth. A blind man may easily be led out of the way. And to this end let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, that you may be able to discern between things that differ; for his word is Truth. This will be a lamp to our feet, and a light to our paths; but ignorance of the Scriptures, is the way to error. This was the Rule of old, to the Law, and to the Testimonies, and it is in force still; and it is well for us that we have a written word for a Rule to walk by, for otherwise what certainty could we have of any of those things that do belong to our peace? 'tis by the Scriptures that we come to know the voice of Christ from the voice of

a stranger, and to be preserved from the path of the destroyer. This is the principal Antidote, which St. Paul prescribes against the like danger, as may appear [...] for having warned them of grievous Wolves, which should enter among them after his departure, for a remedy against them, hee commends them to God, and to the word of his grace, &c.

III.3.1.7 Bishop 'Vindication'

[As the title suggests, this is a detailed answer to an anonymous *Letter to George Bishop*, and the extract begins with a quote from this.]

[p. 5] When we say, *thus saith the Lord*, we intend, and mean no other than what the holy Prophets of Old did, when they utter'd, being inspired of the Lord, not their Own, but the Word of the Lord

[p. 6] Let the Word of God dwell richly in you (saith the Apostle) in all Wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in Psalmes, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs, *singing with Grace in your hearts to the Lord, Col. 3.16.*⁵⁹⁷

III.3.1.8 Standfast 1675 Sermon

[p. 1] The word of God revealed unto us in his holy Book, is, it seems, a perfect rule both of Faith, and Manners.

III.3.2 Literal or figurative Truth?

III.3.2.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 36] O you schollers, have you been so long at Oxford and Cambridge (the two eyes of our land) and can you not see without Spectacles: have you been at the fountain, and must the streams teach you? Doe you not know, that there is a spirituall learning as well as a humane? If you do know it, why do you give, a false interpretation of most scriptures; taking them in the litterall, when they are to be understood, in the spirituall sence. To instance, in one for all: *There are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned wrest, as they doe also other scriptures to their own destruction.* Now the question is, of those things in Pauls Epistles, which Peter here speaks of, as hard to be understood, and which the ignorant did wrest, the question is: What is meant here, by unlearned? Doth hee mean unlearned in humane, or unlearned in spirituall things? ...

[p. 38] So that that saying of Peter being thus truly understood; it is most plain that their unlearnednesse which caused them to erre, was their ignorance of Grace, and of Christ, not of humane learning:

III.3.2.2 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 58] Again, you⁵⁹⁸ often take Scripture in the literall, when you should take it in the spirituall sense; When Christ speaks of the baptisme of the Spirit, you understand it to be of Water:

III.3.2.3 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 28] Neither the learned man, nor the unlearned man can understand this Book, till the Spirit of God doth open this unto them. And the Apostles themselves, although they had been a long time with Christ, and heard his words, and seen his miracles, yet Christ after his resurrection, must come and open their understandings, before they could understand the Scriptures. Again the Scriptures are sometimes

⁵⁹⁷ Exactly as per KJV.

⁵⁹⁸ Addresses to 'Anabaptists' but the context makes it clear he means simply Baptists.

to be understood in a literall sense, sometimes in a spirituall sense, and sometimes in both: sometimes as they are exprest, sometimes as included, sometimes as implied: but for removing this stumbling block, take notice, that the same God that commanded us to read, hath promised to open our understandings, that we may be able to understand and apply his Word.

III.3.2.4 Roberts 'Chequerwork'

[p. 1] Text Psal. 68. 13. 'Though ye have lien among the Pots; yet shall ye be as the wings of a Dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yeallow Gold.'⁵⁹⁹

This Scripture (and so this Psalm,) is very mysterious and intricate: One thing being expressed, another intended: As is usual in Metaphors and Allegories. For removing the obscurity of the words, and improving them to our present utility, consider we; 1. Their coherence with the context. 2. Their true sense and meaning. 3. The Lessons or Doctrinal Propositions intended in them. We must take more pains then ordinary to attain the right meaning of these words.

III.3.3 Old & New Testament

III.3.3.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 40] Why do you speak so much by Moses; you say Moses must prepare us for Christ sure that is not in Your Commission: Me think I hear you saying with Peter; Master, let us build here three tabernacles, one for Moses, one for Elias, and one for thee; and there appeared a bright cloud, upon the appearance of which, Moses and Elias (which was John Baptist) vanished away. And God answered Peter from heaven, and told him, This is my beloved sonne: heare him. Why do you then build a tabernacle for Moses, and another for Elias, seeing the bright cloud hath expelled the dark administrations of them both.

III.3.3.2 Ewen 'Church of Christ'

[p. 56] 1. Even so by an old-Testament Spirit, I alwayes mean, that dark, weak, childish and low frame and temper of Spirit, which professors generally had, in the time of the old Testament, while under the Mosaical administration, with that bondage and fear, that weakness and sadness, that did accompany it, &c,

2. By a new-Testament Spirit, I alwayes mean, that lively, chearful, active, joyful, bold, son-like frame and temper of Spirit, which the Saints generally in the primitive times under the new Testament did enjoy, which is called a Spirit of Adoption, as the other is called a Spirit of Bondage; a full description of what I mean is set forth in two [NT] Scriptures.

III.3.4 Providence

The other fundamental assumption that all ministers and most believing Christians accepted was the doctrine of Providence. It was assumed that God's hand and purpose was at work in everything that happened, from the movements of the heavenly bodies through the vicissitudes of nations to the foundering of a mare or a blaze in the thatch. It was a most elastic doctrine, since it permitted no predictions and was susceptible of no confutation. As will be seen in section III.4, it allowed a triumphing in signs of God's favour, but could withstand any adversities as merely 'trials' or proofs of faith.

⁵⁹⁹ Exactly as in KJV and slightly different from Geneva.

III.3.4.1 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 52] Gideon said, If the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us? but the Lord was with Gideon notwithstanding, as appears in that Chapter; so that these and the like troubles is no signe of Gods hatred, but rather of his love. I have chosen thee, saith the Lord, in the furnace of affliction, so that afflictions are a seal of adoption, no signe of reprobation

III.3.4.2 Roberts 'Chequerwork'

[Roberts is unusual here in applying the doctrine of Providence to a charitable interpretation of people and events, where others tended to use it only in support of their own causes.]

[p. 12] Let me speak a little briefly to both these Observations; which notably set forth the Diversity of Gods dispensations towards his own people. As it were the Checquer-work of Gods Providence to them, Their Black and White conditions: God one while abasing them by sullyng Tribulations, and after advancing them by beautifying Relaxations.

[p. 22] Hence, Let Christians learn patiently and contentedly to bear their heaviest pressures and afflictions, sith no temptation hath befallen them, but what is humane. Yea sometimes it is the lot of the Church of God, and of his dearest people, to lie even among the blackest Pots. Seest thou, Joseph laid in Irons; Job sitting in the ashes; Lazarus lying among the dogs, full of sores; and Jesus Christ himself so full of sorrows: and dost thou think much at thine affliction? Oh fret not against Gods dispensations, faint not, but endure thy tribulations: sith Jesus Christ himself, and his choicest members are therein thy companions.

4. Hence, How unsafe and imprudent is it to Despise, Abhor or Censure others of Hypocrisie, or of a nullity of grace, because of their sad, doleful and strange afflictions! For, in so doing we may rashly condemn the Generation of the righteous, before we be aware. Gods own endeared people oft-times lie among these blacking Pots.

III.3.4.3 Roberts 'Christian's Advantage'

[p. 20] From the All-ordering Purpose and Providence of God towards them that are Christ's; who love him, and are the called according to his purpose. He makes all things, good and evil, prosperity and adversity, life and death, &c. cooperate for good unto them. All things, not only some things. All things, not *divisim*, but *conjunctim*; not severally, but jointly, one with another, and all with the influence of Divine benediction. As all the wheels in a Watch work together to tell the hour.

III.4 Public Affairs

Today an archbishop who comments on politics is likely to be told to mind his own, religious, business. But then God was assumed to concern himself continually in the affairs of the nation and every political cause endeavoured to enrol him. Success was usually read as God's endorsement of the successful. Speed's sermon on the defeat of King Charles's army at Worcester is a good example (III.4.1.4), as also Purnell's book of the same year, invoking the Army's victories (III.4.1.5). Misfortunes or calamities were either punishments inflicted by God on an erring or sinful people; or of course, if suffered by the godly party, trials which he was wont to inflict on those he loved – see III.3.4 Providence above.

Correspondingly every episode in the history of Israel was replete with morals for the governance of England and the conduct of the English people. (Learned ministers might quote from non-Christian philosophers; but very seldom did they draw morals

from any other than the Hebrew histories.) At times, ministers were expressly told not to advert to political topics, but the preacher could yet avoid reproof by citing the texts and leaving it to alert auditors to draw the moral.⁶⁰⁰ And naturally ministers were prepared to advise, to urge, the course which would be pleasing to God. Purnell had no doubt how the Parliament of Saints should govern if it was not to earn the opprobrium justly awarded to the recently ejected Rump.⁶⁰¹

The principal opportunities and dangers of political reference came with court sermons, but though some Bristol ministers were royal chaplains, it seems that they neither caused offence enough to bring reproof nor distinction enough for a royal *imprimatur*. But it was not only national affairs which were thus interpreted. Tombes gave a whole sermon on the deliverance of Bristol from the royalist plot in 1643 (III.4.1.1). What other than its sins and worldliness was the cause of Bristol's declining trade? (III.4.1.6) Major Kem was ready to tell Bristol whom to send to Parliament (III.4.2.3).

But it was national public affairs in the period 1678 to 1685 which aroused most fervour: the years of the Popish Plot, the Exclusion crisis, the Rye House Plot and Monmouth's rebellion. The results are well represented in the later entries under III.4.1 and III.4.2.

III.4.1 Comment on Events

III.4.1.1 Tombs 'Jehovah Jireh'

[This sermon was preached to give thanks for the failure of Robert Yeamans' plot to hand Bristol over to the Royalists in 1643. It is a quirky link that Speed was married to Yeamans' widow at the time he delivered his thanksgiving sermon, III.4.1.4].

[from the Epistle] For whereas on the one side the bloody minded Papists, the proud sensuall Libertines the juggling deceitfull Priests and Prelats had gotten the reputation of honest men, and on the other side the sincere, zealous and faithfull Christian suffered all indignities under the imputations of hypocrisie, covetousneslc, faction and such like calumnies now by these present tryalls the integrity, faithfulness and courage of the one, the hypocrisie, falsehood, and wickednesse of the other are made manifest.

[p. 8] What the plot was you have heard from the relation read to you. I hope you thereby sufficiently apprehend the certainty and manner of it from their owne confessions, the mischievousness of it, how great it would have beene, if it had taken effect: and by something in the relation, as the securing of some persons and houses by privy markes, who were like themselves, and the destinating of others to a *pan olethrie*,⁶⁰² appears that it was carried with a hatred and enmity against godly persons, whom they have branded with the name of Round-heads.

III.4.1.2 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 33] My friends: I doe admire that you complaine of the badnesse of these times, surely you doe but dreame, for if you doe awake, you shall plainly see, that they are the best times with us in England, that ever we had, to live by faith, what? Hath the Lord with the Besome of destruction swept away the head of the enemies of truth? And yet sad times?

⁶⁰⁰ Hunt *Art of Hearing* ch 6 especially.

⁶⁰¹ 'England's Remonstrance' – no extracts included here.

⁶⁰² An utter destruction.

What? Doth hee take Princes and Lords which were so high, and bring their Heads so low as the Blocke? And yet sad times?

What? Have the Saints in obedience to the command of their Father, given them to drink of the bitter, that they have given you so long? And yet sad times?

What? Is the Lord making inquisition for blood; and meeting the same measure to his enemies, as they have meeted to his people? And yet sad times? What? Is the Lord magnifying the attribute of his Justice, upon his and our implacable enemies? And yet sad times?

What? Is the Lord pulling downe the powers of the world, and the Kingdomes of men, and setting up, or at least making way to set up the Kingdome of his owne deare Son? And yet sad times?

Hath the Lord prospered our Armies and given us so many Victories over them that would have devoured us? And yet sad times?

My Brethren: I am afraid you did not mourne with Jerusalem, because you doe not now rejoyce with her. It is true, unto some, the times are sad, but to whom?

Answ. To the deceivers of our nation, for these times doe discover them

III.4.1.3 Bacon 'Labyrinth'

[Title page]

THE
LABYRINTH
the KINGDOM'S In:
With a golden threed to bring it
forth into Light, Liberty, and Peace agcn.
BEING
A brief but impartial History
OF THE
Good and Evil of the former, later,
and present Power of the Nation, as it
relates to GOD and the PEOPLE
The Result is a Plea for the Reftau-
ration of all in Christ (the Kingdoms Rest,)
who is expected to appear more in the present, then in any
former Power of the Nation.

III.4.1.4 Speed 'Ton sesosmenon umnon'

[This was a sermon specifically to mark the day of thanksgiving for the victory of the Commonwealth forces over Charles II at Worcester in 1651. It is perhaps significant of some caution among the regular ministers, orthodox or dissenting, that Speed, a preaching merchant but minister to no parish or congregation, should have chosen and been chosen to give this address; and such caution suggests that others were not so convinced of God's continuing favour as Speed shows himself.]

[p. 15] Every man and woman in this place, whose judgements do not give in this verdict to their affections, That God hath declared rich grace in the salvation he hath wrought for England, but do esteem it rather a plague then a priviledge, that (after so many sore conflicts) he gave the day as he did

[p. 16] 1. We are (through unspeakable mercy) in a great measure delivered from that yoke, which was likely to have continued upon our necks, through that inevitable ruine that was coming upon our LAWS and LIBERTIES; our BIRTH-RIGHTS as we are men.

[p. 20] If they ask us, Where is our God? we can answer them with joy and boldness, that our God is the living God, who scattered them in his displeasure at Marston-Moore; whose power brake them in pieces at Naseby field; who smote their great ones in Kent; who by a handfull put thousands to flight at St. Faggons;⁶⁰³ the stroke of whose terrour they felt in the North: whose strength made the weak strong, to stain the glory of their pride at Dunbar: whose hand was never drawn back, but was stretcht out still, untill he had put on the top-stone of our deliverance at Worcester.

[p. 23] I am sure the year Fourty eight is fresh in your memories, when so many fires were kindled on all sides of us, that there was no visible way open, by which we might escape burning. A terrible fire in Kent, another in Wales, a third in the North; but through his grace all soon quenched, and we are delivered.

[p. 27] It's true, that naked successe, is but a probable Argument at best to prove Heavens approbation of that Cause to which it's given. But, being cloathed with so many considerable Circumstances as that hath been (of which we now speak) it doth amount to little less then a Demonstration. For, why God should continue to give such an unintermitted series of successes, to a company of People waiting upon him by faith and prayer; and that, after Solemn Appeals made to him; together with the offering up of their humble requests to him, that he would manifest his pleasure, both concerning them and their cause, by the success; I say, why God should thus comply both with their Prayers and their Enterprises, and not do it in grace and favour, is to me as yet a Riddle, not to be unfolded. I believe we may (without Presumption) challenge the most gray headed Historian, to produce a Parallel. What doth God intend by all those signal favors with which he hath late encompassed his People, but as it were the putting of his Seal to those things that have been brought forth, in relation to the establishment of this new-born Commonwealth?

III.4.1.5 Purnell 'No power'

[This book has been very tightly bound, and the EEBO facsimile misses out two or three letters in every line. I have made reasonable eadings but had to leave [?] at times.

[p. 163] My brethren, [official ministers] if I may be so bold to call you so, let me aske you, firstly, Have you not seene nor heard of those great and wonderful deliverances both in England, Scotland, and Ireland? or if you have heard of it, doe you not believe [?] that you be so silent in your thanks to Almighty God the Father of these mercies? But it may be you have heard of it, and doe bleeve it, and yet you cannot give the glory to God; why? because, these mercies and deliverances came in, as I have heard some of you say, by a blasphemous Sectarian Army.

[p. 164] Oh what pride and selfishnesse is this in man, that when the Almighty doth save in deliverance after deliverance, one tumbling in after another; yet if these mercies come not in by such instruments as we please, we will not take it as a mercy: and mercies no mercies, if they come not to by our own meanes, in our owne time, and in our owne way? why, shall not that God that gave them freely, reach them forth us by what hand he pleaseth? hath the Lord appeared in his Almighty power, accompanied with his blessed presence in the head of our Armies? And yet are they a blasphemous and Sectarian Army!

When they and we have been in the greatest straits, and at the farthest distance from all humane helps, hath not the Lord appeared for our deliverance? And yet blasphemous Sectarian Army!

⁶⁰³ St Fagan's near Llandaff was the scene of a victory over Welsh Royalists in 1648.

Hath not our Army asked counsel of God, and advised with his people, before they have entred upon the work? And yet blasphemous Sectarian Army!

Hath not our Army had many dayes of fasting and praying? and have they not sent their letters to the well-affected both in England and Wales, to intreat them to see unto the Lord to cleare the way before [p. 165] them? & yet a blasphemous Sectarian Army! Are not the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, men so well doctinated in the doctrine of Christ, that they can and are ready to render a reason of their hope in him? & yet a blasphemous Sectarian Army! Do they not endeavour to punish Swearing, Stealing, Sabbath-breaking, and all other things punishable by the Law of God and man, to the utmost of their power? & yet a blasphemous Sectarian Army!

Do they not look upon the Scriptures as their rule, and the Holy Spirit as their guide? and if any Presbyterian, Independent, or Anabaptist come and bring not this doctrine, they bid him not God speed? & yet a blasphemous Sectarian Army!

Do they not in all their deliverances desire and endeavour to give the glory to God, and lay themselves at his feet, as poor instruments in his hand? And yet are they a blasphemous and Sectarian Army!

Do they not grow and thrive daily more and more in the knowledge of God, teaching one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs? And yet a blasphemous and sectarian Army!

Has not the Lord God Almighty crown'd their endeavours with blessed successes, [p. 166 and unheard of deliverances? and yet a blasphemous Sectarian Army!

III.4.1.6 Farmer 'Plain Dealing'

[p. 7] And as for the people of this City, let me not be unfaithfull towards them. Sirs, you complain that your Trade is decayed, and that you are ready to break, many of you, and I think you don't lie. Your Trade hath so forsaken you, that you are ready to forsake your Trades. And what is the reason? Surely God doth not leave a people but upon some occasion. Truly when God forsakes Tradesmen, no marvail if they forsake their Trades; without God none can prosper: Tradesmen may work hard, and fare hard, and go mean in habit, rise up early, go to bed late, and cark and care, and get nothing unlesse the Lord be with them. *Unlesse the Lord keep the City, the watchman watcheth in vain, &c.*⁶⁰⁴ Why now, a general forsaking of God, will cause the Lord to depart generally from you. And beloved, that I may not dwell altogether on generals,⁶⁰⁵ not to mention that drunkennesse and prophanesne, Sabboth-breaking, blasphemous Oaths, and bitter Execrations, Pride, contempt of Magistracy, and undervaluing of our Superiours, which upon this losse of government is now sadly returning again upon us, I say to let these alone (which yet do too evidently stare us in the face) and not to speak to them: Do not the people of this City in general, & have they not for a long time departed from God, and forsaken him in his Ministers and servants whom he calls and sends forth into his Vineyard? I will not now enter upon that common place of that comfortable and honourable encouragement that is due to the Ministers of the Gospel: It's so clear a truth, that in plain reason you cannot gainsay it. And yet how infamously famous is this City above all other Cities in this Nation in this particular? Beloved, let me not be counted your Enemie for telling you the truth (as you know I do) and dealing thus plainly; Surely sirs, 'tis forsaking God, to forsake his servants, and

⁶⁰⁴ This is from Psalm 127 where KJV, Geneva and the Prayer Book all have 'Except' for 'Unless'. Geneva has 'watcheth' but KJV and the Prayer Book have 'waketh'.

⁶⁰⁵ Ie generalities, with no reference to the rule of the Major Generals under the Protectorate.

he will not take it kindly. I might mention other sins whereby we have gone away from God, and so caused him to go away and forsake us. And if God forsake us, no marvel if we be in a broken and distracted condition. See this: *The spirit of the Lord came upon Azariah the son of Obed, and he went to meet Asa, and said unto him, heare me Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin, the Lord is with you whilst you be with him: If you seek him he will be found of you, but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.*⁶⁰⁶ And see then their sad state after. Beloved, when God goes away with the honey of pity and mercy, he leaves such a sting of wrath and judgement behind him, that it shall vex and torment the very soules of a people: And then shall they finde that it is a sad and a bitter thing to forsake the Lord

[p. 15] [on the causes of the civil wars]

And what were there no sins that are the causes of it? Do such great, and heavy, and generall judgements befall a Nation (both King, Princes, Priests and People) without sin procuring them? you dare not say so? And were there no sins in England but the sins of the people? What was the Popish Match? and the building of Houses and Chappels thereupon for Idolatrous and superstitious worship? What was the countenancing and exercise of that false worship, even in the Kings own dwelling? And were not our Communion-Tables turn'd into Altars, with superstitious cringings and bowings towards them? and in some places wax Tapers set upon those Altars? and second Service (which the people could not [...] there performed? How was the zealous profession of Religion (under the nickname of Puritanisme) discountenanced and disgraced? How did the Court-Bishops (especially the Bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud) vex, perplex, and ruine men in their High Commission Court, and Star-Chamber? How would drunken and prophane Ministers (if but zealous for Ceremonies) give the checke to (and upon the least occasion) trouble and sue the best Knights and Gentlemen in the Country even for trifles, and be therein upheld and countenanced by those Court-Bishops; Insomuch, that when the Knights and Gentlemen were assembled in Parliament, and had opportunity to be revenged upon them, they ding'd them quite down without mercy or consideration.

III.4.1.7 T Palmer jnr 'Truth Made Manifest'

[Title page] Captain William Bedlow, that pattern of Love to his Country, who deceased at Bristol, the 20th August, 1680, convincing all, both Deluded Protestants, and wilfully-Blinded Papists, of the Realty of that late Horrid PLOT; with his Endeared Caution both to his King and Country, shewing the Eminent danger that still Threatens.

III.4.1.8 J Chetwynd 'Ebenezer'

[This was preached at the time of the so-called Popish Plot, and recalls the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. 'Ebenezer' was the name of the monument raised by the prophet Samuel to commemorate an Israelite victory over the Philistines.]

[p. 7] And have not we as much cause [as the Jews] to remember with thankful rejoicing the great deliverance vouchsafed our Fathers, and in them of us? Certainly we have; and therefore God having by a Miracle of Mercy, prevented the barbarous and inhumane Design of the Papists, the implacable enemy of all Protestants, especially of English Protestants; it was then lookt upon as a principal part of their thankful resentment, by King James of famous memory, and the then sitting-

⁶⁰⁶ This from Chronicles II 15.1–2 differs trivially from KJV and Geneva which agree more closely with each other.

Parliament, To enact the observation of one day, viz. the fifth of November, yearly to be observed as a thankful memorial of that wonderful Mercy.

Their enemies were the Philistines, that always maligned Gods Israel.

Ours the Papist, that always hate Gods true Catholick and Apostolick Protestant Church of England.

III.4.1.9 Kingston ‘Vivat Rex’

[This sermon is prompted by the unsuccessful Rye House Plot, see last paragraph.]

[Epistle] It is but a while since (as your Worships all sorrowfully remember) that Loyal and Conscientious Subjects, had like to have been overborn by the inundation of Popular Clamours and the rancerous breaths of the Factious Mobile; but tho’ this Disease had spread its Contagion into too many great Bodies of this Kingdom, and the Tyde of Rebellion grew very high and threatening in this City also; yet did yor Extraordinary Care and Vigilance Antidote the Infection, Stem the impetuous Torrent, and maugre all the designs of an Antimonarchical Faction, preserve this City in Loyalty and Obedience.

[p. 2] that we do live in such days, and among such persons, as truly deserves the aggravating epithets of *unnatural, heady, high minded, Traytors*; needs no further prooffe than the discovery of the late *damnable and hellish Plot*, against the life of our Sovereign; the subversion of our Laws, and the destruction of Loyal Subjects.

A Plot that should have *extinguish’d the light* of our Israel! Stopt the *breath of our Nostrils*: murdered the Lords Anoynted, and given a *bloody Bill of Exclusion to both root and branch of a glorious Monarchy!* a Plot that would have turn’d our *Streets into shambles*, and fill’d our *houses* with Bloody Tragedies? a Plot wherein *transcendant villainy* hath left no room for pardon; but cries aloud for Vengeance, and calls his Majesties Loyal Subjects to fall on their Knees in prayer Saying, *God save the King*.

III.4.1.10 R Thompson 1685 Sermon

First, I shall crave leave to speak a few words with Reverence, concerning his most Gracious Majesty’s [James II] most undoubted Right of Blood, &c. It may seem needless to have his Majesty’s Titles after Proclamation to be declared, especially in the Pulpit: Yet, give me leave, in Remembrance of the BLACK BOX, and the Excluding Bill more Black than That, and that still more Black and Bloody Association that follow’d it, and which still worketh in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience; to put you, especially of the Common Souldiery, in Remembrance.

III.4.1.11 Marshall ‘Tender Visitation’

[The Pestilence referred to (line 3 below) is Plague, which Marshall reckons Bristol has long been spared – but for how much longer?]

[p. 18] OH, Bristol, Bristol! a City savoured of the Lord, and tenderly dealt with by him! how good hath the Merciful Compassionate God been unto thy Inhabitants, and to the Countries round about thee! Its now many years since ye were exercised with the Sword and Pestilence, since which, how many Favours hast thou received and enjoyed in an abundant manner, from the hand of a tender merciful God! Thou hast been in thy Buildings much enlarged, and thy Inhabitants much increased; Corn, Wine and Oyl, with Riches, and abundance of the good Creatures, even all things necessary hath the Lord God Almighty given thy Inhabitants. And in the season he stretched out his hand over the Metropolitan of this Nation, and with the dreadful Stroke of the Pistilence took away Multitudes (even many Thousands) he shook his

Hand only over thee, taking away a few of thy Inhabitants, as a fatherly Threatning, and then giving thy Inhabitants (and many places in this Land) an opportunity and season of wonderful Kindness and great Mercy, to fear and dread his Great, [p.19] Glorious and Terrible Name, and wonderful Power, and by that terrible Judgment provoke thy Inhabitants (with the Thousands of this Land every one to repent, and turn from the Evil of his Doings, and remove the stumbling Block of their Iniquities, &c

[p.21] Read, and consider whether many of you, thy Inhabitants, are not guilty of several of these grievous Sins, summed up by the Apostle: Is not Violence in your hands, as it was in Nineveh? Are not you cruelly Persecuting and Imprisoning those whose Cryes ascend to Heaven, and are entred into the Ears of the most high Lord God of Sabbaths? Are not vain Lifeless Professions and Prophaness multiplied in thee? Oh! consider these things, and be invited, in the Bowels of Christ Jesus, to break off all these Sins by Repentance, and turn to the Lord God with all your Hearts, and Repent as the Inhabitants of Nineveh did

[p. 22] Ah poor *Bristol!* what Lamentation shall I take up over thee? ... My soul is concerned for you deeply, in the sence of the Lord's being angry with you, because you have, and continue to sin against great Mercies, yea, adding Sin unto Sin. Oh be prevailed with to go on no further in the Broad Way of Destruction before demonstrated, lest you provoke the Lord more and more, and he pour forth his Fury-like Fire. Oh! Inhabitants of Bristol, Awake, Awake, high and Low, Rich and Poor, Male and Female, Bond and Free, consider your states, in this Evening of many of thy Inhabitants Day, before it be too late.

III.4.2 Government and Governed

III.4.2.1 Palmer 'Military Garden'

[This is Palmer's only printed sermon. Coming out in 1635, when Ship Money was being questioned, it was perhaps an advantage, from Palmer's point of view, that it had to receive the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Laud, who might perhaps note the author for advancement – perhaps a royal chaplaincy – though he does not appear to have done so. Bristol had not opposed the extension of Ship Money in principle, but had protested against the amount of the assessment.⁶⁰⁷]

[p. 14] This case is as currant upon the sea, as upon the Land, upon the stay or seasure of our shipping, and goods in forraigne parts, if restitution be denied. The Prince may recover it by way of Reprizall. Much more may he suppress the violence of sea-theeving Pyrats'

Qui mediio vanantur in aequore puppes
who bid men to stand upon the Ocean

Those sea vermine or rather the Devills water-Rats. Thos sea Guls that are the perpetuall plague unto noble traffique. Those monsters of the sea who raise a storme in faire weather: and make men to suffer shipwracke in the haven. The Prophet denounceth a woe unto those that spoile where they are not spoiled. Such roguing Pirats, if the law cannot suppress them, the Cannon should subvert them.

And most of all it is lawfull for a Prince to defend the Title and Jurisdiction of his Seas: and offend those those who would intrench upon them. If Necessitie make a cause lawfull, this is most lawfull, because most necessary. This case may be ours. The Sea is our Wall. And our best (though wooden) Battlements is our Navy. It was

⁶⁰⁷ See CCP 11 Dec 1634 and *passim* in January & February of 1635.

an experimentall conclusion of judicious Rawleigh, that the chief strength of our kingdoms consists in our sea forces. The safeguard of oukingdome, the terrour of our enemy is principally steered at the helme. Our moving towers are our best forts, our winged-horses our best Cavaleery, and victory is sooner spied from our maine top than from our maine battell.

And God be thanked, it is a provident care of our gracious Sovereigne to incircle our Iland with a stately Royall Navy. Let us praise God for him, and be thankfull unto him in our loyall and liberall assistance. Let not our purse be narrow because our seas are so. ... To question the designes of Sovereigne argues a want both of judgement and loyaltie. ...

The Romanes Souldiers when they were sent out by their Senate, knew not at their departure the palce where they should dight. And this Politique ignorance made neither the common people the more curious: nor the common Souldier the lesse fortunate.

The designes of State should direct our prayers, not busie our tongues. Wee should pray for their consultations not pry into their counsels. What Joab said concerning God himself; suffer me (with reverence) to invert it concerning Gods Deputy. Let us be strong and let us be valiant for our People, and for the Cities of our God, and let our Lord the King doe what is good in his eyes.

III.4.2.2 Towgood 'Disloyalty of Language'

[This is one of the sermons which was to get Towgood sequestrated in 1645. It was actually given in January 1643, when Bristol was under its first Parliamentary occupation, without earning any such punishment.]

[p. 44] Nothing doth please better in these dayes than bitter invectives against miscarriages of Authority, and I will shew you some reason for what I say,

1. The great concourse and flocking to such preachers from whom such discourses are expected.
2. The diligent attention given to them, while Christian duties are preached, that tend to the salvation of souls, how do some willingly give themselves to sleep? how do others, the female sex especially, play with their children; but if there be some bitter discourse against soverraign authorty, how do they shake off all drowsinesse? not suffer their children to quap? and listen with all the best attention they possibly can afford?
3. The applause that is given after such a discourse hath been heard: *An excellent man, an admirable sermon, would we might have more of it, it was but too short, etc.*

[p. 45] It is to be feared in this great difference there are fomenters on both sides; there may be such on the Kings sde, and how they are censured, that stir up the kings of the earth to war ye may see, *unclean spirits like unto frogs*. Spirits because by profession spiritual; unclean because of their unwarrantable practice; like frogs because of their clamorous loquacity; such I say there may be on the Kings side, and it is too evident there are those that stir up the people on the other side, and why they may not receive the same censure I know not; but this I am sure of, the withdrawing the eare from such preachers is the way to make contention cease

III.4.2.3 Kem 'Privy marks'

[This sermon was meant to advise the electors of Bristol whom they should elect to Parliament. The election was held on January 26th 1646 but the sermon as printed is stated to have been delivered on February 28 of that year, which must be

a mistake. Nor can I find whom Kem was recommending so coyly as a Moses and a Nathaniel.⁶⁰⁸ In fact Richard Aldworth and Luke Hodges were elected.]

[This first passage is printed solely as a possible early example of the Bristol ‘I’. Hauling, in sleds not wheeled carts, was an important part of city commerce.]

[p. 4] When may a City be truly said to rejoyce? 1. Negatively then Affirmatively.

First, Not in the enjoying of outward mirth, musick, singing, feasting, drinking, healthing, dancing, whoring (I had almost faid *Hawling*)

[p. 32] I shall onely give you their Chriftian names (as you term it) Give your Votes for a Moses and a Nathaniel, for a self-denying man, and a man without guil, and you shall do acceptable service to Jesus Christ; to the City did I say? nay, to the Kingdom, yea three Kingdoms; nay more, to thy own soul.

III.4.2.4 Purnell ‘Good tidings’

[p. 31] The Scripture will tell you, that the lawfull powers are of God; both of his Commandements, and bearing his image, holy as he is holy; being a terrour not to good works, but to evill. And whosoever doth resist this power (onely this) he resisteth the Ordinance of God, and shall receive judgement to himself.

But the Parliament and Army do not resist this power (spoken of by Paul to be obeyed) But they doe resist (and I admire that you the Seers doe not see it, that they do resist) that power spoken of by Micaah. The heads thereof that doe judge for reward (and that establish iniquity by a law) the Priests thereof that teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof that divine for money; and yet lean upon the Lord and say, is not the Lord amongst us; No evill can come upon us. That the powers of this nation (that have been resisted) have been and are such, their late actions are proofes, than which nothing can be more full or plaine, to men of reason.

III.4.2.5 Purnell ‘No power’

[p. 69] A man could not for these many years walk along the Key [Quay] of this City, but he should hear the Porters and Halliers [Hauliers] cursing and swearing, as men that had never learned to speak any other language; and so with the Butchers, you would not walk along the Shambles, but our heart would even tremble to hear the name of God so often, and fearfully taken in vain; Now, through the wisdom of our Parliament to Enact, and the diligence of our Mayor to Execute (for the life of the Law lyes in the due execution thereof) you may now walk the Key and Shambles, in the midst of the Porters, Halliers, and Butchers, and hear them speak with new tongues: Yea, you shall through the good of the Lord and the care of the Magistrate scarce hear one man, woman, or childe from the beginning of the week to the end thereof, either swear or curse

[p. 234] Oh what a glorious time will this be, when Magistracie shall be restored to its primitive institution, to countenance those that do well, and punish evill doers!

III.4.2.6 Willington ‘Thrice Happy Welcome’

[Welcome that is to Charles II in 1660.]

[p. 26] Object. Is it lawful in no case for Subjects to rise up in Arms against their lawful Sovereign?

Answ. Mr. Lyford’s Principles, pag. 158. No in no case. No Supream power whatsoever, or wheresoever residing, ought to be resisted by those that are under them, especially if they have sworn Allegiance unto them. There is no power but

⁶⁰⁸ A Nathaniel Cale was sheriff in 1644 and Mayor in 1661. Nothing is known about his godliness. No Nathaniel or Moses was named to the committee for re-organising parishes in 1650.

of God; the powers are not from beneath, but from above; he is the Minister of God. God is the Sovereign Lord of the whole earth, and Kings are his Deputies and Vice-gerents; in them God is resisted; whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. We read, That against a King there should be no rising up. If we cannot with good conscience obey them, yet we must be subject and submit unto them. Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as supream, or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him.

2. Object. May not Subjects resist their King in any case, though he be an Heretick, an Apostate, or a Tyrant?

No, in no case. Nebuchadonosor was a wicked and ungodly Prince; yet was Zedekiah grievously punished, Jerusalem sacked, Israel miserably afflicted for rebelling against him.

Object. 3. But if the Prince, being ungodly, command me to do that which is wicked and ungodly, must I herein obey him?

Answ. Such an objection as this might be suspended, living under so pious a Prince and Religious a Sovereign as we do.

III.4.2.7 *Standfast 1675 Sermon*

[p. 13] The truth is, there can be no such thing *in rerum natura*, as a godly Rebel: for if Godliness cannot prevent Rebellion, Rebellion will over-throw their Godliness.

III.4.2.8 *Crossman Sermon before the Artillery Company*⁶⁰⁹

[p. 1] Men never err more dangerously than when they happen to dash against the true rules of Civil Society ... our late times have prov'd too clear a comment upon so sad a Text ... Then was the joyless Scripture written in large characters, in letters of blood, he that ran might read it; *The Child then behaved himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable*; then were *the people oppress'd every one by another*. And the foot of that doleful Song was still the same Tune, and like the rest, *In those days there was no King in Israel* ... The security of the King and Kingdom: a high Concern! The preserving of the Ship wherein we are all imbarqu'd ... He that faithfully stands by Government, shews himself a friend to his own safety, as well as a true Liege-man to his Prince. *Gods anointed and the breath of our nostrils*, they may be two distinct Periphrases, but they both make up one and the same Person in Scripture account.

III.4.2.9 *J Chetwynd 'Memorial'*

[p. 31] To conclude all, let us know that it is the want of the fear of God, and a due regard to his Commandements, the not reflecting on our duty and dignity: the not minding our account, that is the cause of all the disorder in the World.

This is that which makes Magistrates pervert judgment, and prefer their own private advantage before the publique welfare. Ministers so extravagant and regardless of their Duty and Decorum in their habit and language, and publick converse. Lavvyers, both Counsellors and Sollicitors, prey upon the passions and simplicity of their Clients, and so render the Law, vvhich is good and necessary, and without which there can be no comfortable living, yet a burthen rather than an advantage. For so

⁶⁰⁹ The Artillery Company was we might now call a loyalist paramilitary force raised by the Duke of Beaufort, "stormtroopers of the tory reaction" according to J Barry 'The Politics of Religion in Restoration Bristol' in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* eds T. Harris, P. Seaward & M. Goldie (Oxford 1990) pp. 163–90 at p. 170.

we see it comes to pass that the remedy usually proves worse than the disease. And we find by dayly experience that if the matter be not of extraordinary value, it were better for mens both quiet and profit, to set down losers, and never try for it; For usually in the issue, the Lawyers Purse proves as the Butlers Box, that is sure to gain, and the indiscreet litigants fare as the Sheep that go to a Bramble for succour, leave a part of his fleece behind him.

[p. 32] The want of these reflections makes Masters deal hardly with their Servants, and Servants untrusty to their Masters; Parents deal unkindly and bitterly with their Children, Children deal unthankfully and rebelliously with their Parents; Superiors scorn and oppress their Inferiors, Inferiors repine and rail at their Superiors, Conformable men revile Dissenters, Dissenters break the peace of the Church, under pretence of Conscience men grow debauched and effeminate: women grow proud, foolish and fantastick; Most to prevaricate from the duty, dignity and decency of their places.

III.4.2.10 R Thompson 1685 Sermon

[p. 19] By what is said, it is evident enough, that there is nothing so Unchristian, nothing so Unreasonable, as for Subjects to seek Occasions to dispute the Wills and Pleasures of their Princes; and how much more, to raise Tumults and levy Arms [p. 20] against them? Yea, though they were Heathens, and Tyrants, and the most professed Enemies that can be imagined to God and Goodness.

There is nothing so great a Contradiction to right Reason, and the Spirit of the Gospel, as is the Spirit of a Rebel and a Traytor to his King and Country.

III.4.3 Church and State

Naturally in a century of civil wars, depositions and a decade of republicanism, there were questions about the relation of civil power and religion. On the one side, what obedience was due from the faithful to the state? Was it absolute or was it conditional on the godliness of the ruler? Needless to say, examples of each could be found in Scripture and the main practical consideration was the current political situation which made one or other view dangerous.

On the other side, what was the proper attitude of the rulers to the beliefs of the ruled? Should the law be concerned with evil-doing only, or with matters of faith? The last aspect was complicated by a general assumption that religious disunity must be a threat to political unity. This theory could not be sustained on the long historical view, but was very natural in a century marked by wars of religion. In retrospect, as suggested earlier, we may see religious divisions as first way in which political divisions represented themselves.

III.4.3.1 Purnell 'Step by step'

[p. 100] If a people refuse to embrace the doctrine, and practice the disciplin of the true Religion, whether they are not to be forced to receive the one, and practise the other, yea or no?

Ans: Religion is to be taught, not to be forced, and that for these reasons;

1. Because Christ and his Apostles never used any force in propagating of religion; not the sword, but the Word and Prayer, were the instruments used to propagate christianity

2. If it be not in our own power to believe, till it be given us from above, how can it be in the power of any other to make us believe? how can they force us to take that which is not given, and to profess that which we have not received?

3. Religion is the free gift of God, which as it is freely given, so it must be freely received, without constraint; for the will cannot be forced.

4. As he is not to be esteemed an heretick, or an Idolater, that is forced thereto, neither is he to be esteemed religious that is compelled to embrace it.

5ly. The forcing of Religion hath been the cause of much mischief, viz. murders disorders and changes in States; ‘Therefore the wise Romans, saith Mr. Wollebius, p. 332 permitted the Jews, after they were subdued, to use freely their own Religion:’ But men are to be warned, and exhorted to make use of the means. If the acts of hearing, reading, praying, meditation, conference, are means by which Religion is both begot and nourished, to neglect the use of these and the like means, is to neglect our own salvation, &c.

III.4.3.2 Farmer ‘Imposter dethroned’

[Epistle to the Reader] Sure I am, and experience (the Mistress even of fools) hath made it good unto the world, that Discipline and Government in the Church, hath (ever since the reformation from Popery) kept the Reformed Churches free from Heresie and Blasphemy getting head among them; and if there were danger of an inrode, and an incursion, by the abuse of Government, hee shall come little short of an Ideot (and wise men will easily acknowledge it) that doth not perceive, that no Government at all, every one being left to his own fancy) will much more do it. It’s a strange piece of madness, not to put a difference between inforcing men to Religion, and tolerating all Religions, to the hazzarding of the true.

III.4.3.3 Farmer ‘Plain Dealing Sermon’

[p. 27] But then, I would not have those who are by just excommunication cast out of one Church or Congregation, received in into another, for this were the way to make Conventicles of Hereticks, Schismaticks, blasphemers, and all manner of prophane and ungodly ones: And in this I conceive the Civill Magistrate is much concern’d (especially being a Christian) For ‘tis found too true by sad experience, that factions in the Church beget fractions in the State.

III.4.3.4 Standfast 1675 Sermon

[p. 26] There is a pretence I know, of a purer Mode of Worship: But he that for an imaginary purer Mode, shall part with Peace, Unity and Charity, Duties of such absolute necessity to Salvation, that man is like to have but a hard bargain.

[p. 28] For a house, or a Kingdom divided against it self, cannot stand.

I know it is Printed in behalf of the Dissenters, even of this City, That if they might be their own judges, they are not to be accused of either Impiety towards God, Contempt of the Laws, Disloyalty to their King, or imprudence to themselves, from their present Persevering in those ways which they now walk in: But whilst they have so much of Korah in them, if this saying of theirs be generally true, I must get me a new Bible, for in that which I have already, I can find no such thing.

III.4.3.5 J Chetwynd ‘Memorial’

[p. 14] But what St. Austin writes concerning Faustus, is true of the generality of Dissenters from the Church of England. *Vel non intelligendo reprehendit, vel reprehendendo non intelligit. Sententiam Ecclesiae non intelligit, sed amat suam, non quia vera est, sed quia sua est.* That is, either not understanding he reprehends, or reprehending doth not understand. He doth not understand what the Sentiments of the Church are; but loves his own, not because they are true, but because his own.

So hard is the lot of the Church of England, that by the Romish Synagogue it is condemned for having so few, and by Dissenters cryed out on for having so many; whereas in the eyes of sober men it is valued according to its excellent temper, not exceeding to a burdensome oppression, nor defective in due comeliness, by a slovenly rudeness. And no wonder since a decent and necessary subordination of inferiours to superiours, as in a well Disciplined Army, keeps all in a due correspondency of subjection and Government, and renders Our Church Glorious, as an Army with Banners.

Not as the Congregations of Dissenters, who are like Pliny his *Acephali*, all body and no head. Or as the Popish Parasites have rendered their Synagogue like the Toadstool, all head and no body, whilst they ridiculously affirm; *Papa virtualiter est Tota Ecclesia*.

III.4.3.6 J Chetwynd ‘Ebenezer’

[p. 25] That quarrels that are grounded on matters of Religion, are most durable; most implacable, most mischievous—Philistines against Israelites, Papists against Protestants.

III.4.3.7 Kingston ‘Vivat Rex’

[As noted above, a response to the Rye House Plot]

[p. 4] for where doth this Gangrene so mortally spread? and from whence doth the *Plague of sedition, Privy-Conspiracy and Rebellion*, disperse its contagion? but from the *Conventicles*? which are the Schools wherein Male-contents are disciplin’d for *publick mischief*; ‘tis in those *Unlawful Assemblies*, that the Sons of *Bichry*, and *Belial*, *Gebal* and *Ammon*, and *Amalec*, blow the Trumpets of Rebellion, *disclaim their right in David*, and persuade others, that *they hae no inheritance in the King*. ‘Tis there the deluded *Moile* are Taught the just and equitable Restraints of Authority, are Inroachments upon their Birth-Right; and ‘tis there they are Instructed to Obey for *Wrath*, and Disobey or *Conscience-Sake*. Doctrines big with *Rebellion*, and *Confusion*, whose teeming wombs bring forth no other issue, than *Blood and Fire, and Pillars of Smoke*.

Now have they unridled the mystery of their *Non-conformity*; they would not come to *Church*: because that *Holy-Ground* could not be *Desecrated* by such impious Consultations. They would not *Pray* with us: well knowing that we could not *consent* with them to injure *the Lord’s Anointed!* and therefore must find out such *lurking holes* and *secret places*, as correspond to such black Designs.

[p. 8] It was the breach of *Unity*, and the neglect of *Religion*, that exposed us to all the miseries and mischiefs of *Forty one*: If they had not divided us in our judgments, they could never have made us a *prey to their Teeth*: and if we had not been careless in the exercise of Religion and Devotion; God would not have removed from us his watchful Care and Providence.

[p. 21] The *Safety of Kings* is impugned under the pretence of Religion by the several sorts of *Dissenters* ... by the *Rebellious and Bloody Tenets of the Jesuits, Anabaptists and Presbyterians* ... [p. 22] The *Safety of Kings* is opposed by the bloody principles of the *Independents, Anabaptists, and Fist-Monarchists*.

III.4.3.8 R Roberts ‘Honour the King’

[This was given before Lord Arthur Somerset, son of the Duke of Beaufort, and the Society of the Loyal Young Men and Apprentices of Bristol, the youth wing of the Artillery Company, see III.4.2.8 above. Roberts was chaplain to the Duke of Beaufort.]

[p. 11] As for those [Laws] which concern Uniformity, uncontrollable experience hath all along demonstrated how absolutely necessary that is for the support of the Crown; Recusants of all sorts having ever since the Reformation been the instrument of almost infinite disturbances in the State; and it being more especially observable of all our Fanatick Recusants, that notwithstanding all the noises, which they formerly made concerning their own godliness and good meanings, yet (to speake within compass) there was in all probability not one in five hundred of them, but what evidently enough appeared at least to have wished well to the success of the late Rebellious Arms.

III.4.4 Church & Church

Given a general sentiment against such religious divisions as might split the state, was unity better attained by the enforcement of a single official church or by a wide toleration of a range of Protestant faith? Was unity more threatened by those who insisted on uniformity in non-essentials or by those who stood out for singularity in the same non-essentials?

III.4.4.1 Tombs 'Against Scandalizers'

[p. 322] And with the same spirit at this day doe many seducing Jesuites and Seminary Priests bred of the smoke of the bottomlesse pit scandalize many ignorant or corrupt soules by drawing them to their impious Idolatry, & superstition, their Antichristian errors and deceits, that they may maintaine the unrighteous tyranny of the Roman Bishops, maintaine thēselves, their Colledges, and fraternities in a rich and plentifull manner by Drurifying (as the secular Priests call it) that is by cheating their proselytes. And no better are the ends of many other Heretiques, as Socinians, Anabaptists, Familists, Separatists and the rest of the litter of grievous Wolves, as S. Paul calls them, that enter among Christians and spare not the flock.

III.4.4.2 Standfast 'Clerico Laicum'

[This sermon, given in 1644 when Bristol was under the Royalists, was probably part of the evidence for Standfast's sequestration in 1645]

[p19] Men must take heed, that they do not make their own conceits and fancies the rule of truth, which if some men had not done, without doubt there had not been so much confusion in the Church. We must love Peace well, but fundamental truths better, and though we must love all truths well, yet for every petty truth we may not disturb the Piublique Peace. And if this course had been followed amongst us, in these latter time, neither had the Church been so rent, nor the Kingdom so divided, as now they are; neither had there been so much schisme in the one, nor sedition in the other, as now there is. For what essential fundamentall truth hath our Church wanted? and if none, there's no reason we should keep so much adoe about truths of an inferiour nature, as to sin against Charity and Peace.

III.4.4.3 Kem 'Orders Given Out'

[p. 17] By the Antiquity, *Id demum verissimum quod antiquissimum*; and truly as it was sometime replied to those of Rome, that we can look beyond Luther, So may we to the rabble of Heresies in these times, we can look and see the time when they had not a being; indeed they are comparatively but of yesterday: and it is possible for an easie Herald to drive the pedigree of the Anabaptist, Brownists, Antinomians, Pelagians, Socinians, Arians, Antetrinitarians, Seekers, &c. and to demonstrate them to be all subservient, although active actors for Scout master general, self-ends or

aims, when truth like the Sun hath run its course through all ages, not that all have imbraced it, but some have received it.

III.4.4.4 Purnell 'No power'

[p. 182] Uniformity; it is true, it were to be desired, and it would be sweet to see it but we may not expect to have it in the fullnesse thereof untill that Scripture is fulfilled. As long as a people agree in things substantial, things circumstantial are to be borne with, for we cannot see all by other mens eyes ... And the Apostle saith, As every one hath received Christ, so let him walke in him ...

4. Spend not so much time and pains about the outside of Religion, as Discipline and Order; but spend thrice as much about the inside, the principles and grounds of truth. Me thinks I see most men spend much time in the outside of Religion, viz. whether Presbyterie, Anabaptisme or Independencie be the way, &c. And so whiles they be disputing about the garment, the power of Religion is much abated. The Kings daughter is all glorious within. Look to the power in the first place, and then the form will follow after in its order.

III.4.4.5 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 147] The last stumbling-block that I shall name is this, And, saith many a poor soul with-within it self, I know not with what Society or Assembly to joyne with, there are so many opinions, viz. Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptist, Arminians, Antinomians, Ranters, Quakers, Seekers, I know not with whom to sit downe. O tell me, O thou whom my soule loveth, where thou feedest thy flock, that so I may be able to discern betweene him that serveth God in pretence, or in truth.

Ans. My advise is, That thou wouldst own all men and women, let them go under what name soever, if thou seest any thing of the appearance of Christ in them

III.4.4.6 Willington 'Gadding Tribe'

[p. 11] Now I beseech you brethren, marke them which cause divisions, and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and by good words and faire speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.

O that we would all imbrace this wholesome counsell of the blessed Apostle, even to marke, and so to marke, as to avoid all Papists, Arminians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Anabaptists, Quakers, and all other Sects, and Sectaries whatsoever, that cause divisions, and offences contrary to this, or any other doctrine, which the blessed Apostle taught the ancient Romans: and that upon the reason of the counsel.

III.4.4.7 Hollister 'Skirts of the Whore'

[p. 14] To the Independent-Baptized People ... you are no Church of Christ, neither know the name of Christ, but a Synagogue of Satan, and a Cage of unclean and hateful Spirits; in which lodgeth Pride, Hypocrisie, Envy, Slandering, Backbiting, Railing, Lying, love to this present World; and conformity to the fashions, customs, and conversation of the same ... [p. 15 but printed as 11] By the Church you mean a company of people dead in trespasses, without the life and power of godliness, or true knowledge of God by the Revelation of the Sonne, living in pride, in the customes and loves of the world, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, eer learning, but neer comes to the knowledge of the Truth, walking like other Gentiles in the Vanities of their minds, having their understandings darkned, and hating the true Light, so that they are alienated from the life of God through ignorance, feeding on ashes, not on bread, having a dead Forme without the living power of Godliness.

III.4.4.8 Farmer 'Sathan Inthroned'

[Farmer's strong stand for an established church and ministry is perhaps a little odd for a man who was never properly instituted into any parish and who left or was ejected from all his posts at the Restoration. But when he wrote it, the official church was Presbyterian.]

[Epistle to the Reader] But at last [the earth] 'twas *fixed* in the heavenly bodies Sun, Moon, and Stars, where by a perpetuall decree, it keeps its station, as do all other creatures in their *Successions*. according to that Law given unto them, in the first of their kind respectively. So that we look upon those who are *anamolous*, as wonders in nature, as departing from that fixed law and rule assigned them. So also in the *Church* (that *mundus in mundo*) is it not obvious (except to those who will wink against the *Son* that the fixation and established condition of it, should be the beauty and the glory of it and that that after the Apostles and Evangelists (as that expanded light) had for the three first daies (as it were) of the Christian world, given light unto it, how (as the *Churches* were settled) they likewise planted and settled (as stars in their particular Orbs) *Pastors* and *Teachers* as fixed constant and abiding lights among them, to whom the care and charge of those Churches was particularly commended between which, ours as parent and children, shepherd and sheep, rulers and ruled, there is a firm relation, inferring all the offices and duties thereunto belonging. In the faithful discharge whereof, lies the glory of the Churches, and the mutual welfare each of other. If this be not the main scope the Scripture drives at (as to Church, peace, and beauty) I know nothing.

III.4.4.9 Hollister 'Harlots Vail'

[p. 39] And although ye are the many-headed Beast in divers forms, sects and opinions, under the name of Papists, Atheists, Independents, Anabaptists, &c. and upon a like ground pretend to Christs person, Gospel, and Ordinances, as before I said, and with one mouth, and with one shoulder, cry out against, and oppose his light and living presence, for which ye associate and take counsell together of one and the same lying spirit, yet ye must be broken, and as a new threshing instrument is the Lord making the worm Jacob, to thresh your mountains, as chaffe, and your little hills as dust: And the day of your distresse and visitation is begun, in which all that see you shall wag the head, who with the most embittered enemies are joynd against the light and life of God, and with Atheists, Drunkards, and prophane persons, who live in scoffing, scorning, reproaching, and deriding, in slandering, falshood and lies, do ye assemble, teaching the wicked of the world your wayes, and the Children that have not understanding, to blaspheme the light, and living way to the Father, which is your own returned.

III.4.4.10 Farmer 'Imposter Dethroned'

[p. 12] The Quakers charge us (and according to their guize and guile) make loud out-cries on us for Persecution: But I appeal to all the world, who are the Persecutors; Do not they disturb, revile, and persecute? Are not we in our rightful possessions and employments? And did, or do we go or run after them, to hinder or disquiet them? Do we desire any thing of them, more than that we and our people might meet and serve God peaceably, according to our rule?

III.4.4.11 Purnell 'Step by step'

[p. 101] Whether liberty of conscience be, as some say, a cursed toleration, or of divine institution, yea, or no?

Ans. If under a pretence of liberty of conscience, men shall own any other God, or preach any other Christ, or Gospel, than what is written for our learning, or press people to walk by any other rule, this undoubtedly is a cursed toleration, and to be lamented. But for a people that doth hold the head, and agree in the doctrinal part of Religion holding all to the essence of substantial truths, if they differ somewhat in the discipline, how, and when, and in what place is this God is to be worshipped; here in the strong must bear with the weak

III.4.4.9 Standfast 'Against Seducers'

[p. 18] Thus Antinomians, and other Sectaries beguile men into their errors, with promises of an easier and smoother way to Heaven, than hath been discovered by other men; and 'tis to be doubted, that the Papists have beguiled many by the same means, who in hopes to finde among them an easier way for the pardon of some sins, than the truth will afford them, have thereupon embraced their superstitions ... the promise of a glorious Liberty may be made an Engine, whereby to bring men into an intolerable bondage, and the hopes of a glorious Reformation, may betray them into an abominable confusion.

Secondly, Thus you have seen their hooks baited; see also their nets covered, and that's usually done with some specious pretences, of which they have no small variety.

Sometimes they pretend to more Piety than ordinary, and this they discover by their long prayers, and frequent fastings; but see how the best things may be abused, for under this veil, some men have carried on most devilish designs, and hellish actions. Thus the Pharisees devoured Widdows houses, and for a colour made long prayers. Thus fasting was a mantle for murder in the case of Naboth, and thus Religion it self may be made a cloak for cruelty and wickedness, yea for treason and rebellion.

Sometimes they pretend a great zeal for the glory of God, and yet underhand they drive on nothing more, than their own interest. Thus did Jehu, his pretence was zeal for the Lord, when hee cut off the house of Ahab, and the worshippers of Baal, and yet his grand design was the securing of himself in the injoying of the Kingdome ... Sometimes they pretend to a greater measure of purity, and to an higher pitch of perfection, than ordinary. So can the Prince of Darkness transform himself into an Angel of Light; and the Wolf disguise himself in sheeps-cloathing. Under this pretence the Donatists of old sought to justifie their separations from the publick Assemblies of the People of God, and many also of latter times have set on foot several schismatical and heretical opinions, to the rending of the seamless Coat of Christ, and to the woful wounding and dividing of the Church of God.

Sometimes they pretend to more than ordinary humility, abasing themselves even to the ground, to advance a party, creeping into houses, not only stealing in sliely to prevent being discovered, but in a shew of humility, ready to crawl as it were upon their bellies to gain entertainment, but such crawlers and creepers are seldome without venome; and if these snakes be harboured till they grow warm, you may quickly perceive their proper temper. And thus you have some of their pretences also, but you have not all their cunning yet; for besides all this that hath been said upon this Subject, they can rack the Scriptures to the length and breadth of their false opinions, and torment them to make them speak, more than ever they intended, for the maintaining of their lies, which Scriptures, if let down again, and left to themselves, and to their own proper sense and meaning, will prove too narrow, and too short to serve their turn, and to cover their falshood ...

By some of these devises formerly mentioned, the Papists seek to support their purgatory and prayers for the dead, invocation of Saints, worshipping of Images, and other things of like nature; nor have the Anabaptists, and Quakers been without their pretended Revelations, and new Lights, whereby to maintain their old errors, and vertiginous imaginations

[p. 35] That they who can indure no Superiority in the Church, are suspicious persons. Thirdly, Revilers and opposers of those Ministers, and that Ministry of the Gospel, which hath been settled in the Church by the Holy Ghost in all ages downward, even from the Apostles daies, are to be looked upon as Impostors and Seducers.

III.5 Salvation

The main dissenting denominations hardly differed at all in doctrine from the articles of the Church of England. Even Baptists disagreed more about the age of baptism than of its importance.⁶¹⁰ (Despite the frequent denunciations of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and Antitrinitarians, not to mention Ranters, evidence of these as practising sects is hard to come by.) The elements of common belief were these. Men were born to sin, and their free will was at best very limited, at worst, freedom only to sin. Anyhow, however hard they tried, their conduct or works could never match up to God's standards and therefore they stood justly condemned to eternal torments after death. However, merely of his own Grace, God had 'elected' (chosen) some to be saved. (Predestination was no extreme dogma of a puritan fringe, but a central truth enshrined in the 39 Articles of the Church of England and accepted by all the main dissenting churches, apart from the Quakers.) True faith alone saved, but was itself conferred only by Grace. That the elect would behave righteously, or as righteously as their sinful nature permitted, was a sign, not a condition, of their election. And righteous conduct, without true faith, was utterly irrelevant and indeed partook of the nature of sin, as the 39 Articles stipulated (Article XIII).

And yet it was felt by ministers at least that even the well-affected Christian might be in error as to the Truth. Nor was conscience a sufficient guide, however sincerely consulted. The potency of error was routinely ascribed to 'Seducers', – not only Papists or Quakers – who apparently made it their business to tempt others away from the Truth which apparently they themselves knew to be so. Just what motivated or rewarded these Seducers is not clear; but the concept meant that ministers were under the constant necessity of refuting error and re-establishing the Truth by which alone men could be saved.

III.5.1 Original Sin and Free Will

[see also Willington *Cor Concussum* p. 23]

III.5.1.1 Bacon 'Christ Mighty in Himself'

[p. 25] Q what injunction did God give Man., in Eden?

A Not to eate of the tree of knowledge of good and evill.

Q Why was Adam forhidden to eate of this tree ?

A Because the eating of *it* would be his death?

Q How could death come to Adam by the eating of the fruit of it?

A Because he was forbidden to eat of it.

⁶¹⁰ And the originals, the Broadmead Baptists, were a long time before they adopted adult Baptism as a rule.

III.5.1.2 Purnell ‘The way to heaven’

[p. 152] A true Church holdeth that all men by nature are dead in Trespasses and sins, nay that all persons by nature, are children of wrath, being guilty of Adams sinne, and sinfull in their owne nature, deserving thereby eternall damnation, from which no person, no not by the death of Christ, who is not regenerated and borne againe, or made a new creature is freed from.

III.5.1.3 Perry Funeral

[p. 18] And who is free? That is *nemo*, no not so much as one is free; all servants captivated by sin; and that to these three masters.

To the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, i. e. To the Devils temptations, to the Worlds allurements, and to the Fleshes corruption. First to Satan, as the chief Tyrant: Then to the other two, as to his Bassa’s Viceroys, or substitutes.

[p. 29] This in the first place confutes that common error of the Papists concerning venial sin, whereas every sin is mortal. For the Apostle speaks here very plainly: *The Wages of sin is death*, [...]. And in that he saith it of all sins, it may be said of every sin, *A quatenus ad omne valet consequentia*, is an undoubted truth of the Logicians, from, as to all the consequence is very good: And our Apostle saith as sinner, so worthy of death. And therefore every sin is mortal in it self, and deserves even eternal death.

III.5.1.4 Purnell ‘Step by step’

[p. 7] So that Man in this fallen estate, is become a lump of sinne, from the crown of the head to the soale of the foot there is no soundness. And so all the posteritie of Adam have sinned, and come short of the glorie of God, and are now become Satans conquest, captives and slaves, being under the curse, and subject to bondage and miserie. So we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness as filthy rags, and we all do fade as a leaf, and our iniquities like the winde have taken us away. Mr. Baxter in his Treatise of Conversion, p. 71. affirms, that even our children, by nature, considered as sinfull and unsanctified, are as hatefull in the eies of God, as any Toads or Serpents are in ours.

[p. 103] Whether there be not a free-will remaining in all the posterity of Adam?

Ans: A mans will remains free, but it is to evil only, the imagination of the heart is only evil ... Mans will is not free, until it be by grace made free

[p. 104] How came the sin of Adam, being but one man, to be made the sin of so many men, yea of all, seeing they eat not the apple?

Ans: The sin of Adam in eating the forbidden fruit, is made ours by participation and imputation.

1. By participation: Adam being a publick person, all his posterity was contained in his loins, and so sinned in his sinning.

2. By imputation: the Lord doth impute the legal guilt therof unto his whole posterity descending from him by way of ordinary generation.

III.5.1.5 Marshall ‘The Way of Life Revealed’

[This is a very orthodox version of the Quaker doctrine: only replacing Grace with the Light Within.]

[p. 6] Be astonished oh Heavens at this, and be horribly afraid oh Earth! The Lord God btought up Children, and they Rebelled against him.

Now what was the Cause and Ground, O ye Sons and Daughters of Adam, that brought this horrible Change, that brought man into this deplorable State and

Condition? Was it not Disobedience to the Righteous Law of God? Did not Sin enter into the World through Disobedience, and Death by Sin? Is there any other Way by which Sin enters now than it did then, and Death by Sin, which has reigned over all, and reigns over all who are in the fallen Estate from God ...?

III.5.1.7 Thomas Palmer 'Truth made Manifest'

[p. 10] For note, that Man barely of himself, has not the power to do good ...

III.5.2 Predestination, Grace & Works

III.5.2.1 Purnell 'Good tidings'

[p. 16] These promises indeed are made to the Elect, and to Saints!

Answ. Let that bee granted: Yet art thou excluded? Canst thou say thou art not elected? How wilt thou prove it? wilt thou dive into the secret Counsell of God? It is too deepe for thee to fathome. Doest thou complain that thy wicked life doth evidence it? Well; Consider then: hast thou denyed Christ? So did Peter. Hast thou persecuted Christ? did not Paul so? And yet for all this, were not they elected? In a word; There is not a man or woman under the whole Heavens can justly or truly say, he or shee is not elected.

[p. 60] If thou wilt also know a reason why he will cast some into the pit of destruction, and give to others life everlasting: I answer, God hath no rule to act by but his owne will, so that for him to doe what he willeth, is just, and it is just for no other reason nor upon any other ground, but this, viz. because it is his will to doe it,

III.5.2.2 Purnell 'The way to heaven'

[p. 155] A true Church sound in the Faith, doth hold, that we are justified and saved by grace and faith in Christ and not by workes.

A true Church doth hold, that God meerly of his good pleasure, without the foresight of any good in the creature, elected a certaine number by name unto eternall salvation, and hath decreed also to effect all the wayes for them, and in them, to bring them thereto.

A true Church holds, that no person that is so elected and regenerated, shall fall away out of that state and be damned, but shall be undoubtedly kept by the power of God in that state of regeneration unto salvation

III.5.2.3 Purnell 'Holy Life'

[p. 3] The Papists say if we are freely justified by Grace, we need not to do any good works; and if we cannot fall from Grace, we need not fear to commit sin: but every true Christian will say that Faith and Works must go together in our conversation.

[p. 14] The Lord tells us, without him we can do nothing. This Doctrine of Free Grace is the great stop and barre to keep out all false Doctrines and floods of Errors ... specially ... the Error of the Papist, the Quaker and the Arminian.

[p. 25] Yet for all this, let men have a care that in crying down the righteousness of works, they do not cry down the works of righteousness.

III.5.2.4 Roberts 'Christian Advantage'

[p. 11] In this Life they are called, justified, and in some measure glorified: As they were before the foundation of the world was laid, eternally predestinated

III.5.3 Death and Hell

Death was often treated in sermons. The general proposition was that this was crunch-time, everlasting life for the Elect, everlasting torment for the rest. And it is

worth bearing in mind that death was far more evenly, more randomly, spread across a full life-span than it is today. Death was a more apparent spectre at every feast.

The personal funeral sermon was a very common and popular type. For family and friends the very preaching of such a sermon was a tribute to the respect in which the deceased was held by the community as by the minister. The matter of death and what came after was almost unavoidable. So the sermon itself would typically contain assurances that the deceased had indeed shown such signs of salvation that the survivors might well rejoice for the departed even as they mourned for their own loss. In this respect Philip Perrey's sermon 'intended' for the funeral of Edmund Whitwell is an aberration: 95% about sin and its wages with a bit about salvation at the end, and not a word about the deceased, it could not fail to leave the impression that Whitwell was damned. No wonder if it was not actually delivered! Much more typical are Roberts's tributes, first to Mrs then to Mr Joseph Jackson (III.5.3.3 and III.5.3.5 below)

III.5.3.1 Purnell 'Weavers Shuttle'

[Epistle] As death is the King of Terrors to Christless Souls, who have made the World their portion, and Lyes their Refuge, &c. To Christians it is but a Servant sent from their Father to put them to Bed.

III.5.3.2 Perrey Funeral Sermon

[p. 26] And this is the first death, which is the Wages of sin; and is truly called a spiritual death.

The second follows upon it, and that is a natural death, Magnus or Temporal, which is *dissolutio corporis & animae*, the dissolution of the body and Soul. Therefore says the Apostle: As sin hath reigned unto death: And before that you finde this deaths head more plainly presented in an ugly shape, as it were upon a stage acting a part, or at least moving above-board. Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the World, and sin by death; and so death did pass upon all men, for that all have sinned: The words at least in sense and meaning of the forenamed Doctrine. This is the second; Though S. John in the Revelation calls, my third in order, the second death. And so it is indeed in Divinity. He is the Divine, But I have made bold as a spiritual Physician in these distempered times, to present you with a $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota$ [?].⁶¹¹ And to give you a mixt Dosis, or taste of the naturall, and the spiritual.

The third is that which is the worst, a death unto life eternal, Bolton. Isai 66.24. and yet a death that never dies: Their Worm shall never die, their Fire shall never be quenched. The former death is but as the prick of a lancet, or flea-biting unto this; 1 Cor. 15. for that is but for a time, we shall rise again after that at the last day; but this is to all eternity. I, what if I did say, determined from all eternity?

III.5.3.3 Roberts 'Chequerwork'

[Epistle to the Reader] Lastly, Mourn moderately in the loss of her [Mrs Jackson], and other earthly comforts. When holy Jacob dyed in Egypt, the Israelites the children of Jacob mourned seven daies, but the Egyptians seventy daies: This was not because the Egyptians had more love to Jacob then the Israelites; but because the Israelites had more Grace, and Hope, and Moderation, then the Egyptians. Natural affection is commended: excess in mourning is condemned

⁶¹¹ I cannot make the remaining letters into any word in the lexicon, but the nearest would be $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\alpha\sigma$, bitter-sweet.

[p. 39] It is true, Our loss is great: But her [Mrs Jackson's] gain is incomparably greater. Her Husband hath lost a Dear, a Sweet, a Comfortable Yoke-fellow; Her Children have lost, a Tender, a Careful, and Compassionating Mother; Her Allies have lost a Faithful and Sincere-hearted Friend; The Poor have lost a special and liberal Benefactor; The Church of God hath lost an Holy, Heavenly and Gracious Saint; yea and Her self hath lost something among all these losses, she hath lost all her Diseases, all her Pains, all her Sighs and Groans, all her Tears, all her Sorrows and Sufferings, all her Troubles and Temptations, and all her sins. But Oh how much hath she gained, upon all these losses!

III.5.3.4 Purnell 'Step by step'

[p. 18] So that the damned in Hell suffer not more, nor less than they deserved; yea, had God pleased to have inflicted a greater punishment for sin, yet had he been still just: the object offended being God, the person suffering being but a Man, the evil of punishment cannot exceed the evil of the offence

III.5.3.5 Roberts 'Christian Advantage'

[p. 15] To the wicked belong, 1 The terrors of Death that King of Terrors as Bildad calls it; that Most terrible of terribles, as the Heathen Aristotle stiled it. The enmity of Death, the sting and venom of Death, the curse and bitterness, gall and wormwood of Death, the woful followers of Death, viz. The Judgment of Condemnation, And everlasting Torments in Hell.

But from them that are Christ's, All this evil and mischief of Death is sweetly removed away by Christ. They fear not Death, but can desire it, and groan after it. Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is much more best.

[p. 25] Hence, finally, How thankfully should we rejoyce in the Life, and how patiently, yea comfortably should we be in the Death of dearest Friends and Relations, that were truly Christian! whether of Father, Mother, Husband, Wife, &c.

Are they alive? Life is, Their spiritual Seed-time, to sow in; Their Mart-time, to trade in; Their Rare-time, to run in; Their Spring-time, to grow in; Their Summer, to bear fruit in: Their Autumn, to treasure up in for Eternity; And their Winter to be tryed in, that they may be found more precious than gold.

Are they dead? Mourn moderately. Comfort your selves with this; That even Death is theirs also: Their sweet sleep in Jesus; Their blessed Change; Their happy Departure; Their great Gain; Their Red-Sea to all their Evils and Enemies; Their Bodies Seed-time for the eternal Harvest; and Their Souls Birth-day of everlasting Bliss.

[p. 26] Thus I have done with my Text. And now I know you expect I should superadde something in reference to this Worthy Person deceased: Of whom we were unworthy. Should I say Nothing of him, I doubt I should offend you: Should I say Much, I should offend my self.

He was one of the most eminent Members of this famous City: An Alderman of the City; and had been Mayor in An. 1651. well known to you all, but more intimately to some, and particularly unto me. And did I not verily believe, That he was one of Christ's, and that Life and Death were his (as hath been now explained) I should draw a veil of silence over him, and hold my peace.

III.5.3.6 Purnell 'Holy Life'

[p. 72] Now ... consider if the joyes of heaven on the one hand, and the torments of hell on the other hand, will not prevail with us to witness a holy life and conversation

in our practice, I do not know what will: certainly the sad condition of all that want this holy life will farther appear by these particulars.

His or her sad condition at the hour of death.

Their sad condition at the day of Judgement.

The torments they are like to suffer in Hell.

The duration of that hellish state.

III.5.4 What to do

[see also III.2.1.2 and III.2.1.4; Willington *Cor Concussum* pp. 25–7]

III.5.4.1 Purnell 'Weavers Shuttle'

[p. 106] How far is it lawfull for a Christian to use the world? because to be diligent in ones Calling is Gods Command, and idleness is forbidden as sinfull.

Ans. Under correction, and with submission to better judgements: I humbly conceive, that we having made it our great business to improve our Talent or Talents, in working out the manifestation of our salvation ...

In the next place we are look to our bodies, and in order thereto, to betake our selves to labour, that so we might in a sense get our livings by the sweat of our brows: this made Paul labour, working with his hands, night and day, that he might eat his own bread, and not be chargeable to others, and so make his glorying void: And the same Almighty that bids us hear, read, meditate, and pray, bids us also to be diligent in our Callings, and provide for our selves and Families, or else we come short of Infidels ...

First then, follow thy particular Calling, and be diligent therein, purely in obedience to the Command of God, that so if thou wert to have no profit by it yet thou wouldst follow it, because he commands it.

2. Be diligent therein, that so thy self and Family may eat your own bread; pray and work for daily bread.

3. Be diligent in your particular Calling, that so you may be helpfull to others.

4. Be sure that in following this earthly Calling, thou do it with an Heavenly minde in every part of it.

[p. 118] An earthly man when he is hearing, praying, or reading, his thoughts and affections are upon the things of the earth: but a godly man when he is about his Calling, though the meanest, as Weaving, Spinning, Hedging, Ditching, or using his Ax or Hammer, he is more Spiritual then, I say, then a wicked man is, when he is praying, or hearing, or preaching, or administring, or receiving Sacraments.

III.5.4.2 Roberts 'Chequerwork'

[Epistle to the Reader] Strive after well-grounded Assurance of a good spiritual state. Labour not only, That God, Christ, Grace, and Glory may be yours: but also, That ye may know assuredly they are yours. Assurance is possible; For Gods Spirit is given to help us to it, &c. Many have attained it. Assurance is necessary: for God hath charged us to endeavour after it. Give diligence to make your calling and election sure, &c. And Assurance is very comfortable, and advantageous to our Perseverance. This held up Job under all his misery. This cheered up Paul against approaching death.

III.5.4.3 Purnell 'Holy Life'

[p. 53] The means of attaining an holy Life and conversation, I might instance in many, but I shall reduce to these five heads.

Be thoroughly convinced, and fully persuaded of the necessity of it.
 Pray earnestly and frequently to the Lord to put thee upon it, and to help thee in it.
 Meditate daily of the hour of Death, the day of Judgement, the joys of Heaven, the torments of Hell and the eternity of both.
 Think much on the great dishonour which an unholy life doth cast upon God.
 Keep thy watch and endeavour to abstain from all appearance of evil.

III.5.4.4 Standfast 1675 Sermon

[p. 29] I know that Conscience is much pretended for the justifying of disobedience; but to no purpose: for Conscience alone can be no sufficient rule to walk by, because it may be ignorant and erroneous, and prepossessed with prejudice and partiality, self-love and self-interest: 'Tis very true, that to act contrary to Conscience, may betray us into sin: but 'tis true withall, that 'tis possible, that whilst a man acts according to his Conscience, he may act contrary to his duty, and become guilty before God.

In a word, If Conscience shall be allowed a Power to make void all the Commands of Superiours, farwel all Government whatsoever, and let every servant be his own Master.

III.5.5 Cor Concussum & Contritum: Or, A Present For Jehova

Shewing the

- Nature,
- Excellency,
- Acts,

of a broken Heart; And also the Marks to know, and Means to procure a Broken and Contrite Heart.

By George Willington, Preacher of God's Word, Formerly at Bristoll, now of St. Georges in the County of Summerset.

PSAL. 34.18.

*The Lord is nigh unto all them that are of a Broken Heart: And saveth such as are of a Contrite Spirit.*⁶¹²

The Spirit of God delights to dwell in the Heart of the Humble Man. Erasm.

Humilitas animi Sublimitas Christiani.

LONDON, Printed by Thomas Milbourn for Thomas Wall Bookseller, by the Tolzey in Bristoll, 1670.

Dedication To my Endeared Kinsman WALDIVE WILLINGTON⁶¹³

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[p. 1] PSAL. 51.17.

*The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit; a Broken and Contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not dispise.*⁶¹⁴

Such is the necessity of true and unfeigned Repentance, that without it even the most Righteous man upon the face of the Earth, cannot be Saved in the Day of the Lord. John the Baptist began his preaching with Repentance; Saying, *Repent yee, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Our Saviour Christ followed on, from that [p. 2] time Jesus began to preach and to say, *Repent, For the Kingdom of Heaven*

⁶¹² KJV has 'unto them' and Geneva has 'such as be afflicted in spirit'. Prayer Book differs more.

⁶¹³ WW was a minor gentleman from Hurley in Warwickshire who became governor of Tamworth Castle and then a loyal parliamentarian until 1660, then left public life, dying in 1676, see A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, 2002) p. 178.

⁶¹⁴ As KJV. Geneva has 'a contrite spirit' in the first half.

is at hand. The Apostles followed his Example, To those who were pricked in their hearts is Repentance preached; *Repent, and be baptized every one of you, for the Remission of sins:* And ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost. But our Saviour tell those of Galilee, Except ye Repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

Obj. But these were notable Sinners.

Ans. I, but the Church of Ephesus, which had many good things in her, is commanded to remember from whence she had fallen, and to repent. So the Church of Sardis, *Remember how thou hast received, and heard; and hold fast, and repent.*

Thus you see the necessity of Repentance to all, notwithstanding which, How many be there in our Church seeming-Christians, who contenting themselves with the Knowledge of the bare Name of Repentance, never seek after the Knowledge of the Nature thereof? How many who know the Nature, never practice any part thereof? Are not our fiduciaries such as those of St. Bernard, who tells of many ways whereby men Irreligious were wont to excuse their Sins? *Aut non feci quod dicis, aut feci quod dic is, sed benefeci; aut si malé, non multum malé; aut si multum malé, non mala intentione, ut sentis.* Either I have not done that which thou sayest, or, if I have done it, I did well: But if 'twere [p. 3] evil, 'twas no great hurt, I pray God I may never do worse; but if it was great hurt, I had no intent to do it, as thou thinkest. Some stoutly deny their sins, and with a Whorish Forehead put God (as it were) to his Proof for their sins. They, *Wherein have we despised thy Name? Wherein have we polluted thee?* Some with Jonah, disobediently stick not to tell God to his Face, *That Hee did well to be angry unto the Death.* Some with Abemilech King of Gerar, who when he took the Wife of Abraham, said, *He did it with an upright Heart.*

Some put it off upon others, as Adam upon Eve, Eve upon the Serpent; Saul upon the People.

But thus did not our princely Prophet, he took the Shame to himself, Judged himself, Judged himself, Condemned himself; came with an Halter about his Neck, as a Condemned Malefactor with his *Pecavi, & Misereri mei Deus: Informa pauperis, Have mercy upon me O God.*

This Psalm is a perfect Coppy, and exact pattern of true and sound Repentance, Penn'd by our Royal Prophet, when Nathan the Prophet came unto him after he had gone in to Bathsheba, and had defiled his body in Uriah's Bed, and imbrewed his hand in Uriah's blood

[p. 4] The Text contains two general Propositions.

1. Affirmative, *The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit.*
2. Negative, *A broken and contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.*

In the double Proposition, you have,

1. The Subject, *Cor concussum & contritum*, A broken and contrite Heart.

[p. 5] 2. The Predicate, *Sacrificia Dei*: The Sacrifices of God.

In further handling of these words, I shall propose and follow this my wonted Method.

To speak to you,

- 1. By way of Explication.
- 2. By way of Confirmation.
- 3. By way of Application.

1. By way of Explication; Heart and Spirit; by the former is not meant that fleshly part which is in our breasts, which we commonly call so, though sometimes the word is so taken in Scripture, but by both is here meant, that which the Scripture sometimes terms the Inner-man; sometimes the Hidden man of the Heart, and that

which we ordinarily call the Soul, with all it's Powers and Faculties. By Spirits here, is meant the Seat of sorrow; the Spirit of the mind.

(Doct.) If any man will offer acceptable Sacrifice to God, let him prepare the Spirit of his mind.

God himself is a Spirit, and they that Worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth. He loves Truth in the inward affections. *Corpora fecit propter Spiritus; Ideoque etiam spiritualia, non corporea querit*; saith a Learned Prelate. He meant the bodies for the Spirits, and therefore seeks he not bodily but Spiritual Worship. Some there are, *Qui sua dant, non Seipsos*: who offer to him not themselves, [p. 6] but that which is theirs; but it is a blind folly to think thou canst please him, when thou wilt not give the service of thy Heart and Spirit unto him *Mi fili, da mihi Cor tuum*.

But lest we should think that every Spirit is acceptable, he adds this Epethet, Broken and Contrite.

A broken heart is such a heart that is humbled through a sight and sense of sin; and wounded and prick't with the fear of God's anger, grieving for offending so good and so gracious a God: Bathing his eyes in Tears, and melting his Soul into sorrow, that ever he has offended so good a God that made him, displeased so sweet a Saviour that redeemed him, griev'd so Holy a Spirit as hath striven with him, transgressed so Righteous a Law as was given to him, broken so gracious a Covenant as was made with him; begging Mercy and Pardon at the Throne of the Almighty's Grace, with as much earnestness and importunity, as the Hunger-bitten Beggar doth a Morsel of bread, or the Malefactor a Psalm of Mercy ...

[p. 7] All which import the inward, unfeigned, hearty sorrow, which is in a penitent Soul for offending a good and a gracious God.

And he puts the word in the Plural Number, *Sacrificia*, the Sacrifices; to shew, that a Heart bruised and broken, humbled and pricked, in the sight and sense of sin, is *Instar Omnium*, instead of all; all Sacrifice is nothing without it, all sum'd up in it. Let men offer what Sacrifices they will, never so many, never so costly, never so excellent; yet if this be wanting, 'tis but in vain, God esteems not of it: One broken Heart is more worth than a thousand Sacrifices of great price. A man may offer many Sacrifices, Pray much, Preach much, Hear much, receive the Sacrament often, and give all his goods to feed the Poor; yet if there be not this broken Heart, and contrite Spirit, all's in vain, and to no purpose: We cannot please God in any thing we do without a broken and contrite heart.

The Sacrifices of God. The adding God's Name to any think in Scripture, gives it an Emminency, a Lustre, a Glory, above all other things. [...] And here in the Text, *The Sacrifices of God*; most rare and excellent Sacrifices, such as God will not dispise. *A broken and a contrite Heart, O God, thou* [p. 8] *wilt not dispise*. The Phrase is low, yet hath a *Μείωσις* in it, ... And so imports the choycest way of acceptance. A broken and contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not dispise: thou dost love and like, and art well pleased with a broken Heart.

This broken and contrite Heart is Sacrifice TO GOD; most rare and excellent Sacrifice; as the Mountains of God are high Mountains: and the Cedars of the Lord are tall Cedars: So a broken Heart, and a contrite Spirit, being the Sacrifices of God, are most rare, excellent, and choyce Sacrifices.

From the Words thus considered, this is the point of Instruction.

(Doctrine 2) Of all Services and Sacrifices to be presented to God, A broken and a contrite Heart is most pleasing, and acceptable.

First, God will graciously look upon such a Heart.

(Demonst. 1) To this purpose speaks Jehovah by the Evangelical Prophet, Isaiah. *Thus saith the Lord, Heaven is my Throne, and the Earth my Foot-stool: Where is the House that ye build unto me? And where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath my hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and that trembleth at my Words.* See, how the Lord lifts up himself unto the highest Heavens; *Heaven is my Throne, and [p. 9] the Earth is my Foot-stool.* Oh! How shall I come and Appear before so great a God; a God of such terrible Majesty, and mighty Powers! Why! Be not afraid poor Soul, the Lord will cast a look of Love upon thee, not only a look of Pity, but also a look of Complacency. *To him will I looke sayes God, even to him that is poor: Vile and base in his own eyes; and Of a contrite Spirit, and that trembles at my Word.* I have more regard to this poor Trembler at my Word, than I have to the great Temple that was built for my Worship. *God had respect to Abel, and to his Offering. The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit; a broken and contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not dispise.* That's the first reason of God's acceptance of a broken Heart, because God will graciously look upon such a heart.

(Demonst. 2) The Lord so delights in a broken and contrite Heart, that he not only looks on him, but also draws nigh unto him. To this purpose the Psalmist very sweetly, *The Righteous cry, and the Lord heareth them; and delivereth them out of their Troubles: The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite Heart: and will save such as are of an humble Spirit.* 'Tis a great priviledge that we can draw nigh to God, that God does hold out the golden Scepter of his Grace, and allow us to come and touch the top of it: We might have been in Hell long agoe, roaring under an endless Damnation, far enough from God, had not he spared us [...] [p. 10] Seemeth this a small thing unto you? Oh! 'tis a great priviledg that we can draw nigh unto God. *It is good for me to draw near to God,* saith the Psalmist, with a *Probatum est.* Now then if this be so great a priviledg for you to draw nigh to God, Oh! What a transcendent, unspeakable priviledg is it for God to draw nigh to you! to delight in your Persons! to delight in your Prayers, to bottle your tears, and to Register your groans! And this he doth to broken and contrite Hearts; *the Lord is nigh unto all them that are of a contrite heart; Nigh unto them in all that they call upon him for.*

(Demonst. 3) A broken and contrite Heart is pleasing and acceptable to God, for he will come and dwell in that Soul: *Thus saith the Holy and Lofty One that inhabites Eternity, whose Name is Holy: I dwell in the High and Holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble Spirit, to revive the Spirit of the humble, and to revive the Spirit of the contrite Ones.* God has two chief places of residence, viz. The highest Heaven, and the lowest Heart; the one he fills with his glorious, the other with his gracious Presence. He dwells in the High and Holy place; the Cherubins worship him (though with covering their blushing Faces) *and Thousand [p. 11] thousands of Angels minister unto him,* yet he dwells and holds his Residence in a broken and contrite Heart; he will not despise, yea, he delights to dwell there.

(Demonst. 4) Lastly, A broken and contrite Heart is pleasing and acceptable to God; for he heals a broken Heart. To this purpose sweetly speaks Jehovah by his Evangelical Prophet, Isaiah. *For thus saith the High and Lofty One that Inhabith Eternity, whose Name is Holy, I dwell in the High and Holy place, with Note this him also that is of a contrite and humble Spirit, to revive the Spirit of the humble, and to revive the Heart of the contrite Ones. I have seen his Wayes, and will heal him: I will lead him also, and restore Comfort unto him, and to his Mourners. He heals the*

broken in Heart, and binds up their Wounds ...

Thus you see that of all services and sacrifices presented to God, a broken and contrite Heart is most pleasing and acceptable.

[p. 12] The Reasons are chiefly two:

(Reason 1) First, Because it is a Spiritual sacrifice, therefore an Acceptable Sacrifice. It is not the Sacrifice of a dead Carcass; 'tis a living Sacrifice, a broken Heart, and a contrite Spirit. The heart is the best of Man, and a broken Heart is the best of Hearts. *I beseech you Brethren, by the Mercies of God (saith the Apostle) That yee present your Bodies A LIVING Sacrifice, Holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service*, where the Apostle (very pathetically) useth an Obsecration, an Obtestation, a Compellation, an Abjuration, and all, to press this duty home upon their Conversations.

The duty is to present their bodies a [living] Sacrifice, living without the Soul it cannot be, *For the body without the Spirit is dead. Bodily exercise profits little (if it be only bodily). It is the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profits nothing.*

To offer this Spiritual Sacrifice, the Apostle abjures them by the mercies of God; I beseech you Brethren by the mercies of God. The Apostle might have said, there's a consuming fire, there are everlasting burnings: There's a Hell, an endless Damnation, a place of the Damned, and that must be your Eternal estate and condition, the portion of your Cup; if you present not your bodies a living Sacrifices to God. But he doth adjure them, and conjure them by the mercies of [p. 13] God, to perform it: What if Christ were here, and said to thee; *Oh! Sinner, come lay thy Heart in my lap, and I will bind up the Wounds of thy Soul; I will welcome thee, and I will save thee.* Would not this ravish our hearts, to hear a tender Saviour so lovingly inviting us, so graciously promising us? There's nothing can break a Soul more in an Evangelical way, than the sight and sense of God's mercy in Jesus Christ. As Naturallists observe, That the warm Blood of a Goat, doth soften an Adamant-Stone; so doth the serious consideration of the warm Blood of Jesus Christ, our scapegoate, soften an Adamant-heart. But more of this amongst the means and directions (Direction the sixth.) for getting a broken Heart.

(Reason 2) Secondly, Of all Services and Sacrifices presented to God, a broken and contrite Heart is most pleasing and acceptable, because 'tis a Believing Sacrifice. Faith and Repentance (like Hypocrates Twins) are born and bred together in the sacred Womb of a sanctified Soul, It was promised concerning Evangelical Converts; *I will pour upon the House of David, and up the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look on me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only Son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one is in bitterness for his first-born.* Christ is called, *Him in whom the Father delights.* God proclaimed him from Heaven, to be *his only beloved Son in whom he is well pleased:* not only pleased [with] him, but also pleased [in] him, with [p. 14] all broken-hearted Sinners; they must needs then be the delight of the Lord also. Thus I have done with Confirmation, and [come in the last place] to Application.

(Use) *Let us labour to get, and keep; to attain, and maintain such a heart all our days.*

And here (for Methods sake, and your better Understanding) I shall endeavour to shew you these three things:

1. The particular Acts of a broken and contrite Heart.
2. The most infallible marks and signs of a broken and contrite Heart.

3. The most probable means both to attain, and maintain such a heart all your dayes; That your end may be blessed.

1. There are eight acts of a broken & contrite Heart.

First, A powerful conviction of the heart and conscience of our sinful estate, and miserable condition, caused by the preaching of the Word outwardly, and by the working of the Spirit inwardly, when God sets our sins in order before us, and makes us know our Abominations. *How many are mine Iniquities, and my sins? make me to know mine Iniquity, and my sins.*

Secondly, an inward sorrow of the heart in the sight, and sense of sin; when *the eye doth affect the heart*, when upon the Discoveries of sin, *the heart is prick'd* with compunction, and godly contrition. There is not the least sin we have committed, but will fetch [p. 15] a tear from our eyes, and a sigh from our hearts, if we weigh and consider it as we ought. It grieves the Holy Spirit of God, it procured the Death of Christ: *Let us therefore look upon him whom we have pierced* (by our sins) and weep over him.

Thirdly, Humiliation of the inward man, in the sight and sense of sin. *O Lord, I am but dust and ashes*, said Father Abraham. *I am less than the least of all thy Mercies*, said the Patriarch Jacob. *I am not worthy to be called thy Son*, said the Prodigal. *I am not worthy to stoope down, and unloose his shooes Latchet*, said John the Baptist concerning our blessed Saviour. *Blessed are the Poor in spirit: For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*, Oh! How vile and base doth a broken-hearted sinner seem in his own eyes! To such will God be gracious: *He gives grace to the humble.*

Fourthly, An Holy anger and Indignation both against our sins, and against our selves for our sins. A pregnant place to this purpose is that in Ezekiel. *They that escaped of you, shall remember me among the Nations, whither they shall be carried Captive, because I am broken with their Whorish heart, which hath departed from me, and with their eyes which go a Whoring after their Idols, and they shall loath themselves for the Evils which they have committed in all their Abominations.* [...]

[p. 16] Fifthly, An Holy shame of the Soul, when the Soul doth blush upon the inward sight and sense of sin. A pregnant place to this purpose, where that Holy man [Ezra] in his Confession thus speaks; *O my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee my God. For our Iniquities are increased over our heads, and our Trespasses are grown up to the very Heavens.* Another pregnant Scripture to this purpose, is *I have heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus; surely after I was turned, I repented; and after I was instructed, I smote upon my Thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the Reproach of my Youth. Then shalt thou remember thy wayes, and be ashamed.*

Sixthly, An inward Loathing and Detestation of sin, both in our selves and others.

We read of Amnon, that after he had Ravished his Sister Tamar, the hatred with which he hated her, was more than the Love wherewith he loved her before. So doth the broken hearted-sinner hate sin, more than ever he loved it in times past; He hates it with an exceeding bitter hatred. *I hate, and abhor Lying. I hate every false way. Yee that love* [p. 17] *the Lord, see that ye hate the thing which is Evil. Abhor that which is Evil, &c.*

Seventhly, A most strict and firm resolution against all manner of sin for time to come. A pregnant Text, when the people had repented for taking strange Wives, they resolved, saying, *Let us make a Covenant with our God, to put away all the Wives, and such as are born of them.* So Ephraim shall say, *What have I to do any more with Idols?* What was the saying of Elihu in Job, Is the Language of every man and

woman who has a broken and contrite Heart. *That which I see not, teach thou me: If I have done Iniquity, I will do no more. Let him that stole, steal no more.*

Finally, This broken and contrite Heart consists in an unfeigned weeping of the tears of the eyes, caused by the sorrow of the heart for sin. *All the Night wash I my Bed, and water my Couch with my teares.* It's said of the Remnant whom God will save, *They shall mourn like the Doves of the Vallies, every one for his Iniquity.* And Peter (when he remembered the words of Christ, and his own denial) *went out and wept bitterly.*

Question. But how shall I know that I have this broken and contrite Heart?

Answer. Πειράξετε Δοκιμάξετε: *Tentate probate:* Examine, prove, the Apostles Counsel. *For if a man think himself to be something when he is nothing, he deceives himself . . .* [p. 18] *But let every one prove his own works, &c.*

I therefore come (in the next place) to lay down the most infallible Marks and Signs of a broken and contrite Heart; by the sight of which, you may know whether you have such hearts or no. Oh that there were in us such Hearts!

A broken and contrite Heart doth repress censoriousness. Marks of a broken Heart. A truly broken and contrite Heart is most sensible of it's own sin, knows most evil by it self, judgeth it's own sin greatest, and it's own state saddest: Hath neither list nor leisure to censure others. The Apostle's Caution and Counsel runs thus: *Let us not judge one another, but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling Block, or AN OCCASION to fall in his Brothers way.* What an excellent instance have we in Joseph, who is called a Just man for his Labour: He had look'd upon Mary formerly as a Godly gracious Woman; and she being now with Child, he knew not what to think of it; but having a purpose to leave her (being formerly contracted to her) that he might not bring Reproach upon himself, and to put her away privately, that the World might not take notice of any such thing, that so he might not bring Reproach upon her: *Joseph her Husband being a just man, and not willing to make her a* [p. 19] *publique Example, was minded to put her away privily.* That was his Care, his Honesty, his Righteousness. But where shall we find the like Righteousness, or Tenderness now a dayes, to conceal the Failings, and to save the Credit of our Brethren! We are glad if we have any thing to paradigmize them for, and say, as they did of Jeremy, the Lord's Prophet, *Report, and we will report it.* That Godly Emperour Constantine, was quite of another mind (as I find him upon Record) who was wont to say; *If he should find a Christian-Bishop, or Pastor, overtaken in any Infamous act, He would pull off his Purple Robe to throw upon him to cover him, rather then that any should come by his means to hear of it, to the scandal of Religion.* I am sure this is most like to the Example of Christ, who casts his Purple Robe upon us, that our sins should not be taken notice of.

2. A broken is a Praying heart. We read concerning the Prodigal Son, that when once he had an humbled Heart, and a contrite Spirit, he fell to Prayer presently. *The Son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and Psal. 71.4in thy sight; and am no more worthy to be called thy Son.* And Christ, *In the dayes of his Flesh offered up Prayers and Supplications, with strong cries and tears.* And we read of sighs and groans, *that cannot be uttered or expressed.* Now, Where are those Prayers? Where are those Cryes? Where are those Tears? Where are those [p. 20] Sighs? Where are those Groans? Where are those Moans? Thou hast liv'd a great while in the World, but oh! When hast thou wept with Jeremy, for the sins of the times, and thine own Transgressions? When hast thou poured out thy Soul to the Lord? I fear thou art so far from this, that thy heart is hardened; and if so, the Lord

will one day break thy heart with the fury of his wrath, and hot displeasure, that burns to the lowest Hell.

3. A broken Heart is an humble low heart; Oh very low, it can cast it self in the Dust at the feet of Christ, and think any thing on this side Hell to be rich Mercy. He is poor, and meek in Spirit. You know how Abraham treated with God, and pleased him, when he addressed himself to him, with an Acknowledgment of his Vileness: *Behold, Now I have taken upon me to speak to the great God, who am but Dust and Ashes*; You know Christ lay grovelling on the ground all Night. *I abhor my self, and repent in Dust and Ashes*, said Job. If then thou hast a broken Heart, thou hast a low heart; thou art little and low in thine own eyes; vile and base in thine own sight. *This poor man crieth, and the Lord heareth him*. Give this poor man something before he go away; he is such a low Spirit, that he is one ready to sink to Hell, were it not for the Mercies of God, the Merits of Jesus Christ, and the sweet Promises of the Gospel. Yea, remember the Woman of Canaan, [p. 21] she was called Dog, and yet would take no repulse, but cried; saying, *Lord, I do begg one drop of Mercy, one crumb of Comfort: One crumb of the bread of Life, one drop of the water of Life, to satisfie a poor languishing Soul, sweet Jesu, for thy Mercies sake; some drops of the blood of Christ to soften my hard heart, and to break it throughly*.

4. If thou hast this broken and contrite Heart, that is so acceptable to God, thou dost mourn.

- 1. For thine own Sin.
- 2. For the Sins of others.

1. For thine own Sins, David did so in this Psalm; he did Penance for his Sin in a white-Sheet; he mourned daily for his own Sin; scil. For the Root of the matter within, and for the Fruit of the matter without; for his Original Corruption, for his actual Transgression; for the Sin of his Nature, and the Sins of his Life. He opens his Soul to the Lord, and leaves this Psalm to the Church upon Record; wherein he confesseth and mourns for his Sins.

2. For the Sins of others; *Rivers of Tears run down mine eyes* (said broken-hearted David) *because men keep not thy Law. Many walk* (saith the Apostle) *of whom I told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are Enemies to the Cross of Christ*. And we read of them that *sigh, and mourn, and cry, for the Iniquities and Abominations that were committed in the Land*.

[p. 22] 5. A broken Heart is a loving heart; if thou hast a broken and contrite Heart, thou lovest any thing of Christs, any thing that bears his Image, and Superscription. When thou comest to that glorious Gospel-Ordinance of the Lord's Supper so as to discern 1 Cor. 11.29. the Lord's Body; thou meditatest, Oh, there's the Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! Oh, here's the Son of God that made up the Breach between God & my Soul! Oh, Jesus Christ, here's the Son of God that was incarnate for me, *And paid a price for my Redemption*. The Penitent Woman: *She loved much*, because her great and grievous sins were forgiven.

I will sum up the Acts and Signs of a broken Heart in these eighth following Particulars, as a famous Divine hath contracted them.

1. He that is truly broken, will be contented with nothing but Mercy from God, in Jesus Christ. *He hath wounded, and he must heal*.

2. He judgeth sin the greatest evil, and the favour of God the greatest good.

3. He had rather hear of Mercy than of a Kingdome.

4. He hath mean Conceits of himself: And thinks he is not worth the Earth he treads on.

5. Towards others, he is not censorious, as being taken up at home; but is full of Simpathy and Compassion to those that are under God's hand.

6. He counts them that walks in the Comforts of Gods Spirit, the happiest men in the World.

[p. 23] 7. He trembles at the Word of God, and honours the very Feet of these blessed Instruments that brings Peace unto him.

8. He is more taken up with the inward Exercises of a broken Heart, than with Formality, and yet careful to use all Sanctified means for it's attainment.

And this brings me to the third things premised, *scil.* to shew the most probable means to get, and keep, to attain, and maintain, such a heart all our dayes.

1. To give diligent attendance to the Word of God, read and preached. *Is not my Word a Hammer that breaks the Rock to pieces?* While Lydia was hearing Paul preach, Almighty God opened her heart. So that if we would have broken Hearts, we must wait upon the Preaching of the Gospel, where the Holy Ghost usually falls upon the hearts of men.

2. Make a Catalogue of thy Sins; which thou mayst do either by Memory, or by Book. By Memory thus; Go aside, set thy Soul before the Lord, as if thou wert presently to be judged of him; call to mind particularly whatsoever thou canst remember by thy self; consider thy Omissions of good, and thy Commissions of evil, in Youth or riper Age, in Heart or Life, in things that concern God or Man, or thine own Soul and Disposition, Thoughts and Affections, Words and Actions. By Book, thus: Procure the Labour of some Reverend Divine, that has briefly gathered [p. 24] the sins against each Commandment, and from thence gather out so many sins as thou knowst by thy self, that thou hast been guilty of; lay those sins daily before thy Conscience, and consider how many ways thou hast made thy self guilty.

3. Consider then the justice of God, how he hates all Sin; which thou mayest be assured of, if thou remember how he plagued our first Parents, the Old World, Sodom and Gomorrah; How fearfully he neglected the Gentiles; Cast off the Jews: yea, how he spared not his own Son Jesus Christ, when he became a surety for other mens Sins.

4. Force upon thy self the remembrance of thy latter end, and thy appearance before the Tribunal *Seat of Christ, to receive according to all thou hast done in the flesh.*

5. Beg an humble heart, a broken and contrite Spirit at the Throne of Grace, and sue out God's promise made to those who by Prayer issue out it's performance.

6. Remember the Passion of thy Saviour, the the Poverty, Banishment, Ignominy, Temptation, the Apprehending, Forsaking, Arraigning, Condemning, and cruel Death which he suffered for thy sins. *Look upon him whom thou hast pierced, &c.*

7. Lastly, Set sometimes a day apart for Fasting and Prayer. A day of Fasting was heretofore called, a day of Afflicting or Humbling the [p. 25] Soul, both because it was the main duty of the day, and because the Lord usually did bless his one Ordinance, so as he gave an humble Heart to those that sought it of him.

To break the Stone in thy Heart, besides the aforementioned Directions, observe this Spiritual Receipt; which will (under God) cure all thy Souls Maladies.

A Sovereign Cordial against Infection; taken out of the Sacred Herbal of the Holy Scripture.

Drink a good draught of Josiah's Humility next thy Heart; then take a Dose of Nehemiah's Repentance, soak'd or steep'd in the Vessel of a Broken and Contrite Heart, well seasoned with Truth and Sincerity at the bottom; then let all these Boyl

together in a good quantity of David's Tears; and when thou hast done this, then spread a Plaister of God's Grace, and bind it fast to thy Soul, with the Swadling bands of Love and pious Consideration, and cast away all thy old infections garments of Sin, and Iniquity, and put on the Garments of Praise and Thanksgiving. Then take a good quantity of Joshuah's Resolution, as thou canst well bear, and so walk up and down in these Wholsome and pleasant Fields called Newness of Life; and so follow thy Calling in the Fear of God.

[p. 26] All which being carefully done, and truly observed; will undoubtedly preserve thee from the stink and danger of all places whatsoever.

And so I commend you to God, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an Inheritance amongst them that are Sanctified in Jesus Christ. Amen.

Μόνω Θεω Δόξα

Laus Deo.

[p. 27] **An Appendix for the Christians Conversation.**

Whosoever will live Well, and Blessedly, let him follow this Rule, by which he shall obtain to that which he desireth.

- Let your Thoughts be Divine, Aweful, Godly.
- Let your Words be Few, Honest, True.
- Let your Works be Holy, Profitable, Charitable.
- Let your Sleep be Moderate, Quiet, Seasonable.
- Let your Diet be Temperate, Convenient, Frugal.
- Let your Apparel be Sober, Neate, Comely.
- Let your Recreations be Lawful, Brief, Seldom.
- Let your Prayers be Short, Devout, Often.
- Let your Will be Constant, Obedient, Ready.
- Let your Manners be Grave, Courteous, Chearful.
- Let your Memory be Of Death, Punishment, Glory.

*Ecclus. 7.26. Whatsoever thou takest in hand, Remember the End, and thou shalt never do amiss.*⁶¹⁵

FINIS.

⁶¹⁵ Actually Ecclesiasticus 7.36. Wording as per Geneva and KJV.

APPENDIX 1. PEOPLE

William Alleine

Alleine was a preacher who came to Bristol in 1642 and was plundered by Royalists in 1643.⁶¹⁶ See *ODNB*, *Calamy*, and Appendix 2.

Edward Almond

Almond was a minor canon from 1614, and came to St Mary le Port in 1621. He seems to have died around 1645,⁶¹⁷ perhaps a victim of the plague outbreak at that time.⁶¹⁸

Francis Arnold

Arnold had perhaps been a curate at St Nicholas's in Gloucester in the 1590s.⁶¹⁹ He was Vicar of All Saints' from 1598 to his death in 1611.

Robert Bacon

Bacon was ordained in 1636, curate at Keynsham in 1638, and minister of St Luke's, Brislington in 1639 or 1640.⁶²⁰ He may possibly be the same as the Mr Bacon minister (no first name) whom Terril has as a member of and pastor to the early Broadmead Baptists and moving out to Filton; and one of the "notorious schismatics" (again no first name) introduced to Bristol under Fiennes.⁶²¹ He published *Spirits of Prelacy* complaining of his conviction for heresy (denying the validity of infant baptism) at the hands of Bishop Skinner of Bristol.

William Batchelor

Nothing is known of Batchelor apart from his incumbency at St James's from 1627 to 1636 when he died.⁶²² It is likely that the Susan Batchiler, widow, who died in St James's in 1637, was his relict (Table 3).

John Bateman

Deacon 1682.⁶²³ Reader and Curate at St Mark's in 1685.

Nathaniel Baxter

Possibly a preacher in the north and east in the 1590s.⁶²⁴ Baxter was the St Nicholas Lecturer (Sunday and Tuesday) till 1601, and thereafter with Gulliford. No sermons published. *ODNB*.

⁶¹⁶ *Calamy*.

⁶¹⁷ Edmond Almond Minister rented a City property in St Mark's Lane till 1645/6 (Michaelmas to Michaelmas) when the Chamberlains audit book for (f 106) has this property as in his *late* tenure. See also the Chamberlains ledger 1640–51 04032(1) f130 showing a last payment on 8 April 1647 bringing him just a little short of rent due to Michaelmas 1646.

⁶¹⁸ Latimer p. 195.

⁶¹⁹ LPL, CM XII/8 (Clergy list) (CCED 54218).

⁶²⁰ CCED 54224.

⁶²¹ *Two State Martyrs* (Wing / T3535) p. 10.

⁶²² Tombstone in St James's as "minister and preacher of this parish, died 3 Jan 1635" i.e. 1636; Barrett p. 392.

⁶²³ CCED 49338.

⁶²⁴ CCED 24749.

Arthur Bedford

Curate at St Nicholas's in 1688. Went on to become Vicar of Temple in 1693 and Rector of Newton St Loe (Somerset) in 1713. Played a leading role in the Society for the Reformation of Manners.⁶²⁵ *ODNB*.

George Bishop

Bishop, son of a Bristol brewer, was for some time in charge of counter-intelligence under the Republic, until displaced in favour of Thurloe in 1653. He was an early convert to Quakerism, principal publicist for the movement and a leader of the Bristol Quakers till his death in 1668. *ODNB*.⁶²⁶ Appendix 2 lists only a few of nearly 60 published works.⁶²⁷

Barbara Blaugdon

A teacher who was one of the early converts to Quakerism in 1654. She travelled as a missionary for several years, and was three times imprisoned. Published *An Account of the Travels, Sufferings & Persecutions of Barbara Blaugdone* in 1691 (but the work itself is weak on dates).⁶²⁸

Richard Blinman

Ordained and Curate at Ubley (Somerset) 1636.⁶²⁹ (Ubley was the parish of William Thomas, suspended by Bishop Piers for refusal to read the Book of Sports and, much later, Speed's antagonist over the status of paid ministry.) Congregational minister. Time in America.⁶³⁰ *Calamy* claims that, after returning from New England, he taught school in Bristol after c.1665 until death 1681. See Table 3, and Appendix 2.

Matthew Brady

Ordained 1660.⁶³¹ Brady went to St Michael's in 1661 and stayed till his death in 1676. He lived in the parish (Table 2).

Charles Brent

Possibly the third generation of this family. Ordained in 1689 when he became curate at St Werburgh's. Rector there and curate at Christchurch from 1691.

Humphrey Brent

Son of James Brent. At Bedminster, Redcliffe and St Thomas's from 1660. In 1665, he asked for permission to reside at St Thomas's rather than Bedminster, probably in his father's house in Temple Street (Table 2). It was at St Thomas's that he was buried in 1677 (Table 3).

⁶²⁵ See J. Barry 'The Society for the Reformation of Manners 1700–5' in *Reformation and Revival in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* ed. J. Barry & K. Morgan, BRS XLV 1994, pp. 1–62.

⁶²⁶ But poor on his career before 1650, e.g. alleging that he fought in the civil wars. For a fuller account of this period in his life see J. Harlow 'Captain Bishop of the [?]' in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 61.3 pp. 187–95, and in *The Regional Historian* 19.

⁶²⁷ See Early English Books On-line (EEBO).

⁶²⁸ *Hidden in Plain Sight: Quaker Women's Writings 1650–1700* ed. M. Garman *et al.* Pendle Hill Publications 1996; pp. 160–2 for biography, 274–84 for extracts.

⁶²⁹ CCED 55596.

⁶³⁰ S. H. Moore, *Abandoning America* pp. 56–8. He had property there even after his return: conveyance from his 'dwelling in the castle' 10 Jan 1670/1 [F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London* (New London, CT, 1895) p. 117].

⁶³¹ CCED 8116.

Jacob/James Brent

Brent became Rector of St Michael's in 1635. In 1643 he left, and his absence has been attributed to his implication in the Royalist plot to betray the City in March 1643.⁶³² But in fact he had simply moved on to take up the living at Temple⁶³³ to which the Council had presented him on the very day the conspiracy was sprung. Had he been sequestered, he would presumably have been reinstated by the Royalists, but instead the Council under the Royalists treated the living as legitimately vacant – see below. Had he been held a malignant, he would scarcely have survived the sequestrations of 1645/6. Not only did he survive, he was admitted to the freedom of the city as a burgess in 1647; and his son got the Sniggs Oxford bursary in 1652.⁶³⁴ I conclude that Brent may have been briefly held for questioning in March/April 1643, but was released without condemnation or stain on his character and left St Michael's of his own free will.

Brent stayed at Temple, until his death in 1666. Once in Temple, he lived there in a large house (Table 2).

John Burnley

Ordained in 1609. At St Peter's for some time until 1618 when he was appointed to Bitton (Glos, near Bristol).⁶³⁵

? Bull

One of those the St Philip's Vestry treated with in vain (II.2.13 1654–1658).

Thomas Bullocks

Bullocks was appointed Curate at St Michael's in 1611.

Guy Carleton

Bishop of Bristol 1672–79, active in promoting diocesan prestige (see 2.1) and persecuting dissenters (see I.1.3). *ODNB*

Thomas Cary

Cary was at St Philip's from 1675 perhaps to his death in 1711. For the circumstances of his succession to Thomas Godwyn, see II.2.13c. He shared the St Werburgh's Lectures in 1687–88 and did them on his own from 1689. See also Appendix 2.

Edward Chetwynd

St Nicholas Lectures 1608–1617. Dean of Bristol in 1617. Also Vicar of Banwell (Somerset) 1620 and Berkeley (Gloucestershire) 1627.⁶³⁶ Father of John. *ODNB* and Appendix 2.

John Chetwynd

John was Edward Chetwynd's son. Ordained 1666.⁶³⁷

⁶³² Lyon Turner ch. 3 p. 2 asserts that he was turned out of St Michael's on these grounds and this is also presumably the basis on which Brent is counted as suffering in *Walker* which states that he was among the conspirators. He was indeed listed in unofficial reports, but the later examination of witnesses showed that he had no part in the plot, other than that young John Butcher was to try Brent's house to find Milward the churchwarden, who was to ring the church bells as a signal to the Royalists.

⁶³³ Despite the potential confusions of James and Jacob, the same man signed the Temple books as had signed St Michael's.

⁶³⁴ CCP 9 March 1651/2.

⁶³⁵ CCED 54343.

⁶³⁶ CCED 138205 as Chetwind.

⁶³⁷ CCED 49945.

He was presented to Temple in 1667 and appears living there next year (Table 2). Also in 1667 he became a Tuesday Lecturer at St Nicholas's, together with Crossman, then on his own from 1684. He became a Bristol prebendary in 1668. Also Vicar of Banwell in 1669 and Henbury in 1673;⁶³⁸ thus rather following his father. *ODNB* and Appendix 2.

? *Codrington*

One of the possible ministers the St Philip's Vestry treated with in vain (II.1.13 165–1658). They didn't have much of a chance with him if, as appears, he was already enjoying a living at Keynsham.⁶³⁹

George Coke

Bishop of Bristol 1633–36. *ODNB*.

Thomas Collins

Collins was first a curate under Noble at St Thomas's and a regular stipendiary preacher there. He succeeded Noble at Bedminster and Redcliffe as well as St Thomas's in late 1641. He was sequestered in 1642, reappeared under the Royalists in 1643–45, then disappeared again.

Walter Cradock

Cradock came with the refugee Llanvaches church at the outbreak of the Civil Wars, and became a pastor to the Broadmead Baptists, and "administered the Lord's Supper to both congregations in St. Ewen's Church, Bristol."⁶⁴⁰ Noted as one of the "notorious schismatics" imposed on Bristol in 1643 and one of the two unwelcome ministers provided at the execution of Yeamans and Boucher.⁶⁴¹ Moved to London when Bristol fell to the Royalist forces in 1643, and was a frequent preacher at All Hallows there. *ODNB*.

William Crane

Was a curate at St Mark's in the 1640s.

Samuel Crossman

Crossman was the son of a Samuel Crossman disqualified in 1662. He was ordained in 1665 and became a Bristol prebendary in 1667.⁶⁴² He went to St Nicholas's in 1667. There he took the Sunday afternoon Lectures and shared the Tuesday Lectures with Chetwynd junior. He became responsible for the Library on the death of Pownall in 1671.⁶⁴³ He also became Rector of Compton Greenfield in 1672,⁶⁴⁴ and Dean of Bristol in 1683.⁶⁴⁵ He died in 1684.⁶⁴⁶ *ODNB* and Appendix 2: Hymns: 'Jerusalem on High', 'My song is love unknown'.

William Davells

At St John's, died in 1615.

⁶³⁸ CCED 49945.

⁶³⁹ CCED 56104.

⁶⁴⁰ *Church of Christ* pp. 84, 97.

⁶⁴¹ *Two State Martyrs* (Wing / T3535) pp. 10, 22.

⁶⁴² CCED 50638.

⁶⁴³ CCP 15 June 1671.

⁶⁴⁴ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 23/2/1671–2.

⁶⁴⁵ CCED 50638.

⁶⁴⁶ John Read succeeded him at St Nicholas's in 1685, but a new Dean was appointed in 1684.

Samuel Davies

Davies was ordained in 1590,⁶⁴⁷ at St John's Bedminster and St Mary Redcliffe from 1592 and probably till he died in 1623. Prebendary in 1611.⁶⁴⁸

Richard Dicklegg

Resigned St Leonard's in 1611.

? Dunsterfield

Dunsterfield/Dunsterville/Dunsterbill turns up in the 1640s and 50s as an occasional preacher at St Mary Redcliffe, St Michael's, St Philip's and St Thomas's. It is not clear how he was never appointed to a living in these years of shortage – perhaps he had never been ordained. (An Edward Dunstervill published a funeral sermon in 1642, but in Dublin.)

Thomas Ellis

Of a merchant family and himself in sugar – refining at Whitson Court. An Elder of the Broadmead Baptist church 1662–82.

Jenkin Evans

(Or Jencon Yevans) at Bedminster from 1624. Died 1628, see Table 3.

Thomas Ewins

Ewins is well covered in *Calamy*. He was a Londoner who had become preacher to a Baptist meeting at Llanvaches (Monmouthshire) and was invited to Bristol in 1651, by the Commissioners for the Maintenance of Ministers. He became regular Tuesday Lecturer at St Nicholas's in 1651, and soon became the stipendiary preacher at St Mary-le-Port, and at Christchurch, as well as, naturally, a leader of the Broadmead Baptists. He received an augmentation of £50 pa as 'Minister in Bristol' without any parish or post being named.⁶⁴⁹ He was attacked both by Farmer and by Hollister and shared, if only nominally, in the answer with Purnell *The Church of Christ recovering her Vail* (Appendix 2).

At the Restoration, all his posts and emoluments ceased, and he suffered from repeated bouts of imprisonment which impaired his health. He actually had himself 'ordained' or set apart, by the Baptist Robert Purnell, only in June 1662.⁶⁵⁰ Sir John Knight described him as "the most dangerous Anabaptist that ever lived, and has seduced thousands by his seditious teaching".⁶⁵¹ He stayed on in his tenement in the Castle Precinct till his death in 1670 (Table 2) but his will was not proven till ten years later (Table 3).

John Farmer

Farmer was rector of St Werburgh's from 1611. He was one of the consortium that shared the St Nicholas Sunday lectures in 1623. The father of the Ralph Farmer we deal with below.

Ralph Farmer

It seems that we may well have two Ralph Farmers. *Calamy* reckons that the minister was the son of Thomas Farmer (brother of Ralph Farmer, brewer⁶⁵² and Mayor in

⁶⁴⁷ CCED 56435.

⁶⁴⁸ CCED 54448.

⁶⁴⁹ LPL Comm VIb/1 f. 148, VIb/2 f. 128, also his approval as minister Comm VIa/8 f. 121 of 19 November 1657.

⁶⁵⁰ Lyon Turner ch. vi p. 31.

⁶⁵¹ *Calamy*.

⁶⁵² Probably the one who left 1s per week for bread to the poor of St Thomas's in 1630: Barrett p. 563.

1616). This may indeed have been the Mayor's nominee for the Council in 1638 and also the King's nominee for Chamberlain in 1639. The Arthur Farmer, also a brewer, who became Mayor in 1657 may belong on this side also.

However earlier in 1639, the Council had appointed "Mr Ralph Farmer son of Mr John Farmer late minister of St Walburgh" to be usher at the Bartholemews school.⁶⁵³ And this man, an ordained graduate, seems much more likely as the later minister.

To complicate matters, Ralph the minister has brothers Arthur and Thomas.⁶⁵⁴

Farmer first appears as a preacher at St Thomas's 1648–51. He was the first Cathedral Lecturer in June 1651, and when he made way for Knowles there in 1652 he was intruded into St Nicholas's. (Bishop accused him of shafting Jessop and so getting out "out of poor Thomas into rich Nicholas", see II.2.11, but compensation for loss of the Lectureship seems more likely.) In 1654 he became an Assistant to the Somerset Committee of Ejectors. In 1655 he was also appointed to a new post of Chaplain to the City Council.⁶⁵⁵ He was much troubled by Quakers in his ministry and wrote two tracts against them: Appendix 2

Farmer left St Nicholas's in 1660.⁶⁵⁶ He got a full years salary as Council Chaplain in 1660–61, nothing thereafter. After disqualification, *Calamy* says he withdrew to Hanham Abbots, 5 miles from Bristol, "preached to the colliers at his own house", but he seems to stayed or at any paid tax in Bristol, first in St John's and then in St Ewen's.(Table 2). Will, as of Bristol, 1 Dec. 1670, as 'gentleman' – consistent with his MA and orders (see Table 3).

Nicholas Felton

Bishop of Bristol 1617–19. *ODNB*.

Robert Forsythe

Forsythe was ordained in 1662. He was rector of St Mary-le-Port from 1662 to 64 then rector of St Peter's till 1667, when he moved on to Winterbourne Abbas in Dorset.⁶⁵⁷ A Robert Forsythe was also a curate at St Nicholas's in 1665/6,⁶⁵⁸ perhaps a son.

George Fownes

Briefly vicar at High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire) in 1656/7.⁶⁵⁹ Minister of the Broadmead Baptist church 1679–85.

Richard Fowler

Fowler had been a preacher at Little Sodbury.⁶⁶⁰ Parliament ordered that he should preach weekly at St James's in 1641, and he was one of the ministers imposed on the deaths of Yeamans and Boucher instead of Towgood and Standfast. Later at Westerleigh where he was attacked by Hollister for forsaking his earlier principles (III.1.6.1). Ejected in 1662.

⁶⁵³ CCP 5 February 1638/9.

⁶⁵⁴ PCC Prob 11/334.

⁶⁵⁵ CCP 4 September 1655.

⁶⁵⁶ *Calamy*.

⁶⁵⁷ CCED 50777.

⁶⁵⁸ LPL MS 639, f. 312.

⁶⁵⁹ *Church of Christ* p. 44.

⁶⁶⁰ CCED 150632.

? Freeman

A candidate for stipendiary ministry at All Saints' in the 1650s, said to be from Henbury. Possibly the Thomas Freeman who had been a curate in Gloucestershire in the 1630s.⁶⁶¹

Francis Fuller

Listed as a Presbyterian preacher in 1672 but appears nowhere in Bristol records.

Thomas Gawen

Rector of St Ewen's 1619–1639, also master of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital from 1627 to his death in 1639. (He may have been previously a schoolmaster at Marshfield, Gloucestershire.⁶⁶²) Father of a more famous TG who became a Roman Catholic: *ODNB*.

Andrew Gifford

Minister to the Pithay Baptists, but listed as Presbyterian in 1672. His grandson, of the same name and also a Baptist minister, makes the *ODNB*.

Thomas Godwyn

Godwyn may have been Vicar of Westbury on Severn from 1661.⁶⁶³ He was presented to St Philip's later in 1662, and lived there at least for a time (Table 2). He left in 1675,⁶⁶⁴ and his book *Phanatical Tenderness* (about his hard times at St Philip's and then at a Welsh parish) was published in 1684. His hard time may have been due in part to his attempt to recover tithes after decades of non-payment, but two other factors propose themselves. He regularly acted as a nark on non-conformist meetings in Bristol; and the hostility he aroused in two separate parishes suggests an unpleasing character. (His attempt to link these is unconvincing.)

The Thomas Godwyn who became curate at Abbot's Leigh (Somerset) in 1670 may have been a son.⁶⁶⁵

John Goodman

Goodman was presented Vicar of St Nicholas's in 1604. Minor canon and headmaster of Bristol Cathedral School in 1605, and rector of Walton-in-Gordano in 1614.⁶⁶⁶ Died in 1618 (Table 3).

Thomas Greenfield

Minister at Pensford in the early 1650s.⁶⁶⁷ Almost secured as minister to St Thomas's in 1657/8; but went on to Lincoln's Inn.⁶⁶⁸ A correspondent of John Locke in the 1650s.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶¹ CCED 150776.

⁶⁶² CCED 150937.

⁶⁶³ GRO, GDR D7/2 2/1/1661.

⁶⁶⁴ A Thomas Godwyn Clerk died at Stapleton in 1675 (Georges' *Probates* p. 89) but is another man – perhaps former teacher at Chipping Sodbury Grammar School – CCED 50828 also confuses the two.

⁶⁶⁵ CCED 50828.

⁶⁶⁶ CCED 57093.

⁶⁶⁷ Greenfield was minister at Pensford and received an augmentation there of £50 a year in 1652 up from £35 in 1651 LPL Comm VIa/5 f. 293. Still paid in 1654 Comm VIa/6 f. 638.

⁶⁶⁸ *Walker*; see also LPL Comm VIa/9 f. 156 which stops his augmentation at Pensford “he being now at Lincoln's Inn”.

⁶⁶⁹ *The Correspondence of John Locke* Vol I ed. E. de Beer (Oxford, 1976) pp. 18–20, 57, 59 (information from Jonathan Barry).

William Goulston

Bishop of Bristol 1678–1684, with the invidious distinction of not making the *ODNB*. He was another member of the Beaufort entourage (chaplain to the Duchess of Somerset) whereby he got his mitre at an early age. See Latimer p. 390 for disputes with Council over Sword, Chapter over Canons Marsh and treasurer Crossman over statutory. He tried to withdraw to his Dorset rectory where he died in 1684. “He perceived himself as a moderate churchman, but he was clearly a court stooge forced by obligation to embrace the Tory reaction until its radical trajectory became too much even for him to bear.”⁶⁷⁰

William Gregory

Gregory appears briefly clashing or sharing at All Saints’ with Towgood in 1619–1620. Otherwise unknown.

Robert Gulliford

Prebend of Bristol Cathedral 1596–1613, and Vicar of Congresbury (Somerset) 1604–06.⁶⁷¹ Shared the St Nicholas Lectures with Nathaniel Baxter 1601–03.

Edward Hancock

Hancock was appointed to St Philip’s by the Council in 1658, and took up the living in 1659 but was unable to conform in 1662. He was not an ordained minister nor even a university man and was never approved by the Triers (who had perhaps ceased to function in the changes and confusions which followed Cromwell’s death) He was certainly held up to scorn later as just the type of ignoramus who was appointed in these fanatic times – see *Calamy*. Appendix 2.

After 1662 Hancock continued to preach to conventicles in Gloucestershire, being often bracketed with Henry Stubbs, his predecessor at St Philip’s and now likewise ejected from his post at Wells.⁶⁷² His name appears twice in the list of those applying for Indulgence in 1672, as Presbyterian in each case.

Thomas Hardcastle

Minister to the Broadmead Baptists in the 1670s. Several times imprisoned, so that Terrill remembers his daughter Mary as “Prisona” in his will.⁶⁷³ *ODNB* and Appendix 2. He was one of two poets elegised on their death:⁶⁷⁴

They were both Pious, Humble, Learned, Lowly,
In Censures modest, Conversation holy;
Free to Communicate the best they had;
Nor only Ready to do Good, but Glad.

Matthew Hassard

Hassard or Hazzard was ordained in 1629.⁶⁷⁵ He was first a curate at Chard in Somerset.⁶⁷⁶ In 1636 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the curacy at St James’s.

⁶⁷⁰ From an unreferenced and anonymous article in *History Today* July 2004 p. 60 (1 page only): ‘William Gulston, Bishop of Bristol, 1679–84’.

⁶⁷¹ CCED 54586.

⁶⁷² D. Wykes ‘The Bishop of Gloucester’s letter about Nonconformist Conventicles, August 1669’ *TBGAS CXIV* (1996) pp. 97–104 at p. 101. See also *Calamy*.

⁶⁷³ PCC Prob 11 379.

⁶⁷⁴ *An Elegy, or, Copy of verses lamenting the late mortality of two godly and religious ministers, Mr. T.H. of Bristol and Mr. J.G.*

⁶⁷⁵ CCED 13051.

⁶⁷⁶ Stieg *Lauds Laboratory* p. 346.

He was appointed to St Ewen's in 1639 and quickly distinguished himself by dropping the official prayer for victory over the Scots for his own – that the King might be better advised (see I.I.1 above).

He married Anthony Kelly's widow, a redoubtable Parliament supporter;⁶⁷⁷ but when she and some others formed the first separatist church around 1640/1, he did not become their preacher. He sensibly took advantage of the terms of surrender to the Royalists in 1643 to move out to the Parliamentary heartlands. He was intruded into the Rectory of East Barnet, and refused to pay a fifth of the revenue to the family of the ejected minister.⁶⁷⁸

In 1645 he resumed his living at St Ewen's and from 1646 became the regular preacher at St Mary Redcliffe. In 1654 he was appointed one of the Assistants to the Somerset Ejections Committee.⁶⁷⁹

At the Restoration Hassard simply withdrew to his original living of St Ewen's, and subscribed to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661. But he was unable to conform in 1662.

He remained living in Broad Street till his death in 1671 (Table 2), without apparently attracting the attention of the magistrates.

William Harford

Elder and minister of the Pithay Baptists 1680–83.

Emanuel Heath

Heath became Read's curate at St Augustine's in 1670, and succeeded him in 1675, serving till 1693. He was made a freeman in that capacity in 1678.⁶⁸⁰ He also became Rector of Christchurch in 1685. He seems to have been one of Carleton's narks, informing on dissenting meetings.

Tobias Higgins

Probably the son of Tobias Higgins, minister at Wickwar, Glos, in 1641 (sermon *The Deaf Man cured*). Higgins became curate of St Ewen's in November 1671 and rector next month. In 1673 he also became master of 'a school in Bristol' – not specified,⁶⁸¹ but presumably Redcliffe's Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, where he was master in 1676.⁶⁸² He was still there in 1697–8 when he received £4 as master.⁶⁸³ Died 1698 (Table 3).

Robert Higgins

Higgins was at St Stephen's from 1612 to 1628.

Michael Hill

Hill was vicar of St Leonard's for a few months from the end of 1612.

Hugh Hobson

Hobson was ordained in 1625.⁶⁸⁴ He was at St Stephen's 1628–1641. Will in Table 3.

⁶⁷⁷ She had wished the children of Royalist Robert Yeamans dead with their father; claimed to have offered herself and other women as ancillary gate guards in the Royalist attack; and gave evidence against Fiennes for unnecessary surrender. Henry Hassard, Chief Gunner under Fiennes, was perhaps Matthew's brother.

⁶⁷⁸ *Calamy*.

⁶⁷⁹ Firth & Rait II 28 August 1654.

⁶⁸⁰ CCP 19 Feb 1677/8; but there is a confusing minute on 29 March 1687 again agreeing that Heath should be made a freeman.

⁶⁸¹ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 6/9/1673.

⁶⁸² Bodleian MS CCC.C.390/1 Chris. Wase's collection on schools f. 129.

⁶⁸³ BRO 33041/BMC/2/1.

⁶⁸⁴ CCED 54758.

John Hodges

John Hodges was at St Werburgh's 1663–65. Otherwise unknown.

Dennis Hollister

One of the original members of the Broadmead Baptist church, defecting with nearly twenty others to the Quakers in 1654. After his defection, he wrote two vituperative anti-Baptist tracts, see Appendix 2.

He had been prominent in the politics of the post Civil War period, serving as a member of the Bristol Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1650 (see 2.3.4); and member for Somerset in the nominated Parliament of 1653, with the seat for Naval affairs on the Council of State. In *ODNB* but with some errors.⁶⁸⁵

Jeremy Holwey

Holwey was both a respected member of the civic elite – member of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1650 (I.2.3.4), agent for the payment of augmentations (I.2.3.3) and on the City Council 1655–61, member of the SMV – and chief deacon of the first congregational church. House licensed for congregational worship in 1672. Lyon Turner has a whole chapter of biographical material on him.⁶⁸⁶

Thomas Horne

Possibly curate at Churchill (Somerset) in 1662.⁶⁸⁷ Horne was minister at St James's from 1663 into the 1690s. In 1669 he became a prebend at the Cathedral and Barrett reckons he was buried in St James's in 1697.⁶⁸⁸

Thomas Howell

Bishop of Bristol 1644–49, the last bishop consecrated in England for sixteen years, and functioning as bishop only until 1645 when Parliament took the city. The stripping of the Palace roof may have contributed to his wife's death in childbirth.⁶⁸⁹ Died in 1649 and buried in Bristol Cathedral. According to Lyon Turner granted £20 by the vestry of St Stephen's in 1648/9, but I have not been able to verify this.⁶⁹⁰ *ODNB*.

Henry Hynam

Minister of the Pithay Baptists 1653–79.

Nathaniell Ingelo

Ingelo was intruded in All Saints' in December 1645. He also officiated at Christchurch from 1646, and for several years also preached to the incipient Baptist Broadmead church; or perhaps they came to hear him in one of these churches.

Ingelo was born in Bristol and in the 1640s he became a freeman and acquired property in South Gloucestershire. But his passion for music was not appreciated in Bristol and he probably left Bristol early in 1652, soon to take up a fellowship at Eton. In 1653–4 he went as Chaplain on Bulstrode Whitelocke's embassy to Sweden. He was later to publish a novel *Bentivolio and Urania*, and three sermons delivered in London. *ODNB*

⁶⁸⁵ He is said to have become a member of the City Council in 1645 – but did not, then or ever; and to have sat for Bristol in the Nominated Parliament, but he sat for Somerset.

⁶⁸⁶ Lyon Turner ch. 10.

⁶⁸⁷ CCED 159776.

⁶⁸⁸ Barrett p. 388.

⁶⁸⁹ Latimer p. 211.

⁶⁹⁰ Dr Williams Library 89.14. He speaks of a Thomas Watson as the minister there, though Henry Jones still was; and I could not find nothing of this in the St Stephen's records.

Gilbert Ironside

Bishop of Bristol 1661–1671. He does not appear to have been a persecutor of dissenters, or indeed to have been active in any way. *ODNB*

Thomas Jefferay

Ordained 1617.⁶⁹¹ Jefferay was at St Augustine's from 1619 to 1626.

Thomas Jennings

Vicar of Matson (Gloucestershire) in 1648 and later Rector of St. John's, Gloucester.⁶⁹² From 1666 Jennings was closely associated with the Broadmead Baptists. He left in 1687 to become Baptist minister at Chipping Sodbury. In September 1672 Jennings was preaching quite regularly at Wooland, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian. He suffered from imprisonment for his preaching.

? Jerrom

Occasional preacher at St Philip's and St Thomas's in 1651/2.

Constant Jessop

Jessop was intruded to St Nicholas's in 1646, and appointed to the St Nicholas Lectureship in early 1647. He got an augmentation in 1647.⁶⁹³

Jessop was ejected in 1651 for preaching thought hostile to the new Commonwealth and refusal to take the Engagement, see II.2.11. However he remained a favourite with the Council who voted him a gratuity, and offered him St Philip's in 1654. He refused – he had already secured the rectory of Wimborne in Dorset – but only eighteen months later.⁶⁹⁴ The Council also sought and accepted his recommendation for a schoolmaster in 1657/8.⁶⁹⁵ *ODNB* and Appendix 2.

? Jones

In 1623 a Jones was one of the team sharing the St Nicholas Sunday Lectures. Jones is an unknown. He just might be Henry Jones, see below.

Henry Jones

Jones was at St Stephen's from 1641 perhaps to the 1670s. He helped out by conducting services at St James's in Paul's absence between 1643 and 1645, and perhaps also at St Nicholas's after Jessop's departure; but is never recorded as preaching in any church than his own. In 1658 he was one of four who was to benefit from an augmentation of salary arranged by the Council.⁶⁹⁶ He received £5 quite often from the Society of Merchant Venturers, possibly related to his dockside parish. He had no problem in conforming in 1662. In that year he was also appointed vicar of Compton Greenfield (Gloucestershire).⁶⁹⁷ Possibly also Rector of Portishead (Somerset) 1671 and Weston-in-Gordano (Somerset) 1673.⁶⁹⁸ He became Chancellor

⁶⁹¹ CCED 77776.

⁶⁹² *Church of Christ* pp. 42–3. Hayden also has him as curate at Upton St Leonard's Gloucestershire, which seems a bit of a come down for a rector.

⁶⁹³ MS Bodley 325 f. 209 of 17 November 1647 citing an order of 6th April 1647 which I have not been able to find.

⁶⁹⁴ CCP 20 March 1656.

⁶⁹⁵ CCP 3 Mar 1657/8.

⁶⁹⁶ CCP 14 February 1658/9.

⁶⁹⁷ CCED 51062, 51063.

⁶⁹⁸ CCED 159836. Unlikely though: apart from the multi-pluralism, this man is licensed as a preacher in Bath and Wells 1671 and a preacher our HJ scarcely was.

of the diocese in 1670.⁶⁹⁹ He, or a namesake appearing nowhere else, was appointed as a very temporary curate at St Ewen's in 1671. Jones died in 1695.

Morgan Jones

(aka Morgan Williams?) was ordained in 1572,⁷⁰⁰ and may have been at Christchurch from 1577⁷⁰¹ to 1617. He was also Curate at St Ewen's from 1603 to 1606.

Samuel Kem

Major Kem, a senior officer of the new Parliamentary garrison but also BA (later BD), took on the Werburgh Lectures from late in 1645 and preached his farewell sermon to the garrison in November 1646. *ODNB* and Appendix 2.

Captain Kitchen

At the Castle General Baptist church in 1680.

Richard Knight

Knight was at Temple perhaps from 1614. His entire probate was valued at £13 when he died in 1639. (Table 3).

John Knowles

Knowles was a properly ordained man, who had been a Lecturer at Colchester Essex, and a pastor in Massachusetts.⁷⁰² He came to Bristol in 1652 as Cathedral Lecturer. He became a regular preacher at All Saints' that year, by arrangement with the vestry. In 1653 he was officially appointed to St Werburgh's but seems to have left around 1658. In 1654 he was appointed one of the Assistants to the Somerset Ejections Committee.⁷⁰³ He was also a pastor in the Castle Green congregational church in 1659.

At the Restoration, the Cathedral post ceased to exist. But he kept his house in the Castle precinct, to 1664, when Thomas Goldney took over the lease. According to *Calamy* he then moved to London and preached at All Souls the Great, being reported for conventicles in 1664–5. In 1671 he took the freedom of Bristol by virtue of his second marriage. In 1672 he was offered the Presidency of Harvard, but declined. He died in 1672. *ODNB* and Appendix 2

The John Knowles who applied unsuccessfully for appointment to St Michael's in 1677 was perhaps a relation.⁷⁰⁴

John Lake

Bishop of Bristol 1684–85, where he was more concerned to establish weekly communion than to persecute dissenters. He went on to Chichester.

Lake and his college friend Samuel Drake edited the cavalier poetry of their Cambridge supervisor, John Cleveland, in 1677. *ODNB*.

Alexander Lawes

Possibly vicar of Winterbourne Earls (Salisbury) in the 1580s; more likely the one (son?) who was curate at Salisbury St Edmund's.⁷⁰⁵ Whichever became a minor canon at Bristol in 1604 is most likely candidate for St Stephen's in the early 1600s.

⁶⁹⁹ BRO, EP/A/10/1/4 (Subscription Book) 6/3/1671; BRO, EP/A/10/1/1 (Subscription Book).

⁷⁰⁰ CCED 57934.

⁷⁰¹ CCED 57934.

⁷⁰² For his American time, see Moore *Abandoning America* pp. 170–1.

⁷⁰³ Firth & Rait II 28 Aug 1654.

⁷⁰⁴ CCP 10 April 1677.

⁷⁰⁵ CCED 54847.

Clement Lewis

St Augustine's from 1604 to 1619.

James Listun

Listun or Liston or Siston was possibly a curate at Dunster (Somerset) from 1595.⁷⁰⁶ At St Ewen's from 1607 to 1619. George son of James Liston clerk deceased was apprenticed to a shoemaker in 1619. He might be related to the William Listun whom Terrill names as a member of the separatist group around 1640.⁷⁰⁷

James Longman

Briefly stipendiary minister at St Thomas's in 1655. Probably became minister at Churchill, Somerset, in 1656.

Abel Lovering

Lovering was one of the St Nicholas Tuesday Lecturers from 1623. He became curate at St Thomas's in 1634 and vicar of Temple in 1639 ('Hovering' in CCED!). He died some time in the winter of 1642/3.⁷⁰⁸

William Manning

Ordained 1679 and Vicar of Marshfield (Gloucestershire) 1684–86.⁷⁰⁹ At Bedminster, Redcliffe and St Thomas's from 1686 to death in 1702.

Robert Marks

Marks (possibly ordained 1608⁷¹⁰) became Headmaster of Bristol Cathedral School in 1610.⁷¹¹ He was then presented to All Saints' in 1611 "To holde the same both together and take all the benefitt and profit both of the vicaradge and schoole, So as he doe not neglect his dutie in the schoole att any Tyme on Workinge daies."⁷¹² He resigned from the school in 1615⁷¹³ and from All Saints' in 1619. (He may have gone on to South Petherton (Somerset) in 1617, and Merriott (Somerset) in 1626, holding both till 1639.⁷¹⁴) In 1621 he succeeded to a prebend's stall in the Cathedral.⁷¹⁵ He survived some time, not making his will till 1642 (Table 3).

Charles Marshall

Quaker apothecary, horticulturalist and preacher, with spells of imprisonment. Although a Bristolian by birth he settled at Tytherington in Wiltshire, but signed the Fox/Fell marriage certificate. *ODNB* and *Mens' Meeting 1*.

John Mason

Mason was at St James's from 1616 to 1627; and was also appointed to St Mark's in 1618.

John Massy

Massy was probably the son of a Congresbury clerk apprenticed 16 Nov 1642 to Robert Perry clerk '*ad educ in arte musica*' who was then freed 15 Dec 1653 as 'JM

⁷⁰⁶ CCED 58537.

⁷⁰⁷ *Church of Christ* pp. 84, 86.

⁷⁰⁸ Byam records his burial at Temple as 25 Feb 1643 (BRO 17125 (6)e).

⁷⁰⁹ CCED 46663.

⁷¹⁰ CCED 58632.

⁷¹¹ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book) 6/12/1610.

⁷¹² BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book) 6/8/1611.

⁷¹³ BRO, DC/E/1/1 (Chapter Act Book) 8/3/1615.

⁷¹⁴ CCED 58632.

⁷¹⁵ CCED 58632.

musician'. He was also recorded as a laysinger at the cathedral c.1660–2; and his probate included virginals and an organ.(Table 3)

John Massy was appointed master of the Society of Merchant Venturers school for poor children in November 1654,⁷¹⁶ resigning in February 1662, becoming master of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in August.⁷¹⁷ curate at St Mark's from 1664. He died in 1685.

? *Moston*

Named by Terrill as one of the 'reforming ministers of South Wales' who visited Bristol around 1642/3.⁷¹⁸

Thomas Newton

Newton was Rector of St Michael's from 1597 perhaps to around 1610/11.

William Noble

Noble may have been ordained in 1617 and appointed to Lockington (Wiltshire) in 1621.⁷¹⁹ He was at Bedminster, Redcliffe and St Thomas's from 1640 to 1641 when he died.

John Norton

John Norton was appointed to St Leonard's in 1626 but it seems likely that he was an absentee. Named in Clerical Subsidy 1634 as Rector for no amount.

John Oldham

At St John's 1616–18.

? *Oxenbridge*

An occasional preacher at All Saints' and St Thomas's in the early 1650s.

Thomas Palmer snr

Palmer was ordained in 1623,⁷²⁰ and was presented to St John's, Bedminster and St Mary Redcliffe in 1623, appointing himself to St Thomas's. In 1635 he had his sermon *Bristol's Military Garden* printed, see Appendix 2. He was probably father to the Thomas Palmer jnr below. He died in 1639/40. His probate was made in Bristol, suggesting that he, like Humphrey Brent later, preferred to live there rather than in Bedminster (Table 3).

Thomas Palmer jnr

Palmer was probably the son of Thomas Palmer senior. He first appeared in Bristol as stipendiary preacher at All Saints' in 1658. At this stage he was not an ordained man but he took orders in 1661, and was presented to the Rectory of Portishead (in the gift of Bristol City Council) that year.⁷²¹ He conformed in 1662.

He gave up Portishead in 1665,⁷²² when he was appointed to St Werburgh's. By 1668 he was a householder in high status Small Street (Table 4). In 1669 he also became Curate at St Leonard's, not a hundred yards down Corn St from St Werburgh's, and the appointment may merely have given the few parishioners an

⁷¹⁶ This makes it unlikely he could be the man ordained only in 1662.

⁷¹⁷ CCP 9 December 1662; EP/A/10 f. 38.

⁷¹⁸ *Church of Christ* p. 84.

⁷¹⁹ CCED 14324.

⁷²⁰ CCED 59143.

⁷²¹ CCED 154598.

⁷²² SRO, D/D/B.Reg/20 (Register) 28/3/1665.

alternative official place of worship. He did not become City Librarian (as originally provided in the founder's will). In 1671 he became Rector of St John's, apparently holding all posts till the late 1680s. He gained the freedom of the city in 1678.⁷²³

In August 1680, he preached the sermon at the funeral of William Bedloe, Bristol's Popish Plot informer, and published a collection of sayings attributed to him.⁷²⁴

He took on the St Werburgh Lectures in 1686–87.

His will was proved on 24 May 1688. (Table 3).

He is said to have remained sympathetic to presbyterianism and opposed to aggressively Anglican bishops.⁷²⁵ He is mentioned by Godwyn as “notorious for his scandalous piecemeal Conformity” after the Restoration.⁷²⁶

Thomas Patient

After a spell in America,⁷²⁷ Patient or Patience assisted Hynam at the Pithay Baptists 1662–65, although not ordained as Baptist minister till 1666. He was imprisoned in 1663/4. *ODNB* and *Calamy*.

John Paul

Paul was ordained in 1631,⁷²⁸ and had perhaps been curate at Berkeley⁷²⁹ before he was appointed as minister at St James's in 1636. He left for London in 1643 where he found a living at St George's, Botolph Lane.⁷³⁰ He returned before the end of 1645;⁷³¹ and was soon awarded an augmentation of £50 a year.⁷³² But in 1647/8 the augmentation seems to have lapsed.⁷³³ Perhaps in compensation he got the St Werburgh Thursday Lectures. In 1649/50, like Jessop, he was in trouble for preaching disaffection to the Commonwealth, but was not so recalcitrant and kept his living.⁷³⁴ As a regular incumbent he survived the Restoration but lost his parish and his Lectures in 1662 as a non-conformer.⁷³⁵ But he stayed in his house in St James's (Table 2) perhaps till his death in 1691.⁷³⁶

? *Pennill*

According to Terrill, a minister at St Leonard's who gave it up and ‘closed with’ the Church of Christ, around or just before the outbreak of civil war.⁷³⁷ Pennill is otherwise unknown but might have been a curate employed by Norton at St Leonard's.

⁷²³ CCP 19 February 1677/8.

⁷²⁴ Palmer *Truth Made Manifest* 1680 for the sayings, according to the title page, and funeral sermon, but only the sermon appears in the EEBO version.

⁷²⁵ Barry, ‘Politics of Religion’ p. 171.

⁷²⁶ Godwin, *Phanatical Tenderness* p. 15.

⁷²⁷ Moore, *Abandoning America* pp. 231–2.

⁷²⁸ CCED 55043.

⁷²⁹ CCED 14492.

⁷³⁰ *Calamy*.

⁷³¹ “now returned to his own country” from St Botolph's London', 13 Dec 1645, cited in *Calamy* 383.

⁷³² MS Bodley 323 f. 265 of 3 and 27 June 1647.

⁷³³ It is never again mentioned in the papers of the CPM or the TMM, whereas other augmentations are frequently renewed with equally frequent directions for the payment of arrears. A tidy explanation would be that a little pressure was put on the vestry of St James's to improve Paul's stipend so that the augmentation could be diverted to the new post of Cathedral lecturer created in December 1647 (MS Bodley 325 f 292).

⁷³⁴ *CSPD* 1650 14, 18 and 23 November.

⁷³⁵ *Calamy*.

⁷³⁶ *Calamy*.

⁷³⁷ *Church of Christ* p. 97.

Nicholas Penwarne

At St Stephen's from at least 1677 when he was made freeman on that score.⁷³⁸ He was the son-in-law of George Williamson.⁷³⁹ Another NP, very likely a son, became curate at St Stephen's in 1690.

Philip Perry

Perry or Perrey was Rector of St Michael's from 1643 to 1656, with apparently an absence around 1652. He seems to have been accepted at St John's Bedminster in 1650 and later described himself as "by election pastor of Bedminster." He prepared a funeral sermon for delivery in London in 1654. (Appendix 2). The sermon refers to his recent illness, which was perhaps a breakdown; and the sermon is itself so odd as to suggest that the balance of his mind was not yet restored.⁷⁴⁰

John Pierce

Pierce or Pearce was ordained in 1632,⁷⁴¹ and appointed to St Philip's in 1633. He is not on record as having done anything to offend the Parliament but he was sequestered with others around the winter of 1645/6. He was still alive at the Restoration: he tried to get his one-fifth out of the vestry. But he made no attempt to resume his ministry. So he had probably obtained another living, perhaps as the John Peirce MA admitted to Cheselbourne Dorset in November 1654.⁷⁴²

Josiah Pleydell

Pleydell was ordained in 1664,⁷⁴³ appointed to St Peter's in 1667, and to St Mary-le-Port, where he lived (Table 2), in 1668. He seems to have held both through the 1680s. One of Carleton's marks against dissenters.

John Powell

Powell was Rector of St Michael's perhaps from 1611/12 till his death in 1636.

Samuel Powell

Curate at St Thomas's from 1611.

Richard Pownall

Pownall or Poundall⁷⁴⁴ began at St John's in 1631. He was also appointed City Librarian,⁷⁴⁵ and his activity in this role makes up for the absence of parish records to show that he remained in Bristol through the war.⁷⁴⁶

⁷³⁸ CCP 20 October 1677 (*Past & Present* III p. 70 has 'Richard' which is an error.)

⁷³⁹ BRO FCW 1685/4.

⁷⁴⁰ 95% of the sermon expands on the just punishments of sin, with a brief tailpiece on salvation through Christ, but no reference whatever to the deceased. This leaves the strong impression that the deceased would be lucky to escape damnation. Moreover the dedication to the widow is saucy rather than consolatory: "Your Husband is dispatched by the hand of cruel death, and I am sure it was time, because God had so determined to interre the old not the young: My Wife is departed (the more is my grief) whether by death, or some other disaster, I am yet uncertain. But that's not so much to my present purpose. And besides (though some have reported, that to much learning hath made me mad, this I write with a blushing pen.) I am loath by a woeing letter, to turn your mourning Weeds into Hymens garments to quickly:" No wonder the sermon was not delivered!

⁷⁴¹ CCED 55384.

⁷⁴² LPL Comm III.3 lib 3 f. 6.

⁷⁴³ CCED 51371.

⁷⁴⁴ The name is often spelled Poundall, but he signed it Pownall: see the visitation papers of 1 June 1664 BRO EP/V/3.

⁷⁴⁵ Beaven p. 242.

⁷⁴⁶ Audit book 1640–1644 ff. 178, 233. Also he buried a prisoner from the Castle around August 1644 (*Depositions Book* I p. 184), and certified that a marriage had been conducted "in that manner and forms as is now prescribed" in January 1648/9 (Hockaday 439 citing the Wiltshire Historical Manuscripts Commission).

He is very likely the man living in the top end of Baldwin St in 1662 (Table 2). In 1664 he also became rector of St Ewen's and seems to have held both livings till his death in 1670.⁷⁴⁷

Robert Prichard

Prichard had been presented to St Peter's by Sir Charles Gerard in 1622 before the City bought the advowson. In 1623 he became one of the team who shared the Sunday afternoon Lectures at St Nicholas's. He lived in St Peter's (Table 2) until his death in the winter of 1663/4.

Robert Purnell

Elder of the Broadmead Baptist church and prolific writer. *ODNB*, *EEOB* and Appendix 2.

John Rainstorpe

Rainstorpe/Rainthorpe was the son of Walter R, and benefitted from a Sniggs bursary at Oxford accordingly. He became master at Bristol Grammar school in 1670 but resigned in 1686.⁷⁴⁸ He became Rector of St Michael's in 1677 and vicar of All Saints' in 1686, holding both livings until 1693.

Walter Rainstorpe

Rainstorpe/Rainthorpe was master at Bristol Grammar School from 1643 until 1658. Probably also the Rainstep with whom the St Philip's Vestry treated in vain (II.1.13 1654–1658).

James Read

Read was at St Augustine's from 1626. For the confusion over his appearance before the magistrates in 1654, see I.1.2.3 1654–1660. In fact Read renewed the lease on his house in 1654/55, which suggests neither insecurity nor penury.⁷⁴⁹ He also invested quite substantially in leasehold property, to the value of about £315, besides his own, worth £232, when he died in 1675 (Table 3).

John Read

Read was appointed vicar of St Nicholas's in 1685, lasting there well beyond our period. Became a prebendary at Wells in 1691.⁷⁵⁰ He died in 1712.⁷⁵¹

Francis Roberts

Not a Bristol minister, but Rector of nearby Wrington from 1650 and author of funeral sermons on alderman Joseph Jackson and of his wife. *ODNB* and Appendix 2

Richard Roberts

Ordained 1684 and Vicar of Bathford (Somerset) the same year.⁷⁵² Presented to Christchurch in 1684 but rejected. At All Saints' from 1685. Chaplain to the Duke of Beaufort. Published a strongly royalist sermon *Vivat Rex*. Appendix 2

William Robinson

At St Nicholas's 1595–1604.

⁷⁴⁷ Byam (BRO 17125) records his burial in the Cathedral 7 September 1670.

⁷⁴⁸ CCP 28 October 1686; 11 May 1687.

⁷⁴⁹ Audit Book 27 f. 218 He seems to have invested quite heavily in leases, worth over £480 at his death, plus £45 in money – and just £1 worth of books. Table 3.

⁷⁵⁰ CCED 48164.

⁷⁵¹ J. Collinson *History of Somerset* III p. 145.

⁷⁵² CCED 51441.

Rowland Searchfield

Bishop of Bristol 1619–1622. Searchfield supported his clergy's ultimately unsuccessful attempt to increase their inadequate stipends by appealing to the citizens of Bristol for a contribution towards their maintenance (I.2.3.2). Searchfield died on 11 October 1622, probably in Bristol, and was buried in the sanctuary of Bristol Cathedral. *ODNB*.

Edward Shaw

Shaw became Rector of Christchurch in 1617. In 1618 he became also Rector at St John's, another City living, which he resigned in 1631. In 1623 he was one of the group appointed to carry on the Sunday afternoon Lectures at St Nicholas's. Sometime before 1627 he had purchased the next turn to present to St Philip's from Sir Charles Garrard, and so nominated Pierce there in 1633. Shaw himself died in 1634.

James Siston

See Liston

Robert Skinner

Bishop of Bristol 1637–1641. *ODNB* and Appendix 2

Thomas Snead

Calamy has Snead as Rector of Larnyatt Somerset in 1648. This does not seem very likely as Thomas Snead was master at QEH from 1652. The father perhaps.

Snead was appointed to St Michael's in 1657 and resigned from the school. He was perhaps attracted by the enhanced salary he could expect from the scheme for parish union which the Council was trying to revive.⁷⁵³ But the amalgamation scheme was never implemented. Luckily for Snead, his successor at QEH soon died: he applied for the vacancy and got his old post back in March 1658.⁷⁵⁴ However he got a grant of £16 that year for sermons at the Gaunts. He at first refused to conform in 1662 so lost his school post. *Calamy* reckons that he subsequently conformed and became curate at Stoke Gifford (Gloucestershire) May 1670⁷⁵⁵ and vicar of Bathford (Somerset) Sept 1670.

Thomas Speed

Speed was a merchant and a frequent though unordained preacher, who was chosen to deliver the official sermon of thanksgiving for the defeat of Charles II at Worcester in 1651 (Appendix 2). He became a stipendiary preacher at St Philip's in late 1653, quitting in 1654. He became a Quaker in 1655, and a leading member of the movement. When he did become a Quaker, his discomfort at his own brief ministry may have been projected into the hostility of his anti-ministry writings in the later 1650s (III.1.5.3 and Appendix 2).⁷⁵⁶ He was often imprisoned in the

⁷⁵³ See I.2.3.4. The parishes of St Michael's and of St Augustine's were to be amalgamated, contributing £20 and £30 respectively; whereas the school headship had only recently been raised to £16 pa – at the pleasure of the Mayor and Council (Council Ordinances 13 November 1655). Apart from more money and greater security, Snead could also hope to enjoy some freedom in a parish from the perpetual oversight by the Council to which the school was subjected.

⁷⁵⁴ CCP 23 March 1657/8. His ambitions in the way of sermons or salary were partially recognised in his appointment to preach at St Mark's for £16 a year (CCP 25 October 1658).

⁷⁵⁵ Also CCEd 51585.

⁷⁵⁶ See J. Harlow, 'Preaching for Hire: Public Issues and Private Concerns in a Skirmish of the Lamb's War' *Quaker Studies* 10 (2005) pp. 31–45.

1660s, but never in the 70s and 80s when he had rather distanced himself from the movement as it ossified.⁷⁵⁷

Richard Standfast

Standfast was appointed to give the Thursday lectures at St Werburgh's on the death of Yeamans in 1633, and was made Rector of Christchurch in 1634. He preached and published a Royalist sermon in 1644 (Appendix 2); and so was sequestered in 1645. But the Christchurch vestry allowed him to continue in occupation of a chamber with a shop, nominally £4 a year, and neither collected the money nor listed him as in arrears.⁷⁵⁸ And from the mid 1650s, they also paid him £6 13 4 per year: i.e. one sixth of the old £40.

He probably resumed his living in the course of 1660, certainly by 1661. In 1662 he resumed the Thursday Lectures. He became a prebend in 1665.⁷⁵⁹ When he became blind, he still carried on with the help of his son till his death in 1684.⁷⁶⁰

John Stephens

Stephens was appointed as master of Bristol Grammar School (then still at St Bartholemew's) in 1658 on the recommendation of Constant Jessop.⁷⁶¹ He was still there to record his conformity in 1662, but resigned in that year. He preached occasionally at St Werburgh's in the late 1650s, and regularly in 1661/2. He may have been a householder in St Peter's in 1662 (Table 2) but he is heard of no more in any capacity after this year. Removal from Bristol by death or other means in 1662 seems likely.

William Stephens

Appointed to St Werburgh's in 1687 and briefly shared the St Werburgh lectures in 1687/8. Also master at Bristol Grammar School 1687–91.⁷⁶²

? *Stevenson*

One of those the St Philip's Vestry tried to engage in 1654–58.

Henry Stubbs

Henry Stubbs MA born Upton Cheyney, Bitton, Gloucestershire.

Brought to St Philip's by the vestry in 1646/7. Awarded an augmentation of £50.⁷⁶³ Left in 1659.

Outed from St Cuthbert's Wells in 1660 and preached in Dursley.⁷⁶⁴ Licensed in London as Presbyterian 1672. Died 1678 – subject of funeral sermons by Baxter & T Watson. *Calamy* and *ODNB*.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁵⁷ For his life see *Ledger of Thomas Speed* ed. J. Harlow (BRS 63, 2011).

⁷⁵⁸ Rated at 4 hearths in 1668 and 1670.

⁷⁵⁹ CCED 51609.

⁷⁶⁰ His will was proved in 1684, Georges' Wills. Barrett p. 469 quotes a memorial stone in the church giving his death as 1681 "in the 78th year of his age." Can Barrett have omitted a V from MDCLXXXIV?

⁷⁶¹ CCP 18 March 1658.

⁷⁶² CCED 51615.

⁷⁶³ MS Bodley 323 f. 265 of 3 and 27 June 1646 £50 'the maintenance belonging to the said church being not above £45'.

⁷⁶⁴ Stratford, *Good & Great Men* p. 137.

⁷⁶⁵ Not quite accurate – he was never Vicar of St Philip's.

Robert Stubbs

Stubbs was ordained in 1660, and appointed to St Werburgh's in 1661 but went on to Easthampstead in 1662.⁷⁶⁶

Richard Symons

Came to Bristol with a refugee congregation from Wales at the beginning of the Civil War.⁷⁶⁷ Named as one of the “notorious Schismatics” imposed on Bristol around 1643.⁷⁶⁸

Henry Syms

Syms was appointed rector of St Michael's in 1643 but died very soon after.

James Taylor

Had been a curate in Clifton.⁷⁶⁹ Appointed to St John's in 1687.

Edward Terrill

Apprenticed as scrivener and became assistant to Thomas Ellis in his sugar business. He was also a writing master. Elder of the Broadmead Baptist church; and author of its history, *A Church of Christ in Bristol*. Suffered fines and imprisonment. Died about 1685 leaving property to endow Baptist education (I.1.3 and Table 3).

William Thomas

Head of a ‘free school’ in Bristol, ejected in 1662.⁷⁷⁰ *Calamy*.

John Thompson

Minister of Castle Congregational church 1672. Imprisoned 1675 and died there, buried in St Philip's.⁷⁷¹ Brother-in-law of Increase Mather, the leading New England Congregational minister.

Richard Thompson

Ordained 1671.⁷⁷² Prebend of Salisbury and vicar of Marlborough (Wilts) 1676. Vicar of Bedminster, Redcliffe and St Thomas's, Dean of Bristol and Chaplain to Charles II. He was accused of Romish sympathies and of denying the Popish Plot. Despite defending himself in *The Visor pluckt off from Richard Thompson, clerk* (1680) with a testimonial from 18 parishioners and another from Guy Carleton, he was found guilty by a House of Commons Committee; and only escaped impeachment because Charles II dissolved the Parliament.⁷⁷³ Charles later made him a prebend then Dean at Bristol and a royal chaplain. His 1685 sermon dedicated to the Duke of Beaufort just after the Monmouth rebellion and preaching extreme non-resistance (III.4.2.10) looks like a clear bid for favour under the new monarch, but he died before any benefits, or benefices, could accrue (Appendix 2).

Thomas Thompson

Lecturer at St Nicholas's 1603–08. Left for Montgomery in 1608. Appendix 2

⁷⁶⁶ CCED 51639.

⁷⁶⁷ *Church of Christ* pp. 84, 305.

⁷⁶⁸ *Two State Martyrs* p. 10.

⁷⁶⁹ CCED 51671.

⁷⁷⁰ Lyon Turner ch. vi p. 32.

⁷⁷¹ Full contemporary account printed in *Church of Christ* pp. 72–4.

⁷⁷² CCED 51696.

⁷⁷³ William Gibson ‘Tory anti-exclusionism in church and state: Richard Thompson of Bristol in 1678–85’ *The Seventeenth Century* 31.3 pp. 357–74, which examines Thompson's views and the dispute arising from his sermons. Also Latimer pp. 398–9, 428. *Past & Present* III p. 74 for a full listing of the sermons complained of.

John Thornborough

Bishop of Bristol 1603–17. Never resident in Bristol, and moved on to Worcester in January 1617.

John Till Adams snr

Till Adams snr (MA of Balliol) was the first master of Henbury Grammar school in 1631⁷⁷⁴ and later master of the SMV school from 1650–2. At St Werburgh's 1634–1652. May have shared St Nicholas Lectures. Died in 1652.

John Till Adams jnr

Till-Adams jnr was the son of TA snr and had benefitted as such by an exhibition as a Bristol Scholar at Oxford, and the Council's fellowship at St John's 23.⁷⁷⁵ In August 1658 the Council appointed him to Christchurch but he never took up the appointment – He had got himself into Stanton Drew in Somerset where he got an augmentation in February 1659.⁷⁷⁶

John Tombes

Parliament told Williamson to let Tombes preach from at All Saints' in 1643. He was one of the ministers imposed on the execution of Yeamans and Butcher; and preached a sermon on the deliverance of the city from their plot. Before Bristol, had preached in Worcester and Leominster and St Gabriel's London afterwards. Trier in 1654. A non-conformist in 1662, he continued to minister (his house was licensed for Presbyterian worship in 1672) and to write till his death in 1676. *ODNB* and Appendix 2.

Edward Toose

St Werburgh's in the early 1600s. He was also Headmaster of Bristol Cathedral School in 1605–10 and a minor canon in 1610.⁷⁷⁷ He died in 1611 (Table 3).

Richard Towgood

Towgood was at All Saints' from 1619. From 1623 he shared the Tuesday morning Lecture at St Nicholas's with Abel Lovering until Lovering died in 1643 and Towgood carried on alone. He left All Saints' for St Nicholas's in 1626. In the Civil War he preached at least one Royalist sermon, *Disloyalty of Language Questioned* (III.4.2.2) and so he was sequestered in 1645⁷⁷⁸ "for his great disaffection to the Parliament of England and their proceedings which in his printing preaching and praying he hath expressed".⁷⁷⁹

According to *Walker* he then retired to Wotton-under-Edge, and was actually admitted by the Triers to the rectory of Tortworth in 1654,^{780,781} as well as a curacy at Kingswood.

⁷⁷⁴ *TBGAS XXXVIII* (1915) p. 169.

⁷⁷⁵ CCP 10 July 1649, November 1652.

⁷⁷⁶ LPL III.1 f. 135 of 4 November 1658, III.7 f. 136 of 10 November 1658; LPL VIa/9 f. 541.

⁷⁷⁷ *Georges' Probates* p. 231.

⁷⁷⁸ 20 Feb 1645/6 according to *Walker* p. 178, citing the Bristol Standing Committee. I have not found these papers. Barrett p. 243 gives the same date and authority.

⁷⁷⁹ Cited from the proceedings of the Parliamentary Committee of the city 20 Feb 1645/6 according to *Walker* p. 178, citing the Bristol Standing Committee. I have not found these papers. Barrett p. 243 gives the same date and authority.

⁷⁸⁰ Lambeth Comm III.3 Lib 2 f. 40.

⁷⁸¹ The Bishop of Bristol's return of pluralists for 1665–6 has him vicar of Weare about 10 miles out of Bristol (LPL MS 639 f 312). I have not found Weare; but CCED has George Trenchard at Tortworth from 1660.

At the Restoration he resumed his living at St Nicholas's,⁷⁸² and the Lectures. He was then living in St Augustine's (Table 2). He was Vicar of Weare (Somerset), a Bristol Chapter living 1664–72.⁷⁸³ He was employing Robert Forsyth and Thomas Towgood (a son?) as curates in 1665/6.⁷⁸⁴ He resigned the vicarage in 1667 when he became Dean of Bristol⁷⁸⁵ and lived till 1683. Appendix 2.

Jonathan Trelawny

Reluctantly, Bishop of Bristol 1685–89. Refused, when called upon by Sunderland to sign an address of thanks for the declaration of indulgence granting toleration to dissenters and Roman Catholics in April 1687, and in May 1688 he became one of the famous seven bishops who refused to have the Declaration read in churches.

He was from Cornwall and his trial for treason provoked the song "And shall Trelawney die? Here's twenty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why." *ODNB*

William Troughton

Whitson Court Congregational minister 1665–1674. Imprisoned. *ODNB*

Rowland Tucker

Rowland T, possibly son of Thomas Tucker, was made usher at Bristol Grammar School in 1665⁷⁸⁶ and dismissed for incompetence in 1681.⁷⁸⁷ He died in 1697.

Thomas Tucker

Thomas Tucker was ordained in 1611,⁷⁸⁸ and became St Nicholas Lecturer in November 1618. He was so satisfactory that the Council presented him to their living of Posset-Portishead (Somerset) in August 1621,⁷⁸⁹ and he also got Long Ashton (Somerset) in 1623.⁷⁹⁰

Thomas Vaux

Minister of the Broadmead Baptists 1687–93. Married Terrill's widow.⁷⁹¹

Henry Walter

Walter was another of the leaders of the Lanvaches congregation when it fled to Bristol at the outbreak of the Civil War;⁷⁹² and is named as one of the "notorious schismatics" introduced to Bristol under Fiennes;⁷⁹³ but is not heard of here in any other way.

Hugh Waterman

Waterman became a curate at St Peter's in 1688, and Rector there as well as Rector of St Mary-le-Port in 1690. Possibly also Rector of Backwell (Somerset) in 1693 and maybe a prebend of Wells and of Bristol.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁸² *Walker*.

⁷⁸³ CCED 55680.

⁷⁸⁴ LPL MS 639 f. 312.

⁷⁸⁵ The Deanery was a very large house of 13 hearths Hearth Tax St Michael's 1670.

⁷⁸⁶ CCP 15 September 1665.

⁷⁸⁷ CCP 31 May 1681.

⁷⁸⁸ CCED 15774.

⁷⁸⁹ CCP 22 August 1621. A cynic might have wondered if this was because he was not satisfactory as Lecturer, but the Lecturer's position was entirely in the Council's discretion, not a living for life, so they could have simply sacked him.

⁷⁹⁰ CCED 15774.

⁷⁹¹ *Church of Christ* p. 46.

⁷⁹² *Church of Christ* pp. 84, 307.

⁷⁹³ *Two State Martyrs* p. 10.

⁷⁹⁴ CCED 49973.

Robert Watson

At St Leonard's from 1611 to his death at the end of 1612.

John Weekes

Weekes, an ejected minister, came to Bristol in the 1660s, was licensed as a Presbyterian in 1672 and led the main Presbyterian congregation till his death in 1698. His death was mourned by Josiah Standen in a poem published in Bristol in 1699 – but the poem is full of abstractions and generalisations and tells us nothing at all about the man.

Alexander Westerdale

Was ordained in 1639 and made Rector of Kingsdon (Somerset) in 1642.⁷⁹⁵ He may be the man who preached every other Sunday at St Mary Redcliffe 1639–1641.

Thomas Westfield

Bishop of Bristol 1642–1644 (but had previously declined it in 1617.) He attended the Westminster assembly's first session on 1 July 1643, the only bishop to do so, but did not return to Bristol. His *Eleven Choice Sermons*, 1656, were not preached in Bristol apparently and have no Bristol applications.⁷⁹⁶ *ODNB*

Benjamin Wey

An ordained man who had held livings in Essex and Dorchester before ejection.⁷⁹⁷ Minister to Castle Hill Independents 1676–80.

Timothy Whately

At St Ewen's 1643 till his death in 1645. Also filled a temporary gap at St Michael's in 1643.

Thomas Whinnell

Preacher to the Castle Baptist Church before 1680.

Richard Williams

Williams became Vicar of St Leonard's in 1613. In 1614 he became the first Librarian of the City Library, *ex officio* as provided by the founder, Robert Redwood, in 1613.⁷⁹⁸

George Williamson

Williamson was presented to All Saints' in 1626. He was sequestered in 1645 probably with the others in December. Williamson remained in Bristol in a handsome house on St Augustine's Green (Table 2) and when the All Saints' churchwardens' accounts resume in 1651, they were paying him £10 a year for his fifth.⁷⁹⁹ Williamson was reinstated without any fuss with effect from Midsummer 1660.⁸⁰⁰ In 1661 he was also made Vicar of Olveston (Gloucestershire), and a prebend at Bristol.⁸⁰¹ He

⁷⁹⁵ CCED 160388.

⁷⁹⁶ Fuller, *Worthies* p. 232.

⁷⁹⁷ *Church of Christ* p. 74.

⁷⁹⁸ Barrett p. 507; Beaven p. 242.

⁷⁹⁹ Properly the intruded incumbent was to pay a fifth of the revenues to the sequestered minister.

⁸⁰⁰ The vestry awarded him the benefit of a house wef Midsummer 1660, Minutes 17 August 1660 f. 39, and paid him £13, half the annual preaching allowance stipend, for that year. Although he did not subscribe to the Clerical Subsidy of 1661 – none of the reinstated ministers did – he recorded his conformity on 11 August 1662 (Hockaday 432 citing Bristol Diocesan Register 18 p. 8).

⁸⁰¹ CCED 51805.

seems to have served until his death in 1685. He presented a fine eagle lectern to the Cathedral.⁸⁰²

George Willington

George Willington, clerk, was a minor canon in 1662,⁸⁰³ and appears as bond for marriage licences from 1662 to 1665. He seems to have been fined or required to give surety for £50 in 1665 but it is not clear why.⁸⁰⁴ He became rector of St Mary-le-Port in 1664. No word of him in Bristol after 1665, but his 1670 sermon, *Cor Concussum* (III.5.5) describes him as now of St George's in Somerset. He wrote two anti-Quaker publications: *The Gadding Tribe Rebuked* of c.1655 answered by Audland and *Thrice Happy Welcome* of 1660 answered by Burroughs. In the first he described himself as schoolmaster of Bristol. He may have gone on to be Vicar of Keynsham (Somerset) in 1680.⁸⁰⁵

Robert Wright

Bishop of Bristol 1623–32. He seems to have mended the breach with the Council, see section II.2. Appears to have made pretexts for inaction over Bristol Lectures in 1629 (II.3) Claimed to have “got all the churches in the city soe well repaired and beautified that I dare say noe parish church in London exceeds them.”⁸⁰⁶ Went on to Coventry and Lichfield. *ODNB*.

Willaim Wroth

Named by Terrill as one of the “reforming ministers of South Wales” who visited Bristol around 1642/3.⁸⁰⁷

William Yeamans

Yeamans was a member of an important Bristol family. He was at St Philip's from 1603. In 1613 he became the first City Lecturer at St Werburgh's. He also held a weekly bible or prayer session at his house, but there is no suggestion of separatism or unorthodoxy (I.1.1). He died in 1633, in a comfortable house, with many books. (Table 3).

Anne Yemans

Author of *Crooked pathes made straight* (1648) Appendix 2. It is not possible to identify which of the Yeamans family this is, but three candidates would be:

(1) Ann née Tomlinson who married Willam Yeamans the lawyer (d. 1647) and who suffered as a Quaker in 1661/2.

(2) Ann née Popley who married William brother of Robert Yeamans. William joined with Robert in the royalist plot of 1643, and died defending the city against Parliament in 1645. He had been a merchant and an Ann Yeamans is found trading between 1654 and 1664.

(3) Ann daughter of William Yeamans the lawyer, who married her cousin Robert Yeamans the Royalist. She also became a Quaker later and indeed accompanied Barbara Blagdon on some of her missions. She had married Thomas Speed in 1647, but the book might have been put to the printers before then.

⁸⁰² *Past & Present* III pp. 83–4.

⁸⁰³ CCED 51808.

⁸⁰⁴ Mayor & Aldermen 1/2 F48v 12/9/65.

⁸⁰⁵ CCED 160404.

⁸⁰⁶ SP/16/351 f. 79v.

⁸⁰⁷ *Church of Christ* p. 84.

APPENDIX 2. WRITINGS

These are writings consulted whether or not extracts appear in Part III. Only an abbreviated title has been given: all are available in EEBO.

* b = Book, s = Sermon

Author	Title	* Date
William Alleine	Mystery of the Temple	b 1677
Robert Bacon	Christ Mighty in Himself	b 1646
Robert Bacon	Spirit of Prelacie yet Working	b 1646
Robert Bacon	Labyrinth the Kingdome's in	b 1649
George Bishop	Jesus Christ the Same Today	b 1655
George Bishop	Cry of Blood	b 1656
George Bishop	Throne of Truth	b 1657
George Bishop	Manifesto	b 1665
George Bishop	A Vindication	b 1665
Barbara Blaugdon	Account of the Travels	b 1691
Richard Blinman	Rejoynder . . . about Infant Baptism	b 1677
Edward Burroughs & Frances Howgill]	Answers to Severall Queries	b 1654
Thomas Cary	Anniversary Sermon	s 1691
Edward Chetwynd	Vow of Teares [on the death of Prince Henry]	s 1612
Edward Chetwynd	Straight Gate & Narrow Way	s 1612
John Chetwynd	<i>Anthologia</i>	b 1674
John Chetwynd	Ebenezer	s 1682
John Chetwynd	Memorial for Magistrates	s 1682
Samuel Crossman	Sermon at the Assizes	s 1676
Samuel Crossman	Young Man's Divine Meditation	b 1678
Samuel Crossman	Sermon before the Artillery Company	s 1680
Samuel Crossman	Two Sermons [King Charles I Day, 30 January]	s 1681
Samuel Crossman	Humble Plea for the Quiet Rest of God's Ark	s 1682
Samuel Crossman	Last Testimony & Declaration	b 1683/4
William Erbury	Jack Pudding	b 1654
Thomas Ewins & Robert Purnell	Church of Christ Recovering her Vail	b 1657
Ralph Farmer	Satan Enthroned	b 1656
Ralph Farmer	Imposter Dethroned	b 1658
Ralph Farmer	Plain-Dealing Sermon	s 1660
Ralph Farmer	Great Mysteries	b 1665
Thomas Godwyn	Phanatical Tenderness	b 1684
Edward Hancock	Pastor's Last Legacy	s 1663
Thomas Harcastle	Christian Geography & Arithmetic	s 1674

Author	Title	* Date
Samuel Hieron	Aaron's Bells	s 1623
Dennis Hollister	Skirts of the Whore	b 1656
Dennis Hollister	The Harlots Veil	b 1658
Francis Howgill	(See Edward Burroughs)	b 1654
Thomas Jekyll	Peace & Love	s 1675
Constant Jessop	Angel of the Church at Ephesus	s 1645
Constant Jessop	Vindication of the Conditions of Grace	b 1654
Samuel Kem	For the Commissioners	s 1644
Samuel Kem	The King of Kings His Privy Marks	s 1645
Samuel Kem	Orders Given out	s 1646
Richard Kingston	<i>Vivat Rex</i>	s 1683
John Knowles	Plea for Private Men's Preaching	b 1648
John Knowles	Concerning the Divinity of Jesus Christ	b 1650
Charles Marshall	Epistle to the Flock	b 1672
Charles Marshall	Second Epistle	b 1673
Charles Marshall	The Way of Life Revealed	b 1673
Charles Marshall	The Trumpet of the Lord	b 1675
Charles Marshall	A Tender Visitation	b 1684
Samuel Morris	Looking Glass for the Quakers	b 1654
Thomas Palmer (jun)	Truth Made Manifest	s 1680
Thomas Palmer (sen)	Military Garden	s 1635
Philip Perrey	For the Funeral of M. Edmund Whitwell	s 1654
Robert Purnell	Good Tydings for Sinners	b 1649
Robert Purnell	No Power but of God	b 1651
Robert Purnell	Way to Convert a Sinner	b 1652
Robert Purnell	Weaver's Shuttle	b 1652
Robert Purnell	England's Remonstrance	b 1653
Robert Purnell	Way to Heaven Discovered	b 1653
Robert Purnell	(see Thomas Ewins)	b 1657
Robert Purnell	Way Step by Step	b 1659
Robert Purnell	Serious Exhortation to a Holy Life	b 1663
Francis Roberts	Chequer-work of God's Providences	s 1657
Francis Roberts	Christian's Advantage	s 1661
Richard Roberts	Honour the King	s 1685
Thomas Speed	<i>Ton sesosmenon umnon</i>	s 1651
Thomas Speed	Christ's Innocency Pleaded	b 1655
Thomas Speed	Guilty-Covered Clergyman Unveiled	b 1657
Richard Standfast	<i>Clerico-Laico Condimentum</i>	s 1644
Richard Standfast	Caveat against Seducers	s 1664
Richard Standfast	Little Handful of Cordial Comforts	b 1665
Richard Standfast	Sermon at the Assizes	s 1675
Richard Standfast	Concerning the Receiving of the Sacrament	b 1680
Edward Terrill	'A Church of Christ in Bristol'	b [1974]
Richard Thompson	The Visor Pluckt off from Richard Thompson	b 1680
Richard Thompson	Sermon . . . before the Duke of Beaufort	s 1685
Thomas Thompson	<i>Claviger Ecclesiae</i>	b 1610
Thomas Thompson	Friendly Farewell	s 1612

Author	Title	* Date
Thomas Thompson	Diet for a Drunkard	s 1612
John Tombes	Christ's Commination against Scandalizers	b 1641
John Tombes	<i>Jehovah Jireh</i>	s 1643
John Tombes	Pharasaical Will Worship	s 1643
John Tombes	<i>Anthropolatria</i>	b 1645
Richard Towgood	Disloyalty of Language Questioned	s 1643
Richard Towgood	Almighty, his Love to his Friend Abraham	s 1675
William Troughton	Causes of Sad Disconsolate Thoughts	b 1677
John Warren	<i>Domus Ordinata</i>	s 1618
George Willington	Gadding Tribe Rebuked	b 1655
George Willington	Thrice Happy Welcome	b 1660
George Willington	<i>Cor Concussum & Contritum</i>	s 1670
Anne Yemans	Crooked Pathes Made Straight	b 1648

GLOSSARY

As well as unusual terms, I list here words which had a special meaning in this context. Words defined here have been indicated by Capitals in other entries.

Advowson	The right of the Patron to Present a clergyman to a Living.
Augmentation	After the Civil War, the revenues of bishops, deans and chapters were made available to augment the income of Ministers in the parishes of the respective dioceses.
Benefice	Any post with a tied income within the Church of England, from parish Living to bishopric.
Clerk	Clerk in holy orders, ordained man in Church of England.
Commonwealth	Term for the government of England in the Interregnum 1649–1660, especially before the Protectorate.
Delinquent	See Malignant.
Eject, ejection	A general term for depriving a Church of England Minister of his Living by Sequestration in the period 1641 to 1660 and by statutory non-conformity from 1662.
Elect, election	Those who had been chosen by God to be the recipients of Grace and faith; the process of choice so.
Exclusion crisis	The attempts to get an Act of Parliament excluding the Catholic James, Duke of York, from the succession, 1679–1681.
Grace	The free gift of God, as in ‘grace and favour’.
Incumbent	The occupier of a Living.
Intrude	To put a minister into a Living vacated by Sequestration, without Patronal Presentation, in the period 1645 to 1660.
Laborious	Painstaking, praiseworthy not pejorative as today
Living	A parish benefice, whether Rectory or Vicarage, with entitlement to revenue for life, unless Sequestrated.
Malignant	Parliamentary term for one with royalist loyalties or record, 1643–1660.
Minister	Generally anyone engaged in religious ministry to others; in particular the one responsible for worship in a parish or to a gathered church.
Monmouth	The Duke of Monmouth was an illegitimate child of Charles II who led an ill-fated Protestant rebellion against the newly installed James II in 1685.
Parson	The ‘person’ who occupied a parish Living whether Rector or Vicar or even perpetual curate.
Patron	A person or official or institution with the right to Present a clergyman to a Church of England parish, subject to episcopal approval.

Pluralism	The holding of more than one Living by a Church of England minister. It required a licence from the bishop(s) concerned.
Popish Plot	An imaginary plot, invented by Titus Oates, for the assassination of the king and the resumption of Catholic government in England, 1678–1681.
Prebend, Prebendary	Senior member of cathedral chapter.
Predestination	The doctrine that all human affairs, most particularly Election to Grace or to damnation, were unalterably fore-ordained and pre-determined.
Present	A Patron presented a clergyman by submitting his name for approval to the bishop in whose diocese the parish lay.
Protectorate	The government of England and Scotland 1653–1660, although one might restrict it to 1658, when Oliver Cromwell died and his son failed to take on his succession as provided.
Rector	The Parson of a parish who retained the full tithe revenues.
Rye House plot	An actual if half-baked Protestant plot to assassinate King Charles II and his Roman Catholic brother James on their way to or from Newmarket in 1683.
Sequesterate, sequestration	To cut off a person's access to his revenues: a landowner from his rents or a Minister from his Living. Much used by Parliament against Malignants 1641–1660. Landowners could usually 'compound', regain their revenues by paying a fine; but there was no such provision for Ministers.
Tithes	A compulsory tax on households for the support of their parish. Originally a tenth part of agricultural yield it had been converted into a money payment levied by the Vestry in urban parishes, though not necessarily in extensions beyond town boundaries.
Vestry	A committee in which was vested the financial management of parish property, the upkeep of the church up to the chancel or rood screen, maintenance of the poor and some other duties. The Parson was <i>ex officio</i> head but the other members had normally (always in Bristol) become a self-electing body.
Vicar	The Parson of a parish where the greater Tithes had been impropriated by the patron.
Works	Used for good deeds, in contrast to faith. In general Protestants allowed faith alone as the means of salvation, while Roman Catholics allowed works and the prayers of others also.

FURTHER READING

This book is obviously about religious ministry in Bristol, so it seemed right list here a few sources which would give the interested reader a start on the broader pictures: the cultural and social history of Bristol in the seventeenth century; and the national religious history. This list, drawn up with Jonathan Barry, excludes those works whose place in the list of Short References testifies to their value.

Bristol

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