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Early Baptists in Leicestershire and Rutland

(III) GENERAL BAPTISTS

THE BAPTISTS first recorded in both Leicestershire and Rutland in 1647 were Arminian in outlook. Most of the churches that arose then were later designated "General Baptist", but some became Particular Baptist c.1700 and associated with a Calvinistic Baptist church that arose quite separately in south Leicestershire.

The Local Radical Background

Later writers looked for a longer ancestry to local nonconformity. The Leicester General Baptist Thomas Davye wrote:

"There have been in every age, from Christ and the Apostles' time, more or less, a people professing believers baptism, and rejecting that of infants". He mentions the Leicester Lollards of 1389, but claims no direct continuation between them and Baptists.¹

Crompton suspects nonconformity has a link with Lollards discovered between 1381 and the 1414 Rebellion:

"It cannot be sheer coincidence that places in Leicestershire such as Kibworth and Mountsorrel, where Lollards were found, have had a long history of dissent". He could have added Wigston Magna and Twyford, let alone Leicester itself.²

Though Leicester thereafter might be called "the heretics' metropolis",³ a Lollard continuity cannot be traced after the Rebellion's collapse. In 1511 some Leicester Lollards were linked with Coventry;⁴ then Lollardy disappears locally, and any influence it exerted became subsidiary to the momentum of the Reformation with its more coherent Biblical theology and the call for further reformation. No Lollard links with local Separatists are proven.

From the 1560s onwards prominent Puritans settled on the Earl of Huntingdon's Ashby-de-la-Zouch estate, especially around Arthur Hildersham.⁵ The Earl established a Puritan lectureship at Leicester by 1561.⁶ Radical Puritans urged that church government and discipline were the real issues for changes: Hildersham wished to reform, not separate from, the Church of England, and around Ashby there was no separation until 1662.

Welch attributes Puritan growth in Leicester itself in the early seventeenth century to the lack of endowments for the town benefices, so that only men with enthusiasm, attracting voluntary subscriptions, would serve there; the existence of a considerable class of petty tradesmen; and the tacit encouragement of the Borough authorities.⁷ Meanwhile Puritan conferences and prophesyings or exercises were reported from the 1570s onwards at Leicester, Ashby-de-la-Zouch and nearby Appleby and Packington, and Uppingham, and these tended towards the formation of a church within the Church.⁸

James I's discouragement of Puritans increased the likelihood of

Separatism, as happened in neighbouring counties around Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, and Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, in 1606-7. By 1626 Baptist churches existed in Coventry and Lincoln, associated with the London church which originated with Thomas Helwys.⁹ The Midland churches cannot prove their survival through Laud's ascendancy,¹⁰ though they recur with the newer Leicestershire churches in 1651.¹¹

Locally a deep rift appeared within the Church of England. The first recorded persecution of a Puritan in Leicester was of William Howe in 1617.¹² Soon separate meetings for worship were detected, disguised as repetitions of a sermon preached earlier in the day, as in 1620 and 1630.¹³ Despite energetic measures against nonconformity after 1630, in 1631 the extra-parochial area of the Newarke at Leicester "frequently harboured Papists non Conformists and Sectaries",¹⁴ and sermon repetitions were discovered in Leicester in 1633-4, conducted by Jacob Bottomley in his father William's house, and by James Ericke in Robert Ericke's house.¹⁵

Here are direct links with later thorough-going secession from the Church of England. During the Commonwealth Jacob Bottomley became "a great Ranter", though he returned to the Church of England after the Restoration.¹⁶ Robert Ericke's house was a Presbyterian meeting-place in 1672.¹⁷

Puritanism also became established at Loughborough,¹⁸ and on the southern borders of the county at Theddingworth,¹⁹ Claybrooke, where Puritan John Higgenson (c. 1546-1624) was vicar about fifty years,²⁰ and Fenny Drayton.²¹ From Frolesworth near Claybrooke came Sabine Staesmore, who joined Jacob's London Separatist church in 1616.²² From Fenny Drayton, of godly parents, came George Fox (1624-91) whose Separatist Society of Friends began in Leicestershire in 1647, parallel to Baptists.²³

The Civil War was the catalyst that produced Baptists and Quakers from this background. Leicester, Bagworth, Coleorton, Kirby Belars and Burley-on-the-Hill had Parliamentary garrisons. Charles captured Leicester in May, 1645—Edwards' *Gangraena* records Separatist consternation at this, suggesting they already had an interest in the town. After the New Model Army's victory at Naseby in June, 1645, most of Leicestershire was rapidly overrun, and the War ended in the county with the surrender of Royalist-held Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle in February, 1646.²⁴

The number of Puritan ministers, prepared to become Nonconformists in 1660-2, increased enormously after 1645. Abnormal trading conditions,²⁵ the overthrow of traditional restraints and patterns in Church and State, and the presence of an Army already including radicals, made areas of Puritan and Parliamentary support open to revolutionary ideas, including those for reforming the local churches advocated by travelling Baptist preachers in the wake of the Army.

The Creation of Baptist Churches: Rutland

Edwards wrote in 1646:

" . . . Where the Errors were never known, nor heard of before,

upon our (Parliament's) taking of Towns and Cities they come to Town; . . . where can a Man almost go to any Garrison, Town or City, and not meet with Anabaptists, Antinomians, Brownists, &c. . .

"They have appointed and kept Disputations from towne to towne in the Countrey, giving out the time, places and questions they will dispute of, as of Paedobaptisme, the Ministry of the Church of England, &c. . . In some great towne where some of the sectaries being souldiers have been quartered, they have desired the use of severall houses of persons well affected, that in the afternoon some Christians might meet to confer together . . .", and seek "a new house every day".²⁶

The first to do this in Leicestershire and Rutland was Norwich-born Samuel Oates (1614-83),²⁷ of Bell Alley church, London, where "universal Grace, the Arminian Tenets" were preached; "a Weaver . . . sent out as a Dipper and Emissary into the Countreyes".²⁸ In March, 1646/7 parish ministers in Rutland encountered Oates and begged the High Sheriff, Abel Barker, to take him before the Assizes.²⁹ Undeterred, Oates was at Stretton-on-the-Street in October, and the local justice, Robert Horsman,³⁰ commanded the village constables to bring him before Barker:

" . . . to answeard to such Articles as shall then bee layde unto his charge touching his gathering together of unlawfull, and disorderly assemblies and dispensing of unsounde doctrine unto the people . . ."³¹

Horsman admitted to the High Sheriff that this "dangerous schismatick" had used one of Horsman's properties at Stretton and had actually turned some of the local tenants against the parish ministers: "Hee is a malevolent Depraver of our Church, and I beeleave will be proved allsoe an Adversary to Magisteriall Governement".³² Little wonder Midland Baptists added a postscript to their Confession four years later, allaying fears of fresh rebellions and attempts to overthrow Parliament.³³

It was not easy to stop Baptist growth now. Suppressing Oates was no walk-over for the Parliamentary gentry and Puritan ministers. Their opposition to tyranny under Charles I and Laud made it difficult now to play the persecutor, when the cry was for liberty. One sore point about the system of parish ministers, Puritan or otherwise, was the imposition of tithes for their support. A petition from Rutland printed on 1 November 1647³⁴ reacted to the recent discussion in Parliament about tithes.³⁵ The "free born Subjects" in Rutland were especially affected because "our County being a champion County, and the greatest part thereof, consisteth of tillage, and tithes of all profits are paid in kinde, which in open feilds amounts to the fift part at the least of mens estates". Lawsuits were pending against several for non-payment, and judgments favourable to "some covetous and contentious Ministers" leading to distraint of goods and treble damages "will prove a yoke too heavy to be borne".

Although printed without signatures, this petition's tone reflects one of Oates' themes: "Hee most bitterly railes against Minist^{rs}

for their maintenance", and tithes belonged to the Old Testament, which is annulled for the Christian.³⁶ This topic, with its economic repercussions in a period of especial difficulties due to the Civil War, must have been particularly attractive to an agricultural area. It went with separation from the parochial system and adoption of the principle of voluntary support for the ministry, which in turn meant contracting in for church membership. Never since has Rutland given so much immediate support to a radical religious movement.

Oates was now settling in Rutland. During November he campaigned for the *Agreement of the People*³⁷ proposed by the Agents of the five Horse Regiments, including Robert Everard, soon to appear in the area, and offered for general acceptance by "the free-born People of England". It appealed for fairer proportions for Parliamentary elections, biennial elections, with Parliament inferior in power only to the people who elected it. Matters of religion were not to be subject to Parliament. Legal proceedings were to be based on good laws, and no privileges due to charters or ancestry should exempt people from such laws.

The agitations and success of Oates in Rutland and the adjacent areas of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire led to nineteen parish ministers petitioning Parliament, 11 December 1647.³⁸ Although they brought up everything against Oates out of the past, it is clear that in Rutland he had baptized large numbers, gathered a big following, and arranged weekly meetings in houses, barns, and stables, sometimes getting into parish church pulpits. He had denounced the Church of England, its ministers, infant baptism, and the use of law to determine religious matters; and the new mood against special privilege came out in asserting "Christ dyed for all and ev'ry man", "ev'ry man hath power to beleeve", and "any man may preach & administer y^e Sacram^{ts} as well as a Minist^r". Oates won yet more notoriety, as being against the Sabbath as a special day, and as a preacher who took up free-will offerings himself in his hat!

By the end of the year Oates had been arrested, taken to London—and escaped. He was rearrested in January 1648 and bound over to appear at the Rutland Assizes. However, the petitioners of December 1647 did not have time to prepare their case and produce witnesses, nor did Oates appear, so nothing was done at the Assizes. Oates considered himself acquitted, and by May 1648 had set about a fresh attack on the parish ministers and the monarchy, holding more frequent meetings with his followers, all creating schism in the parish churches and threatening mutiny.³⁸ The whole picture is one of new churches arising, with political radicalism, a new social levelling, and commonsense justice, hand in hand with a straightforward emphasis on New Testament teaching and the equality of believers in Christ's Church.

The areas affected are partly shown by the locations of the signatories in December 1647. It is only partial, because there is no one

from Leicestershire, which is mentioned in the petition and the order from the House of Lords; nor from Oakham, Rutland's county town where Oates was living, and his famous son Titus was born in 1649. Beyond Rutland there were Stamford, villages on the Northamptonshire side of the Welland (Deene, Easton on the Hill), southwest Lincolnshire (Braceborough, Uffington), and villages between Stamford and Peterborough (Barnack, Castor, Sutton). It is clear that in southwest Lincolnshire, east Leicestershire, Peterborough, and Northamptonshire close to Rutland, any Baptist church that comes to light during the Commonwealth had its origins, directly and continuously, from Oates' work in 1647.

By 1651 Rutland's Baptists were grouped into three distinct churches.³⁹ One focussed on *Burley-on-the-Hill*, which had had an Army garrison and whose Presbyterian vicar until 1661, Thomas Perkins, had signed the petition against Oates. It would draw from Cottesmore, Thistleton, Tinwell, Glaston, Stretton-on-the-Street, and Hambleton, whose parish ministers were also upset by Oates, and from Oakham, only two miles away, and Uppingham, the county's towns. In some of these places regular meetings must have taken place as well. In 1656 "Uppingham" was the only Rutland church mentioned in the co-operative effort to send "messengers into the west".⁴⁰ Although little is recorded of this church subsequently, the authorities considered it a revolutionary threat: in 1656 Col. Hacker reported the discovery of books sent from London for distribution by a grocer's wife, Mrs. Smythe of Uppingham, and in April 1661 a warrant was sought for suppressing the frequent Baptist meetings at Empingham.⁴¹ It was still a widespread church in 1715, meeting at Oakham, Uppingham, Braunston (two miles from Oakham, and otherwise unmentioned), and Empingham.⁴² Of their 1651 leaders, John Freeman may have been the Lieutenant Freeman who presented a petition from Rutland to Fairfax, 24 November 1648, against any treaty with Charles I that would take away the supreme authority of the House of Commons.⁴³ William Dalby may have written a pamphlet about a murder near Uppingham.⁴⁴ "Wm Dolby" of "Burleigh" was presented to the Peterborough Diocesan Court in July 1670 "for not coming to his pish church".⁴⁵

The second church centred on *Thorpe-by-Water*, a village in Seaton parish, at a distance from the parish church, where disaffection from the establishment that by-passed it could more easily arise. The Seaton parish minister was a leader in the campaign against Oates in 1647-8.⁴⁶ A number of Seaton parishioners were excommunicated in April 1669, including Anne Osborne, widow, of Thorpe, who was also presented in 1671 for not paying her church dues.⁴⁷ Her husband John, a leader here in 1659, may have been the "John Osborne, a Lover of the Truth as it is in Jesus" who shared in the renewed attacks on tithes after the Protectorate had ended with Richard Cromwell's death. Tithes were an idolatrous establishment by the Pope, unjustly exacted, and without any New Testament command or con-

firmation. He acknowledges a maintenance for Gospel ministers is right and necessary, but not by tithes.⁴⁸

One matter over which this church could not agree was the question as to whether all baptized believers should also receive the laying-on of hands. The 1651 leaders parted company in 1656: James Tiptaft ("Tentoft") continued with the Thorpe section who viewed laying-on of hands on all believers as "scriptureless"; Anthony Sewell ("Snell" or "Suell") went with those who practised this and met across the river at Wakerley, Northamptonshire.⁴⁹ Reunion probably occurred, rather than Thorpe becoming the Uppingham congregation:⁵⁰ by 1715 they met at Harringworth, Northamptonshire, between Thorpe and Wakerley.⁵¹

More known Baptists appear before the diocesan court in Charles II's reign from Harringworth than from anywhere else in the eastern half of the Peterborough diocese (which included Rutland). They include Anthony Sewell and his wife, James Chambers and his wife, and Robert Bringhurst, leaders of the Wakerley section in 1656, "for refusing to come to their parish Church to hear divine service" in 1668, 1670, and 1671, and excommunicated in October 1668.⁵² Presented and excommunicated with them were a shepherd, Thomas Curtis, and his wife, and Stephen Curtis, a family prominent enough to have provided Thomas Curtis (the same person?) as churchwarden in 1641, and now to provide Baptist leadership into the eighteenth century.⁵³ The extant diocesan records do not appear to confirm Crosby's account of Stephen Curtis, that "he was taken into custody by the bishop's writ, and lay in prison many years. He being a shepherd, had his sheep and goods seized, and taken from him; whereby he was much impoverished, and suffered greatly".⁵⁴ He was buried in Harringworth parish churchyard in 1727.⁵⁵ His great-grandson William Curtis was still using his home for General Baptist preaching in Harringworth in 1817,⁵⁶ when he died after being pastor of the whole church for twenty years.⁵⁷

The strength of this church lay in its production of new leadership well after the original impetus. Not only the Curtises but the Stangers appeared: William Stanger of Harringworth was excommunicated in 1670, and presented in 1671 "for not having his child baptized being about halfe a year old".⁵⁸ His grandson William was pastor until his death in 1790, when he was buried in the Harringworth parish churchyard, like the Curtises.⁵⁹ The earlier William, with Robert Bringhurst and Joseph Slater, also of Harringworth,⁶⁰ escaped imprisonment under the Conventicle Act by fleeing out of the county, and William protected his cattle from distraint for fines by driving them across the Welland into Rutland too. But all three had goods and cattle seized, and eventually had fees to pay to retain their freedom.⁶¹

The deep roots in Harringworth were shown in 1735, when under the second-generation Stanger, Matthew, the church was about to move the meeting-place to Morcott, Rutland, and spoke of "our

antient meeting at Harringworth of near an hundred years standing".⁶²

The third Rutland church in 1651, *Tixover*, disappeared; it should be linked with Stamford, Lincolnshire, fives miles away, first named in 1656.⁶³

Oates' disturbance of part of Leicestershire in 1647 may have resulted in the *Twyford* church, midway between Oakham and Leicester. Its absence from the 1651 *Faith and Practise* may have been due to its smallness⁶⁴ and out-of-the-way location. It appears in 1655, appealing to kindred churches for help for a man in debt.⁶⁵ Two signatories, John Bull and Charles Latham, signed a petitionary Letter of January 1659/60, though neither is listed for Twyford in the 1659 *Further Testimony*.⁶⁶

South Leicestershire

Bitteswell and Sutton-in-the-Elms. In 1647, while Rutland's Baptists were arising, George Fox found Baptists meeting with "some that had separated from them" at Broughton Astley, scene of excellent recruiting for the Parliamentary Army in 1642, and only three miles from the Puritan centre, Claybrooke.⁶⁷ "Not many of the Baptists came, but abundance of other people were there. And the Lord opened my mouth, and his everlasting Truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all . . . And several were convinced in those parts . . ." This was the first of several occasions when Fox disrupted Baptists and started a local Quaker meeting.

Only a local organised Baptist church could arrange so public a meeting, and only from such could a further separation occur. At the outset, separation begot separation. The cause and parties involved are unknown. The laying-on of hands controversy in the Midlands does not appear before 1655. 1647 is also too early to involve the origin of the Arnesby church. Perhaps two nearby churches, Earl Shilton and Bitteswell, resulted, though their differentiation into General and Particular did not emerge until 1707; in 1651 both subscribed to the same *Faith and Practise*. Another possibility is that Calvinistic Baptists from or visiting Coventry⁶⁸ came to dispute with Arminian brethren.

In 1765 Thomas Morley wrote:

"There was a scattered people in these parts. Their being first formed into a church state I take to be near the year 1650; my grandfather Mr. Thomas Townsend being chosen pastor, and Mr. Thomas Morris of Lutterworth deacon. The major part of the church was esteemed General in principle. Their meetings were kept at several places alternately; at Sutton, Willoughby, Bitteswell, Leir, Frowlesworth . . ."⁶⁹

Thomas Morris senior (died 1682)⁷⁰ lived at Bitteswell, this church's centre in 1651 and 1652.⁷¹ In 1655 he published a tract after being sent as a messenger to try to stop the laying-on of hands controversy.⁷² Morley's Thomas Morris, perhaps the first one's son, appeared in

1670, a grocer, presented for not going to church.⁷³ Townsend (died c. 1708)⁷⁴ lived at Frolesworth; he must have been only in his twenties when signing the 1651 *Faith and Practise*.

The Sheldon Survey in 1669 shows the extent of this church. At Frolesworth:

"An anabaptistical meeting for several yeares held at house of Thomas Townsend of this pish kept by the same psons as in Leire do every fortnight in number 10 or 15 of the meaner sort".⁷⁵

At Leire:

"One Conventicle of Anabaptists of the poorer sort of people about 20 in number John Kitchin of Lutterworth Ironmonger being their teacher they usually meet on Sundayes at the dwelling house of Elisha Lord husbandman."⁷⁶

At Ashby Parva:

"One Conventicle of Anabaptists consisting of the poorer sort of people about twenty in number Tho: Morris husbandman being their teacher they usually meete on Sunday at the dwelling house of Roger Norman an excommunicate person", a safe place, for in 1682 Norman was presented "for neglecting his office of Constable."⁷⁷

These three villages lie close together and immediately between Broughton Astley and Claybrooke. Bitteswell and Lutterworth are near too, and from the latter came John Kitchin, who seems to belong to the Baptist second generation. As a tradesman he had more chance to travel about, and is found in 1669 also preaching further afield at Sapcote⁷⁸ (of which nothing else is heard) and at Whetstone with an associate of the Kilby Calvinistic Baptist church⁷⁹—does Kitchin mark the beginning of that section which was not General in principle? Kitchin alone sought licences in 1672, as teacher at Shilton, Warwickshire,⁸⁰ and at Lutterworth,⁸¹ the only evidence of Baptist meetings in the town until 1705, and then not connected with this church.

Of Willoughby Waterless we know only what Morley wrote, apparently about post-Toleration days.

Broughton Astley and Sutton-in-the-Elms (in the same parish) do not appear as meeting-places after 1647 until after 1700. About 1700 a plain brick meeting-house was built at Sutton, now vestry to the present chapel. From c. 1699 Benjamin Moore of Sutton was co-pastor with the aged Townsend, and he was surely responsible for the siting and erection of the meeting-house. For a while it was used fortnightly, with meetings at the other villages by rota in the other weeks.⁸²

Sutton has attracted a Baptist folklore. Morley's "near the year 1650" has become a firm date, even the date of the first chapel. But Baptists in our counties only had private dwelling-houses to meet in before the 1690s; services were not held in one village only, let alone one building. In any case, red brick only superseded other materials for ordinary building in Leicestershire in the 1690s.⁸³

Again,

"The great abundance of elm trees which formerly covered the

surrounding country, and from which the village Sutton-in-the-Elms took its name, afforded the means of secrecy necessary in those troublous times when persecution raged against all who did not conform to the Established Church. The spot is still pointed out where, under the shelter of the trees, these persons met to worship God . . .”⁸⁴

overlooks their freedom during the Commonwealth. When persecution came under Charles II the meeting-places appear anywhere but Sutton. In fact the only recorded attempt to suppress conventicles connected with this church was at Frolesworth in 1682, and it failed: the constable could not get through the bolted door to the yard, and the “dippers” had time to abandon what was to have been a day-long Sunday gathering.⁸⁵

And again,

“From the fact that the deacons and members of the church were scattered about in the neighbouring towns of Leicester, Lutterworth, and Hinckley, it is supposed that Sutton became the place of meeting in consequence of the ‘Five-Mile-Act’ . . .”

ignores the continuous presence of a congregation in Leicester that never needed to travel to out-of-the-way places. The 1665 Five Mile Act did not concern meeting-places but former parish ministers—none of whom was acceptable as a preacher to Leicestershire’s General Baptists anyway. Gatherings outside of parish churches for more than family worship were illegal anywhere under the Conventicle Acts, though it does not seem to have deterred Baptists around Sutton.

The Baptist impact was even more radical four miles away at *Earl Shilton*. Whether or not this church arose from the disagreement in 1647 at Broughton, Baptist progress there was so great by January 1650 that Nathaniel Stephens, Presbyterian minister of Fenny Drayton, eight miles away, came to discuss why so many had separated from the parish church “to follow the way of the separation” The reasons given covered doctrine, ministry, and church government, but Stephens found objections to infant baptism as unscriptural the strongest motive for forming a new church.⁸⁶ This church had links with Robert Everard, who in October and November 1647 had been one of the Agents (representing Cromwell’s regiment) who published several pamphlets including the *Agreement of the People*.⁸⁷ Stephens mentions his itinerations, so he may have come to the village in 1649 or earlier, one of the “Masters of Division”. In September 1650 Everard wrote *Baby-Baptisme routed* against Stephens’ views left behind at Earl Shilton in March.

Earl Shilton’s 1651 Baptist leaders, Thomas Webster and Nathan Jones,⁸⁸ gave way to others. It was a particularly revolutionary centre, at which armed Baptists, including former Parliamentary soldiers, congregated at the time of Venner’s revolt in January 1661, only to be arrested.⁸⁹ In 1664 thirty-three villagers were excommunicated, including more Joneses, John senior (born 1605) and John junior.⁹⁰ In 1672 John Jones (junior?) was licensed at neighbouring Barwell as

“Baptist Teacher”, and during Monmouth’s rebellion in 1685 “John Jones of Desford” (four miles away) spent three weeks in Leicester goal.⁹¹ In 1679 another Jones, Nehemiah, “Constable of Earleshilton”, was presented “for refusing to present absenters from church”; in 1698 his house was licensed for dissenters.⁹²

Also excommunicated in 1664 were William Biggs and Edward Cheney. Biggs was licensed as Baptist teacher at Cheney’s house in 1672, attended by fifty in 1669.⁹³ This well-established church had a succession of Cheneyes until 1815.⁹⁴

It was at John Oneby’s house in Barwell that Jones taught in 1672. Oneby may not have been joined to the Baptist church, but welcomed a variety of Nonconformists. In 1669 at Barwell:

“Several Conventicles have been of great numbers of people of all sorts held together in Mr. John Onebie and Mr. Willm Paget’s houses the preachers usually Mr. Mathew Clarke and Mr. Shuttlewood, both of Stoke Golding, two ejected ministers; and sometimes Mr. Biggs of Earleshilton a labouring man . . . The same psons goe to several meetings wh might easily be suppressed by the Civill magistrate.”

They might be suppressed—if a local lawyer did not take a leading part. John Oneby (1629-1721), of a Hinckley family of lawyers and barristers, began practising law at Wykin, Hinckley, and then bought Barwell manor, to which he moved. Biggs, the only Baptist preacher hereabouts called a labouring man in this period, leads worship for the lord of the manor! Preachers and congregations were not always of the same social stratum; the church was not disrupted when a social barrier was breached in Christ. Oneby was appointed bailiff of Leicester, 1687-8, after which he settled and died in London. Nichols, who says nothing of his nonconformity, quotes, “Justice Oneby has been a pious, temperate man, all his days . . . He is justly admired for his impartial justice (and great moderation) to all persons . . . He labours after conformity to his suffering Lord, . . . and enjoys such communion with him . . . ”⁹⁵

Leicester

Again and again the local Baptist churches arose in a brief period from 1647 on. By 1648 Baptists were visiting, if not inhabiting, *Leicester*, when George Fox “was moved to go to Leicester, and when I came there I heard of a great meeting for a dispute and that there were many to preach, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common-prayer-men. The meeting was in a steeplehouse . . . ” Fox asked, “Dost thou call this place a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?” His definition of “church” disrupted the disputation. “But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts . . . And there was one man that seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me, but he sooned turned against me, and joined with a priest in pleading for infants’ baptism, though he himself had been a Baptist before . . . ” The vital topic, as in Oates and Everard’s teaching, was the nature of

a true Christian church. The turncoat Baptist shows the ease with which religious loyalties could develop and change in a period of unprecedented freedom and discussion.⁹⁶

The next year Samuel Oates was in Leicestershire, behaving as Edwards described, which led to a disputation before two justices, in effect a trial for heterodoxy. ". . . Mr. Oates, a Baptist, coming into the country, disturbed several congregations, and dispersed public challenges, to dispute with any minister or ministers upon the point of baptism. Several justices of the peace sent to Mr. William Sheffield rector of Ibstock, 1646-60, desiring him to accept the challenge, and dispute the point with him in Leicester castle. . . . The dispute continued three hours, and was managed with great fairness and temper. At length Mr. Oates was gravelled with an argument . . . Whereupon he frankly confessed that he could not, at present, answer it. The justices, at the breaking up of the meeting, obliged Mr. Oates to give his promise, that he would no more disturb the congregations in that county".⁹⁷ Calamy, writing after the law had silenced men like Sheffield too, softened the ending of this incident. The Borough records show it was gaol briefly for Oates and his colleague, Ralph London, on the basis of legislation passed in May 1648 by a predominantly Presbyterian Parliament. They taught "That the baptizing of Infants is unlawful That the baptisme of people who were infants is voyd and that the parochiall Ministers of the Church of England are not true Ministers".⁹⁸

Doubtless Oates "disturbed" Leicester itself, producing or enlarging a separated church, represented by Coniers Conigrave and Thomas Rogers in 1651 and 1652.⁹⁹ Oates' companion was probably the "London" who was parish minister of Knighton, an outlying chapelry of St. Margaret's parish, Leicester, from 1646 until superseded in 1650.¹⁰⁰

Leicester is unusual in having a complete change of leadership by 1656, when William Inge and Thomas Christian represented them.¹⁰¹ Perhaps socially more substantial people were available. The Inge family centred, significantly, on Knighton. One had been mayor of Leicester, 1636-7; another was parish minister of Knighton in 1658; and Knighton was William's home. "William Inge Esq^r" was the largest purchaser of fee farm and chief rents from the Corporation in 1670-1.¹⁰² He was presented for being absent from church in 1682, and spent three weeks in gaol during Monmouth's rebellion, an action taken only against prominent people unsympathetic to James II.¹⁰³ Inge died in 1692, still at Knighton.¹⁰⁴

Having Inge as a resident, it is not surprising that while Leicester's parishes reported no conventicles in 1669, Knighton two miles away had three, "two of Anabaptists & one of Quakers either of the said meetings about fforty in number consisting of the inferior sort of people. Wm Ing Wm Mugg and ffarmer of Kilby and Wm Wells jun teachers to the Anabaptists . . ." ¹⁰⁵ Two congregations, quite separate since at least 1659,¹⁰⁶ have had their teachers lumped together.

North Leicestershire

Mountsorrel. Fox gives one record of Oates' Leicestershire mission in 1649 before the justices intervened:

"There were some Baptists in that country whom I desired to see and speak with, because they were separated from the public worship. So one Samuel Oates, who was one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow-on-Soar; and there we discoursed with them. And one of them said that what was not of faith was sin. Whereupon I asked them what faith was, and how it was wrought in man. But they turned off from that and spoke of their baptism in water".¹⁰⁷

Separation from parish churches was not discussed because they were agreed about that. For the Baptists "what was not of faith was sin" led to baptism of believers, not of infants incapable of faith. Fox was for inner spiritual meanings, which enhanced the nature of true faith but devalued outward symbolism.

Fox came here because separation had just happened, rather than because it had never happened before among Baptists of his acquaintance. He left some Baptists veering to the Quakers, and soon there was a Quaker meeting at nearby Sileby. Separatism was now strong in the lower Soar valley, and the competition between Baptists and Quakers for allegiance continued. In 1655 Fox "passed . . . to Sileby to William Smyth's where there was a great meeting and there came several Baptists; and there was one of their Baptist teachers convinced to become a Quaker that said he had baptized thirty a day, and came to the Lord's teaching by his spirit and power".¹⁰⁸ If this was a local Baptist leader, it could be Robert Fielding, representing the Mountsorrel church in 1651 and 1652, but not again.¹⁰⁹

William Kendall, his colleague in 1651, lived at Sileby, where in 1669 he had taught a Baptist conventicle at his house "on the Sundaies & daies in the weeke for these 2 or 3 years of the less substantial people in the pish and some vulgar people from other places their numbers about sixtie . . ."¹¹⁰

Edward Smith (died 1713) of Mountsorrel must have been young when given as a leader in 1652. He was still leading when he licensed his house here in 1698, and became trustee of property Elizabeth Thornton left the church in 1699, one house of which became the permanent meeting-house.¹¹¹

The church met at Quorn in 1659,¹¹² but in 1669 was at Sileby (above) and Mountsorrel, for which the return is muddled:

"Three Conventicles in this parish one of Anabaptists and the other Independent & ye other of Quakers. the number of Anabaptists about 80, & of Independents about 50, and the other about 40 all of them consisting of the better sort of people. teachers of Anabaptists Adams gent. teacher of ye Independents Edw: Smith yeom: teacher of ye Quakers not".¹¹³

Smith and Richard Adams have been reversed. Adams was never

associated with the 1651 *Faith and Practise* churches. As he had been a parish minister, presumably receiving tithes, while these Baptists were in separation and critical of these things, it is hard to see Smith's congregation associating with him.

The D'Anvers family of nearby Swithland Hall supported Parliament in the Civil War. The second son of the owner was the famous Colonel Henry D'Anvers (c. 1622-87), and he already had more radical views on the interference of the State in spiritual matters when he addressed his *Quaeries Concerning Liberty of Conscience* to "the Ministers (so called) of Leicestershire" in March 1648/9. Though not baptized as a believer till governor of Stafford, 1650-3, here was powerful encouragement to separatism in the locality. He became member of Parliament for Leicestershire in the Barebones' Parliament in 1653, and moved to London. When he inherited the Swithland estate in 1656 he put it in trust to protect it from "the persecutors of his time".¹¹⁴

Only five miles from Mountsorrel and later linked with it, *Wymeswold* is first mentioned in 1651, led by Richard Leake ("Lay"), a shoemaker, and William Franke, and again with Rempstone ("Rimson"), Nottinghamshire, one mile away, in 1656.¹¹⁵ It may have begun with former soldiers: in 1665 the constable arrested "the old soldiers, Baptists, and Quakers", and Richard Leake senior was presented for not going to church in 1669, 1671, and 1682.¹¹⁶

By 1669 they were meeting with a new leader at Rempstone:

"Anabaptists att a meeting house in the towne, every Sunday, Tuesday and Friday. And oftentimes they meete at the house of Elias Boyer sometimes 200 seldome under 100".

This is the largest number given for a Baptist congregation in our counties until Arnesby in 1715. Their teachers were Elias Boyer, Samuel Brett, one Deesley, William Kendall (Sibleby), and William Parker (Loughborough). In 1669 Boyer also preached at Normanton-on-Soar, and Castle Donington (linked with Calvinistic Baptists).¹¹⁷

Elias was probably related to Rempstone's rector Thomas Boyer who in 1663 presented twenty people for refusing to attend church and pay church dues. Later he complained that "Elias Boyer soweth dissension and refuses to bury his dead according to the rites of the Church of England", and in 1674 said he had more dissenters in his parish than conformists.¹¹⁸ Similarly in the Sheldon Survey of 1676 Wymeswold has eighty adult Nonconformists and a hundred adult Conformists, by far the highest ratio of dissent in our counties in that Survey.¹¹⁹

Loughborough. William Parker and William Wilde represented a church at Normanton-on-Soar in 1651.¹²⁰ Parker came from Loughborough, three miles away, where by 1659 there was a congregation which he taught in 1669: "One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 30 consisting of a meaner sort of people theire Teachers Wm Parker".¹²¹ He died here in 1681.¹²² The town had one of the smallest Baptist congregations in the lower Soar area.

Normanton came under Boyer's influence: "Anabaptists once

every weeke or fortnight att the house of George Peake 20 or 30 Elias Boyer of Rempstone is the chiefest of them and their speaker besides one Ralph Pearson the rest are mechanicks and poore women".¹²³

West Leicestershire

That the rector of Ibstock disputed against Oates suggests that some of the "disturbed" congregations in 1649 were thereabouts. George Moore and Robert Hebb represented *Whitwick* in 1651, four miles away. This chapter of Baptist history in Whitwick seems to end with Moore (died 1682).¹²⁴

Moore represented Whitwick ("Whitwell") and Markfield in 1656.¹²⁵ *Markfield* is first mentioned among Baptists in 1655 as the scene of an "exercise" by Benjamin Morley on the true foundation of the church.¹²⁶ Between Leicester and Ibstock, skirting Charnwood Forest as Whitwick and Mountsorrel do, and near the old Bagworth garrison, there were separate churches in 1659 at Markfield, *Thornton*, and *Ratby*.¹²⁷ Pre-Laudian radical Puritans had been active hereabouts, at Stanton-under-Bardon and Thornton,¹²⁸ and nonconformity to the 1662 Act of Uniformity was strong.¹²⁹ In 1669 George Brotherhood taught at his house at Thornton. He died in 1672 and his widow Elizabeth's house was licensed that December along with Richard Booth's house, Ratby, John Gardner's house, Barlestone, and Booth and William Peasant of Market Bosworth as Baptist teachers.¹³⁰ All were presented for not attending parish churches between 1676 and 1686.¹³¹ Barlestone continued as the meeting-place after 1689.

South East Leicestershire

Another place with a Puritan tradition that had a Baptist church by 1651 was *Theddingworth*, on the Northamptonshire border, represented by William Poole and William Burdett. The 1652 Petition has "Jo. Coles, William Burditt, for the church of Gumley", three miles away. Coles may have belonged to Gumley.¹³²

In 1652 John Oneby married Elizabeth Fish at Gumley parish church. The parish minister was Nicholas Kestin, ejected in 1662 and preaching in 1672 in Leicester as a Congregationalist. Oneby's cousin owned an estate here, and refers to "cousen Burdett of Mousley" (1668) and "Will Burdett" (1673) managing his affairs and collecting rents at Gumley. There was much here favourable to the growth of a Baptist church.¹³³

In 1672 Burdett (died 1703) licensed himself as a Baptist teacher at his house in Mowsley. He was arrested during Monmouth's rebellion, a sign of his influence.¹³⁴ He may have written *A Wonder of Wonders*; though it speaks up for a servant-girl against injustice, it contains nothing distinctively Separatist, Baptist, or Leicestershire.¹³⁵

The *Langtons* had considerable Puritanism.¹³⁶ In 1655 Mary Stavely, later Mrs. Pheasant, inherited West Langton Hall, and sided with the Presbyterians.¹³⁷ In such a setting it is not surprising that even more radical dissent arose.

The Langton Baptist church occurs in 1659, without William

Ainesworth of West Langton, but with Henry Hartshorne of Lubenham.¹³⁸ Ainesworth, "labourer", "gardiner", may have been employed by Mrs. Pheasant. He first appears at the 1656 Stamford meeting. In 1672 he was licensed as a Baptist teacher at his house at West Langton.¹³⁹ In 1687 the number of presentments for not attending parish churches from the Langtons, especially Tur Langton, was disproportionately large. They still included "Wm Hanesworth"; his successors in leadership, the Hollydays, appear in "Henry Holyday carpenter".¹⁴⁰

Lubenham is four miles from the Langtons, but only two from Theddingworth. In 1669 it had "One conventicle of Anabaptists consisting of the meaner sort about in number Hen. Hartshorne husbandman being their teacher. they usually at the dwelling house of ye said Hartshorne on Sundayes in time of divine service". That November he was presented "for keeping of Conventicles" there with "Mr. Hawkesworth". In 1672 Hartshorne licensed his house, though not himself as teacher.^{140a} Despite the proximity of Theddingworth and Gumley, Hartshorne and Ainsworth never occur connected with Burdett.

In 1669 Hartshorne also appeared at a Saddington conventicle, not mentioned again, "of Anabaptists about 40 of an ordinary sort Wm Hanesworth of West Langton labourer Joseph Blithe of Arnesbie weaver Hen: Hartshorne of Lubnam yeo: their teachers . . ." Blythe was from the Kilby Calvinistic church! As at Whetstone and Castle Donington we have a blurring of otherwise clearcut distinctions between the two types of Baptist.¹⁴¹

North East Leicestershire

Leicestershire's list in the 1651 *Faith and Practise* begins with John Parker and Henry Redgate for *Waltham-on-the-Wolds*. The 1659 *Further Testimony* has John Darker, a surname occurring at Scalford and Waltham at this time: one of the sons of Edward Darker, gent., (1566-1651) of Scalford, that survived him was a John.¹⁴²

The report in 1669 was

"One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 40 in number consisting of an ordinary sort of people Hen: Redgate tayler Tobias Watson of Garthorpe joyner being their Teachers the usually meet at ye dwelling of ye sd Hen: Redgate on Sundayes in time of divine service".¹⁴³ The Waltham meeting probably ended whenever Redgate died: presentments for his not attending church cease after 1672.¹⁴⁴

There never was a meeting at Garthorpe, three miles away, where Tobias and Isabel Watson and their son Thomas were repeatedly presented for not attending church, 1670-86.¹⁴⁵ The next village (Freeby) was the country home of the Presbyterian Hartopp family.

The lasting part of this church centred on *Knipton*, four miles from Waltham, where Parliamentary soldiers besieged Belvoir Castle in 1644/5. Redgate and Watson both married at Knipton, in 1643/4 and 1645 respectively. Redgate's daughter was baptized at the parish church here in 1644; Cicilie Grosse, "Anabaptistically buried" in

1666, had her baby baptized in December 1644.¹⁴⁶

The first break with infant baptism was:

"1651 Thomas Grococke Anabaptist had a child borne about this tyme but not bapt^d And his brother Edward Grococke had a daughter borne about March 1651 but not baptized".¹⁴⁷

There is another hint of links with the wider world when the parish register records:

"April 29 1663 John Joanes a Welsh man sojourner being an Anabaptist was permitted not being excommunicate to be layd in the church yard by his owne associates, whose grave flowed so with water that his corps was covered with it so that he was twice dipt".¹⁴⁸

The register also records:

"1682 Thomas Bissel Turner, & Father of the Mob of Anabaptists in this Parish happened to dy at Hucknal in Nottinghams Jan. ye 8th & there was buried".¹⁴⁹ Bissills do not appear in the registers until 1658, suggesting the family came here with Thomas, perhaps already a Baptist, perhaps even with the Army. He signed the 1659 *Further Testimony*. The Bissills or Bishills, appeared frequently for not attending the parish church. The sons took Thomas's place by 1686, and his family remained with the church throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁰

All this suggests a large conventicle. But in 1669 Knipton had:

"One Conventicle of Anabaptists about 8 in number consisting of a mean sort of people Tobias Watson Carpenter being their teacher. they usually meet at the dwelling house of fra: Templeman husbandman on Sundayes, sometimes on the week dayes".¹⁵¹

The Templemans were an established Knipton family. Francis, a farmer, died in 1685/6.¹⁵²

Links between the churches

The widely-spread churches we have surveyed almost all arose within four years or less of 1647. The meeting-places might vary, but most of the places thus used had had Baptists from the outset. Not only was there a sudden and wide appearance of Baptists, but their communities endured, despite being made illegal under Charles II and having no permanent meeting-houses.

The 1651 *Faith and Practise* united these churches with others in Lincolnshire (twelve), Huntingdonshire (Fenstanton), Bedfordshire (one), Northamptonshire (one), Oxfordshire (one), and Warwickshire (two). It seems like an embryonic Association, though when such things were regularly organised in our counties they never had so wide a coverage. The 1652 Petition links four Leicestershire churches in another direction, with Derbyshire (one), Northamptonshire (one), Staffordshire (six), and Shropshire (one). The Fenstanton Records bring in Nottinghamshire and Cambridgeshire. The 1659 *Further Testimony to Truth* involved 31 churches. Leicestershire heads the list (eleven churches) and seems to have taken the lead, surrounded by Rutland (two churches), Lincolnshire (six), Northamptonshire (one),

Nottinghamshire (one), Derbyshire (one), Staffordshire (six), and Shropshire (three).

The mention of Wales in the *Faith and Practise* and the Welshman at Knipton suggest contacts otherwise unknown, though in 1656 messengers were "sent into the west".¹⁵³

The *Faith and Practise* was directed towards those engaged in disputations, like Stephens at Earl Shilton.¹⁵⁴ Stephens takes it up in replying in 1658¹⁵⁵ to Everard's *The Creation and Fall of Adam*.¹⁵⁶ This, the *Faith and Practise*, and Everard's *Nature's Vindication*¹⁵⁷ were all published by William Larnar, and appeared as one volume in 1652.¹⁵⁸

Sections 1-10 of the *Faith and Practise* echo Everard's *Nature's Vindication*. God is Creator of all, therefore to be worshipped by all, and creation declares God's power and righteousness sufficiently to teach man about God. This was a more optimistic view of creation since the Fall, and of man's ability to learn of God through it, than the Calvinist would take.

Sections 11-16 concern Adam, echoing *The Creation and Fall of Adam*. In refuting Everard Stephens noticed "The Confession of faith . . . doth not speak one word of this sin of the nature. . . . They are altogether silent in the point of original sinne".¹⁵⁹ In a time of revolution here were arguments against established privileges and class distinctions—the ordinary man was just as much part of the good creation of God and just as much a descendant of Adam as anyone else.

These emphases and the facts about publication suggest Everard's influence behind the *Faith and Practise*, arising from controversy such as at Earl Shilton the previous year.

Similarly Jesus died for all, is Lord of all, is the Lawgiver for all, giving every man some measure of light, and God furnishes men with gifts and abilities. They are not saying all men are saved willy-nilly, but that all can be saved. God of His grace calls sinners to repent, and gives them opportunities to do so. Some refuse; others believe and obey, and so use the strength and abilities given them to serve God (sections 17-45). Part of a believer's obedience is baptism, at the same time as which a man becomes part of the visible church (sections 47-50).

Each church was to "set apart . . . gifted men . . . to attend upon preaching of the word" and to give to maintain them, though "the Ministers of the Gospel ought . . . to labour with their hands, that they may not be overchargeable". In contrast with parish churches, tithes imposed on all and patrons appointing ministers were replaced by maintenance and selection of ministers by the gathered church alone (sections 58-61).

The church could also set apart men to "oversee" aid to the needy. From this springs the "deacon", though the term was not used. Morley distinguished the Bitteswell leaders as "pastor" (Townsend), and "deacon" (Morris). But the earlier Morris was himself a

teacher. The *Faith and Practise* does not say only one man is to be set apart for teaching in each church; a scattered church would need more; in a small church the teachers might be the most suitable to look after relief and other administration. Leadership was chosen by the church, but responsibility fell on about two men for every department. Both served as minister, teacher, pastor, elder, deacon, or whatever title was in vogue for the job to be done; in general, "servants" or "officers". If they went elsewhere on church matters they became "messengers" as well, like Morris in 1655. All who had these church responsibilities were ordained by laying-on of hands, at a time of prayer and fasting (sections 64, 73, 76).

Co-operation between churches "in fellowship" concerned appeals for the needy (cf. Twyford in the records of a church far away); meeting the expenses of messengers sent to new areas, and stirring up absentees to help;¹⁶⁰ political appeals; and settling local controversies.

The argument about laying-on of hands is an example of the last. It also became widespread because of the ease with which preachers could visit associated churches. By 1655 Benjamin Morley of Ravenshorpe, Northamptonshire, was laying hands on all baptized believers. He joined the October 1656 London Assembly in saying that not to do so was to be out of communion with the churches in southern England.¹⁶¹

Thomas Morris, "a messenger sent to remove some mistakes", had been present when Morley preached his views at Earl Shilton and Markfield, and Everard confronted Morley at Thorpe-by-Water. A meeting at Leicester agreed "that the work of our Lord should be carried on together".¹⁶²

This did not solve matters in one church at least. One section of Thorpe withdrew, or were excluded, to Wakerley, because in July 1656 the elders "with some of other congregations, without the churches' consent, did establish a decree to have no communion with those that were under laying on of hands". Those who remained at Thorpe wrote in January 1656/7 of their sorrow "because we joined with them, which we are commanded to withdraw from, viz. them that own that scriptureless practice of laying on of hands on baptized believers as baptized believers". Both parties were writing to Fensanton, who thought there was more to it, because Thorpe greeted them as "dear brethren", although they practised what Thorpe condemned!

Those who had left the establishment because of its scriptureless practices, were now either to pull apart, excluding each other for being unscriptural, or to say that it did not matter this time.

Joint political appeals occurred first in 1652, when the militarily successful Cromwell was asked to continue the work of removing burdens and grievances (e.g. tithes) that remained, and to replace unfit public officials.¹⁶³ Instead came the Protectorate. Richard Cromwell's abdication in May, 1659, was followed by a disastrous Royalist revolt in August. In the political turmoil one group of Army officers

under Lambert replaced Parliament with a Committee of Safety in October. Among Baptist petitions for national reformation made at this time of crisis was *A Further Testimony to Truth*.¹⁶⁴ It was similar to, though more detailed than, the 1652 Petition—except that now they had nothing complimentary to say about either Cromwell. They were still appealing for a thorough reformation. The call was to root out those who supported the Royalists in open revolt; to remove compulsory support for an enforced parochial ministry; to have the legal system led by the best qualified, with justice easily available to the needy; and to choose all public officials in civil and military affairs only from people who fear God and really love all God's people.

Within months a new regime was in power that would tempt some in our area to think of armed revolt,¹⁶⁵ would put Baptists into the wilderness politically and would make their public worship illegal. But it would also greatly increase those who shared their opposition to the current establishments.

NOTES

¹ Thomas Davye, *The baptism of adult believers only, asserted and vindicated; and that of infants disproved*, London: 1719 (preface, Leicester: 1718), pp. 51, 94-97.

² J. Crompton, "Leicestershire Lollards", *Transactions, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. XLIV (1968-9), pp. 11-44. Lollards discovered included William Swinderby and William Smith at Leicester, 1381-2; eight, including Goldsmith, Scrivener, and Taylor, at Leicester, 1389; leading families (Friday, Herrick, Hutte, Smith) at Wigston Magna, 1402-13; John Anneys, at Castle Donington, 1413; an unbeficed chaplain, John Edward, perhaps alias Parlebien, at Mountsorrel and Woodhouse, 1413-4; William Trivet, at Twyford, 1413. Support for the 1414 Lollard Rebellion came from Leicester, Belton, Mountsorrel, Sibley, and particularly around Kibworth with Walter Gilbert. But only seventeen Leicestershire Lollards were named as taking up arms, out of a county population of 50,000; though this was a higher number than in most counties.

³ K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-conformity*, London: 1952, p. 172.

⁴ Crompton, *op. cit.*, p. 33; J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520*, Oxford: 1965, pp. 114f. They were two painters, John Davy, originally from Coventry, and Richard Dowcheman, a foreigner.

⁵ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London: 1967, pp. 48-50; C. E. Welch, "Early Nonconformity in Leicestershire", *Transactions, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. XXXVII (1961-2), pp. 32f. Between 1587 and his death in 1632 Hildersham was first lecturer, and then, with interruptions, vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

⁶ Collinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 52; H. Stocks (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Leicester, 1603-1688*, Cambridge: 1923, pp. 229, 230, 248, 478, 538.

⁷ Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸ Collinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 209, 215, 438; Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Welch, *op. cit.*, pp. 33f.

⁹ C. Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research, 1550-1641*, Cambridge: 1912, vol. I, p. 225.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 275, 280.

¹¹ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 273f.

¹² Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Howe was curate of St Nicholas', and had been active at Stanton-under-Bardon on the edge of Charnwood Forest.

¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 34-6, 38. Involved were disciples of Francis Higgenon (1587-1630), son of Claybrooke's Puritan vicar and influenced by Hildersham. Higgenon was lecturer at St Nicholas', c.1618-27. In 1630 it was Higgenon's pupil John Angell, Leicester town preacher from 1627.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 38; Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

¹⁵ Welch, *op. cit.*, pp. 38f.

¹⁶ J. Nickalls (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox*, Cambridge: 1952, pp. 182f.; Stocks, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 387, 471, 509; Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 43; C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, London: 1972, p. 167f.

¹⁷ G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, London: 1911, vol. I, p. 571.

¹⁸ The curate John Howe was suppressed in 1634 as "a great conventicler": Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 39, as "Mr. Holt". Cf *General Baptist Magazine*, August 1864, p. 297, based on the Loughborough Bridgemaster's Accounts and Roger's *Life of Howe*.

¹⁹ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, Oxford: 1934, pp. 232f. George Green, vicar from 1620, was ejected in 1662.

²⁰ Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 32. Fenny Drayton had a succession of Puritan rectors.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 31f. He was born in 1582, son of William who was probably rector.

²³ *The Journal of George Fox*, p. 1.

²⁴ For the Civil War in Leicestershire, see J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, London: 1804, vol. III, part II, appendix pp. 17-69; *Victoria County History, Leicestershire*, London, 1954, vol. II, pp. 110-3; V. C. H., *Rutland*, London: 1908, vol. I, p. 155.

²⁵ Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. xliii. Nearly all petitions about trade in the 17th century Borough records come from the Civil War period.

²⁶ T. Edwards, *Gangraena*, London: 1646, part II, p. 80; part I, p. 57. Edwards mentions no Sectaries in or close to Leicestershire and Rutland.

²⁷ J. Simpson, in *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, vol. III (1893-5), p. 1. Oates was baptized at St Saviour's parish church, Norwich, 26 September 1614, son of Titus and Anne. Simpson quotes the admission book of Caius College, Cambridge: "Titus Oates, son of Samuel, Rector of Hastings, born at Okeham, Rutland, admitted 29 June, 1667, aet. 18". From this Whitley mistakenly claimed that Samuel Oates originally came from Rutland: *A History of British Baptists*, London: 1923, p. 73.

²⁸ Edwards, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 35; part III, p. 121. In 1645 Oates was in Surrey and Sussex; in 1646, in Essex.

²⁹ Leicestershire Record Office, DE. 730/4, p. 61. Printed in *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), p. 204.

³⁰ The Horsmans were Puritans to the extent that Edward's house was used for Congregational preaching in 1672, a turn of events not envisaged 25 years before: G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 511.

³¹ Leics. R. O., DE. 730/3, p. 46. Printed in *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), pp. 204f.

³² *ibid.*, DE. 730/1, p. 26f. Printed in *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), pp. 205f.

³³ *The Faith and Practise of Thirty Congregations, Gathered according to the Primitive Pattern*, London: 1651, p. 30: "We do own a Magistratical power for the governing of this our English Nation, to be determined in a just Parliamentary way; . . . standing ready at all times . . . to vindicate such a Magistracy or Magistrates, not only with arguments of sound reason, but also with our Estates and Lives . . ."

³⁴ British Museum, E.412 (18).

³⁵ British Museum, E.412 (2), *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 21-28 October 1647.

³⁶ House of Lords Record Office. Main Papers, House of Lords, 11 December 1647. Printed in *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), pp. 206-9.

³⁷ British Museum, E.412 (12), *An Agreement of the People for a firme*

and present Peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedome, Thomason's date 3 November 1647.

³⁸ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), pp. 209-11.

³⁹ *ibid.*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 273.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 277f.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 277, 284.

⁴² Dr Williams's Library, MS.34.4, "Evans's List, 1715", p. 96; *Transactions, Baptist Historical Society*, vol. II, pp. 95ff.

⁴³ British Museum, 669.f.13 (47). It is significant that it was published by William Larnar, of Bishopgate, London, who published the 1651 *Faith and Practise* and Robert Everard's writings.

⁴⁴ William Dalby, *A true history of the base and unnatural murder of a man by his own son near Uppingham*, n. d. British Museum, 1076.1.22 (38), bound next to a pamphlet dated 1709. It contains nothing to suggest a Baptist author. William Dalby Street in Oakham is not directly related to this Dalby as it refers to the 14th century founder of the Hospital in the same street.

⁴⁵ Northamptonshire Record Office, Diocesan Court Instance Book, 57 Inst., July 1670.

⁴⁶ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (January 1974), pp. 208, 211.

⁴⁷ Northants. R. O., Visitation and Court Book, Arch. 66, April 1669, July 1671.

⁴⁸ John Osborne, *An Indictment Against Tythes: or, Tythes no Wages for Gospel-Ministers*, London: 1659 (Thomason's date July 18th). British Museum, E.989 (28). It is referred to in the 1659 *Further Testimony, B. Q.*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 380.

⁴⁹ E. B. Underhill (ed.), *The Records of the Fenstanton Church*, London: 1854, pp. 202-6.

⁵⁰ The latter view is assumed in Whitley, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England*, London: 1909, vol. I, p. lxiv; *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. II, p. 321. Uppingham, Thorpe, and Wakerley all appear in *Fenstanton Records* in 1656, Uppingham slightly earlier than the others.

⁵¹ Evans's List, p. 88.

⁵² Northants. R. O., Visitation and Court Book, Arch. 66, October 1668, November 1670, July 1671.

⁵³ *ibid.*, Bishop's Visitation Book 8B, 1641.

⁵⁴ T. Crosby, *The History of the English Baptists*, London: 1740, vol. III, p. 128.

⁵⁵ J. H. Wood, *A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion*, London: 1847, p. 155.

⁵⁶ *General Baptist Repository*, 1818.

⁵⁷ Leics. R. O., N/B/R5/1, Morcott Baptist Church minute book, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Northants. R. O., Diocesan Court Instance Book, 57 Inst., October 1670; Visitation and Court Book, Arch. 66, July 1671.

⁵⁹ Leics. R. O., N/B/R5/1, Morcott Baptist Church minute book, preface.

⁶⁰ Northants. R. O., Visitation and Court Book, Arch. 66, April 1680, when Thomas Curtis, Joseph Slater, Robert Bringhurst, William Stanger, and Thomas and Catherine Sewell were presented for being absent from church, all of Harringworth.

⁶¹ Crosby, *loc. cit.*; J. Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists*, London: 1814, vol. II, p. 514.

⁶² E. A. Payne, "Collecting for a New Building in 1735", *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XVIII (July 1959), pp. 132-4. The date "1710" claimed by its modern descendant church, Barrowden, refers to the earliest date in an old church book used for a historical preface to the present oldest church book of 1818 (Leics. R. O., N/B/R5/1).

⁶³ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 277.

⁶⁴ *Fenstanton Records*, pp. 167f.: "our congregation being very small".

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Whitley, *Minutes of the General Assembly*, vol. I, p. xxxiii. A John Bull, of Lodge House, Tilton parish, three miles from Twyford, died in 1671: Leics. R. O., Letters of Administration 15. Another John Bull, weaver, of Tur Langton, was presented for long-term absence from church, 1678-87: Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, f.2v; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/82, f.30v.

⁶⁷ *The Journal of George Fox*, pp. 18f. The date is clear: p. 9 begins 1647, p. 22 begins 1648. V. C. H., *Leicestershire*, vol. II, p. 111.

⁶⁸ For Calvinistic Baptists in Coventry by 1647, see Ivimey, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 14f., 573; Nathaniel Stephens, *A precept for the Baptisme of infants out of the New Testament*, London: January 1650/1, preface, which refers to a visit from London to Coventry "four years since by Mr. Knollis and Mr. Kiffen". Coventry is fourteen miles from Broughton Astley.

⁶⁹ Letter to the Sutton-in-the-Elms pastor, quoted in "Sutton-in-the-Elms and Arnesby", *Transactions, Baptist Historical Society*, vol. I (October 1909), p. 181. Since 1909 the Sutton church records have been carelessly destroyed. Whitley wrongly listed Broughton, Sutton, and "Holesworth" as separate churches: *Minutes of the General Assembly*, vol. I, p. lxi.

⁷⁰ Leics. R. O., Will 39.

⁷¹ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), pp. 274, 276.

⁷² Thomas Morris, *A Messenger Sent To remove some mistakes; Or A Desirous Instrument For the Promoting of Truth, Unity, Peace and Love in the Church of Christ. By way of Answer to a Book, untruly and improperly intitled, A vindication of That righteous principle of the Doctrine of Christ called laying on of hands upon Baptized believers*, London: 1655 (Thomason's date, May 19). British Museum, E.838 (23).

⁷³ Leics. Museum, 1 D 41/13/78.

⁷⁴ Mentioned in the Arnesby church book, vol. I, p. 75, 1707; but he did not sign his own church's covenant in 1709, *Transactions, Baptist Historical Society*, vol. I, p. 184.

⁷⁵ R. H. Evans, "Nonconformists in Leicestershire in 1669", *Transactions, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. XXV (1949-50), p. 134.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 133; Leics. R. O., QS 7/1 f.62.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 104, 136 (no details given); G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 75.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸⁰ G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 543.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 562.

⁸² *Transactions, Baptist Historical Society*, vol. I, pp. 182f.

⁸³ W. G. Hoskins, *The Heritage of Leicestershire*, Leicester: 1946, pp. 75f. M. S. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and its Future*, London: 1946, pp. 19f., mentioned, and dismissed on architectural grounds, the claim that the oldest part of Sutton Baptist church's premises dates from 1650.

⁸⁴ Anon., *A Brief History of the Baptist Churches in connection with the Leicestershire Association*, Leicester: 1865, pp. 6f., often repeated since in local newspaper stories, etc.

⁸⁵ Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part I, p. 184.

⁸⁶ N. Stephens, *op. cit.*, epistle to the reader. Printed in *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), pp. 272.

⁸⁷ British Museum, E.412 (6), (21), (23). Although there was at this time an Everard family at Heather in west Leicestershire, in which Robert was a common first name, Captain Robert Everard, a Roman Catholic by 1664, was called "a thick and swarthy Yorkshire man" in 1691 when helping Jacobites escape through Bruges to France: Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part II, p. 522; R. Everard, *An Epistle to the Several Congregations of the Non-Conformists*, London: 1664; Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Finch Manuscripts*, London: 1957, vol. III, p. 359.

⁸⁸ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 283.

⁹⁰ Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/6.61; Earl Shilton parish registers.

⁹¹ G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 577; Leics. R. O., Lieutenancy Book, LM 2/1, ff. 132, 166v.

⁹² Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, f. 77v; 6/1/2/1.

⁹³ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 126; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 543

⁹⁴ H. W. Furdson, *A History of the Baptist Church, Earl Shilton*, Leicester: 1931, p. 10. They include Samuel Cheney senior, fl. 1714-58, Thomas Cheney, fl. 1740-58, Samuel Cheney junior, 1731-1815. *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. II, p. 322, says the Biggs family also kept up Baptist traditions, but gives no evidence; and then in view of the Cheney succession strangely doubts if the seventeenth century church continued without a break.

⁹⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 125; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 543, 577; J. Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part II, pp. 475, 728. In 1670 Oneby was taxed for six hearths. He is not to be confused with John Onely, pastor of a General Baptist church in and around Long Lawford, Rugby, Warwickshire, by 1651 and until c.1670.

⁹⁶ *The Journal of George Fox*, pp. 24f. From this occasion arose the Leicester Quaker meeting.

⁹⁷ E. Calamy, revised by S. Palmer, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, London: 1775, vol. II, p. 116.

⁹⁸ Stocks, *op. cit.*, pp. 385f., 399.

⁹⁹ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274, 276. A Thomas Rogers was a Leicester baker in 1649: Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

¹⁰⁰ Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part I, p. 239. Ralph London appears in 1654 as minister of a different type of Baptist church at Hereford, associated with John Tombes: J. Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, London: 1743, pp. 122-8.

¹⁰¹ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 278. No more is known of Christian, unless he is the Thomas Christian of Oadby, three miles from Leicester, presented for being absent from church in 1680: Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, f.4v.

¹⁰² Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part I, p. 239; Stocks, *op. cit.*, pp. 528, 599.

¹⁰³ Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, f.59v; LM 2/1, f.168v.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, Will 34.

¹⁰⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 124. Evans reads "Wm Jug" instead of "Wm Ing", but I have not read of any Jugs around 17th century Leicester.

¹⁰⁶ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 281.

¹⁰⁷ *Journal of George Fox*, pp. 45f.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁹ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), pp. 274, 276.

¹¹⁰ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹¹¹ Leics. R. O., QS 5/1/1; A. J. Sleeman, *The Story of Three Centuries*, n.p.: 1952, pp. 8f. The property was near the burial ground which is still in Leicester Road, Mountsorrel

¹¹² *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 281.

¹¹³ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹¹⁴ Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, part I, p. 189; vol. III, part II, pp. 1048, 1052f., appendix p. 68; Crosby, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 97. See further G. E. Lane, *Henry Danvers*, London: 1972, who does not know of the D'Anvers of Swithland (pp. 3f.).

¹¹⁵ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 278.

¹¹⁶ Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. III, part II, p. 1139, quoting the Wymeswold Constables' Accounts; S. P. Potter, *A History of Wymeswold*, London: 1915, p. 60; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/78, f.17 etc.; Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, f.23.

¹¹⁷ G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 157f.; Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹¹⁸ F. M. W. Harrison, "The Life and Thought of the Baptists of Nottinghamshire", (M. Phil. thesis, Nottingham University, 1972), vol. I, p. 14, quoting W. A. Pemberton, "Studies in the Ecclesiastical Court and Archdeaconsry of Nottingham, 1660-1689", (Nottingham University thesis, 1952).

¹¹⁹ *Transactions, Leicestershire Archaeological and Architectural Society*, 1887. The actual parish by parish figures given seem too small in many cases to be reliable.

¹²⁰*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274. Whitley confused this place with Normanton-le-Heath, Leicestershire, from which Joseph Donisthorpe came, one of the founders of the Barton-in-the-Beans church in 1745 which became so important in the General Baptist New Connexion. Because of this Whitley made a link between old and New Connexion General Baptists that does not exist: *Minutes of the General Assembly*, vol. I, p. xxiv.

¹²¹*ibid.*, p. 281; Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹²²Leics. R. O., Will 37.

¹²³G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I p. 158.

¹²⁴*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274; Leics. R. O., Will 27. "George Moore Constable of Whitwick" was presented at the December 1672 Quarter Sessions "to answer . . . such things as shall be objected against him . . .": *ibid.*, LM 2/1, f.34v. But our Moore may be a namesake who died in 1671: *ibid.*, Letters of Administration 80.

¹²⁵*ibid.*, p. 278.

¹²⁶T. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²⁷*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 281.

¹²⁸Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

¹²⁹E. g. Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-7.

¹³⁰*ibid.*, p. 125; Leics. R. O., Letters of Administration 72; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 579.

¹³¹Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, 2, passim; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/82.

¹³²*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274, 276; Susanna Coles of Gumley, presented 1674-80 for not going to church, may have been John's widow: Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, ff.4, 4v.

¹³³Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. II, part II, pp. 590, 679f.; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 364, 517; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

¹³⁴G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 579, 584; Leics. R. O., Will 20; LM 2/1, f.168v (the same day as Inge of Knighton).

¹³⁵W. Burdet, *A Wonder of Wonders, Being a faithful Narrative and true Relation, of one Anne Green . . . hanged in the castle yard in Oxford . . . and afterwards . . . recovered &c.*, Oxford: January 1650/1. British Museum, E.621 (11).

¹³⁶G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 551; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹³⁷Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. II, part II, pp. 661, 676. After 1662 she took an ejected minister, John Jennings, as her chaplain.

¹³⁸*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 282.

¹³⁹*ibid.*, p. 278; Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 131; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 581; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/78.

¹⁴⁰Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/82, ff.30,30v.

¹⁴¹Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Leicester Museum 1 D 41/13/78, pp. 9f; G. L. Turner, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 579, 584.

¹⁴²Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁴³*Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 274, 282; Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. II, part II, pp. 317, 382. The John Parker who signed *The Humble Representation of several Societies, commonly called by the name of Anabaptists*, London: 1660, is not to be linked with Waltham; indeed, no signatory of it belongs to the East Midlands: E. B. Underhill, *Confessions of Faith, and other Public Documents*, London: 1854, p. 360; contra *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. II, p. 322.

¹⁴⁴Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹⁴⁵Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/78.

¹⁴⁶Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, ff.110-111v; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/78, 82 f.40.

¹⁴⁷Knipton parish registers, pp. 16, 25, 47.

¹⁴⁸*ibid.*, p. 17. Edward was born and baptized at Knipton in 1617: *ibid.*, p. 11. A Baptist Thomas Grewcocke or Grococke appears in the Langtons in 1659.

¹⁴⁹*ibid.*, p. 46. There is no known link with the Baptist Joneses of Earl Shilton.

- ¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 50.
- ¹⁵⁰ Leics. R. O., QS 7/1, ff.94-95v; 7/2, ff.7v-8; Leicester Museum, 1 D 41/13/82.
- ¹⁵¹ *Evans, op. cit.*, p. 141.
- ¹⁵² Knipton parish register, pp. 25, 45, 51.
- ¹⁵³ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), p. 277.
- ¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 273.
- ¹⁵⁵ Nathaniel Stephens, *Vindiciae Fundamenti. Or a threefold defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin: Together with some other fundamentals of Salvation. The first against the exceptions of Mr. Robert Everard, in his book intituled, The Creation and the Fall of man . . .*, London: 1658, preface, pp. 5, 93.
- ¹⁵⁶ Robert Everard, *The Creation and Fall of Adam Reviewed. A Brief Treatise wherein is discovered Adams indowments in his creation, and what he became by Degeneration*, London: 1649, second edition London: 1652. The Angus Library, 1.c.11 (i) is only a photograph of the title-page.
- ¹⁵⁷ "Captain" Robert Everard, *Nature's Vindication: or, A Check to all those who affirm Nature to be vile, wicked, corrupt, and sinful*, London: 1652. Angus Library, 1.k.18 (3).
- ¹⁵⁸ Angus Library 1.c.11 (k) is only a photograph of the title-page.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Vindiciae Fundamenti*, p. 93.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), pp. 277f.
- ¹⁶¹ Whitley, *Minutes of the General Assembly*, vol. I, pp. 6, 9.
- ¹⁶² Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 25f.; *Fenstanton Records*, pp. 202-6.
- ¹⁶³ *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. XXV (April 1974), pp. 275-7.
- ¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 279-83.
- ¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.283 Cf. the seizure of republican literature in Leicester, 1660: Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 488. Leicestershire's Arthur Hasilrig was a chief republican spokesman in Parliament in 1659.

(To be continued)

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